Etymology and the European Lexicon

14th Fachtagung of the Indogermanische Gesellschaft
17–22 september 2012

Schedule
Abstracts
Practical Information

Dear conference participant

It is our great pleasure to welcome you to the 14th Fachtagung of the Indogermanische Gesellschaft.

On the following pages, we have gathered the conference schedule; abstracts of the conference talks; some practical information on how to find your way around Copenhagen and the University; a list of recommended restaurants; and a list of participants.

This booklet was compiled and designed by our student secretaries, who have also been in charge of all practical matters in planning the conference and will be available for any questions or help that you may require: Christina Løye Hejl, Janus Bahs Jacquet, Marie Heide and Tobias Mosbæk Søborg.

The Fachtagung is subsidized by the University of Copenhagen, through its generous funding of the Roots of Europe research centre. We also thank Universitätsverlag Winter and Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their donations. We wish you a pleasant and fruitful stay!

The organizers:

<div style="display:flex">

Adam Hyllested
Anders Richardt Jørgensen
Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead
Birgit Anette Olsen
Bjarne Simmelkjær Sandgaard Hansen
Christina Løye Hejl

Guus Kroonen
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Jens Elmegård Rasmussen
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Oliver Simkin
Thomas Olander
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Contents

Practical information

Dining

List of participants

Conference schedule

Locations

The lectures will take place in three different rooms::

Monday-Wednesday:	Thursday-Friday:	Saturday:
Room 22.0.11	Room 22.0.11	Room 23.0.49
	Room 23.0.50	Room 23.0.50

There will be signs leading you in the right direction and please do not hesitate to ask the student assistants for guidance.

Room 23.0.49

Room 23.0.50

The canteen (Faculty lounge is located on the 1st floor)

Room 22.0.11

The metro station "Islands Brygge"
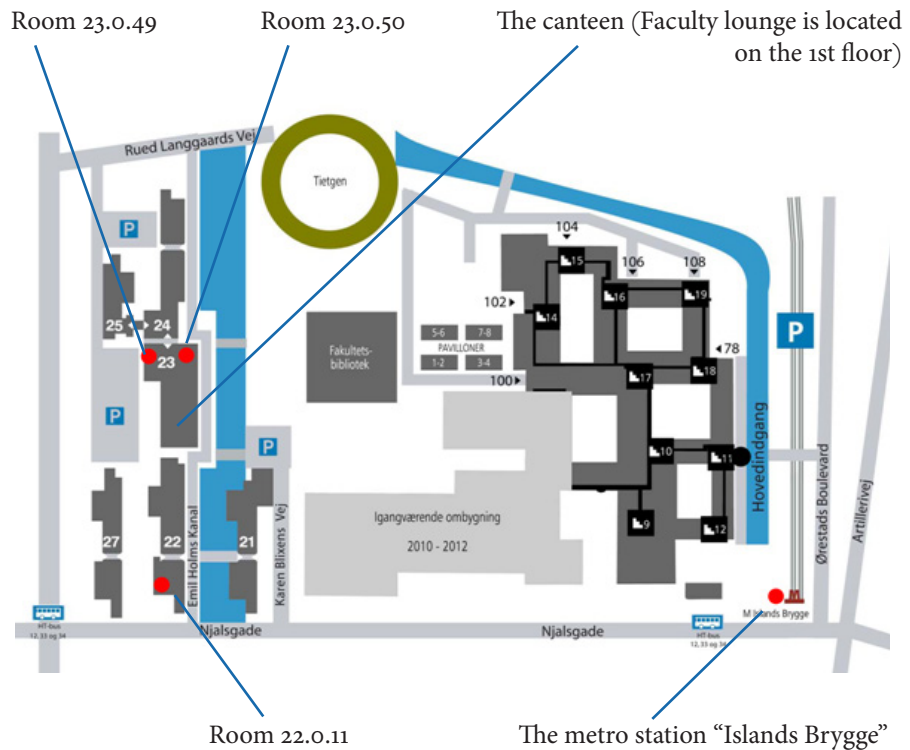
	SEMANTICS • ICONICITY (ROOM 22.0.11) CHAIR: JENS ELMEGAARD RASMUSSEN
10:00-10:30	Opening session
10:35–11:05	Rosemarie Lühr *Basiskonzepte*
11:10–11:40	Gerd Carling, Niklas Johansson *Organizing the outsiders - the Indo-European lexicon of iconicity*
	COFFEE BREAK
	GERMANIC (ROOM 22.0.11) CHAIR: ROSEMARIE LÜHR
12:00- 12:30	Martin Kümmel *Das dünkt mich dunkel: germanische etymologische Probleme*
12:35–13:05	Corinna Scheungraber *Univerbation of prefixed verbs in the prehistory of Germanic: proto-Gmc. *fāha-/* fanga- *'to catch' and Gothic* fraisan *'to tempt'*
13:05–14:30	LUNCH
	GERMANIC (ROOM 22.0.11) CHAIR: BJARNE SIMMELKJÆR SANDGAARD HANSEN
14:30–15:00	Roland Schumann *Where is the substrate in the Germanic lexicon?*
15:05–15:35	Guus Kroonen *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic: a sneak preview*
15:40-16:10	Theo Vennemann *Nicht-indogermanische Spuren vorgeschichtlicher Wirtschaftsverhältnisse im to-* *ponymnischen Lexicon Mitteleuropas*
16:10-16.30	COFFEE BREAK
	TOCHARIAN (ROOM 22.0.11) CHAIR: OLAV HACKSTEIN
16:30-17:00	Melanie Malzahn *The second one to branch off? - The Tocharian lexicon revisited*
17:05-17:35	Michaël Peyrot *On the etymology of Tocharian B* 'yolo' *'bad'*
17:40-18:10	Tijmen Pronk *Indo-European singulatives*
19:00-21:00	WELCOMING RECEPTION IN THE ROUND TOWER
21:00-	POST-RECEPTION DINNER AT RESTAURANT ANKARA

	INDO-IRANIAN (ROOM 22.0.11) CHAIR: MARTIN JOACHIM KÜMMEL
10:00-10:30	Velizar Sadovski *Roots deep in Heaven: Indo-Iranian ritual concepts in a cross-cultural perspective*
10:35–11:05	Antje Casaretto, Carolin Schneider *The relationship between etymology and semantics in the local particles of the Ṛgveda*
11:10-11:40	Florian Sommer *Etymologie und mytische Funktion: zu* Trita Āptya
11:40–12:00	COFFEE BREAK
	INDO-IRANIAN • ARMENIAN (ROOM 22.0.11) CHAIR: BENEDICTE NIELSEN WHITEHEAD
12:00–12:30	Leonid Kulikov *Quasi-denominatives in Vedic: evidence from Indo-European for a typology of light verbs and denominatives*
12:35-13:05	Agnes Korn *Final troubles: Armenian stem classes and the word-end in Late Old Persian*
13:05-14:30	LUNCH
	ANATOLIAN (ROOM 22.0.11) CHAIR: FOLKE HENRIK JOSEPHSON
14:30-15:00	Václav Blažek *Indo-European 'barley': a new etymology*
15:05-15:35	Alwin Kloekhorst *Hittite* ḫūmantet *and the PIE instrumental ending*
15:40-16:10	H. Craig Melchert *'Western affinities' of Anatolian*
16:10-16:30	COFFEE BREAK
	ANATOLIAN • ALBANIAN (ROOM 22.0.11) CHAIR: ALWIN KLOEKHORST
16:30-17:00	Alexander Nikolaev *Hittite* šapp- *and its congeners*
17:05-17:35	Stefan Schumacher *The development of the PIE middle voice in Albanian*
18:00	GENERAL MEETING OF THE INDOGERMANISCHE GESELLSCHAFT

	GREEK (ROOM 22.0.11) CHAIR: DIETER GUNKEL
10:00–10:30	Biliana Mihaylova *The Pre-Greek substratum revisited*
10:35-11:05	Jeremy Rau *The Greek Dialects in the 2nd Millenium BCE*
11:10-11:40	Lucien van Beek *The etymology of Greek πέπαμαι*
11:40–12:00	COFFEE BREAK
	LANGUAGE AND CULTURE (ROOM 22.0.11) CHAIR: TBA
12:00–12:30	Michael Meier-Brügger *Über das Vokabular der altindogermanischen Sprachen zurück in die Realien der Steinzeit*
12:35-13:05	Charles de Lamberterie *Sur le nom du 'rêve' en indo-européen balkanique*
13:05–14:30	LUNCH
	ANATOLIAN (ROOM 22.0.11) CHAIR: H. CRAIG MELCHERT
14:30-15:00	Paul Widmer *Combinatory and functional restrictions on pronominal clitics in Hittite*
15:05-15:35	José Virgilio García Trabazo *Zum indogermanischen und anatolischen Wortschatz der 'materiellen Kultur' und seine Relevanz zur Chronologie der 'nach-anatolischen' dialektalen Spaltungen*
15:45-18:30	EXCURSION TO THE OPEN AIR MUSEUM We meet at Njalsgade just outside buiding 22, where the bus will be awaiting.

	ROOM 23.0.50	ROOM 22.0.11
	SLAVIC CHAIR: THOMAS OLANDER	**LEXICON, SUBSTRATE LAYERS IN LANGUAGE** CHAIR: GUUS KROONEN
10:00-10:30	Ilya Yakubovich *Etymology of Slavic *čьrtъ 'demon, devil' in the light of Indo-European semantic parallels*	Bjarne Simmelkjær Sandgaard Hansen *Layers of root nouns in Germanic: chronology, structure, and origin*
10:35–11:05	Saskia Pronk-Tierhoff *Loanwords and the productivity of the feminine ū-stems in Proto-Slavic*	Harald Bichlmeier *Was kann man an lexikalischen und morphologischen Elementen aus dem Namenschatz der sogenannten 'Alteuropäischen Hydronymie' gewinnen?*
11:10-11:40	Marek Majer *The etymology of Proto-Slavic *niz- 'down, low' and some similar forms in other branches*	Corinna Leschber *About the stratification of substratum languages*
11.40-12:00	COFFEE BREAK	
	ITALIC CHAIR: NICHOLAS ZAIR	**GREEK** CHAIR: OLIVER B. SIMKIN
12:00- 12:30	Mariona Vernet Pons *Considerations on the origin of full-grade Latin statives from PIE verbal roots: a new proposal*	Timothy Barnes *Homeric ἐννῆμαρ*
12:35-13:05	Kanehiro Nishimura *Vowel lengthening in the Latin nominal lexicon: innovation and inheritance*	Anna Elisabeth Hämmig *ξένϝος – ein Fall einer griechischen Neo-Wurzel mit schwieriger Vorgeschichte*
13:05-14:30	LUNCH	

	ITALIC • GREEK (ROOM 23.0.50) CHAIR: MICHAEL MEIER-BRÜGGER
14:30-15:00	Elena Triantafillis -d- *verbal bases* (claudo, mando, plaudo…) *between Latin and Indo-European – etymological analysis*
15:05-15:35	Dariusz Piwowarczyk *Latin* māteriēs *and the derivational history of the* -iēs/-ia *abstracts*
15:40-16:10	Paul S. Cohen *Latin* papāver *'poppy', Greek* πάπυρος *'papyrus', Latin* pōpulus *'poplar tree', and* (P)IE Nouns in 'e-Reduplication'
16:10-16:30	COFFEE BREAK
	ITALIC (ROOM 23.0.50) CHAIR: TBA
16:30-17:00	Hannes A. Fellner, Laura Grestenberger *The Greek and Latin verbal governing compounds in* *-ā *and their prehistory*
17:05–17:35	Nicholas Zair (*False*) *etymology and 'Sabine -l-'*
17:40-18:10	Paolo Poccetti *New evidence for IE words for 'moon/month' and 'sun' from the Sabellian languages*
18:30	RECEPTION HOSTED BY THE CENTRE FOR TEXTILE RESEARCH The reception will take place in room 16.2.7, Njalsgade 80

	ROOM 23.0.50	ROOM 22.0.11
	SEMANTICS • LEXICON • CONTACT CHAIR: ALEXANDER LUBOTSKY	SYNTAX • ISOGLOSSES CHAIR: VELIZAR SADOVSKY
10:00-10:30	Matthias Fritz *How to cut a deal in Indo-European*	
10:35–11:05	Bettina Bock *Rekonstruktion von Semantik*	Jóhanna Barðdal *"Woe to the Rich and the Sordid Fellows":* *the Syntax, Semantics, and Information* *Structure of 'Woe' in Indo-European*
11:10-11:40	Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead *The emergence of the 'pickpocket'* *word-formation pattern in medieval* *Europe*	Ondřej Šefčík *The functional view on satem isoglosses*
11.40-12:00	COFFEE BREAK	
	AREAL LINGUISTICS CHAIR: PAUL WIDMER	GERMANIC CHAIR: ROLAND SCHUHMANN
12:00- 12:30	Britta Irslinger *Western Europe as a linguistic area:* *the development of the noun phrase*	Christiane Gante *Germanic *ga(-) revisited*
12:35-13:05	Adam Hyllested *Again on pigs in ancient Europe: the* *Fennic connection*	Kendra Willson *Runic coordination and the death of IE *kʷe*
13:05-14:30	LUNCH	
	BALTO-SLAVIC (ROOM 23.0.50) CHAIR: HENNING ANDERSEN	
14:30-15:00	Ranko Matasović *Substratum words in Balto-Slavic*	
15:05-15:35	Miguel Villanueva Svensson *Notes on the Balto-Slavic verb*	
15:40-16:10	Santeri Junttila *Proto-Finnic borrowings in the Baltic languages – are there any?*	
16:10-16:30	COFFEE BREAK	
	EUPHRATIC • OLD EUROPEAN (ROOM 23.0.50) CHAIR:ADAM HYLLESTED	
16:30-17:00	Gordon Whittaker *The status of Euphratic within Indo-European*	
17:05–17:35	Piotr Gąsiorowski *Against Old European: why we need to be more specific*	

	ROOM 23.0.50	ROOM 23.0.49
	LEXICON • ETYMOLOGY CHAIR: BRITTA IRSLINGER	ARMENIAN CHAIR: CHARLES DE LAMBERTERIE
10:00-10:30	COFFEE SERVED OUTSIDE BY "KALLE'S COFFEE"	
10:30–11:00	Carlotta Viti *Flat taxonomies in the Indo-European lexicon*	Hrach Martirosyan *European and Mediterranean substrate words in Armenian*
11:05-11:35	Susanne Zeilfelder *Wortfelder und etymologische Pfade*	Petr Kocharov *From syntax to the etymology of Armenian* mart' *'possible'*
11.35-12:00	COFFEE BREAK	
	MORPHOLOGY • LEXICON CHAIR: ANDERS RICHARDT JØRGENSEN	SYNTAX • SEMANTICS CHAIR: GERD CARLING
12:00- 12:30	Katsiaryna Ackermann *Investigating internal ways of lexical expansion in early PIE*	Thomas Smitherman *Prospects for the Formal Reconstruction of Non-Canonical Argument Structure in Proto-Indo-European*
12:35-13:05	Davide Bertocci *Beyond lexical etymology: nasal morphology and verbs of hitting, breaking, cutting, touching, and binding*	Eystein Dahl *Aspects of the morphosyntax of Subjecthood in Latin*
13:05-14:00	LUNCH AT THE ADMINISTRATION HALL on the 2nd floor in building 22	
	MORPHOLOGY CHAIR: BIRGIT ANETTE OLSEN	
14:00-14:30	Norbert Oettinger *Die Wechsel -o/n- und -i/n- im Rahmen der indogermanischen Heteroklisie*	
14:35-15:05	Jay Jasanoff *weid- *'notice' and the PIE thematic aorist*	
15:05-15:30	COFFEE BREAK	
	MORPHOLOGY • SEMANTICS CHAIR: JENS ELMEGAARD RASMUSSEN	
15:30-16:00	Georges-Jean Pinault *Tracing the expression of mastery and power in IE languages*	
16:05-16:35	David Sasseville, Elisabeth Rieken *Social status as a semantic category of Indo-European*	
18:30	OFFICIAL CONFERENCE DINNER at the University Gobelin and Ceremonial Hall, Frue Plads 4, 1168 København K	

Abstracts
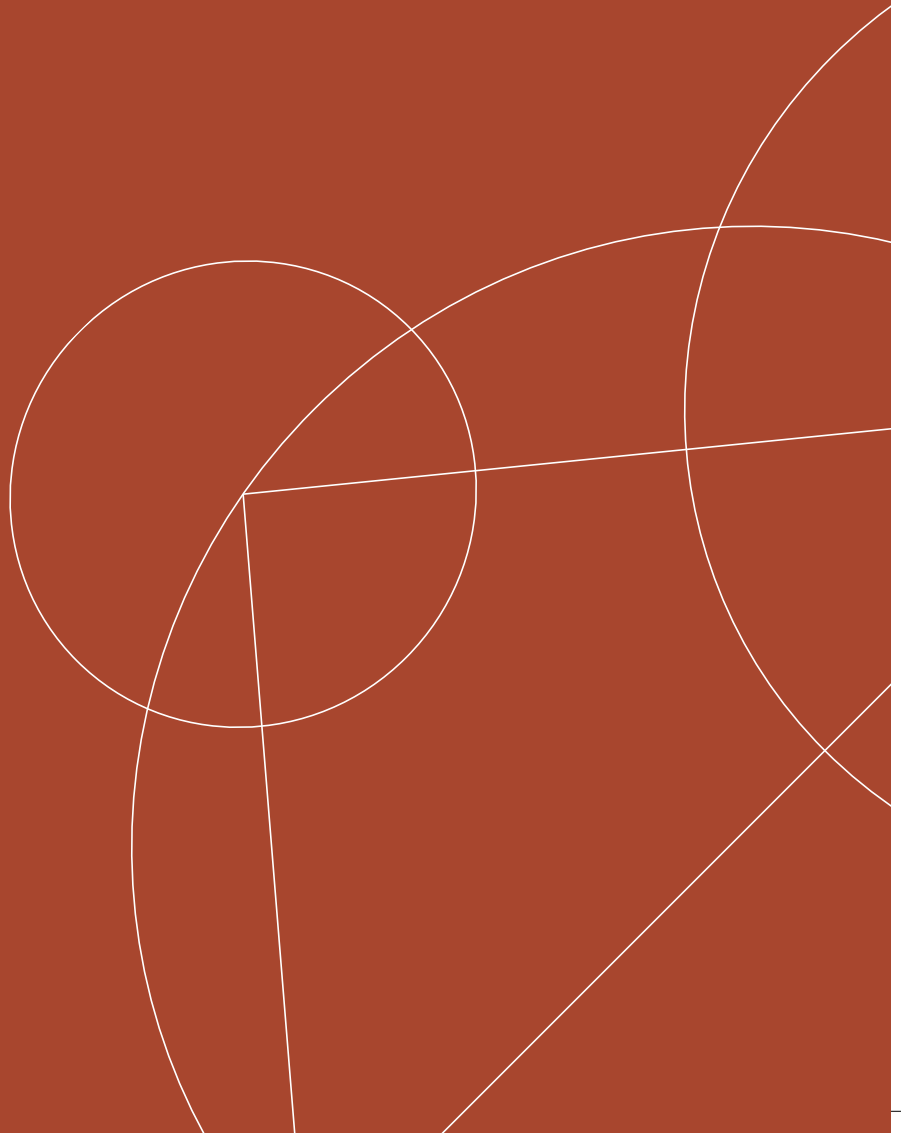
Investigating internal ways of lexicon expansion in early PIE. Observations on the PIE roots with the potential *-bh extension.

KATSIARYNA ACKERMANN
Vienna University

Verbal and nominal roots being semantically organized in word families make up the primary material of PIE word stock. The knowledge of word formational mechanisms allows more or less precise identification of most roots as such (e.g. LIV[1], LIN[2]). However this would represent an ideal state of affairs. On the one hand, a bulk of roots reconstructable for the late PIE fails to comply with morphonological constraints, generally observed in IE word structure. On the other, certain roots with divergent last radical seem to be epidigmatically interrelated. Segments in the structure of certain IE words, taking the position between the root morpheme and derivational or flexional suffixes and neither making part of the root itself in its pure form, nor making up a productive derivational morpheme (in the function of modification of the semantic meaning of the root) or an inflectional morpheme in synchronic terms are traditionally descriptively referred to as root extensions. Some of such segments are apparently identifiable as former productive suffixes, e.g. former present suffix $-\underline{u}$- in *$\underline{u}el$-$\underline{u}$ 'wind', Lat. *uoluo*, Arm. *gelowm* (LIV2: 675); others look like cropped elements of former syntagms, e.g. *-dh-* < *$dheh_1$ 'put, place' (LIV2: 136) as in *$bherdh$ 'take booty' (according to M. Kümmel LIV2: 77-78)[3], probably resulting from earlier *$bher$ 'take' (LIV2: 76) + $dheh_1$. But in most cases the etymology of root extensions remains a tricky question. So that closer analysis of the context in accordance to a number of parameters[4] is indispensable.

1   Rix H. [et al.] Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben, Wiesbaden 2001.

2   Tichy E. [et al.] *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon,* Heidelberg 2008.

3   See further Janda, M. Eleusis: das indogermanische Erbe der Mysterien. Innsbruck 2000: 240-242.

4   The parameters of identification of root extensions (also discussed in the paper) have been worked out during the preparation phase of the collaboration project on IE root extensions with the Institute of Linguistic Research of Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.

The intended presentation offers some observations upon the nature of the last radical in verbal roots ending at $*\text{-}b^h$ in post consonantal position (according to LIV2), and focuses on certain cases of root variation, especially through underlying univerbation in early PIE, including cases of parallel extension of root variants and suggests a tentative procedure of dealing with related roots as well as roots clusters with common semantics.

(Selected bibliography will be given in handouts).

The Emergence of Non-Canonical Subject Marking in Indo-European

JÓHANNA BARÐDAL
University of Bergen

The Bergen project on the emergence on non-canonical subject marking in the Indo-European languages (IECASTP/NonCanCase) has now gone on for four years. The present funding from the Bergen Research Foundation has gone out (2008–2012) and a new phase has started, funded by the Norwegian Research Council (2011–2015). At this junction, it is appropriate to review the findings so far. The results can be divided into the following types:

- Infrastructure for the linguistic community
  - Database
  - Methodology
    - Syntactic Reconstruction
    - Semantic Reconstruction

- Data/Theory
  - Cognate sets across different pockets of the early and archaic Indo European languages
  - Hence, reconstruction of oblique subject predicates for Proto-Indo-European
  - Reconstruction of different word order constructions for Proto-Indo-European, including a focus construction
  - Reconstruction of grammatical relations for Proto-Germanic, including the reconstruction of oblique subjects, and a subset of the constructions that function as subject properties
  - Semantic reconstruction in terms of lexical semantic verb classes on the basis of data from five subbranches, which show that Latin and Ancient Greek pattern the same, while Old Norse-Icelandic, Old Russian and Old Lithuanian all deviate from this pattern, in different ways however
  - Subject properties for Latin
  - Documentation of earlier undocumented oblique subject predicates in Old Indo-Iranian, including Old Persian, Old Avestan and Late Vedic

In addition I will also discuss the development of different case frames across the ancient/archaic Indo-European languages, and the future of the project in terms of work on the five Indo-European language branches that are yet missing, namely Hittite, Tocharian, Albanian, Armenian and Old Irish.

Homeric ἐννῆμαρ

TIMOTHY BARNES
Harvard University

The form is interesting from two perspectives:

· It seems to be the earliest of the Komplexivkomposita in –*ημαρ* and thus has a chance of being their model. If so, it is hardly possible that we are dealing with a contraction *ἐννεῆμαρ*. Instead, it seems likely that we have in the first member the compositional form in the zero-grade of the numeral '9'. However, the expected reflex of *$*h_1nuṇ$-* would be *enu̯a-*, which we in fact see in the ordinal *εἴνατος*, and thus we expect *$**εἰνῆμαρ$*. It is highly unlikely that we are dealing with a false Aeolism here. Since the ordinal was never adjusted to match the geminate of the cardinal *ἐννέα*, it also seems unlikely to suppose such a remodelling in the case of *ἐννῆμαρ* (although it remains a possibility). As an alternative, we must look at the different theoretical possibilities for the first member. The variant syllabification *$*h_1nun$-* would have given *$*enun$-*. This in fact seems to be attested in *ἐνενήκοντα*, with an easy adjustment of the anomalous u-vocalism. Following the analogy of '4', which had next to *$*k^w(e)tu̯ṛ$-* both *$*kw(e)tur$-* and metathesized *$*k^w(e)tru$-*, it is argued that next to *$*h_1nuṇ$-* (or *$*enuṇ$-*) it was possible to generate analogically both *$*h_1nun$* (*$*enun$*) and metathesized *$*h_1nnu$-* (*$*ennu$-*), and that we have a reflex here of the last variant *$*h_1nnu$- > ennu̯-āmar > ἐννῆμαρ*. This variant of the compositional form must have existed, since it is hard to think of another source for the remodelling of *$*eneu̯a$ –> enneu̯a*.

· The form also shows that a nucleus of Komplexivkomposita in *-ημαρ* existed which were liable to be reinterpreted by the poets as a sort of univerbated numeral plus plural. This was especially important at a very early stage of the tradition when a need was felt to replace the inherited neuter plural *$*āmōr$*, which had persisted in the adverbial verse ending phrase *$*νύκτας$ καὶ ἄμωρ* (*uel sim.*). The phrase just indicated is in addition probably the source, via a contamination common in binomial adverbial phrases, of the Attic prose adverb *νύκτωρ* 'by night'.

The etymology of Greek *πέπαμαι*

LUCIEN VAN BEEK
Leiden University

Most etymological handbooks (Rix 2001, Chantraine 2009, Beekes 2010) still reconstruct the root of *πέπαμαι* 'to possess' as PIE *$\acute{k}ueh_2$-. This reconstruction goes back to Brugmann (1894), who compared the Vedic root *śav-* 'to swell' and, within Greek, the pronominal stem *παντ-* 'every, all'. However, since the connection of Greek *πέπαμαι* with Indo-Iranian may be doubted (Rix 2001, distinguishing *$\acute{k}ueh_2$-* 'erwerben' and *$\acute{k}ueh_1$-* 'anschwellen'), and given that *παντ-* must be directly compared with Toch. AB *po*, *pont-* 'every, all', the question remains whether a separate root *$\acute{k}ueh_2$-* can be maintained for Greek *πέπαμαι* alone.

In this paper, I will present and develop an alternative etymology for *πέπαμαι*. First, I briefly discuss some important philological details of the Greek material: (1) dialectal forms with a geminate -*ππ*-, which have hitherto been analyzed as a direct reflex of PIE -$\acute{k}u$- (Lejeune 1972); (2) variae lectiones which may show us the original shape of the Greek root. Subsequently, I intend to show how the Greek forms contribute to our understanding of the underlying PIE root, the reconstruction of its primary formations and their semantics.

References

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Brugmann, Karl. 1894. *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff der Totalität in den indogermanischen Sprachen: eine semasiologisch-etymologische Untersuchung*. Leipzig.

Chantraine, Pierre. 2009. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots. Nouvelle édition avec supplément*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Lejeune, Michel. 1972. *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Rix, Helmut et al. (eds.). 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Beyond lexical etymology: nasal morphology and verbs of hitting, of breaking, of cutting, of touching, of binding

DAVIDE BERTOCCI
University of Padova

Indo-European etymology has been traditionally founded on roots, i.e. on lexical morphemes and morphological bases. Yet, it is well known that another kind of etymology had a pivotal role in the acknowledgement of a common Indo-European ancestor, namely, the one having scope not only on lexical items, but, rather, on morphological objects. Thus, this study focuses on some diachronic aspects of the ancient IE lexicon, by investigating lexical classes in the light of their morphological markers. Specifically, I concentrate on verbs of hitting, breaking, cutting, touching and binding, and I will show that, irrespectively of their roots, they pattern in a unitary fashion, as 1) they are most frequently marked by nasal morphology; 2) such a relation takes place in different IE languages, even if most notably in Latin and Old Irish (exx. 1-5, cp. LIV).

- Lat. *plango* (*$pleh_2$-)'*to* beat', Oir. *benat* 'to beat' (*$beyh_2$-), Hit. *hunikzi* 'to pierce, to beat' (*h_2weg-), Skt. *piṇásti* 'to beat' (*$peys$-)

- Lat. *frango* 'to break' (*$bhreĝ$-), Oir. *bongid* 'to break' (*$bhewg$-), Gk. *ῥήγνυμι* 'to break' (*$wreh_1ĝ$-), Skt. *bhanákti* 'to break' (*$bheg$-)

- Lat. *scindo* 'to split' (*$sĥheyd$-), Oir. *tamnaid* 'to split', Gk. *τέμνω* 'to cut' (*$temh_1$-), Skt. *lunā́ti* 'to split' (*$lewH$-)

- Lat. *tango* 'to touch' (*teh_2g-), Oir. *denaid* 'to suck' (*$dheh_1y$-), Gk. *θιγγάνω* 'to touch' (*$dheyĝh$-, LIV: 141), Skt. *anákti* 'to anoint' (*$h_2engʷ$-)

- Lat. *iungo* 'to join' (*$yewg$-), Oir. *glenaid* 'to paste' (*$gleyH$-), Gk. *ὑφαίνω* 'to weave' (*$webh$-), Skt. *grathnā́ti* 'to fasten' (*$g^{(w)}renth$-)

The first question I will try to answer is why those classes of verbs share nasal morphology (conceived as transitive, see Meiser 1993); the second one regards the conditions under which nasal presents may have become the preferred morphological marker for those semantic fields, and whether this entails IE inheritance or not.

References

LIV = *Lexicon der indogermanischen Verben. 2.*, Helmut Rix et alii. Wiesbaden: Reichert. 2001.

Meiser Gerhard. 1993. Zur Funktion des Nasalpräsens im Urindogermanischen. In : Gerhard Meiser (ed.), *Indogermanica et Italica. Festschrift H. Rix zum 65. Geburtstag*, 289-313. Innsbruck: IBS.

Was kann man an lexikalischen und morphologischen Elementen aus dem Namenschatz der sogenannten "Alteuropäischen Hydronymie" gewinnen?

HARALD BICHLMEIER

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In großen Teilen Europas lässt sich eine archaische Schicht von Flussnamen greifen, die nicht aus den vormals dort gesprochenen (alten) Sprachen erklärt werden können. Die zu dieser Schicht gehörigen Gewässernamen (GewNN) wurden von H. Krahe gesammelt und analysiert, später wurde diese Arbeit v.a. von dessen Schüler W.P. Schmid sowie von J. Udolph weitergeführt. Es wurde so ein Netz von hunderten GewNN ermittelt. Allerdings wurden diese bisher fast ausschließlich mit dem indogermanistischen Handwerkszeug analysiert, das bereits Krahe zur Verfügung stand, also letztlich mit Indogermanistik, wie sie bereits vor dem 2. Weltkrieg betrieben wurde. Erkenntnisse der Indogermanistik der letzten 50 Jahre in Phonologie und Morphologie wurden weitgehend nicht beachtet.

Aufgrund dieses großen Nachholbedarfs, der in den Untersuchungen zur "Alteuropäischen Hydronymie" deutlich wird, ist es an der Zeit, einmal die hierzu gezählten GewNN hinsichtlich ihrer Wurzeln und der verwendeten Derivationsmittel gründlich mit den heute der Indogermanistik zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln zu untersuchen. Die so ermittelten Einheiten im Bereich der Wurzeln wie der Derivationsmittel müssen dann konsequent mit den Erkenntnissen aus der idg. Wortbildungslehre korreliert werden, um zu klären, welche GewNN mit dem zu Erwartenden übereinstimmen und welche nicht.

Bei dieser Analyse ergeben sich hinsichtlich der Suffixe und weiterer morphologischer Gesichtspunkte klare Fortschritte gegenüber der alten Darstellungsweise, da nicht nur die Form, sondern auch die Funktion der Suffixe und der verschiedenen Ablauterscheinungen nun genauer bestimmt werden kann. Demgegenüber konnten in der "klassischen Alteuropäistik" Wurzel und Suffix in fast beliebigen Ablautstufen auftreten. Den Erkenntnissen der Indoger-

manistik über (paradigmatischen) Ablaut etc. wurde keine größere Beachtung geschenkt.

Während man die als Ableitungsgrundlagen dienenden Wurzeln früher sehr genau (oft eindeutig!) zu bestimmen können glaubte, wird man heute vorsichtiger sein müssen So ist etwa eine Unterscheidung zwischen uridg. *pel- "gießen, schütten" und uridg. *pel- "grau" oft ebensowenig möglich wie eine Zuordnung einzelner GewNN zu uridg. *$h_1$el- "rot" vs. uridg. *Hal- (*$h_2$el-, *$h_{1/3}$al-?) "weiß" vs. uridg. *$h_2$elh$_2$- "ziellos gehen" etc. Allenfalls Restriktionen hinsichtlich der Wortbildung können hier u.U. Aufschluss geben.

Es gilt die Mängel der bisherigen Forschungen aufzuzeigen, das Material mit den Methoden moderner Indogermanistik neu zu untersuchen, auf Basis der so gewonnenen Ergebnisse eine neue Bewertung des gesamten Komplexes vorzunehmen und die Frage nach der Relevanz dieses Materials für die idg. Altertumskunde und für das Lexikon des Uridg. neu zu stellen.

Indo-European 'barley': a new etymology

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In the Indo-European cereal terminology there have been reconstructed at least five terms bearing the meaning "barley" or related ones. The sixth one may be added.

1. *$h_2$elbhi-(t-)* "barley" > Greek; Albanian (Witczak 2003, 58-59; Adams & Mallory, EIEC 51); ?Iranian (Bailey 1979, 367; NEVP 10).

2. *bhárs*, gen. *bhares(o)s* "barley (flour)" > ?Iranian; Greek; Albanian; Italic; Celtic; Germanic (Witczak 2003, 57-58; Adams & Mallory, EIEC 51).

3. *ĝhresdhi*, gen. *ĝhr̥sdhós* "barley" > ?Iranian; Albanian; Latin; Germanic (Witczak 2003, 55-57; Adams & Mallory, EIEC 51).

4. *i̯éu̯o-* "barley" > Indo-Iranian; Hittite; Greek; ?Goidelic; Baltic; Slavic; Tocharian (Witczak 2003, 43-44; Adams, EIEC 236-37).

5. *meiĝ-* "barley (grain)" > Iranian; Goidelic; Baltic (Bailey 1979, 332-33, 285; Adams & Mallory, EIEC 51; Witczak 2003, 61).

6. *mork-/*m̥rk-*, ?vr̥ddhi *m̥̄rk-* "seeds of barley" > Sanskrit *markaṭaka-* m. "a kind of corn", *markaka-* m. "Ardea argala" (Lex.), Shina *makaĭ* "maize", ?Khowar (Lorimer) *blan* "barley" (Turner 1966, ##9884, 9879, 10385; EWAI II, 323) | Hieroglyphic Luwian [SULTANHAN, §6] *ma$_x$+ra/i-wa/i-li-* "barley-stem(s)" (Hawkins 2004, 364) < *mar(y)iwali-* < *mar[k]iwali-* *"possessing barley", cf. the same suffix in Cuneiform Luwian *marahsiwali-* 'an epithet of wool' vs. Hittite (SÍG)*marihsi-/marhasi-* referring to some impurity in wool (Melchert, p.c.) | Celtic *mraki-* "(corn or seed of) barley" > Old Irish *mraich* f., later *braich*, "malt", Old, Middle Welsh *brag* 'bratium', Modern Welsh *brag* "barley corns, malt", Middle Cornish *brag* "malt", Breton *bragez* m. "seed, corn of grain", Gaulish *brakis*, documented by Pliny in his Naturalis Historiae 18, 62: *"Galliae quoque suum genus farris dedere, quod illic bracem vocant, apud nos scandalam, nitissimi grani"*, adapted by Vulgar Latin, cf. the gloss *"braces sunt unde fit ceruesia"*, further Old French *brais*, today *brai* "barley prepared for the fabrica-

tion of beer", *brasser* 'to brew (beer)' < **braciāre* (Delamarre 2001, 72-73; de Bernardo Stempel 1987, 89; Schrijver 1995, 176, 188: **mr̥Hki-?*). A hypothetical Tocharian counterpart ⁺*märkᵒ* could be a source of both Altaic **murgi-* 'barley' (EDAL II, 935) and Old Chinese 麥 **mrᵊk* 'wheat'.

Rekonstruktion von Semantik

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Während die Methodik zur Rekonstruktion der Lautgestalt eines Wortes in vorhistorischer Zeit inzwischen weit entwickelt ist, erweist sich die Rekonstruktion von Semantik nach wie vor als ein Problem. In dem Akademie-Projekt "Deutsche Wortfeldetymologie in europäischem Kontext" wird ein neuer Lösungsansatz erprobt, der Erkenntnissen der Kognitiven Linguistik in die praktische Lexikographie überführt. Dabei erweist sich auch das in der heutigen Lexikographie übliche Verfahren der Bedeutungsabstraktion aus Belegen als nicht ausreichend.

In dem Vortrag wird die Methodik der Arbeit mit prototypischen Merkmalen vorgestellt, die es ermöglicht die Kippeffekte beim semantischen Wandel deutlich zu machen. Um die prototypischen Merkmale zu gewinnen, wird im Projekt selbst das Beleg-Prinzip mit einem weiteren Vorgehen verbunden: dem Lexikon-Korpus-Prinzip. Durch die Verknüpfung mit der Wortfeldetymologie gewinnt man so ein Instrument, um Benennungsmotive und damit die Semantik für eine Wortschöpfung sicherer zu fassen.

Diese methodischen Aspekte werden an Beispielen erläutert.

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Organizing the outsiders—the Indo-European lexicon of iconicity

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In every language lexicon - some to a higher extent than others - there are a number of words that "lack etymologies"; words that are normally explained as "probably onomatopoetic". This explanation is normally an indication that they are somehow related to other lexemes in the language but they cannot be lawfully traced back to an Indo-European or other Sub-Proto-Language root, because the reconstruction doesn't fulfill the requirements of semantic and phonematic accuracy. However, when these words are looked upon specifically, it becomes apparent that they tend to form networks with words that have "real etymologies" and can be traced all the way back, either to the Sub-Proto-Language (e.g., Proto-Germanic), or to Indo-European. How could this be? The lexicon of iconicity in the perspective of language history is still an uninvestigated field.

In the current presentation, the emergence and change of the lexicon of iconicity in Indo-European will be in focus. Three types of iconic lexemes will be looked upon specifically: 1) sound symbolic clusters, 2) onomatopoetic words, 3) deictic words. Focus will be mainly on Germanic languages, but other languages will also be brought up as a comparison. It will be argued that iconicity, to a certain extent, plays a role in language change when these iconic connections and networks are created.

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The relationship between etymology and semantics in the local particles of the Ṛgveda

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Syntactically, local particles in the Ṛgveda mostly function as adverbs. They modify local relations between the predicate and the governed noun in an oblique case, cf. RV 2,36,6 *ácchā rā́jānā náma eti* "The worship goes out to both kings." It is also possible to apply a local particle as an independent adverb, cf. RV 1,15,9 *juhóta prá ca tiṣṭhata* "Offer (an oblation) and come forth!" Further, these particles can develop into preverbs and – less frequently – into adpositions. During these processes, the local particles undergo different stages of lexicalization und grammaticalization. Especially lexicalized combinations of local particles and verbs show a tendency towards semantic bleaching.

Synchronically, it is usually not possible to analyze the Vedic local particles morphologically; like many other adverbs in different languages they are partly based on fossilized cases of originally nominal forms, cf. Ved. *purás* "forward, forth" which goes back to an ablative of the root-noun IE. **pṛH-és.* The etymological background plays a significant role in the semantics and/or the syntax of these particles: *Purás*, for instance, still displays the separative notion originally connected with the ablative, while semantic restrictions are exemplified by *sácā* "at; also, too". *Sácā* probably represents the instrumental of the root-noun **sac-* "fellowship" and is almost exclusively attested beside governed nouns that denote animate beings.

The expected etymological meaning is mostly congruent with the synchronic meaning, although there are some remarkable exceptions.

The aim of our presentation is to exemplify typical tendencies of grammatical and semantic development and to show the different relations between the etymological background and the synchronic meaning of the local particles in Vedic.

Latin *papāver* 'poppy', Greek *πάπῡρος* 'papyrus', Latin *pōpulus* 'poplar tree', and (P)IE Nouns in "e-Reduplication"

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Lat. *papāver* 'poppy', Gk. *πάπῡρος* 'papyrus', and Lat. *pōpulus* 'poplar tree' have no generally accepted etymologies. For all three items, I will give and support *lautgesetzlich* etymologies as reduplications that I posit are subsumed under a more general (morpho)phonological process that also generates the e-reduplication in (P)IE nouns exemplified in, e.g., Hamp (1972), Driessen (2003), Andersen (2009), Huld (2009), Manaster Ramer (2010), Gąsiorowski (*pers. comm.*), and Oettinger (2012)—a total of about 20 items that I examine more closely in the paper, while arguing against Oettinger's position that reduplicated nouns are derived directly from reduplicated verbs. I demonstrate that the process for nominals can best be expressed, in basic outline, as generating a copy of the *e*-grade root up through the vowel and any immediately following laryngeal, attaching that copy to the front of the root, and accenting either the root or the attached copy (and concomitantly reducing the vowel-grade of the unaccented section) in accordance with whether the reduplicated form is perfective or intensive.

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Aspects of the morphosyntax
of Subjecthood in Latin

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This paper examines the characteristic properties of syntactic subjects in Latin. In the unmarked case, subjects can be identified on the basis of nominative case marking and verb agreement. However, there is some evidence that nominative case marking and verb agreement do not represent necessary conditions for subjecthood in Latin. For instance, certain experiential verbs, notably *pudet* 'is ashamed', *taedet* 'is bored', *miseret* 'feels pity', *piget* 'feels annoyance, pity or regret' and *paenitet* 'repents, is sorry', select an accusative-marked and a genitive-marked argument, neither of which triggers verb agreement

(1)   Et *me tui* pudet "And I am ashamed of you"

This construction type makes a strong case for the claim that Latin had non-nominative or oblique subjects. This assumption would be significantly strengthened if it could be shown that either the accusative-marked or the genitive-marked argument in (1) or other potential non-canonical subject arguments, like the dative-marked argument in (2) have some morphosyntactic properties in common with nominative subjects.

(2)   *mihi* et res et condicio *placet* "I am pleased with the property as well as the terms" (Cicero Ad Atticum 12.25)

Nominative subjects are characterized by at least the following properties in Latin:

·   They tend to precede the other arguments of the clause
·   They are able to bind long-distance reflexives (whereas clause-bound reflexives may be bound by other types of arguments, e.g. accusative objects)
·   They generally tend to be omitted in subject control constructions
·   They regularly receive accusative case marking in object control constructions

- They regularly receive accusative case marking in raising-to-object constructions
- They maintain nominative case marking in raising-to-subject constructions
- They are systematically omitted in conjunction reduction
- They remain the subject of active present participles

This paper discusses to what extent these behavioural properties represent a reliable set of parameters for establishing whether a given argument may be regarded as a subject or not. Moreover, it is shown that none of the potential oblique subjects in Latin display all of the relevant properties and that accusative-marked experiencer arguments like the one illustrated in (1) generally seem to have more in common with nominative subjects than other subject-like arguments, like the type illustrated in (2).

The Greek and Latin verbal governing compounds in *-ā and their prehistory

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Several branches of Indo-European attest to a type of verbal governing compound with second compound members (SCM) in *-ā. These are the Latin type *agricola* 'farmer' ('earth-plougher'), *indigena* 'native', etc.; the Greek type ἱπποσόας 'driving horses', βαθυδίνης 'deep-eddying', etc.; and structurally similar forms in Tocharian, Armenian and maybe also Germanic and Slavic. The type is furthermore asigmatic in Latin but sigmatic in Greek and is used both in attributive adjectival function and as masculine epithets, personal names, and occupational designations.

In this paper we argue that 1) this type of compound is of (at least late) Proto-Indo-European age, 2) the N.sg. was originally asigmatic and 3) the SCM reflects a formation in *-eh₂. On the latter point, we differ from other accounts in that we do not think that the SCM were originally verbal abstracts. We suggest an analysis based on work by Nussbaum (2010 and elsewhere) which assumes a functional split in the distribution of the suffix *-eh₂ into substantival abstracts on the one hand and animate individualizations on the other hand. It is the latter usage that we propose for the denominal stems in Gr. -ης/-ᾱς, and Lat. -a in SCM and which explains the strong tendency of this class to manifest as epithets and occupational titles in both Greek and Latin. We argue that denominal formations like Greek τρι-πόδης besides compounds in -ποδ-; N.pl. βου-ζύγαι 'oxen-yoking' besides –ζυξ, etc.; Latin *aurīga* 'charioteer' (< *aure-ig-ā) besides *aureax* < *aure-ag-s (Lindner 2002: 217) are archaisms that represent the starting point of this compound type. We furthermore sketch out how the use of the suffix then expanded from originally nominal to verbal derivational bases. The semantic parallelism of this compound formation in Greek and Latin and its formal association with possessive compounds with root noun SCM validates the assumption that this type is of common Indo-European origin, an idea that goes back to Meillet (1914). This paper is therefore meant as a contribution to both our understanding of nominal composition in Proto-Indo-European and of the function and development of the suffix *-eh₂.

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How to cut a deal in Indo-European

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While knowing almost for sure that the Indo-Europeans had some knowledge how to grow plants or how to breed animals, we know very little about how they did business and, moreover, can only guess with whom they did. Anyway, there are some words existing in the early attested languages, like Greek, Hittite, Indic, Latin, concerning sale etc. and even being attested early they are already archaic, like e.g. Greek *príast**ʰai*, Hittite *happar*, Vedic *vaṇíj-*, Latin *vendere* / *venire*.

This paper is to deal with the semantic field of sale from an etymological point of view to figure out what the Indo-Europeans thought about commerce and if their thinking might still be observed in the European lexicon in the present.

Germanic *ga(-) revisited. Some thoughts on etymology, phonology and inherited word formations

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For more than 120 years now, a lot of work on Germanic *ga(-) and its reflexes in the Germanic languages has been published. However, some questions have not been answered satisfactorily.

The use of *ga- as a verbal prefix in the Germanic languages has been examined extensively. And consensus seems to be that preverbal *ga- expressed perfectivity or telicity, in most cases.

But what about the etymology – and, linked to that, the phonology, as well – of the morpheme? There are quite a lot of papers on that issue. But still it is somewhat ambiguous whether Germanic *ga(-) can be smoothly linked to the semantically equivalent Latin *co(m/n)-/cum*, because of the initial consonant's shape. Why do almost all of the Germanic reflexes show initial /g/ when, according to Grimm's Law, /h/ should be expected?

This paper will briefly discuss some explanations for the voiced velar plosive in the Germanic reflexes.

Furthermore, given that the comparison of Latin communis with Gothic *gamains*, OHG *gimeini*, OE *gemæne* and so forth suggests a shared Proto-Indo-European origin **ko(m)moini-s*, the question arises whether there are more instances of word formations containing this morpheme that go back to a Proto-Indo-European compound. That is to say, are we talking about a frequent type of Proto-Indo-European word formation?

Some formations common to at least some of the Germanic languages – like Gothic *ga·skôhi*, OHG *gi·skuohi*, OE *ge·scý* 'pair of shoes' or Gothic *ga·lîks*, OHG *gi·lîh(i)*, OE *ge·líce* '(of the) same (shape)' – suggest at least a Proto-Germanic word formation of adposition + nominal, i.e. prepositional compounds. Obviously, there are several similar formations in other Indo-European languages, as well, for example in Latin. Forms such as Latin *coniux*, *conspon-*

sor, *cognomen* etc. or *concors* 'being of one mind', *concolor* 'of the same colour' show that at least in some of the Indo-European languages the formation of prepositional compounds has always been possible. So, considering the case of Latin *communis*: Gothic *gamains*, OHG *gimeini* etc., there seem to have been denominal prepositional compounds in Proto-Indo-European, already.

Originally, compounds consisting of a preposition '(together) with' and a nominal did not form classes of so-called 'collectives', 'associatives' or possessive adjectives, as seems to be the case in the Germanic languages. Their 'collective', 'associative' or possessive meaning is rather a combination of the meanings of their parts.

Zum indogermanischen und anatolischen Wortschatz der 'materiellen Kultur' und seine Relevanz zur Chronologie der 'nach-anatolischen' dialektalen Spaltungen

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Bei der Übereinstimmung zwischen den indogermanischen Rekonstrukten und die anatolische Lexemen einiger der wichtigsten 'Kulturwörter' ist es eindeutig zu beachten, dass die anatolische semantische Entsprechung ist doch nicht genau, steht aber in ihrer Bedeutung nicht ganz entfernt davon, was in den übrigen Sprachzweigen belegt ist ('schützen' : 'weiden'; 'aufbrechen' : 'pflügen'; 'eindrücken' : 'sähen') obwohl jedes Beispiel bedürft natürlich seiner eigenen Erklärung. In vorliegenden Beitrag wird versucht, solche 'kumulative Evidenz' reiner lexikalischen Übereinstimmungen, mit einer objektiven Datierung zu kombinieren, insofern die letzte archäologisch-prähistorische Untersuchungen es erlauben.

Einige der wichtigsten Termini seien, z.B., folgende:

- $*peh_2(-s)$- 'schützen, hüten, weiden' > heth. *pahš* 'bewahren, schützen'

- $*h_2orh_3$-s- /$*h_2rh_3$-s- 'aufbrechen, pflügen': heth. *harš* 'aufreissen, beackern'

- $*seh_1$- 'eindrücken, einsetzen; sähen' $*sh_1$-ói-/$*sh_1$-i- > *šai/ši-, šiye/a-* 'festdrücken; einprägen; siegeln; schiessen'; $*seh_1$-li > *šeli-* (c.) 'Getreidehaufen; Scheune'

Eine genauere Untersuchung der obengenannten (und ähnlichen) Entsprechungen ist mit einer Kreuzung der objektiven chronologischen Angaben zu ergänzen, damit die daranbeteiligte Disziplinen (Historisch-Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, Archäologie, Prähistorie, Archäozoologie, Geschichte der Technologie, Paläobotanik, usw.) tragen dazu bei, eine möglichst enge Datierung der ersten Spaltungen der indogermanischen Sprachgruppe zu bestim-

men. Die Untersuchung wird natürlich auch relevant, obwohl vielleicht nur indirekt, sowohl für eine räumliche Bestimmung des Urindogermanischen als für die Chronologie der späteren sukzessiven europäischen und (südwest)asiatischen Spaltungen.

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Against Old European: Why we need to be more specific

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Hans Krahe's discovery of an ancient hydronymic pattern covering most of Central and Western Europe, dubbed alteuropäisch ("Old European"), was a major breakthrough in studies of synchronically obscure European river-names. The language of that layer of hydronyms was identified by Krahe as practically undifferentiated "Western Indo-European" (pre-Celtic, pre-Germanic, pre-Baltic, pre-"Illyrian" etc. on the one hand, but post-PIE on the other), and this identification is still accepted by most researchers in the field. More recently Theo Vennemann has spectacularly contested Krahe's theory, granting the reality of the pattern but attributing its origin to a hypothetical pan-continental substrate related to Basque (called "Vasconic").

Both Krahe's decomposition of river-names into recurring IE-looking roots with single or multiple suffixes, and the similar combinatorial method employed by Vennemann (yielding morphological elements interpreted as Vasconic), seem to produce reasonable-looking analyses. However, as the two approaches lead to mutually contradictory conclusions, they cannot be both correct at the same time. It will be argued in the present paper that the very notion of "Old European" is too vague to rule out this kind of ambiguity. As in other areas of historical-linguistic research, no etymology can be regarded as acceptable unless it satisfies the standard criteria of validity: it must account fully for the structure of the analysed item (including its historically documented variants); it must provide it with a semantic interpretation; and it must offer a convincing rationale for that interpretation. It will be shown that even if a river-name (or some other toponym) is demonstrably old enough to be assigned to the "Old European" historical stratum, we can gain more insight from analysing it first conservatively in the light of historically known languages before we turn to vaguely defined pre-stages or extinct substrate languages so hypothetical that there is no tangible evidence to constrain our speculation with regard to their phonology, morphology or semantics.

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ξένϝος – ein Fall einer griechischen Neo-Wurzel mit schwieriger Vorgeschichte

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Es hat sich als fast unmöglich erwiesen, die Vergangenheit des Wortes ξένϝος ("Gast, Gastfreund; Fremder, Söldner") zu klären und Verwandtes in den indogermanischen Schwestersprachen des Griechischen zu finden. Der Anschluss an das Etymon von lat. *hostis*, got. *gasts*, aksl. *gostĭ* ist bisher nicht überzeugend gelungen. Lautlich auf tönernen Füssen steht der Vergleich mit alb. *húaj/hú(e)j, vgl. z. B. Demiraj* (*1997:203f.*). Einen wenig glaubhaften Sonderweg beschritt F. Bader (1982:136ff.), die den Stamm als Partikel- und Pronominakette analysieren wollte. Weitere Versuche, ξένϝος zu etymologisieren, sind leicht als fehlerhaft erkennbar, z. B. Schwartz (1985:495). Die Resignation darüber äusserte sich in dem Vorschlag, dass es sich um ein vorgriechisches Substratwort handeln könnte, vgl. Beekes (2009:1034).

In meinem Referat möchte ich die bisherigen Versuche und die jeweiligen Probleme vorstellen und anschliessend begründen, warum man dennoch nach einer indogermanischen Etymologie von ξένϝος suchen sollte. Schliesslich werde ich meinen eigenen Ansatz zu einer Analyse dieses Wortes präsentieren.

Eine vollständige Literaturliste zum Thema wird anlässlich des Referats abgegeben.

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Layers of root nouns in Germanic— chronology, structure and origin

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The communis opinio concerning the vitality of root nouns in Proto-Germanic and in the individual Germanic languages is rather incisively expressed by e.g. Krahe (1967: 34): *"Von dem im Germ. vorhandenen kons. Stämmen, die sämtlich auf idg. Typen beruhen, stellen die unter "a" bis "d" behandelten Restgruppen dar, die im Laufe der Entwicklung in den Einzel-dialekten als selbständige Gruppen ausgestorben und in andere Klassen übergegangen sind."* Germanic root nouns and other hardly analysable consonant stems thus seem to belong to a closed and even dwindling inflectional class. Nevertheless, the root noun inflectional class was reopened in the North Germanic languages, whereby a vast number of 'new' root nouns emerged, i.e. nouns transferred from other inflectional classes, cf. e.g. Brøndum-Nielsen (1935: 146, 154f.). When one adds to this long-known fact the theories expressed in e.g. Kroonen (forthc. 2012) concerning the adoption of new loanwords or substrate words into the root noun class, the need for an overall review and reanalysis of the situation conerning root nouns and unanalysable consonant stems in Proto-Germanic and in the individual Germanic languages seems more and more evident.

In the present paper, I shall aim at giving such an account by suggesting that Germanic root nouns and unanalysable consonant stems be divided into four layers according to age:

· I: Root nouns inherited from Proto-Indo-European

· II: (Re)interpretation of loanwords as root nouns/consonant stems in Proto-Germanic

· III: Partial reinterpretation of nouns originating from other inflectional classes as root nouns in parts of the Germanic dialect continuum

· IV: Extensive reinterpretation of nouns originating from other inflectional classes as root nouns in the North Germanic languages (Old West Norse, Old Swedish etc.)

When expounding on each of these four layers, I shall also touch upon questions such as the root structure of the inherited root nouns of layer I and the catalysts behind the suggested (re)interpretations in layers II, III and IV.

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Again on pigs in ancient Europe
— the Fennic connection

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In Hyllested (2010), I argued that parts of the non-IE "substratum" vocabulary in W Europe are better explained as loans from Proto-Fennic into neighbouring IE dialects which only later evolved into Celtic and Germanic (as we define them by the operation of particular sound-laws). Perhaps surprisingly, this group of loanwords now seem to include some of the puzzling Celtic "hyonyms" *mokku- 'pig', *sukko- 'sow' and *turko- 'wild boar'. Welsh *cranan* 'wild sow', OIr *cráin* 'sow' belong to an earlier layer comprising both Germanic (OLFr. *chranni-chaltia* 'pig's den') and Baltic (Lith. *šeřnas* 'wild boar'), while Fi. *karjas* 'wild boar' is rather borrowed from IE *$\hat{g}^h$or-i̯o-s* > Gk. χοῖρος, Alb. *derr*. Latv. *cūka* 'pig' is not an inherited IE word related to Lith. *kiaũlė* 'pig', Welsh *Cul-*(*hwch*) as usually assumed, but a borrowing from PFc. *tsuka* 'pig' (> Fi. *sika*, Karel. *čugu* → N Saami *sokke* id.). The lessons to be drawn are significant both culturally and linguistically: The great importance that these animals played in Celtic and Germanic mythology must have been preceded by a centre of gravity further to the North. And while it may still be correct that Celts were never in direct contact with Fennic peoples, parts of their lexicon can nonetheless be of Fennic origin, dating back to a period when it would make little sense to define the speakers as Celts.

Hamp (1987) noted that even the word universally reconstructed as PIE *pork̂o-* '(young) pig' is specifically 'Northern', outside Europe only found in N Iranian fringes. An Indo-Iranian preform is admittedly widely assumed as the basis for Fenno-Permian *poršas* 'pig', but as some scholars (e.g. Napolskich 2002) have pointed out, the W forms may just as well have come from Balt(o-Slav)ic, and the E forms either suspiciously lack the IIr. ending or are aberrant in other ways. The second half of my paper will be devoted to a discussion of a possible non-IE origin of *pork̂o-*, which could explain the curious variants *porĝo-* (> PGmc. *farkīna- 'pig', CSl. *porzъ 'boar; ram; bull') and *b^hor(u)ko- (> PGmc. *baruga- ~ *baruha- 'barrow'). PCelt. *brokko- 'badger' may hold the key to a solution.

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Western Europe as a Linguistic Area: The Development of the Noun Phrase

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The languages present in Western Europe include Celtic, Romance and Germanic languages as well as Basque. These languages are attested within this area at least since the time of classical antiquity.

It has previously been noted that they share morphological and syntactical properties distinguishing them from languages of the Proto-Indo-European type, such as analyticisation, notably with regard to nominal inflection or the change of the basic word order from SOV to SVO or VSO, including increasing rigidity with regard to the order of syntactical constituents.

These changes have been explained in three different ways: They might relate to the drift inherent to the morphological cycle and thus constitute independent parallel developments. Alternatively they might result from linguistic convergence by long and intensive language contacts, or finally, they might have been caused by the influence of one or more substrate languages.

The present paper will examine to what extent the morpho-syntactic features of the noun phrase may contribute to the evaluation of these hypotheses by dating the relevant changes as exactly as possible.

*weid- 'notice' and the PIE thematic aorist

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The thematic aorist, classically exemplified by the triply attested PIE *wid-é/ó- 'notice, see' (cf. Gk. ἔ(ϝ)ιδε = Ved. *ávidat* = Arm. *egit*), was clearly a PIE formation. But it is also clear that the inherited nucleus of such forms was very small. The problem of the origin of the thematic aorist can therefore be reduced to the question, "Where did *wid-é/ó- come from?"

The first answer that comes to mind—that *wid-é/ó- was thematized from a root aorist *w(é)id- within PIE itself—is unsatisfactory. The analysis favored here builds on a suggestion by Watkins, who long ago compared PIE 3sg. *wi-dét (*$h_1$éwidet) with Ved. *áduhat* 'gave milk' and *áśayat* 'lay' (Watkins 1969: 100f.). The latter forms are dentalless 3sg. middles in *-o, "clarified" in Vedic by the addition of the transparent 3sg. active ending t. PIE *widét, according to Watkins, was an inner-IE creation of the same type—an athematic 3sg. middle *wid-é, extended by *-t and reanalyzed as thematic. This proposal made little impression at the time, since there was no evidence in 1969 for a 3sg. ending *-e outside the perfect, and no apparent motivation for the idea that a middle form in *-e (assuming such an ending to have existed) could have taken on the morphology and semantics of an active ('noticed, saw', not * 'became known, appeared'). But the idea of a formal renewal *wid-é → *wid-é[t] reads more coherently in the light of the h_2e-conjugation theory (Jasanoff 2003).

According to the h_2e-conjugation theory, the classical PIE middle goes back to a pre-PIE "protomiddle," with endings similar to those traditionally reconstructed for the perfect. Within PIE, the protomiddle gave rise to the "true" middle by a process of formal renewal; forms not renewed as middles were reinterpreted as h_2e-conjugation actives. Often a single protomiddle paradigm yielded both a renewed middle and an unrenewed h_2e-conjugation active (cf., e.g., mid. *ḱónk-or 'hangs (intr.)' vs. h_2e-conj. act. *ḱónk-e 'hangs (tr.)'. Just such a split, it will be argued, underlies the formation of the thematic aorist *wid-é/ó-. The pre-PIE protomiddle 3sg. *wid-é initially gave both 3sg. mid. *wid-ó(r) 'appears; notices for/in oneself, etc.' (cf. Ved. *vidé*) and 3sg. act. (h_2e-conj.) *wid-é 'notices, sees'. The latter form, suffixed by *-t in the manner envisaged

by Watkins and displaced to the aorist by the encroachment of the nasal present *wi-n(é)-d-*, was the source of the familiar 3sg. *widét*.

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Proto-Finnic borrowings in the Baltic languages – are there any?

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Vilhelm Thomsen defined the Baltic loanword layer in the Finnic languages in 1869 as a result of prehistoric contacts between a Baltic language and Proto-Finnic. Since then it has remained the only verified prehistoric Baltic-Finnic contact phenomenon. However, several other impacts of the ancient contacts have been proposed in the systematic similarities found in the phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and onomastics of these language groups.

The similarities discovered have frequently been labelled Finnic influence in the Baltic languages. These claims are usually justified referring to an existence of ancient Finnic borrowings in the Baltic lexicon or toponymy. Some etymologies have in fact been proposed, but never thoroghly studied as a loanword layer.

The aim of my paper is to present the core group of the Proto-Finnic loan etymologies in the Baltic languages. All these etymologies have been proposed for more than 80 years ago, but no one of them seems certain. I shall shortly sum up the weaknesses of each etymology.

- Lith. *kadagỹs* , Latv. *kadiķis* , OPr. *kadegis* 'juniper' ~ Finn. *kataja* id. (Setälä 1909)
- Lith. *bùrė, burỹs*, Latv. *bura* 'sail' ~ Finn. *purje* id. (Sommer 1914: 181, Kalima 187–88),
- Lith. *jùdrios*, Latv. *judras* 'Camelina sativa' ~ Võro *judr, udras* id. (Sommer 1914: 197),
- Lith. *laĩvas*, Latv. *laiva* 'boat' ~ Finn. *laiva* 'ship' (Kalima 1919: 147, Toivonen 1929: 142–43),
- Lith. *kañklės*, Latv. *kokles* 'a harp-like music instrument' ~ Finn. *kannel* id. (Mikkola 1925).
- Lith. *sóra* 'millet' ~ Finn. *sora* 'gravel' (Ojansuu 1921: 57–60)
- Lith. *šẽškas*, Latv. *sesks* 'polecat' ~ Veps *hähk* 'mink' (Wichmann 1911: 253)
- Latv. *cimds* 'glove' ~ Finn. *kinnas* id. (Brückner 1904: 12)

- Latv. *sāms* 'dweller of the island Saaremaa' ~ Finn. *Suomi* 'Finland' (Būga 1914: 11)
- OPr. *sylecke* 'Baltic herring' ~ Finn. *silakka* id. (Äimä 1915: 68)
- OPr. *-palw-* ~ Est. *-palu* (toponymic elements) (Kemke 1900)

If none of these etymologies is uncontroversial, the very existence of an Proto-Finnic lexical layer in Baltic remains unproven. Absence of Proto-Finnic borrowings would make all the proposals of prehistoric contact induced change in the other fields of the Baltic languages implausible.

Hittite *ḫumantet* and the PIE instrumental ending

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In a recent article, Melchert & Oettinger (2009) argue that the PIE instrumental ending must have been *-(*a*)*d*, and originally was identical to a PIE adverb "**ad* 'hin, weg'" that they reconstruct on the basis of Lat. *ad* 'to, up to'.

In the present lecture, I want to re-evaluate the evidence regarding the Hittite instrumental ending (*e/i*)*t*, and in this light discuss the proposal of Melchert & Oettinger. It will be shown that the Hittite instr. form *ḫūmantet* 'each, every, all' plays a crucial part in understanding the prehistory of the instrumental ending, not only for Anatolian, but for Proto-Indo-European as well.

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From Syntax to the Etymology
of Arm. *mart*ʿ 'possible'

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Since Linén 1913: 111, Arm. *mart*ʿ 'possible' has been derived from PIE **mag^h*- 'to be able' — **mag^h*-(*s*)*tro* (*IEW*: 695; Klingenschmitt 1982: 139; Olsen 1999: 200). Such reconstruction remains formally problematic, see skepticism in *HAB* III: 283 and de Lamberterie 1982: 33. No examples for PIE /velar/ + /(s) tr/ > Arm. -*rt*ʿ- have been provided so far, and the assumption that any three-consonant group containing *-*r*- and *-*t*- would yield Arm. -*rt*ʿ-, as formulated by Klingenschmitt (1982: 100-102), remains highly controversial. Unlike PIE **mag^h*- with its basic modal meaning of the dynamic possibility, the verbal derivatives of Arm. *mart*ʿ- typically occur as modals of the deontic and epistemic possibilies predominantly used in negative phrases or syntactic contexts close to the irrealis pole of the modality scale.

Syntactic features of *mart*ʿ *linel* and *mart*ʿ*el* bring forward a new etymological suggestion — the comparison with Gk. μείρομαι, Hom. εἵμαρτο, ἔμμορε, later εἵμαρται 'is allotted to smb.', and Lat. *merēre* 'deserve' from PIE *smer- 'to receive (one's share)' (*LIV*: 570). Arm. *mart*ʿ (i-st.) may be tentatively compared to OIrl. *mairt* 'fate, doom' from PIE **smr̥-sti*- (see Schrijver 2004: 295–297). The reflexes of the PIE root do not allow deciding whether the deontic connotations of permission (deserved allowance) or obligation (inevitable lot) were at the core of the root meaning. Thus, the forms of Gk. μείρομαι grammaticalised into modals of the deontic/epistemic necessity, while the forms of Arm. *mart*ʿ *linel* and *mart*ʿ*el*, if cognate, illustrate grammaticalisation of the same PIE root into modals of the deontic/epistemic possibility. The development of PIE *med- 'to measure' (*LIV*: 423) to OE *motan* (deontic possibility) and MEng. *must* (deontic/epistemic necessity) provides a close parallel.

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Final troubles: Armenian stem classes and the word-end in Late Old Persian

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This paper will look at two related issues: the relative chronology of sound changes in Persian and the distribution of stem classes of Iranian borrowings in Armenian.

Ir. stem classes have been assumed to be reflected by corresponding stem classes in Armenian (i.e. Ir. stems in *-a*, *-i*, *-u* giving Arm. *a-*, *i-*, *u*-stems, respectively), exceptions being due to analogy (cf. Meillet 1936:23); alternatively, the "occasional agreement of stem classes" could be due to the reintroduction of stem vowels preserved in compounds and derivatives (Schmitt 1981:33), but both approaches need to "explain away" a substantial part of the evidence. Olsen 2005 thus suggests that the Arm. evidence is due to dialectal diversity in the Ir. source languages, and the items that do not agree (i.e. chiefly the rather frequent Arm. *u-* and *o*-stems in places where one would not expect them) could reflect East Ir. influence.

I will argue that many of the "unexpected" Arm. *u-* and *o*-stems show features incompatible with attested East Iranian. Conversely, the presence of *-u/o* agrees with details (noted by Sims-Williams 1981) suggesting a certain amount of generalisation of word-final labial vowels for a period preceding attested Middle Persian. The items in question could thus be from a dialect that shared this feature with Persian, perhaps the "third WIr. dialect" that has been assumed as source of Arm. borrowings already. If this dialect shared the Persian development of word-finals, these two varieties are likely to have shown parallel developments elsewhere, too. I will argue that the developments mirrored by the stem classes in Armenian point to, and overlap with, the time when Old Persian was still written. The time point for the borrowings into Armenian is thus set at "the last but one" stage of Old Persian, and provides a terminus ante quem for a series of Persian sound changes, both for reasons of additional Arm. evidence and for reasons of relative chronology.

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Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic: a sneak preview

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During the process of writing Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic, which will appear at Brill Publishers in November of this year, I have been able to find a number of new etymologies, both by reanalyzing the existing data and by adding material from relatively unexhausted languages or language phases such as Middle Dutch, Faroese and Elfdalian. In my talk, I will offer a preview of these etymologies. Etymology is no l'art pour l'art, however. One aspect of writing the dictionary is that it offered me the unique opportunity to browse through virtually the complete Germanic lexicon and locate several formations key to the understanding of the pre-history of Proto-Germanic. By reanalyzing the derivation of e.g. *ajja-* 'egg', *winda-* 'wind' and *maizan-* 'more', I arrived at a new chronology of some of the more important Proto-Germanic sound changes, e.g. Verner's law, Dybo's law, Osthoff's law and Holzmann's law. This chronology may lead to a new perspective on the evolution of Proto-Germanic from the Proto-Indo-European parent language.

Quasi-denominatives in Vedic: evidence from Indo-European for a typology of light verbs and denominatives

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In middle and late Vedic texts describing the Vedic ritual, that is, in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, we find a number of technical terms referring to certain ritual activities, in particular, to recitations and chants. These include, for instance, *prastāva-* [introductory part of a sāman], *pratihāra-* [next part of a sāman, usually functioning as a response to *prastāva*], *udgītha-* [a part of a sāman], *pravara-* [invocation of Agni accompanied by enumeration of the *ṛṣi*-ancestors], *upasád-* [ceremony preceding Sutyā (Soma pressing)], and many others. The meaning 'perform A' (where A stands for a ritual activity), is usually expressed by means of a verb that is derived from the root which appears in the term for A; this root is compounded with the preverb used in A: *prá-stauti* '(he) performs *prastāva*', *práti-harati* '(he) performs *pratihāra*', etc. Accordingly, such formations might be considered as a variety of 'light verbs', assimilated to their objects. Such verbs occur in two main syntactic patterns: (i) with or (ii) without their cognate object (A) in the accusative. Type (i) is attested, for instance, in TS 6.2.3.3 *yā́ḥ [...]* **upasáda upā́sīdan** '... the upasads which [the gods] performed ...' ; AB 7.25.4 *purohitasyārṣeyeṇa* **pravaram pravṛṇīran** 'with [Agni as] the ancestral [priest] of Purohita, they should perform *pravara*'. More common is pattern (ii), without an overtly expressed cognate object A, as in TB 2.2.6.2 = AB 5.23.4 *mánasā prá stauti, mánasód gāyati, mánasā práti harati* 'with his mind he performs *prastāva*, with his mind he chants *udgītha*, with his mind he performs *pratihāra*'.

Such verbs can be called 'quasi-denominatives'. Quasi-denominative verbs meaning 'perform A' borrow their 'morphological core' from A, i.e. they are built on the root of A and copy the morphological features of the corresponding 'non-cognate' verb – in particular, they have the same present type and other paradigmatic properties. However, the syntactic properties and meanings of quasi-denominatives may be quite different from those of the 'non-

cognate' verbs (cf. *prá-stauti* 'praise before (smth.) or aloud', *práti-harati* 'throw back'). From the point of view of their syntax and semantics, such verbs resemble denominatives, in spite of the lack of the denominative suffix -(*a*)*yá*-.

A correct syntactic and semantic analysis of such quasi-denominatives is compulsory for the adequate interpretation of the corresponding passages (which are often misunderstood by translators) as well as of the Vedic syntax in general and furnishes important evidence for a study of the evolution of denominatives and 'light verbs' in ancient Indo-European languages.

Das dünkt mich dunkel: Germanische etymologische Probleme

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Die germanische Sippe von got. *þugkjan* 'dünken, scheinen', *þagkjan* 'denken' wird von Seebold (1989: 134, 160) mit der idg. Wurzel „*teng-* »ziehen, spannen«" verbunden, und zwar über eine Bedeutung 'wiegen/erwägen' (die durch altnord. *þungr* 'schwer' auch germ. bezeugt ist). Dem scheint jedoch zu widersprechen, dass diese Wurzel sicher als *tengh-* mit auslautender Aspirata anzusetzen ist, weshalb diese Etymologie auch im AEW (580f.) abgelehnt wird. Eine ähnliche Lage ergibt sich bei afries. *diunk*, anord. *døkkr*, ahd. *tunchal* 'dunkel', die sicher zu heth. *dankui-* 'dunkel' gehören; Kloekhorst (2008: 829) setzt daher eine uridg. Wurzel **dhengʷ-* (mit Media) an. Dazu gestellt wird aber auch mittelkymr. *deweint* 'Nacht' < urkelt. **dangwantī-*, und dieses Wort kann nur auf **dhngʷh-* mit Aspirata zurückgehen, denn **ngʷ* hätte zu urkelt. **mb* > mkymr. *†m* führen müssen (vgl. *ewin* 'Nagel' vs. *ymenyn* 'Butter'). Dann könnte hier auch die baltische Sippe von lit. *deñgti* 'bedecken' angeschlossen werden (zur Semantik vgl. lat. *obscūrus*), deren Intonation auf alte Aspirata deutet. Dazu gehören außerdem germanische Wörter wie altengl. *dung* 'Kerker' usw. (vgl. Seebold 1989: 160), neben denen allerdings auch **dankʷō-* > anord. *dọkk* 'Grube' zu stehen scheint. Somit ergibt sich auch hier der Fall, dass im Germanischen nach Nasal anstelle eines stimmhaften Plosivs (teilweise) ein stimmloser Plosiv erscheint. Im germanischen Material lassen sich auch noch mehr vergleichbare problematische Fälle finden, die semantisch und morphologisch sinnvolle Etymologien komplizierter machen; gerade hinter Nasal wechseln sehr häufig bei der gleichen Sippe stimmlose und stimmhafte Plosive miteinander, und zwar sogar bei den Reflexen alter Tenues, vgl. germ. **hankija-* 'aufhängen' neben **hangija-* (vgl. Lühr 1988: 364f.). Es soll untersucht werden, ob es möglich ist, eine systematische Erklärung für dieses Material zu finden, wenn man einige Besonderheiten der indogermanischen und germanischen Phonologie berücksichtigt. Damit könnte dann die Geschichte dieser Wörter besser erklärt werden.

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Sur le nom du « rêve » en indo-européen balkanique

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Le groupe lexical de gr. *ὄναρ, ὄνειρος* « rêve » n'a de correspondants assurés qu'en arménien (*anurǰ* « rêve, songe »), peut-être aussi en albanais (tosk. *ëndërr, guèg. ändërr* « rêve »), bien que le témoignage de cette dernière langue soit, comme souvent, bien difficile à utiliser (état de la question NIL 303-5). Quoi qu'il en soit, ce mot appartient clairement à l'aire balkanique de l'indo-européen. L'idée a été déjà émise, notamment par D. Q. Adams (Glotta 65, 1987, 172 sqq.) à la suite des travaux classiques de Kuiper, qu'il fallait partir d'un abstrait *$\ast h_2 \acute{o}n$-$\rlap{/}r$* qui dérive, en dernière analyse, de la racine i.-e. *$\ast h_2 enh_1$*- « souffler, respirer » : le sens ancien de ce thème nominal serait « spirit, élan vital », attesté indirectement par le dérivé interne possessif *$\ast h_2 n\acute{e}r$*- « homme < pourvu d'un élan vital », tandis que le terme de base aurait connu, peut-être dès la période commune, une évolution sémantique « spirit > revelation > dream » ou « spirit > dream-spirit > dream ». On reprendra ici l'ensemble du dossier, pour la forme et surtout pour le sens, l'hypothèse de départ étant qu'il faut partir du sens de « souffle » et que le sens de « rêve » attesté dans l'aire balkanique représente le « côté gauche » de la notion de « souffle » : selon une matrice métaphorique largement répandue dans de nombreuses langues, le « souffle », le « vent » n'est qu'illusion et apparence, le contraire de la réalité, ce qui conduit au sens de « songe » (« la vie n'est qu'un songe »), et l'on comprend alors pourquoi dans l'épopée homérique le mot *ὄναρ* désigne surtout des rêves trompeurs.

Basiskonzepte

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In der Protostypensemantik gibt es neben der horizontalen oder kohypnymischen Ebene auch eine vertikale hyponymische Ebene; z.B.

Übergeordnete Ebene, z.B. Tier
Basisebene, z.B. Vogel
Untergeordnete Ebene, z.B. Adler

Von besonderer kognitiver Relevanz ist dabei die Basisebene mit den sogenannten Basiskonzepten. „Die[se] Kategorien sind psychologisch grundlegend in dem Sinn, dass sie die höchste Informationsdichte bei der kognitiven Verarbeitung aufweisen, wie sie sich beispielweise in der Schnelligkeit der Erkennung und Kategorisierung, der Visualität oder auch in der Frühzeitigkeit im Spracherwerb äußert." (Kortmann 1999: 176). Auch kann man mit Basiskonzepten relativ genau auf die Welt referieren, aber doch noch so allgemein, dass möglichst viele Referenten erfasst werden. Die für Basiskonzepte gebrauchten Wörter weisen verschiedene sprachliche Merkmale auf. Sie sind in der Regel kurz und meist monomorphemisch; dagegen sind es auf untergeordneter Ebene oft Komposita. Die Ausdrücke der übergeordneten Ebene wiederum zeigen mehr sprachabhängige Erscheinungsformen.

Geht man von dem zentralen Begriffsfeld „Mensch" aus, wie es in unserem Akademie-Projekt „Deutsche Wortfeldetymologie in europäischem Kontext" (DWEE) untersucht wird, sind Basiskonzepte dann von besonderem Interesse, wenn sie in Bezeichnungen für den Menschen eingehen. Der Ansatz ist onomasiologisch. Denn dieser Ansatz ermöglicht einen Zugang zur kulturspezifischen bzw. universellen Struktur der Konzepte von Gegebenheiten in der Welt. Aus Sicht der Kognitiven Semantik geht es dabei um folgende Fragen:

· Wie wird ein bestimmter Sachverhalt, ein bestimmtes Konzept in einer Sprache oder in einer Gruppe verwandter (und sogar nicht verwandter) Sprachen bezeichnet?

· Existieren mehrere Versprachlichungen und, wenn ja, wie verhalten sie sich zueinander?

· Woher kommen die Versprachlichungen? Gib es typische Quellekonzepte, aus denen sie sich speisen?

Ein semantisches Feld, das von hohem kulturgeschichtlicher Bedeutung, aber auch sprachlich und insbesondere konzeptionell interessant ist, sind Handwerkerbezeichnungen. Im Vortrag werden die Taxonomien hierfür anhand des Hethitischen, Altindischen und – aus europäischer Sicht – anhand der Mykenischen vorgestellt. Dabei geht es um einen Konzeptvergleich.

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The etymology of Proto-Slavic *niz- 'down, low' and some similar forms in other branches

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Proto-Slavic had a lexical morpheme *niz- 'down(wards)', which formed the basis for a whole family of important words (adverb PSl. *nizъ 'down(wards)', adjective *nizъkъ 'small, low', verb *niziti 'lower'). PSl. *niz- is traditionally thought to go back to PIE *ney- or *nī (supposed by-forms of the adverb *ni 'down, downwards') followed by a secondary element z, also present in certain other (B)Sl. adverbs and prepositions, and often identified with the PIE deictic particle *g'h(e). However, the reconstruction of both *nī and *ney is completely ad hoc, so that the length in Slavic remains unaccounted for; also, the z behaves differently than the other 'floating z's' (to the extent that the latter exist at all) and is evidently part and parcel of our *niz-. I therefore propose to derive PSl. *niz- from a PIE compound consisting of the preverb *ni followed by a form of the root *h_2eg'- ('drive' but also intransitive 'go'), thus PSl. *nizъ 'down(wards)' < *ni-h_2g'-ó-m 'brought down' or 'gone down'. Cf. the structure of Lat. *prōdigus* (preverb + *-h_2g'-o-). Potential accentological complications can be overcome. From *ni-h_2g'-ó-m we expect – via Hirt's law – PSl. *nízъ; however, if we really need to reconstruct the PSl. accentuation *nizíti, *nizjǫ́, *níziši (b), *niz'ъ̀kъ, *nízъka, *nízъko (D) and not *níziti, *nízjǫ, *níziši (a), *nízъkъ, *nízъka, *nízъko (A) (cf. Dybo 2000: 171–173), we can assume a transfer to the b/D class by alignment to the productive accentuation in this type, cf. especially *bliz'ъ̀kъ, *blízъka, *blízъko (D).

The adverb *ni is well-established for Proto-Indo-European and its reflexes in isolated, lexicalized items could well be found in any branch. Greek *νίκη* is a word in which the presence of this preverb has been suspected for a very long time. I believe Klingenschmitt (1975: 162[22]) is on the right track when positing the etymology *ni-ih_1-k'-eh_2 'Niederwerfung' (with the familiar root 'throw' nowadays reconstructed *$Hyeh_1$-), which may perhaps be improved by using the root *h_2eyk'- instead (LIV$_2$: 259, 'aufspießen': Lat. *īcō* 'treffen, verwunden' < *h_2i-h_2k'-e- etc.). Thus, *ni-h_2ik'-eh_2 could be understood as 'striking down' >

'defeating'. For the morphological shape cf. OIr. (*h*)*iress* 'belief' < **peri-sth₂-eh₂* etc.

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The second ones to branch off? – The Tocharian lexicon revisited

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One popular linguistic theory states that Tocharian—much like Anatolian—has a special status among IE languages by having branched off earlier from the common proto-language than the remaining other branches such as Indo-Iranian, Greek, etc. Evidence for such an *early-split-off* mainly comes from the Tocharian lexicon said to possess archaisms such as TA *yäw-*, TB *yäp-* 'to enter, set (of the sun)' from PIE **yebh-* 'to enter' with a neutral semantics while in the other branches this same root only seems to have verbal cognates with the special meaning 'to have sexual intercourse'. In my paper I would like to reconsider the etymologies that have been put forth for such a claim notably by Klaus T. Schmidt (1992), Werner Winter (1997), and Gerd Carling (2005).

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European and Mediterranean substrate words in Armenian

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In recent years, the methodology of dealing with substrate words has been developed and applied by several scholars. It has been pointed out that an etymon is likely to be a loanword if it is characterized by the following features: (1) limited geographical distribution; (2) unusual phonology and word formation; (3) specific semantics. In Martirosyan 2007 and 2010, I have applied this methodology to a number of such Armenian words, mostly plant names, animal names and cultural words. In these cases, an etymon is attested in Armenian, Greek, Latin and/or another Indo-European language of SE Europe, but the phonological or word-formative correspondences are irregular with respect to the Indo-European system. These words can be ascribed to the so-called Mediterranean substrate.

In some cases (e.g. *pal* 'rock'), an etymon is also present in other European branches, such as Celtic and Germanic, thus we are faced with the European Substrate in terms of Beekes 2000. Whether the Mediterranean and European substrata are identical or related is difficult to say with any confidence.

Armenian **cłxni**, *ea*-stem (var. **čłan**) 'door hinge' (Bible+, dial.) renders Greek *στροφεύς* 'door hinge, vertebra' in the Bible. It is considered to be a word of unknown origin. The unusual shape, the alternation $c : č$, and the technical meaning of the word, all suggest a substrate origin. A comparable isolated word is found in Greek, *γί(γ)γλυμος* m. 'hinge, joint, pivot, gudgeon' (dimin. *γι(γ)γλύμιον* n.), a technical term of which no certain etymology has been recorded. The anlaut *γ-* vs. Arm. *c-* may point to Quasi-Indo-European $*\hat{g}$-, compare the correspondence Greek *κ-* vs. Armenian *s-* pointing to QIE $*\hat{k}$- seen in another technical word of Mediterranean origin, Gr. *κῖων* and Arm. *siwn* 'column, pillar'. We can reconstruct a substrate word of the type $*\hat{g}in\gamma l(u)m$- > PArm. $*ci(n)\gamma ln$- > $*cixln$- > $*ci\lambda xn$-*i*, with the Proto-Armenian productive suffix *-i*.

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Substratum words in Balto-Slavic

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There is a class of words with plausible etymologies in Balto-Slavic, but without cognates in other IE languages, e.g. Proto-Slavic *telę 'calf' (Croat. tĕle, Cz. tele, Russ. telёnok), Latv. *tęleñs*, dial. *teļš*, Lith. dial. *tēlis*, *tēlias*), PSl. *borzda* 'furrow' (Croat. *brázda*, OPol. *brózda*, Russ. *borozdá*), Lith. *bìržĕ*, Latv. *bìrze*, PSl. *čuka* 'hilltop' (Croat. *čȕka*, Russ. dial. *čúka*) vs. Lith. *čiùkaras* 'sharp rock', PSl. *želězo* 'iron' (OCS *želězo*) vs. Lith. *geležìs*, Latv. *dzèlzs*, OPr. *gelso*, PSl. *emela*, *omela* 'mistletoe' (Russ. *oméla*, Croat. *ìmela*, Pol. *jemioła*) vs. Lith. *āmalas*, *ēmalas*, Latv. *amuols*, *amuls*, PSl. *dolnь* 'palm of the hand' (OCS *dlanь*, Pol. *dłoń*, Russ. *ladón*', Croat. *dlàn*) vs. Lith. *délna, délnas*, Latv. *dęĬna*, PSl. *somъ* 'sheath-fish' (Russ. *som,* Pol. *sum,* Croat. *sȍm*) vs. Lith. *šāmas*, Latv. *sams*, PSl. *gruša*, *kruša* 'pear' (Croat. *krȕška*, Russ. *grúša*, Cz. *hruška*) vs. Lith. *kriáušĕ*, Latv. *krausis*, OPr. *crausios*, etc. Various hypotheses about the source of such words will be examined The analysis of these words will necessarily involve a critical account of Georg Holzer's hypothesis (1989) of a layer of loanwords in Balto-Slavic from an extinct Indo-European language which he called "Tematic". It will be shown that there are actually several layers of vocabulary in Balto-Slavic languages that are suspect of being borrowed from some substratum, but that very few of such words are actually shared by both Baltic and Slavic. The paper will also include an analysis of word-formation, as well as the phonological and accentological peculiarities of these words in order to gain some clues about the characteristics and typology of the possible source language(s). These characteristics of a possible substratum in Balto-Slavic may be compared to the typological features posited by Schrijver (1997) for the substratum of Western European IE languages.

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Über das Vokabular der altindogermanischen Sprachen zurück in die Realien der Steinzeit

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Die Wörter altindogermanischer Einzelsprachen haben oft ein beträchtliches Alter. Manche führen mit ihrer Etymologie zeitlich bis in die urindogermanische Sprachgemeinschaft zurück, manche sogar darüber hinaus.

Die prähistorische Archäologie gibt uns präzise Informationen über die Kultur der Bronzezeit (Bronze age) und der davor liegenden Steinzeit (Stone age). Fehlen bei der inhaltlichen Bestimmung Hinweise auf Werkzeuge aus Metall, ist eine Datierung in die Steinzeit denkbar. Ein Beispiel: WOLLE wird seit ältester Zeit durch Rupfen gewonnen. Scheren ist erst in der Bronzezeit möglich. Diese Erkenntnis muss neben Morphologie und Phonologie bei der Erstellung der Etymologie ebenfalls berücksichtigt werden: lat. *lāna* „Wolle" und *vellō* „rupfen, zupfen" passen; $<*wlh_2\text{-}neh_2\text{-}$ oder trotzdem – wie das Altgr. suggeriert - $<*wlh_1\text{-}neh_1\text{-}$?

Der Vortrag befasst sich im Folgenden mit weiteren Beispielen und zieht bei der Bestimmung von Morphologie und Semantik die realen Gegebenheiten von Bronze- vs. Steinzeit mit ein. Zur Sprache kommen u.a. STEIN (altgr. *líthos*, lat. *saxum*) und $*g^{wh}en\text{-}$ (präsentisch, nicht aoristisch).

'Western Affinities' of Anatolian

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That some shared features of various IE dialects may reflect contact after the respective dialects had already undergone divergent developments is widely acknowledged, and there has been much discussion of the position of subgroups such as Germanic and Albanian and of the true relationship of Italic and Celtic or of Baltic and Slavic. However, the growing popularity of the view that Anatolian was the first subgroup to become isolated from the rest of the PIE speech community (by whatever label one expresses this) has somehow led to a widespread neglect of this possibility for Anatolian. Only a strict and quite unrealistic version of the Stammbaum model precludes that Anatolian, after sufficient isolation not to have shared in a few common innovations of the rest of the IE languages, subsequently came into contact with other subgroups. I will re-examine for Anatolian the issue of putative shared, non-trivial innovations with and borrowings from Italic, Celtic, and Germanic, following upon the excellent but almost totally ignored study of Puhvel 1994.

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The Pre-Greek Substratum Revisited

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In the 1930s and the 1940s Vladimir Georgiev attempted to reconstruct an un-attested Pre-Greek Indo-European language that he called 'Pelasgian'. In the recent years R. S. P. Beekes tries to prove the existence of a non-Indo-European substratum and rejects Georgiev's hypothesis stating that Pre-Greek is a com-pletely non-Indo-European language. The essential question in this paper is: Should we definitely reject the idea of the Indo-European Pre-Greek substra-tum which in fact does not contradict the possibility of the existence of an earlier non-Indo-European layer in Greece?

There is a group of words sharing a set of common phonetic developments and showing an Indo-European pattern of word formation. For the time be-ing the best explanation for them remains within the framework of Georgiev's theory. In this paper I shall try to present a list of lexemes with IE pattern of word formation and certain or very probable etymology such as:

ἄμβων m. 'crest of a hill', ἄμβη 'raised edge or protuberance' < *h_3enbh-ōn, *h_3enbh-eh_2, cognate to OHG. *amban*, *ambon* 'belly' < *h_3enbh-n-, Lat. *umbō*, *-ōnis* 'boss (of a shield; protuberance)' < *$h_3\mathring{n}bh$-n-;

ἀτέμβω 'maltreat', pass. 'to be bereft or cheated of a thing'. From the nasalized form of the IE root *dhebh*- 'damage, diminish; cheat', cf. Hitt. *tepnuzi* 'di-minish', Skt. *dabhnóti* 'hurt, injure, deceive, abandon', causative *dambháyati* 'to destroy' and Khwarezmian *dnby*- 'beat'. The initial *a*- is explained by E. P. Hamp as the prefix *ad*- meaning 'fitting, goal'.

θάλαμος 'an inner room or chamber; the lowest, darkest part of the ship, the hold' < *$tolh_2$-mo-s from the IE root *$telh_2$- 'flat surface, ground, support', cognate to Skt. *tala*- 'surface, bottom', Gk. τελαμών 'broad strap or band for bearing or supporting anything', Lat. *tellus* 'earth', OIcel. *þel* 'ground, floor', Lith. *tìltas* 'bridge', OPr. *talus* 'ground, floor', OBg. *тьло* 'ground', Russ. *потолок* 'ceiling'.

ὄμβρος 'storm of rain, thunder-storm' from IE **n̥bh-ro-*, IE cognates: Lat. *imber* 'rain, heavy or violent rain, a rain-storm, shower of rain, pelting or pouring rain', Skt. *abhrá-* 'cloud', Av. *aβra-* 'rain, rain cloud' and perhaps Gk. *ἀφρός* 'foam, of the sea'.

πύργος 'tower, especially such as were attached to the walls of a city' < **bhr̥ghos*, cf. Germ. *Burg*;

τύμβος 'sepulchral mound, cairn, barrow' < **dhm̥bhos*, cf. the exact Greek correspondence *τάφος* 'funeral-rites; grave, tomb' related to the IE root **dhembh-* 'bury'.

The emergence of the 'pickpocket' word-formation pattern in medieval Europe

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This paper reviews the emergence in the European languages of verbal government compounds displaying the deverbal member first. In early strata of IE languages, such '*pickpocket*' compounds are first and foremost found in Greek and Indo-Iranian names and epithets (Gk Ἀγέ-λαος 'lead-hero'; Vedic *radā-vasu-* 'gnaw-goods') and in the onomastic vocabulary of Slavic (SC *Vladi-slav* 'rule-fame' ORus *Ja-voloda* 'seize-power').

The remaining European languages show no evidence of an inherited type. The few examples known from Latin are late or popular. However, the type has been prolific in the Romance and surrounding languages since the middle ages. It occurs in the earliest Romance sources in the form of names like It. *Tosa-barba* 'cut-beard' (723), Cat. *Mata-canis* 'kill-dog' (889), Fr. *Bati-palma* 'beat-palm' (10th century). Mozarabic Spanish examples like *thorna-xole* 'turn-sun→sunflower' indicate a possible origin in Late Latin. In medieval Germanic it enjoys a degree of productivity in ME (*Swade-berd* 'twist-beard→a name' (1150)) and MHG (*Habe-nith* 'Have-not→a name' (1150)), but it is virtually absent from Saxon and North Germanic. In Slavic, we find it mainly in western varieties (Pol. *bawi-damek* 'entertain-ladies→a ladies' man'; Cz. *kazi-svět* 'destroy-world→a thug'). It is absent from Baltic.

This allows for the hypothesis that the word-formation pattern, having emerged gradually in spoken Latin, gained momentum in early Romance and spread from there to the neighbouring languages. In Germanic, the type was a novelty; in Slavic, it could build on the inherited, onomastic pattern. The theory of an areal feature is underpinned by two observations. Firstly, its geographical distribution coincides with well-known religious and cultural boundaries that cut across language branches. Thus, the *pickpocket* compounds never became prolific in the Orthodox East, nor in the Hanseatic League, but was popular only in areas that were culturally oriented towards the Mediterranean. Secondly, as the examples illustrate, it displayed a uniform tendency towards the jocular and derogatory.

For the Indo-Europeanist, these observations mean that we can leave these types out of consideration when discussing PIE morphology. It also allows us to hypothesize that within Indo-European, the word-formation pattern was an areal phenomenon, characteristic of Proto-Greco-Aryan and Proto-Slavic (the Baltic evidence is ambiguous).

For the typologist, the fact that the European *pickpocket* compound is an areal phenomenon means that we cannot exploit its wide occurrence to draw universal conclusions about its form and function, since many of the shared similarities are due to language contact.

Hittite *šapp-* and its congeners

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According to the handbooks, the Hittite verb *šap(p)-*, often glossed 'scrape, peel, wash', is a Luvianism. This paper argues that the meaning of *šap(p)-* is 'to hit': this verb therefore does not need to be related to *šippai-, šappai-* and Luvian *šappā* 'to peel', and the root vowel of *šap(p)-* does not have to be a Luvian reflex of PIE **e*. Rather, *šap(p)-* should be traced back to a root **seh₂p-* 'to hit, to strike', the evidence for which comes from Greek, Indo-Iranian and Latin forms that have all lacked an etymology thus far.

Greek *ἰάπτω* 'to hurt' (trans.) is argued to be a different verb from (*προ*) *ἰάπτειν* 'to send forth (heroes to Hades, etc.)'; it continues a reduplicated stem **se-seh₂p* (remade into **sish₂pi̯e/o* on the way to Greek). In addition, there is also *⁽*⁾ἴπτομαι* 'smite' for which only fut. and aor. stems are attested; this verb could be explained as a reflex of mid. **sish₂p > *hisp-se/o-* (fut.) / **hispsa-* (aor.) > **hipse/o-* / **hipsa-* with an s-dissimilation, whence *ἴψε/o-* and *ἴψα-* with psilosis.

A cognate of these forms can be identified in Vedic hapax *sāpáyant-* (TB 2.4.6.5.4) which means 'striking' (and not '*futuens*', *pace* Böhtlingk–Roth). Vedic *sāpáyati* is matched by Ossetic *safyn* (I.), *isafun* (D.) 'to destroy': this verb can be traced back to **u̯išāpai̯a-*, assuming a leveling of the root-final consonant after the intransitive stem **u̯išaf-i̯a-* 'to die' (*sæfyn* (I.), *isæfun* (D.) with a regular change p > f /__ i̯), itself analogical to **mari̯a-* 'to die' : **mārai̯a-* 'to kill' (Ossetic (I.) *mælyn* : *maryn*).

Another Iranian offshoot of the same stem is found in Balochi *šāpag* 'to mount ewe' which shows a metaphorical use of the verb in the meaning '*futuere*'. Under assumption that this widespread metaphor could have happened in the history of the root **seh₂p-* more than once, it becomes possible to offer a new account of Latin *prōsāpia* 'lineage, kin, family' and the rare word *sōpiō, -ōnis* 'penis' (Cat. 37.10, CIL 4.1700 and possibly Petron. Sat. 22). The former is best analyzed as a deverbal abstract, derived from a prefixed verb such as **prōsāpāre* 'procreate' (with the same semantic idea as in Italian *semenza* meaning both 'seed, semen' and 'stock, lineage'), while *sōpiōn-* is a *n*-stem de-

rivative made from adj. *soh₂pii̯o-* itself derived from an o-stem nomen agentis *soh₂pó-* 'striking', cf. *pou̯gó* 'piercing' → *pou̯gii̯o-* → *pūgiō* 'dagger'.

Schematically: *seh₂p-* 'schlagen; beischlafen' (IEW —, LIV —)

Present	*se-seh₂p/sh₂p-* >	Gr. ἱάπτω
Aorist	*seh₂p-* >	Hitt. šapzi
Iterative	?*soh₂pei̯e/o* >	Ved. sāpáyant-; Oss. safyn

Vowel lengthening in the Latin nominal lexicon: Innovation and inheritance

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The object of this paper is to sketch a historical scenario to explain forms with long vowels in the root which are sporadically observed in some nominal forms in Latin.

First, regarding *-āg-* (~ *ag-* 'drive' < **h₂eg̑'-*) as in *ambāgēs* 'long-winded speech, circumlocution' and *indāgō* 'ring of huntsmen (etc.) to prevent the escape of game' - compounds often invoked in connection with this topic (cf. Rix 1992: 39) - there is a probable source for its long vowel in the network of lexical items derived from the same verbal root. The past participle of the verb *agō* 'drive' is *āctum*, whose *ā-* is accounted for via Lachmann's Law and resists vowel weakening. It would thus be natural that this long vowel was extended by analogy to other related forms such as *amb-āgēs* and *ind-āgō*.

Besides such a completely inner-Latin process, a PIE process to derive *i*-stem genitival adjectives with vṛddhi, such as Av. *ahura-* 'lord' → *āhuiri-* 'belonging to Ahura Mazdā', seems to have still been operative in Latin, though the long vowels were not directly from PIE; an inner-Italic treatment *a* → *ā* was established to some extent, and this pattern is marginally observed in some forms, such as *sācri-* 'pertaining to the sacred (place / rites)'. *sacrum / sacra* was used to indicate a holy place or religious ceremony. It may be that the *i*-stem genitival adjective *sācri-* with vṛddhi was created in order to particularly refer to animals for sacred rites (see Forssman 1992: 308-309 and Weiss 2010a: 281, 380). If this is correct, the long vowel *-ā-* must be the result of secondary lengthening from *-ă-* (i.e., in **sak- < *sh₂k-*). It appears that the process was in general about to die out, but lexical families that contain *ā*-vocalism or at least vowel length (e.g., *sānctum* for *sācri-*) sustained this half-PIE and half-Italic derivational pattern.

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Die Wechsel *-o/n-* und *-i/n-* im Rahmen der indogermanischen Heteroklisie

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Im Vedischen gibt es neben *r/n*-Heteroklitika wie N.-A.Sg.n. *ūdhar*, Gen. *ūdhnas* ‚Euter‘ auch *i/n*-Heteroklitika wie N.-A.Sg.n. *ásthi*, Gen. *asthnás* ‚Knochen‘ und *o/n*-Heteroklitika wie N.-A.Sg.n. *dóṣ*, Gen. *doṣṇás* ‚Oberarm‘.

In der Forschung werden die letzteren beiden Heteroklisien meist als früheinzelsprachliche Neuerungen beurteilt; vgl. zum Wechsel *o/n* vor allem A.J. Nussbaum, Head and Horn in Indo-European. Auch zu Details bestehen verschiedene Auffassungen, so etwa zur Herkunft des *-i* von ai. *ásthi* oder zum Ursprung des hethitischen Paradigmas N-A.Sg. n. *per*, Gen. *parnas* ‚Haus‘ sowie lat. *mel*, Gen. *mellis* ‚Honig‘.

Es soll versucht werden, die heteroklitischen Typen *o/n* und *i/n* strukturell genauer zu analysieren und die Frage ihres Alters neu zu stellen.

On the etymology of Tocharian B *yolo* 'bad'

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Tocharian B *yolo* 'bad' seems to be somehow related to Khotanese *yola-* 'falsehood' and Old Turkish *yavlak* 'bad'. Hansen (1940: 162) argued that the ultimate source is Turkish because Khotanese *yola-* cannot be explained within Iranian and Tocharian B *yolo* lacks a Tocharian A pendant, while Turkish *yavlak* appears to be related to *yavız* 'bad'. By contrast, Bailey assumed that the Tocharian and Turkish words were borrowed from Khotanese and derived the word from the Iranian root **dab-* 'deceive' (1979: 343).

Tocharian B *yolo* became part of the Indo-Europeanist discussion when Rasmussen connected the word with Hitt. *idālu-* 'bad, evil' as well as with Arm. *erkn* 'labour, pains', Gr. ὀδύνη and Ir. *idu* 'pain, labour' (1999: 147-148, originally 1984). For the Tocharian form, he reconstructed a pre-form **h₁eduolō*, which first became **yəwelo* with loss of **d* before **w*, then **ywolo* through affection of **e* to **o* and syncope of shwa, and finally *yolo* through the loss of **w* before *o*. Apparently considering Turkish *yavlak* unrelated, he assumed that Khotanese *yola-* was borrowed from Tocharian, even though this was "a bit out of the ordinary in its cultural context".

In this paper, the etymology of Tocharian B *yolo* is reinvestigated. First of all, the variants in the inflexion of the word are to be analysed, and it needs to be clarified whether the noun *yolo* 'evil' is derived from a homophonous adjective (Pinault 2008: 318), or the adjective is derived from the noun (Hilmarsson 1987: 36). Second, the question of the possible borrowing relationships with Khotanese *yola-* and Turkish *yavlak* needs to be settled. Only then is it possible to evaluate the Proto-Indo-European etymology proposed by Rasmussen.

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Tracing the expression of mastery and power in IE languages

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Several European languages have reflexes of the PIE lexeme *póti-* which cover a relatively large semantic range, from ability and power to mastery, and more precisely mastership over a social unit, cf. Lat. *potis esse, posse* 'be able', *potīre* 'to put under the power of', *potior* 'better, more powerful', *potēns* 'powerful, capable', abstract *potestās* 'command, power', etc. The basis is *póti-* 'master, lord' (in some languages 'husband'), which is found in most other IE languages, except Anatolian: Gk. πόσις, OLith. *patìs*, Lith. *pàts*, Go. *bruþ-faþs* 'bridegroom', Russian *gospódǐ*, etc. and further OIA *páti-*, Av. *paiti-*, Toch. A *pats*. This noun has a feminine counterpart: *pótnih₂-* 'mistress, lady', Gk. πότνια, OIA *pátnī-*, but Toch. B *e-petso* 'bride' (as identified recently) points either to an alternative formation PIE *pótih₂-*, or to a secondary reshaping based on *póti-*. The paper aims to ascertain the morphological categorization of PIE *pót-i-*, and its original meaning. The formation of the feminine form, which is also inherited, will be discussed. At face value, *pót-i-* is similar to *i*-stems based on the o-grade of the root, but there is no verbal root *pet-* with a compatible meaning. The most recent account takes it as an abstract, meaning 'mastership, power', that could be concretized as to refer to the 'master' (cf. Hackstein, in Ex Anatolia Lux. Anatolian and Indo-European Studies in honor of H. Craig Melchert, 2010, p. 81). It is obvious that the collocation 'master of the house', is inherited and points to an ancient phrase *dém-s póti-*. In some languages, this became the model of determinative compounds referring to social relationships, where the first member transposes a nominal complement in the genitive. According to a different orientation, the notion of 'power' is secondary, and the original value of *pót-i-* would be kept in these clauses, where it referred to the representative of a social unit, i.e., 'himself of the house' (cf. Benveniste, Vocabulaire des institutions indo-eur., 1969, t. I, pp. 87-96, 295). Accordingly the concept of 'chief' of the house or of the clan had originally nothing to do with the power over other beings. Following an earlier proposal, the noun *pót-i-* would be ultimately related to the particle reflected by Hitt. *-pat* (expressing specifica-

tion, limitation, identity), Lith. *pàt* (emphatic particle) 'precisely, just', beside the inflected pronoun *pàts* (OLith *patìs*) 'oneself, himself, (by) itself, the same', which looks identical to the noun *pàts* 'master', quoted above. The connection between 'self' and 'master' has been challenged with various arguments, see for instance Dunkel in Proceedings of the 16th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference (Los Angeles, November 2004), JIES Monograph Ser. No. 50, 2005, pp. 181-184 (with previous literature). This problem will be tackled from a somewhat new angle. It will be argued that the notion of mastery has some link with the genitival construction, which had intensive and superlative value in some phrases.

Latin *māteriēs* and the derivational history of the *-iēs/-ia* abstracts

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Explanations for the origin of the Latin uniform *-iēs* type (e.g. *aciēs*) and the alternating *-iēs/-ia* type abstracts (cf. *māteriēs*) were provided in the first half of the 20th century by, among others, Pedersen (1926), and more recently by Steinbauer (apud Mayrhofer 1986: 133-134), Schrijver (1991) and Klingenschmitt (1992). In this paper I intend to show that none of the proposed hypotheses explains the origin of these types without difficulties. Pedersen assumes the existence of a proto-language *$*$-yeh$_1$* nominal suffix which has no parallels, Steinbauer assumes an ablauting *$*$-yeh$_2$-stem* with a lengthened nominative and an accusative sg. in *$*$-yeh$_2$-m* which becomes Italic *$*$-yām* thereby disagreeing with the attested material, Schrijver derives both types from two different paradigms of the *$*$-yeh$_2$* and *$*$-yeh$_1$-stems* again postulating the unlikely *$*$-h$_1$-* suffix and assuming unlikely phonological developments (cf. *$*$-ih$_2$m >* *-iem*) and Klingenschmitt derives both types from the *devī* (*aciēs*) and *vrkīḥ* (*māteriēs*) paradigms in *$*$-yeh$_2$-* with the nominative sg. in *-iēs* being analogical to the accusative sg. *-iem* on the model of *volpem* :: *volpēs* which is unlikely.

Building on the idea of Klingenschmitt, I will try to show that the origin of this type lies in the intersection of the three types of inflection in Pre-Italic: the *$*$-iyā-stems* (Latin *-ia* abstracts), *devī*-type *$*$-yeh$_2$-* stems (abstracts of the type of *aciēs*) and the *vr̥kī*-type *$*$-yeh$_2$-* stems (abstracts of the type of *māteriēs*). The *devī*-type in turn falls together with the *vrkī*-type because of its nominative sg. in *$*$-ī* and with the *$*$-iyā-* stems because of the oblique in *$*$-iyā-*. In turn, the accusative sg. of the *vr̥kī*-type in *$*$-īm* would be replaced by *-iem* after the oblique and following the typical inner-Latin remodelling of the accusative singular as a weak case and inserting the productive accusative singular ending in *$*$-m̥ >* *-em*. This *-iem* would be the basis for the introduction of the *-iēs* in the nominative after the inherited and very frequent in use paradigm of *diēs*.

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New evidence for IE words for 'moon/month' and 'sun' from the Sabellian languages

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An Oscan inscription (recently discovered in a pre-Roman sanctuary of ancient Capua in Campania) provides us with information on two words that may be consistently traced back to the IE roots for 'moon/month' and 'sun' respectively. Their interpretation is based on contextual factors, because the new inscription belongs to the set of the so-called *Iuvilas*-texts, which mention religious festivals referring to calendar dates and agricultural practices (in parallel to Greek and Roman festivals).

The words at issue are the derivative *minnaris,* occurring in the noun phrase *fisiais minnaris* (Dat./Abl.plur.) and *suleis* (Gen.sing.), occurring in the noun phrase *prs suleis bias,* respectively.

According to the Oscan writing system *minnaris* (Dat./Abl.plur.), as an attribute of *fisia-* < *fēsiā-* (=lat. *fēria*) < *$dheh_1s$-yā-*, "festival", can be easily explained as an *-āli*-adjective from the IE root *$mēns$-n- <*meh_1ns-n-* 'moon/month', so that it can give two basic meanings in the appropriate context: either 'in the moon's festivals' or 'in monthly festivals'. *Minnaris* provides us with an interesting variation with respect to the issues of the root *$mēns$-n- <*meh_1ns-n-* within Latin (e.g. *mensis* and the theonym *Mena*) and the Sabellian languages (e.g. Umbrian *menzne; antemenzaru* <*anter-menso-/-ā-;* Sabine *mesene*).

The comparison of *suleis* (Gen.sing. of a consonant stem) with Lat. *sōl* and its IE relatives based on the root *$séh_2u$-l-*, is compatible with both micro- and macro-syntactic contexts, namely the relative clause with subjunctive mood (*pas prs suleis bias nessimas fusent*), which is to be related with the noun phrase *fisiais minnaris* mentioned above. The Oscan term for 'sun' provides evidence for a complete identity with its Latin counterpart in both phonetic and morphological perspective. Consequently it compels us to exclude other views regarding the Sabellian word for 'sun', as reconstructed through ancient glosses (Fest. 22 L.) and the alleged reflex in Etruscan *usil*.

The newly acquired terms bring significant contributions to the outcome of
the IE roots respectively for 'moon/month' and 'sun' within the Italic branch of
the IE languages; furthermore, they provide an enlarged perspective.

Considerations on the origin of full-grade Latin statives from PIE verbal roots: a new proposal

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The purpose of this paper is to show and explain a peculiar group of inherited *eh₁* statives that has been unnoticed by scholars. It is not my purpose to discuss the morphological origin of this controversial and interesting formation of *eh₁* statives (s. Jasanoff 1978 and 2002-3, Harðarson 1998, LIV, Meiser 1998: 44, Cowgill 1963, Ruijh 2004, etc.), but to present a special group of Latin inherited *eh₁* statives of PIE verbal origin that shows an unexpected full-grade of the stem instead of a zero-grade, which is the expected ablaut of these stative stems derived from PIE verbal roots. Of course, I refer neither to the group of statives of PIE denominative origin discovered by Watkins (1971), nor to the group presented by Mignot (1969) of Latin recent denominative statives from historical time, but only to those Latin statives whose PIE verbal origin is clear and show an unexpected full-grade of the stem.

This problematic full-grade vocalism has been generally explained through secondary processes of analogy and other *ad hoc* explanations. Moreover, these verbs have been analyzed individually, not as a whole group. It is my purpose to demonstrate that all these verbs certainly come from a PIE verbal root but that this verbal root would have had in a pre-PIE period a denominative origin that would be the cause of the unexpected full-grade of the *eh₁* statives. This hypothesis is verified by the fact that the corresponding nominal formations with full-grade also existed in PIE in parallel to all these PIE verbal roots. These substantives would be, according to my hypothesis, responsible for the peculiar vocalism of the stative stems, because they imposed its vocalism on the verbal root in a pre-PIE period. Another fact that speaks in favor of a possible denominative origin of these PIE verbal roots is that curiously no athematic present or athematic aorist has been reconstructed as a point of departure of these verbal roots, which often show a thematic present as a point of departure.

This explanation has the advantage both, to clarify the anomalous vocalism of these inherited statives without having to explain it as secondary processes

of analogy and to analyse them as a whole group. Moreover, this hypothesis establishes a new subgroup of PIE statives that have a PIE verbal origin but whose verbal root would have had a denominative origin in pre-PIE. Though this explanation is based only in Latin verbal data, it could also be applied in future research to the rest of IE languages because its explanation has its origin in a pre-PIE period.

Indo-European singulatives

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It is well known that Proto-Indo-European had an individualizing suffix *-n-*. It will be argued during this talk that the suffix originally formed singulatives to prototypical collectives and duals. Traces of this use of the suffix *-n-* can be found in all branches of Indo-European. It can be identified as such in the Celtic singulative suffix, but also in a number of inner-Proto-Indo-European derivatives, e.g. in the words for '(mill)stone' and 'horn'. A significant number of such derivatives derive a singulative from a noun that typically occurs in pairs, such as words meaning 'eye', 'knee', 'door'. The talk will include a discussion of the Armenian n-stems and of Sanskrit i/n-stems.

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Loanwords and the productivity of the feminine $\bar{u}$-stems in ProtoSlavic

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The number of inherited feminine $\bar{u}$-stems, which basically continue the PIE *-uH- stems, in Slavic is very small and the type has mainly disappeared as a separate stem class in the attested Slavic languages. However, at some point in the history of Proto-Slavic, the feminine $\bar{u}$-stem flexion had been exceedingly productive. Many feminine loanwords became $\bar{u}$-stems in Proto-Slavic and this productive pattern has often been connected to the loanwords from Germanic, although, contrary to what has been suggested, the feminine $\bar{u}$-stems among the loanwords cannot be limited to the loanwords from Germanic languages into Proto-Slavic: the feminine $\bar{u}$-stem flexion is frequently found among the loanwords from Latin (Matasović 2011: 279280) and later (post-Proto-Slavic) loanwords from German (cf. Knutsson 1929).

Attempts to connect the feminine $\bar{u}$-stems to an attested or reconstructed declension type or ending in Germanic have remained without avail. Knutsson thinks the borrowed feminine $\bar{u}$-stems all derive from West Germanic and explains the transfer to the $\bar{u}$-stems by the phonetic closeness of PSl. *y (< *$\bar{u}$) and the German ending *e (1929: 27). This solution does not satisfactory explain why some feminine words became $\bar{u}$-stems while others followed the more expected $\bar{a}$-stem declination. Nor does this theory explain how the Latin and the later German loanwords came to have joined the $\bar{u}$-stem flexion.

In this paper, I will argue that a careful evaluation of the corpus of Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic makes it possible to establish the original distribution of the feminine Germanic loanwords over the $\bar{a}/j\bar{a}$-stem and $\bar{u}$-stem declensions. Initially, the distribution was governed by the stemfinal consonant: feminine words with a stem ending in a velar consonant became $\bar{u}$-stems, whereas words with a stem ending in any other consonant became $\bar{a}/j\bar{a}$-stems. At a later stage of ProtoSlavic, the $\bar{u}$-stem declension became productive for loanwords from other languages as well, especially for words referring to various kinds of plants and containers. Because of this productivity, the feminine

ū-stems in Proto-Slavic came to include many loanwords from later Germanic languages/dialects and from Latin and other Romance languages.

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Greek Dialects in the 2nd Millennium BCE

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This paper explores the question of how many of the familiar four dialect subgroups of Ancient Greek found in the first millennium BCE (Attic-Ionic, Achaean, Aeolic and West Greek) should be reconstructed for the mid second millennium BCE. By closely investigating dialectally significant phonological innovations that have already taken place in Mycenaean –*viz.* the treatment of the syllabic sonorants, the sequence -*ti*-, geminate *s*-clusters and clusters of the voiceless dental and velar stops plus *yod* – and by taking advantage of recent advances in the dating of Mycenaean texts, it is argued that all four dialect subgroups existed by the time of our earliest Mycenaean documents (ca. 1400 BCE) and had likely developed several centuries earlier.

Social status as a semantic category of Indo-European

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This paper explores the properties of the Indo-European suffix *-$u̯o$- in Anatolian. In its widest attestations this suffix is used to build adjectives out of roots for the purpose of producing colour terms. Also in the deradical derivational process it can build verbal adjectives with a resultative meaning (*$g^w ih_3$-$u̯ó$- > Goth. *þius*, Skt. *jīvá-* 'alive'). Aside from the deradical *-$u̯o$- suffix, there is a poorly attested denominal one, which is found in a few daughter languages, for example in Anatolian (cf. Hitt. *ara-* 'the companion' > *ara-wa-* 'free', *aya-wa-la* 'the representant of the King'). The derivational morphology of certain words in Anatolian perhaps containing such a *-wa-* morpheme have remained without some satisfactory explanation, for instance *annawanni-* 'stepmother'. The Luvian language however possesses an ethnic suffix *-wann(i)-* found in words such as URU*Ninuwa-wann(i)-* 'of Niniveh'. According to Melchert it derives adjectives from nouns with the sense of 'of the sort of', which would explain words like URU*Ninuwa-wann(i)-* but also *anna-wanni-* 'of the sort of the mother' = 'stepmother'. On the other hand Starke, regarding the latter, explained the suffix as *-wa-* + *-ann(i)-* and separated it from the ethnic suffix. After an analysis of the suffix with special attention to its semantics, we will present here the function of the suffix *-wa-* in its various attestations.

Roots Deep in Heaven:
Indo-Iranian ritual concepts in a
cross-cultural perspective

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This talk will focus on selected concepts of significance for Iranian and Indian ritual and cultural history, tracing them back to their Indo-Iranian roots. Following a series of investigations of lexical elements, ritual formulae and ritual practices in Vedic and Avestan and their parallels in Indo-European and Semitic traditions (presented e.g. on the World Sanskrit Conference in Kyoto 2009, the Vedic Seminar in Leiden 2010 and the Congress of the Societas Iranologica Europaea in Cracow 2011), in its second part the paper throws bridges to further relevant *realia* of Indo-European religious practices and spells (and to ones from non-Indo-European, e.g. Mesopotamian, cultural circles) and to their linguistic expressions, trying to discern various 'rooting depths' in the dialectics between 'storage roots' ('*Tiefwurzeln*') of patently inherited cultural memory and 'propagative roots' ('*Flachwurzeln*') of wandering concepts in cultural traditions of Asia Maior and beyond, to establish common transcultural denominators in language of ritual, and to analyze the possibilities of finding common backgrounds, from a contrastive and historical perspective.

The paper presents results from the work on two projects, carried on in co-operation between the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the University of Leiden since 2009: the new *Etymological dictionary of Iranian noun* (to appear in the *Leiden Indo-European etymological dictionary series*), as well as *Ritual poetry and ritual pragmatics in Avesta and Atharvaveda* (*incl. unpublished Paippalāda Saṃhitā* fragments).

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Univerbation of prefixed verbs in the prehistory of Germanic: Proto-Gmc. *faha-/fanga- 'to catch' and Goth. fraisan 'to tempt'

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It is a well known problem that several Germanic verbs do not have proper IE etymologies. This fact has led some scholars to develop various substrate theories, all of which are not convincing (e.g. Vennemann 1998 and elsewhere; Mailhammer 2010). The starting point for my investigation was S. Neri´s (2007) analysis of Gmc. *falla-* 'to fall', Lith. *púlti*, *púolu*, pret. *púole* 'to fall', and Arm. *pclanim* 'to fall', aor. *pcowl* 'to collapse'. According to Neri, Gmc. *falla-* ultimately goes back to a PIE middle *poh$_3$-n-h$_1$-*. An early process of univerbation of the preverb *po-* plus verb (as in Gr. ὄλλυμαι 'to perish') yielded a *voreinzelsprachlich* neo-root *poh$_3$lh$_1$-*. Neri´s etymology is very convincing as it perfectly accounts for the puzzling root structure (CEHRH-) of *poh$_3$lh$_1$-*, which "deve essere necessariamente analizzata come bimorfematica" (Neri 2007: 13-14).

In a similar approach, but several years prior to Neri´s research, F. Kortlandt (1992: 104f.) suggested new etymologies for Gmc. *nema-* 'to take' (cf. Latv. *ńemĩt*) and Gmc. *geba-* 'to give'. He claimed that the roots *nema-* and *geba-* resulted from an early reanalysis of Gmc. *ga-nema-* < *gan-ema-* (comparing Lat. *emō* and Lith. *imĩti*) and PGmc. *g-eba-* < PIE *k(om)-* + *h$_1$ep-* (as in Hitt. *e-ip-zi*) respectively (sceptical R. Mailhammer 2007: 81). A similar and very clear case is OHG *gezzan* besides *ezzan* 'to eat' (Kortlandt 1992: 105).

In my talk, I would like to stress the explanatory power of this "univerbation approach" and acknowledge the possibility that many more Gmc. verbs with obscure etymologies might be explained similarly to Neri´s and Kortlandt´s analyses (cf. Hill 2009: 170). Within the given framework, I will suggest new etymologies for two verbs in Germanic: Gmc. *fāha-/fanga-* 'to catch' and Goth. *fraisan* πειράζειν 'to tempt'. It is remarkable that both verbs – like Gmc. *falla-* – belong to the 7th class of strong / reduplicated verbs. I will

not only offer alternative etymologies for those two verbs, but also examine their stem formation and semantics.

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The development of the PIE middle voice in Albanian

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It is not well known among Indo-Europeanists that the present of the so-called non-active voice of Albanian directly continues the morphology of the middle voice of the PIE present. This is mainly due to the fact that Bopp in his first account of Albanian as an IE language remained skeptical. Nonetheless, it can easily be shown that the Old Albanian non-active present goes back to the PIE middle and that it is mostly phonological changes that conceal this fact. More-over, the very morphology of the Albanian non-active present makes it possible that Albanian belongs to the same post-PIE dialectal sub-group as Greek.

However, the main point of my paper will not be historical phonology and morphology but the development of this category's semantics and valency: although the fact that the middle voice was retained in Albanian as a synthetic category is certainly linked to the fact that it has been a neighbour of Greek for the last three millennia, its semantics and valency have changed quite radically vis-à-vis Greek:

· Inherited intransitive *verba activa tantum* often turned into *verba media tantum* (i.e. deponents).

· Subsequently, these deponents developed new actives that were no longer intransitive but rather transitive and causative.

· These developments eventually led to a state of affairs whereby verbal forms in the middle voice could no longer take a direct object – in other words, the middle voice became exclusively intransitive. However, while the developments sketched above predate the 16th century CE (when Albanian was first put down to writing) by centuries (if not millennia), the loss of transitivity can be observed in the earliest written sources of the 16th and 17th centuries.

These developments will be demonstrated on the basis of a number of inherited primary verbs, with a view to contributing to a better understanding of this hitherto neglected IE language.

Where is the Substrate in the Germanic Lexicon?

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It is beyond doubt that a certain amount in the lexicon of each language is not inherited from the respective parent language. Of course the size of this part of the lexicon differs from language to language. The non-inherited part of the lexicon comprises in principle loanwords. This apparently uniform loanword-group can be analyzed more precisely, namely consisting of substrate, super-strate and adstrate influences and a group of Wanderwörter. Of the first three groups the latter two can be ignored – because on the one hand the superstrate influence lies clear at hand (for the most part it is the widespread Latin influence on the Germanic languages) and on the other hand an adstrate influence is quite difficult to assume (perhaps the early Celtic loanwords could be summerised in such a category).

So there remains the substrate influence. In the study of the older Indo-European languages there is a tendency to assume an ever increasing number of substrate words. This supposed substrate influence is especially found in etymological studies originating in the Netherlands (cp. for example in the first place the 'Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series') and in the work of Vennemann and researchers related with him. The latter group will for obvious reasons be ignored.

In the talk some examples generally recognized as substrate words will be examined.

Prospects for the Formal Reconstruction of Non-Canonical Argument Structure in Proto-Indo-European

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In linguistic reconstruction, constructions with non-canonical subject marking have often been considered of marginal importance, with an assumption that oblique subject predicates emerged diachronically from topicalised objects. However, for certain branches of Indo-European such as Germanic and Slavic there are signs that we should indeed reconstruct oblique subjects at the stage of the proto-branches, and further research indicates that we may be able to reconstruct at least certain types of oblique subjects for Proto-Indo-European itself.

This paper will build upon this previous research by focusing on the etymological and syntactic issues, rather than theoretical frameworks, in the reconstruction of certain PIE oblique subject constructions. For example, in previous papers, it has been argued that there was a PIE construction involving a verbal (resultative) participle: NP_{DAT} + *ǵnh₃-to/no-(m)* + *[NP_{NOM}]* with the meanings, "I know of X; I am familiar with X; I understand X", as opposed to the active-verb form of *ǵneh₃-* in a canonical (NOM-ACC) construction with the meanings, "I know *X*; I am finding out *X*". The basis for this reconstruction is attestations in Greek, Latin, Old Slavonic, and Old English. This paper will propose approximately twenty further Indo-European syntactic correspondences where the logical subject is in an oblique case. Among such proposals are the middle form of the stem *weid-eH/eie-* with a dative experiencer to mean 'notice, perceive, consider' (Lithuanian, Old Russian, Latin), and a very ancient Greco-Sanskrit syntactic correspondence of *pi-sd-eie-(ti)* with an accusative experiencer to mean 'suffer'. This paper will address the objections to such reconstructions with reference to the posited history of the word-form(s) of the predicate from its PIE origin to the daughter branches and the particular syntax of the attested argument structures.

The data presented in this paper appear to suggest the use of case frames to accommodate the polysemy of many Late PIE lexemes, a means of expressing what are often linguistically universal metaphors that is not actually common to all types of languages. This implies that it would be advantageous to devote greater attention to the case frames in which individual lexemes may appear in future Indo-European etymological studies.

Etymologie und mythische Funktion: Zu *Trita Āptya*

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Bereits seit langem ist die Gestalt des *Trita Āptya* aus der altindischen Mythologie Objekt sowohl religionshistorischen als auch sprachwissenschaftlichen Interesses (vgl. Rönnow 1927 für die ältere Forschung), trotz oder gerade wegen der Dunkelheit ihrer Beziehung zu den Heroenfiguren *Āθβiia* und *Θrita* des jüngeren Avesta *sowie* dem griechischen Meeresgott *Τρίτων*. Obwohl die Literatur zu diesem Thema schon recht ansehnlichen Umfang vorzuweisen hat, und schon mehrere Szenarien einer möglichen Verwandtschaft durchgespielt worden sind, ist eine befriedigende Klärung des Problems noch nicht erreicht.

Während die Namen *Θrita* und *Trita* ohne Zweifel eine etymologische Parallele bilden, sind die Verhältnisse zwischen dem Beinamen des letzteren und dem avestischen *Āθβiia* weitaus weniger klar. Lange Zeit galt es als ausgemacht, daß das Avestische hier den älteren Lautstand zeige, und der vedische Name seine Gestalt volksetymologischer Beeinflussung (nach ai. *áp-* f. 'Wasser') verdanke (vgl. Mayrhofer 1992: 168).

Janda 2005: 289-292 und 296 hingegen geht wieder von einer Ableitung zu *áp-* f. 'Wasser' aus und versucht, für *Trita Āptya* die ursprüngliche Funktion einer Gottheit des dritten Himmels, die in den himmlischen Gewässern ihren Sitz hat, wahrscheinlich zu machen.

Einer solchen Interpretation wirft jedoch sowohl auf formaler als auch auf inhaltlicher Ebene nicht geringe Probleme auf.

Vor diesem Hintergrund soll hier eine bereits von Ferdinand Justi aufgebrachte Etymologie (zu ai. *āp-* 'erlangen'), die zu Unrecht aus der Diskussion verschwunden zu sein scheint, wieder aufgegriffen und weiter untermauert werden. Daran anschließend wird die Eigenheit des avestischen *Āθβiia* unter linguistischen und philologischen Gesichtspunkten untersucht.

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The functional view on satem isoglosses

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1 On a mutual relation of the velar series: The presupposition of the paper is that the old palatovelars had a special relation to the velars in the IE language system, principally unlike the relation of the velars to the labials or the dentals or vice versa. We will demonstrate how the old correlation between the original "palatovelars" (i.e. *ś, j́, h́*) and the velars in Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic) is preserved. On the other hand, there exists a later system where the alternation between the palatovelar series and the other series is abandoned, i.e. without an alternation of the place, for example in Lithuanian or Slavic.

2 The internal structure of the satem isogloss: We suppose that inside the isogloss we have to distinguish two different isoglosses. The first one can be termed **a primary satem isogloss** which covers the whole area of the satem language, as a result of a satemization process $\acute{K} > \acute{S}$ where both capital letters represent the whole classes of sounds. Within the area, given by the primary satem isogloss, we distinguish another isogloss, a **secondary satem isogloss** which could be generally described by a pattern $\acute{S} > S$. In fact, in the process it is not a change of the phonemic quality of a sibilant which makes an isogloss! What matters is that within a secondary satem isogloss the result of the satemization process is not distinguished from the original IE sibilant, as it is distinguished for the older satemization. The secondary isogloss divides two continua: Balto-Slavic on the West (with special development in Latvian) and Indo-Iranian in the East where both Old Persian (Western Iranian) and Old Indo-Aryan are outside the isogloss (though Middle Indo-Aryan is already inside!). Speaking about the mutual relation between both isoglosses, we can say that both Slavic and Avestan (and other languages, not included in the scheme) are central languages; languages outside the secondary satem isogloss are peripheral languages; all centum languages are transperipheral. The paper will try to prove that the satemization is a process with stages of development and that those stages could be described, as sketched above.

-d- verbal bases (*claudo, mando, plaudo…*) between Latin and Indo-European: Etymological analysis

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The present talk deals with a group of Latin verbs which are marked from the *-d* ending in the present base (e.g. verbs as *mando* 'to deliver, to entrust'; *plaudo* 'to applaud'; *claudo* 'to close', whose present bases terminate with *–d*; from then onwards '*-d* presents'). The paper has a twofold purpose: firstly, it aims to revisit *-d* presents' etymology and morphological structure: as we will see, such a set of verbs reveals some peculiarities and stimulates to reconstruct a '*-d* verbs category'; secondly, it points to draw from the analysis some general remarks concerning the formation of verbal bases both in Latin and in the broader context of Indo-European.

In regard to several Latin *-d* verbs, it's to underline a relevant point: on one hand, *-d* presents frequently display etymological difficulties and appear almost isolated in the context of the Indo-European languages: comparable forms are often scarce or non existent; on the other hand, such bases could be more easily analyzed and, so to say, 'etymologized' on condition that we consider *-d* as a sort of enlargement: in other words, a different analysis of base structure relies on the recognition of an 'autonomous' element *-d*; such a morphological segmentation allows to identify roots that can be formally and semantically connected to other Indo-European comparanda (co-radical forms are sometimes available even within Latin lexicon itself). The existence of *-d* enlargements in verbal forms has already been suggested: Benveniste hinted at *-d* developments in his renowned essay on Indo-European roots (1935); such an idea is desultorily mentioned also in recent literature (see e.g. Meiser 2003, 122, which reconstructs for Latin *plaudo* a source *$*plah_2$-u-de:* 'denominativ *De*-Präsens'); besides, a suffix *-de-* is sporadically mentioned in most authoritative and well known etymological compendia (see e.g. Walde-Hofmann for Latin vendo). Still, a deep and systematic investigation on such forms, especially in a 'Latin perspective', is at present lacking.

Starting from this basis, the talk will be structured as follows:

a) I shall analyze the features of *-d* verbs through the detailed examination of selected cases. In particular, I shall try to show: 1) that etymological and morphonological analysis takes advantage of the assumpion of a *-d* enlargement; and 2) that several facts stimulate to consider such an element as a morpheme with definite functional properties; it's to notice that phonological explanations (sometimes proposed to justify *-d* in specific Latin forms) do not seem adequate.

b) I shall focus on source and function of *-d* enlargement. As for its genesis, I hypothesize that *-d* presents arise from an incorporation phenomenon, namely that such verbs represent the outcome of the combination between the Latin verb *do, dare* ('to give') and lexical bases: more precisely, bases would have attached to a light verb *do* ('to give') in order to form 'new' verbs; furthermore, the 'creation' of such verbs would have led to re-analysis and grammaticalization of *-d*: such a process in its turn would have aided in the diffusion of this morphologic structure. In reconstructing features and diachronic development of *-d*, attention has to be paid to possible interferences, and to the formal sameness, with the Indo-European verbal suffix **-dh:* such an enlargement (well known and widely treated in Indo-European studies: see for example Benveniste 1935a; recently on Latin e.g. Kurzova 1993, p, 188) yelds in Latin an outcome *-d*: it results phonologically identical to an original *-d*.

Lastly, it is worth emphasizing that data coming from Oscan and Umbrian epigraphic corpora, if investigated with proper exegetic tools, offer elements for analysis of *-d* enlargement, so they will be taken into account (for Sabellic documental evidence see e.g. Rix 2002).

In synthesis, the described reconstruction is supported: a) from etymological considerations; b) from the morphologic and semantic properties of '-*d* presents'.

In conclusion, I shall shortly draw some general reflections from the proposed array; the Latin case could be interpreted as development of a 'system potentiality/tendence' which could have been inherited from Indo-European; therefore, such a reconstruction suggests to reconsider some aspects of the word formation processes within Indo-European domain.

Nicht-indogermanische Spuren vorgeschichtlicher Wirtschaftsverhältnisse im typonomischen Lexikon Mitteleuropas

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Die linguistische und die genetische Vorgeschichtsforschung (z.B. Vennemann 2010a, b bzw. Oppenheimer 2007) konvergieren in der Ansicht, dass Mitteleuropa, nachdem es in der Kaltzeit unbesiedelt war, zunächst vom Südwesten, erst später auch vom Südosten aus wiederbesiedelt wurde. Da die Indogermanierung Mitteleuropas von Südosten her nach verbreiteter indogermanistischer Auffassung im dritten Jahrtausend v.u.Z. begann, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass die frühen Indogermanen in Mitteleuropa eine Bevölkerung vorfanden, deren Wirtschaft noch wesentlich durch Viehhaltung geprägt war, darunter nicht zuletzt die Schaftranshumanz, die bis ins 19. Jahrhundert u.Z. eine wichtige wirtschaftliche Rolle spielte und sich, wiewohl eingeschränkt, bis heute erhalten hat.

Aus neuerer und neuester Zeit finden sich überall Örtlichkeitsbenennungen, die auf die Viehweidewirtschaft wie auch auf Aspekte anderer Wirtschaftsformen Bezug nehmen, von der Agrarwirtschaft über Gewerbe und moderne Verkehrstechnik bis zu Abfall- und Abwasserbeseitigung. Deshalb ist damit zu rechnen, dass auch Aspekte jener älteren Wirtschaftsform sich in der Toponymie Mitteleuropas niedergeschlagen und dort vor-indogermanische Spuren hinterlassen haben.

Im Vortrag werde ich mein Thema mit zwei sich ergänzenden Ansätzen bearbeiten. Erstens werde ich zeigen, wie sich eine bestimmte Tierbezeichnung in der Toponymie ganz Mitteleuropas wiederholt, und zwar in vor-indogermanischer und indogermanischer (deutscher) Form, wobei die deutschsprachigen Benennungen nicht erkennen lassen, inwieweit es sich um Eindeutschungen vordeutschen Namenguts oder um Neubenennungen handelt. Zweitens werde ich exemplarisch zeigen, wie eine ganze Landschaft, die auch heute noch durch Viehwirtschaft geprägt ist, indogermanisch nicht deutbare, aber in vor-indogermanischer Beleuchtung transparente Bezüge zur Nutztierhaltung aufweist.

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Notes on the Balto-Slavic verb

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Serious acceptance of Balto-Slavic unity entails the reconstruction of a Proto-Balto-Slavic stage intermediate between Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Baltic and Proto-Slavic. Systematic application of this procedure may lead to unexpected clues concerning the prehistory of these languages. Taking as my point of departure the reflexes of the roots *ĝleu- 'hear' and *pleu- 'float', in this presentation I will exemplify the potential of this approach for the reconstruction of the Balto-Slavic verb. The main points to be addressed are the following:

1) The paradigm Sl. *pluti, *plo̍vǫ 'swim, sail' (OCS *pluti, *plovǫ*, etc.) is probably secondary, replacing a Balto-Slavic paradigm with second stem in *-ē-:* pres. *pleu̯-e/o-* (: Ved. *plávate* 'float', Gk. πλέω 'sail', etc.), inf.-aor. *pleu̯-ē-* or *plu̯-ē-* (note semantic parallels like Lith. *sravḗti, srāva* 'flow slowly', *tekḗti, tḗka* 'flow, run'). Because of its transitivity and acute intonation, Lith. *pláuti, pláuja/pláuna* 'wash, rinse' is best separated from this set and derived from a Narten causative *plōu-(e)i̯e-ti* (cf. TB subj. *plyewaṃ* 'will float' < *plēu-).

2) Sl. *sluti, *slo̍vǫ 'be called, be famed' (OCS *sluti, slovǫ*, etc.) is to be identified with Latv. *sluvêt, sluvu* 'be famed' (beside *slavêt, slavu* 'id.'), both best derived from a Balto-Slavic paradigm pres. *śleu̯-e/o-* (from the subjunctive of the PIE middle root aorist, cf. Gk. κλέομαι 'be celebrated'), inf.-aor. *śleu̯-ē-* or *śluu̯-ē-*. It follows that Latv. *sluvêt* cannot be directly equated with GAv. *sruiiē* 'is famed', Lat. *clueō, -ēre* 'be known' (< PIE *ĝluu̯-ór). The zero grade of *sluvêt* must either have been generalized from the second stem *śluu̯-ē-* or, perhaps more likely, was secondarily taken from the inchoative *slūt*.

The prehistory of the verbs 'swim, sail' and 'be famed' thus provide evidence for the idea that intransitive-durative verbs from PIE (middle) presents were typically provided with a second stem in *-ē-* (or *-ā-*) in Balto-Slavic.

3) Slavic presents forms with an unexpected acute long vowel. The causatives *plåviti 'make float' (SCr. plȁviti, Ru. plávit'), *slåviti "glorify" (SCr. slȁviti, Ru. slávit') are probably dependent on the forms with lengthened zero grade *plŷ- 'flow, stream' (Pol. płynąć, Cz. plynouti; SCr. plȉti, plȉjēm, Ru. plyt', plyvú), *slŷ- 'become known' (Pol. słynąć, Cz. slynouti; Ru. slyt', slyvú). Both Sl. *plŷ- and *slŷ- have direct cognates in Baltic, cf. Lith. plúti, plū̃va/ plū̃va 'flow, rush', Latv. slūt, pret. sluva 'become known'. The acute long vowel of Bl.-Sl. *plū́-, *ślū́- probably originated in the ste-presents *plu-Hste/o-, *ḱlu-Hste/o- (inf. *plu-tei-, *ḱlu-tei-, aor. *pluu̯-e/o-, *ḱluu̯-e/o-), secondary inchoatives to the primary durative verbs *pleu̯-e/o-, *ḱleu̯-e/o- (inf.-aor. *pl(e)u̯-ē-, *ḱl(e)u̯-ē-).

The vocalism of these two Slavic verbs thus supports the Balto-Slavic antiquity of the Baltic sta-presents (a possibility otherwise only supported by Sl. *orsti, *ôrstǫ 'grow' [OCS rasti, rastǫ, etc.], from the root *h₃er- 'rise').

Flat taxonomies in the Indo-European lexicon

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This paper discusses some general problems of etymology and lexicology in the ancient Indo-European (IE) languages, taking into account both theoretical and empirical aspects.

Theoretically, we aim at revising the reception of etymology provided by ancient grammarians in modern linguistics. At least since De Saussure, it is commonly held that names are arbitrary denotations of things, established by mutual agreement in a speech community for the purpose of communication. Etymology is considered as a sort of historical discipline, which depends on the tradition of the lexicon and is completely independent from the nature of the referent. Accordingly, the etymologies provided by ancient grammarians, which instead sought a relationship between names and things, have been usually undervalued and considered either as a sort of curiosa or as the object of criticism and even of contempt. The study of etymology and lexicology in the ancient IE languages, however, was based on very different theoretical assumptions, as can be seen in Yaskas' *Nirukta*, in Platon's *Kratylos* or in Varro's *De Lingua Latina*. In antiquity, denomination was considered an instrument to receive knowledge about a thing, rather than to communicate, and was therefore more properly seen in the context of philosophy and of natural sciences. In this perspective, iconicity was a much more relevant property than economy for the lexicon, and this was also allowed by the transparency of the word in the ancient IE languages, where the variation offered by vowel gradation did not obscure the recognisability of the root.

It may be observed that lexical taxonomy was less hierarchically structured in the ancient IE languages with respect to what occurs in their modern counterparts. While in the modern IE languages the organization of the lexicon basically follows a "hyperonym-hyponym"-pattern, the ancient IE languages often had different names for the very same referent as different possible descriptions of it. In Old Indian, for example, there is no simple term corresponding to the English 'earth'. The two most common names for the earth are *pṛthivī́-* (lit. 'the broad one') and *bhū́mi-* ('the existing one'), but the earth may also be denoted by a number of more or less transparent names such as *urvī́-,*

kṣám-, *kṣití-*, *dharā-*, *mahī́-*, etc., which capture different properties of the earth by means of different roots and different processes of word formation. This brings about flat rather than hierarchical lexical taxonomies, whereby different names are not economically chosen to denote, but are rather placed on the same level of denotation to iconically express the multiple facets of the nature of the referent. Further empirical manifestations of these principles will be discussed in regard to the semantic field of colours.

The Status of Euphratic Within Indo-European

GORDON WHITTAKER
University of Göttingen

Over the course of the last hundred years, Assyriologists have debated whether apparent loanwords of unknown origin in Sumerian and Akkadian point to the influence of a substrate (or superstrate) on cultural developments in Southern Mesopotamia during the late 4th and early 3rd millennia BC. The evidence put forward has involved, among other things, technical and elite terminology, including primary toponyms and theonyms, on the one hand and sign values in the writing system on the other. Progress in the decipherment and analysis of proto-cuneiform documents from Uruk in recent years has yielded further arguments in favour of such a language. Since 1998 a series of articles has appeared (among the most recent, Whittaker 2005a, 2005b, 2008, 2009) that now lays out the evidence for identifying this language as an early Indo-European tongue, Euphratic.

In this paper the issue of the status of Euphratic as an Indo-European language will be addressed. First to be considered will be the question as to whether sufficient evidence can be mustered to demonstrate the plausibility of Euphratic as a specifically Indo-European language. Second, whether this evidence, should it be judged sufficient, exhibits characteristics that might allow assignment of Euphratic to a particular branch of Indo-European or, if Indo-European had only recently begun to diversify, to a particular area within the family. To this end, evidence drawing on phonology, morphology, and syntax, as well as on the lexicon and writing system will be assessed.

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Combinatory and functional restrictions on pronominal clitics in Hittite

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In his seminal 1986 article (Hoffner 1986) Hoffner has shown that in Hittite the pronominal clitics occupy three subsequent slots in the sentenc-initial enclitic chain (slots 3–5 in table 1). The dative/accusative of the 1st and 2nd person of the plural and the dative of the 3rd person plural appear in slot 3. Slot 4 is occupied by the 3rd-person nominative and accusative of both genders and numbers, and the dative/accusative of the 1st and 2nd person of the singular and the dative of the 3rd person singular occur in slot 5.

1 PTCL	2 QUOT	3 acc/dat pl.	4 3. nom/acc	5 acc/dat sg.	6 REFL	7 PTCL
-(m)a	*-wa(r)*	1. *-nnaš*	*-aš*$_{\text{nom.sg.c}}$	1. *-mmu*	*-za*	*-ašta*
-(y)a		2. *-šmaš*	*-an*$_{\text{acc.sg.c}}$	2. *-tta/-ddu*		*-apa*
		3. *-šmaš*$_{\text{dat}}$	*-at*$_{\text{nom/acc. sg.n}}$	3. *-šše*$_{\text{dat}}$		*-kan*
			-e$_{\text{nom(/acc). pl}}$			*-šan*
			-uš$_{\text{acc.pl.c}}$			*-an*

As for the rules of co-occurence, Hoffner noted that slot 3 and slot 5 are mutually exclusive. This fact is the starting point of my talk in which the following questions will be tackled:

- What functional restrictions apply to co-occuring pairs of clitic pronouns?
- What are the rules and restrictions for double pronominal clitics in other IE languages?
- What is the typological background of the combinatory restrictions in Hittite?
- How do the findings contribute to the understanding of the position of Anatolian among the IE language family?

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Runic coordination and the death of IE $*k^u e$

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University of California, Los Angeles (*UCLA*)

The Indo-European enclitic connective $*k^u e$, preserved in Gothic as the sentence connective (*u*)*h* 'and', is thought to have been lost as an independent form before the attested stages of other Germanic languages. However, readings involving a postvocalic *h* 'and' < IE $*k^u e$ have been proposed for several early runic inscriptions: Bolbro (Alexander Jóhannesson 1923: 90), Sjælland II (Samplonius 1997: 253), Kinneve (Grønvik 1981), Nordendorf I (Grønvik 1987b) and Noleby (Brate 1898: 337; Bugge 1899; Alexander Jóhannesson 1923: 99; Grønvik 1987a: 93). These inscriptions are all difficult and the readings problematic. The proposed conjunction would be anomalous in early Norse. The only Germanic cognate, Gothic (*u*)*h*, has an exclusively clausal distribution, whereas the putative runic examples coordinate smaller elements. Most Norse clitics are not sentence-connective but tied to specific parts of speech. All the putative examples of *h* are postvocalic; it is not clear whether the conjunction could appear after a consonant. Word-final postvocalic /*h*/ is lost in Norse during the period of the older inscriptions. The hypothesis that the conjunction *h* survived to die a phonological death makes an unjustified assumption of etymological continuity.

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Etymology of Slavic *čьrtъ 'demon, devil' in the light of Indo-European semantic parallels

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According to the modern etymology of Slavic *čьrtъ 'demon, devil', it represents an agent noun derived from Slav. *čresti/čьrtǫ 'to draw a furrow (vel sim.)', which is cognate with Lith. *kiřsti/kertù* 'to cut, strike', and ultimately represents a reflex of IE. *(s)kert- 'cut'. Trubachev (*Etimologicheskij slovar' slavianskikh jazykov*, IV: 164-6) argues that Slavic *čьrtъ was originally an underground spirit with an epithet 'digger', implying that its base verb had the secondary meaning 'to dig'. There are, indeed, apparent derivatives of the same root, such CS. *krъtъ* 'mole' and Lith. *kertùs* 'shrewmouse', which could etymologically mean 'digger'. Such a metaphoric designation is, however, cross-linguistically common for small rodents, and not for demons. On the other hand, Slavic *čьrtъ shares the precise allomorph of the root not with the hypothetical verb 'to dig', but rather with OCS. *čьrta* 'line', *čьrtati* 'scratch', and their cognates. This suggests that if one maintains Trubachev's comparison, *čьrtъ was originally not 'digger' but rather 'draughtsman'.

In order to make sense of this designation it is necessary to take into consideration its Indo-European parallels pertaining to the religious domain. Classical Armenian *groł*, lit. 'writer', was used with reference to the deity writing human destiny. In Pre-Christian period this epithet was associated with Tir, the Iranian and Armenian divine patron of literacy. After the Christianisation of Armenia *groł* was occasionally syncretised with Archangel Gabriel, but its essential function came to be recording the time of human deaths and picking up the humans whose hour had arrived. As such, he was much feared in popular superstition, and notably invoked in the curse 'May *groł* take (you!)' (cf. Russ. *chert voz'mi* 'may devil take (you)', where *chert* < Slav. *čьrtъ).

Additional example of fate deities with similar internal forms is Hitt. [d]*Gulses* (pl.), Luw. [d]*Gulza-* (sg.), and Pal. [d]*Gulzannikes* (pl.). Although these theonyms cannot be separated from Hitt. *guls-* and Luw. *gulz-* 'to write', their dialectal range suggests that the concept of fate deities recording human destiny must be projected into Proto-Anatolian, when writing was not yet in use in Asia Mi-

nor. Presumably, the proto-Anatolian god of destiny was a "draughtsman" who could foretell or even influence human fate by way of drawing ominous signs.

I suggest that the original function of Slavic *čьrtъ was similar to the one reconstructable for Proto-Anatolian 'draughtsman', while its further development followed the path of pejoration, the start of which can be seen in the history of Armenian.

(False) etymology and 'Sabine l'

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The handbooks of historical Latin phonology invariably include a section on so-called 'Sabine *-l-*', by which is meant the existence of a small number of Latin words which show *-l-* where we would for etymological reasons expect *-d-*. Examples include *lacrima* 'tear' < **dakru-mā* beside Gk. δάκρυ, *solium* 'seat, throne' < **sod-iyo-*. The hypothesis that the change **-d-* > **-l-* was regular in Sabine has a long history, although there is very little evidence in its favour. Various explanations for this change have been put forward in addition or alongside borrowing from Sabine, without being widely accepted (e.g. Petr 1899, Schrijnen 1914). Attached to the name 'Sabine *-l-*', the same few examples have been handed down through generations of scholars; another look at the primary evidence reveals that many of the forms which are purported to show 'Sabine *-l-*' are extremely dubious.

As such, 'Sabine *-l-*' can be seen as a case-study for some of the problems which occur when trying to explain an apparently aberrant sound change. Careful attention to the etymology of the words proposed as evidence is essential before conclusions can be drawn. For a few words attested with *-l-* in Latin we have comparative evidence for an original **-d-*, but much of our evidence comes from Latin grammarians and antiquarians. Although these forms tend to be lumped together as evidence for 'Sabine *-l-*', in fact the sources imply both a *-d-* > *-l-* change in the history of Latin, and synchronic *-d-*/*-l-* variation. Furthermore, although the evidence from ancient sources is often taken at face value, close scrutiny of the context in which each form is presented is required before we can accept it as reliable evidence.

On the basis of this analysis I conclude that although there is indeed a small core of forms which do show a change **-d-* > *-l-*, the reliable data available to us is much more limited than often claimed. The identification of the small number of plausible forms suggests two possible phonetic environments for a change **-d-* > **-l-:* word-initially before **-a*, and word internally before a front vowel. Having established these environments, I assess possible explanations for 'Sabine *-l-*'.

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Wortfelder und etymologische Pfade

SUSANNE ZEILFELDER
Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

Semantischer Wandel gehörte bekanntlich lange zu den vernachlässigten Arbeitsgebieten der Indogermanistik, nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil Bedeutungswandel stets von mehreren Faktoren gleichzeitig beeinflusst wird und daher niemals mit der quasi algebraischen Exaktheit der lautlichen Rekonstruktionen nachvollzogen werden kann. Panagl (1982) ist der Auffassung, dass die Krise der Indogermanistik in den siebziger Jahren auch deshalb entstanden sei, weil man sich „mit den häufigen irrationalen Bocksprüngen des Bedeutungswandels so weit abgefunden, ja geradezu arrangiert [hatte], daß beinahe jede semantische Entwicklung, auch die Abweichung in konträre Bereiche, widerspruchslos akzeptiert wurde, sofern nur der Lautkörper den Normen entsprach." Das ist eine Einsicht, die sich nur langsam durchgesetzt hat, mittlerweile aber im Grundsatz doch allgemein akzeptiert ist. Es ist immer noch so, dass ein Sprachhistoriker, *arbeitstechnisch* gesehen, stets mit dem Lautlichen beginnt – wenn eine etymologische Verknüpfung lautlich ausgeschlossen ist, braucht man über semantische Zusammenhänge selbstverständlich nicht mehr weiter nachzudenken. Dass aber Bedeutungswandel nicht etwas ist, das man sich quasi im Nachklapp und mit letztlich intuitiven Methoden irgendwie zurechtbiegen kann, das hat die Wissenschaft inzwischen eingesehen, und sie kann dabei mittlerweile auch auf hoch entwickelte linguistische Beschreibungsmodelle zurückgreifen. Im Vortrag soll gezeigt werden, dass insbesondere das Wortfeldmodell für die Untersuchung des semantischen Wandels produktiv werden kann, weil sich diachrone Bedeutungsverschiebungen häufig durch Beeinflussungen innerhalb eines Wortfelds oder Teilwortfelds erklären lassen. Zu ergänzen ist der Wortfeldansatz durch das Modell der „semantischen Pfade" (vgl. exemplarisch Niepokuj 1997), bei dem letztlich im Sinne einer Frames-Semantik die einzelsprachlichen Bedeutungsverzweigungen aus einem grundsprachlichen semantischen Frame ableitbar machen. Auf diese Weise kann, wie an einigen exemplarischen Beispielen gezeigt wird, die scheinbare Synonymenflut im indogermanischen Lexikon ausdifferenziert werden.
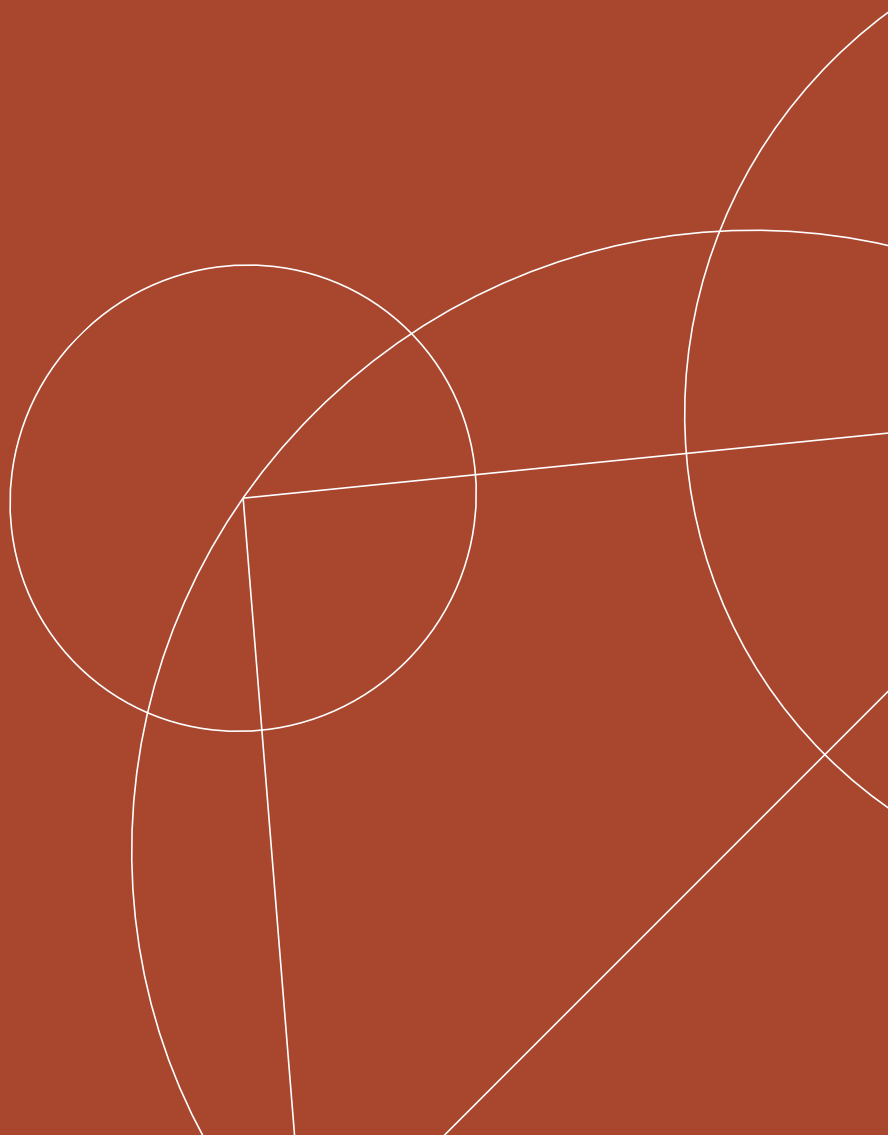
References

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Practical information

Faculty lounge

On the 1st floor of the canteen area there is a VIP room called the "Faculty Lounge". This space has been booked as a relaxation spot and a service desk for conference participants. The lounge provides the following facilities:

- A member of the organising team will always be available in the room to help you with any questions you might have.

- There will be a limited guarded storage facility for personal belongings (jackets, bags, computers etc.) at your own risk.

- You can buy or order books from the following publishers: Rodopi, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Archaeolingua and John Benjamins

- You can pay additional conference fees, if you had trouble with your bank transfer.

- Armchairs and desks are availabe for relaxation and/or study purposes.

- You can book a table online at selected restaurants in Copenhagen, where we have prebooked a number of tables.

WiFi on campus

While on campus, you can easily access the open WiFi to go online. It is called SCGuest. You can furthermore access the international educational roaming system Eduroam.

In case of theft, illness or other problems

Emergency: Police, fire brigade and ambulance

In an emergency, dial 112 to contact the police, ambulance or firebrigade. Speak slowly and distinctly. State telephone number and location. Emergency calls from public pay phones are free.

Police: +45 33 14 14 48, e-mail: kbh@politi.dk

Hospital Emergency Wards

The following hospitals have 24-hour emergency wards:

Bispebjerg Hospital
Bispebjerg Bakke 23
2400 København NV

Telephone: +45 3531 2373

Hvidovre Hospital
Kettegårds Alle 30
2650 Hvidovre

Telephone: +45 3632 2553

If you have doubts as to whether it is necessary to go to the hospital or not, you can call the emergency phone: 1813. A nurse or a doctor will assess the situation from your description.

Doctors on call

For inquiries outside opening hours an on-call service is available on weekdays 16:00 - 08:00 as well as 24 hours a day on weekends and public holidays.

Telephone: +45 3869 3869 (this number will put you through to a doctor). Price from DKK 250 per visit. EU citizens are not charged.

Transportation and maps

Tickets

Public transportation is an easy and convenient way to get around. A single ticket costs 24 DKK; but a (blue) ten-trip ticket is advisable and costs 145 DKK (one "clip" is valid for 2 zones). Both can be bought at the airport, at kiosks and metro and railway stations. Validate/clip the ten-trip ticket once for one hour's travel within central Copenhagen. If you change trains/buses within the hour, you do not have to validate your card again.

Online trip finder

If you find this limited guide insufficient, the public transport journey planner at *www.rejseplanen.dk* is available in both English and German.

From the city centre to the conference venue

- Metro: By far the easiest option. Take line **M1** (→ Vestamager) to Islands Brygge station, indicated on the map inside the back cover of this book. Leaving the metro train, turn left and walk up the stairs. Turn right down Njalsgade; you will walk along a light-green glass building housing the Nordea Bank and C convenience store. After 400 m, turn right at Emil Holms Kanal. The entrance to the building is on your left hand; the conference venue is signposted. Going back, catch line **M1** again, this time in the direction of Vanløse.

- Bus:
  Line 12 (→ Femøren St./Hedegårdsvej) from e.g. Vesterport Station or Rådhuspladsen (City Hall Square); departures every 30 minutes. Get off at the stop called "Universitetet, Amager". Keep walking straight for about 200 m, turn right at Emil Holms Kanal. The conference is in Building 22 on the left side of Emil Holms Kanal, clearly visible from Njalsgade.
  Line 33 (→ Søvang/Rønnevej) from Rådhuspladsen (City Hall Square); departures every 10–15 minutes. Same instructions as for line 12 above.
  Line 5A (→ Lufthavnen or Sundbyvester Plads) from the Central Station (for those living at CabInn or DanHostel City): get off at the stop

"Amagerfælledvej" (one stop), walk 500 metres down Amagerfælledvej and turn right at Njalsgade (see also p. 144).

How to travel from and to your hotel

Hotel Nyhavn 71, HotelCopenhagen Phoenix, Hotel Copenhagen Strand, Hotel Opera, Generator Hostel:

To reach the conference venue from any of these hotels, catch a metro **M1** (→Vestamager) at Kongens Nytorv station. Alight at the second stop, Islands Brygge, turn left and walk up the stairs. Turn right down Njalsgade; after 400 m, turn right at Emil Holms Kanal. The entrance is on your left hand; the conference venue is signposted.

- 71 Nyhavn (Nyhavn 71)

   Leaving Kongens Nytorv metro station, you will see the Royal Theatre across the street. Cross over to the theatre and head towards Kongens Nytorv square; start walking counter-clockwise around the square. This way, you will pass the Royal Theatre, then Charlottenborg art museum, and arrive at Nyhavn canal. Turn right along the canal on its pedestrian side (with a host of bars and restaurants) and locate number 71.

Distance: 700 metres - appr. 8 minutes' walk.
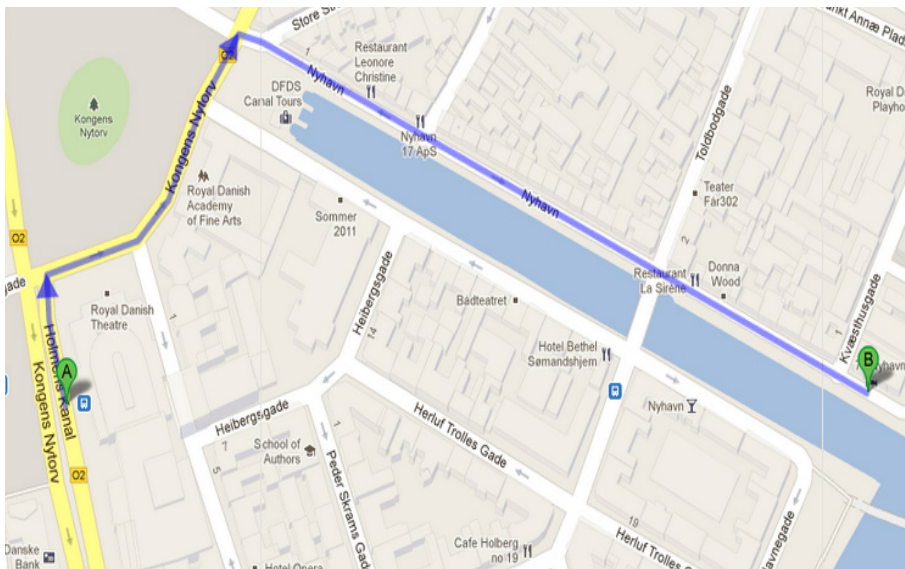
- Phoenix Copenhagen, Bredgade 37

Leaving Kongens Nytorv metro station, you will see the Royal Theatre across the street. Cross over to the theatre and head towards the square; start walking counter-clockwise around the square. This way, you will pass the Royal Theatre, Charlottenborg art academy and Nyhavn canal on your right. Having passed Nyhavn, leave the square, walking straight on down Bredgade until you reach number 37.

Distance: 500 metres - appr. 6 minutes' walk.
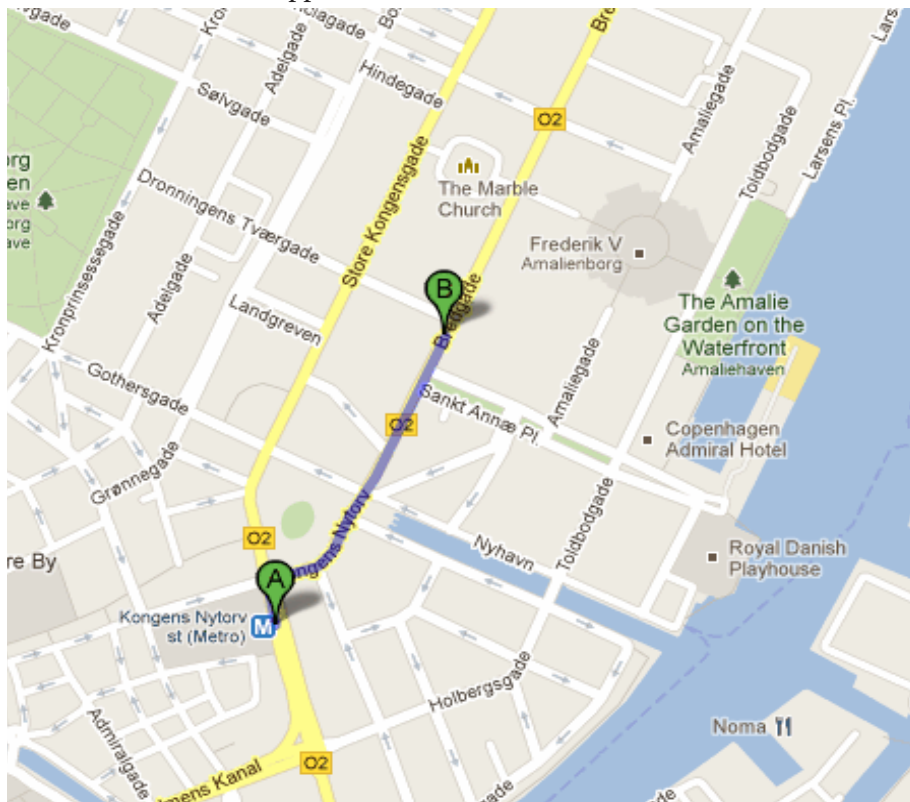
- Hotel Opera (Tordenskjoldsgade 15) and Copenhagen Strand (Havnegade 37)

As you leave Kongens Nytorv metro station, you will see the Royal Theatre across the street. Cross over to the theatre and walk around it so that you keep the theatre on your right-hand side, Kongens Nytorv square on your left. Having passed the main entrance of the theatre, turn right down August Bournonvilles Passage, and walk through the arched passage of the Royal Theatre stage tower. Continue straight ahead down Tordenskjoldsgade. The Hotel Opera is number 15. For Hotel Copenhagen Strand, walk to the end of Tordenskjoldsgade where you reach the harbour. Turn left down Havnegade and walk to number 37.

Distance to Hotel Copenhagen Strand: 300 metres - appr. 4 minutes.
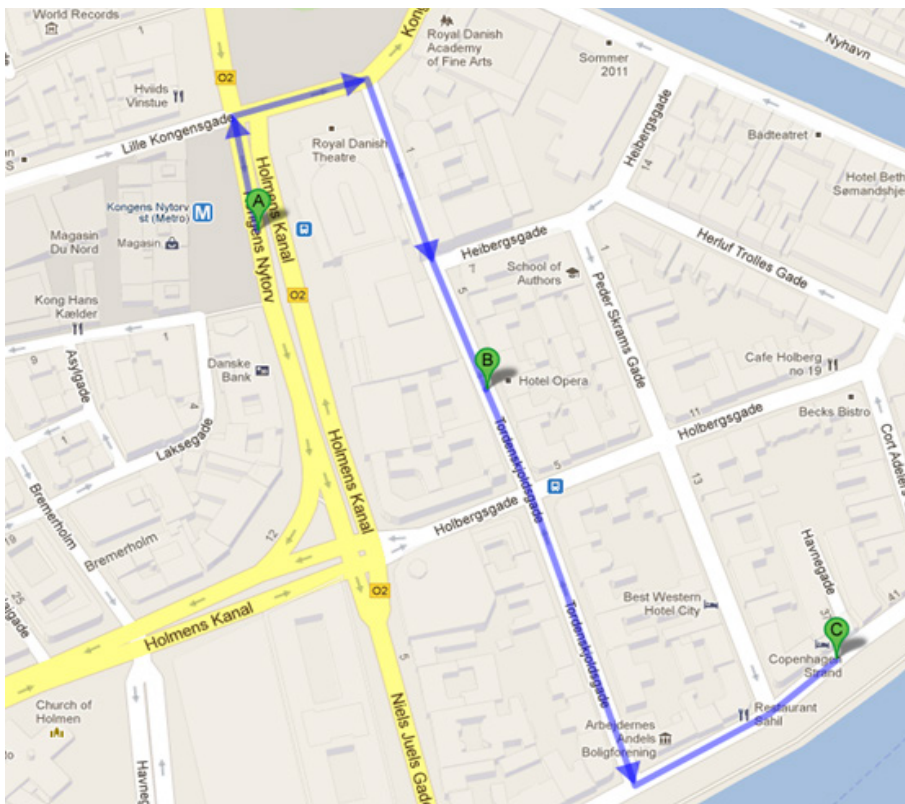
- Generator Hostel, Adelgade 5-7

  As you leave Kongens Nytorv metro station, start walking clockwise around Kongens Nytorv square, passing Lille Kongensgade, Strøget/Østergade, Hotel d'Angleterre, Hovedvagtsgade and Ny Adelgade on your left. Leave the square, turning left down Gothersgade. Adelgade is the second street on your right. Generator hostel is located at numbers 5-7 – look out for the sign.

Distance: 500 metres - appr. 6 minutes.
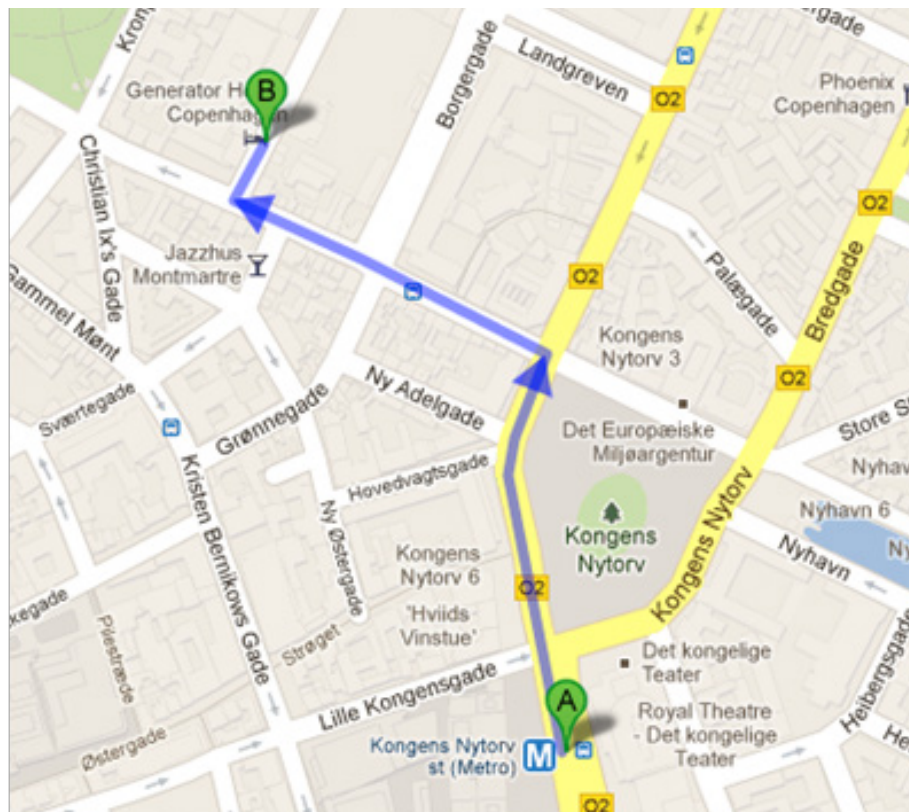
Hotel Amager, Amagerbrogade 29

Catch a metro **M2** metro(→ Lufthavnen/Airport) to Amagerbro ; the station is indicated as A on the map.

Leaving the metro station (A on the map), you will see a large yellow wall painting with the text "Woman with 24 problems". Turning your back to that, walk straight ahead down Blekingegade, then turn right down Amagerbrogade and walk straight ahead until you reach no. 29.

From Amagerbro metro station to Hotel Amager (B on the map): 400 metres - appr. 5 minutes.

Leavng the hotel, turn left down Amagerbrogade, cross the street and turn right down Hollænderdybet; continue until the end; cross Amagerfælledvej, bear left and walk the few metres to the crossing and turn right down Njalsgade where the University is located on your left. The conference is in Building 22 on the left side of Emil Holms Kanal, clearly visible from Njalsgade.

From Hotel Amager to the conference venue at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Copenhagen (KUA): 650 metres - appr. 8 minutes.
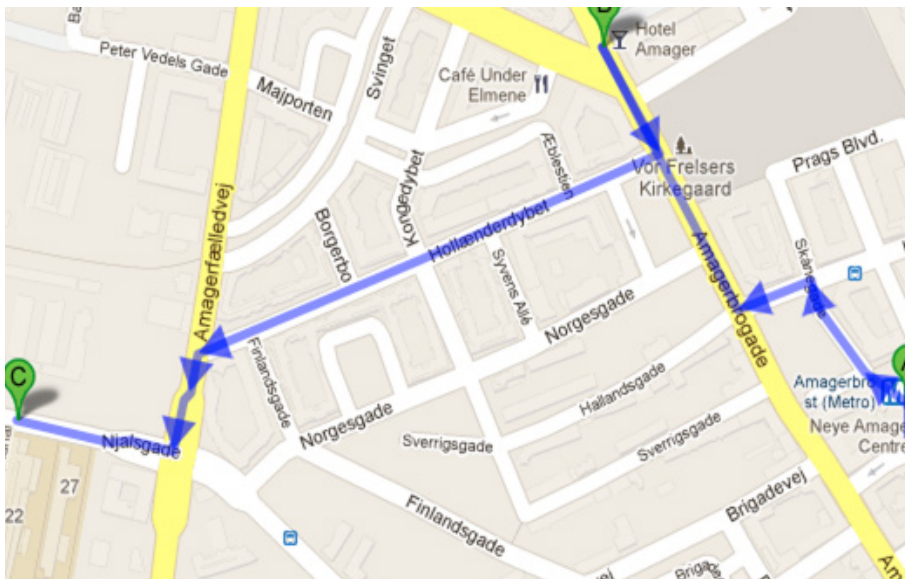
CabInn City (A on the map), Mitchellsgade 14 and Danhostel City (B on the map), H.C. Andersens Boulevard 50

You can reach the KU Faculty of Humanities/conference venue by foot or by bus.

By foot:
Cabinn City (A): Walk along Mitchellsgade past Polititorvet with the Police HQs on your left, cross Hambrosgade and continue until you reach the harbour at Kalvebods Brygge. Bear left until you reach Langebro bridge, cross the bridge and continue 500 metres down Amager Boulevard. Turn right at Ørestads Boulevard and walk 150 metres after which you will reach Njalsgade right at "Islands Brygge" metro station. The conference is in Building 22 on the left side of Emil Holms Kanal, clearly visible from Njalsgade. If you are staying at Danhostel City (B), just turn right at H. C. Andersens Boulevard; cross the water by the Langebro bridge and so forth.

By bus:
Make your way to the bus stop at Otto Mønsteds Plads as follows: If you are staying at the Danhostel City, walk down Kalvebod Brygge and turn right at Mitchellsgade; cross Hambrosgade and Locate Cabinn City. Leaving the Cabinn City, walk across Polititorvet and take a left down Hambrosgade, then another left down Rysensteensgade. The bus stop is further down the road at Otto Mønsteds Plads. When you have found the bus stop, catch a 5A (→ Lufthavnen or Sundbyvester Plads). Get off at the third stop, "Amager Fælledvej". On one of the corners you will see an empty plot of land with wild bushes and shrubbery. Walk down Amagerfælledvej, keeping the bushes and shrubbery on your right-hand side. After 500 metres, turn right at Njalsgade. The conference is in Building 22 on the left side of Emil Holms Kanal, clearly visible from Njalsgade.
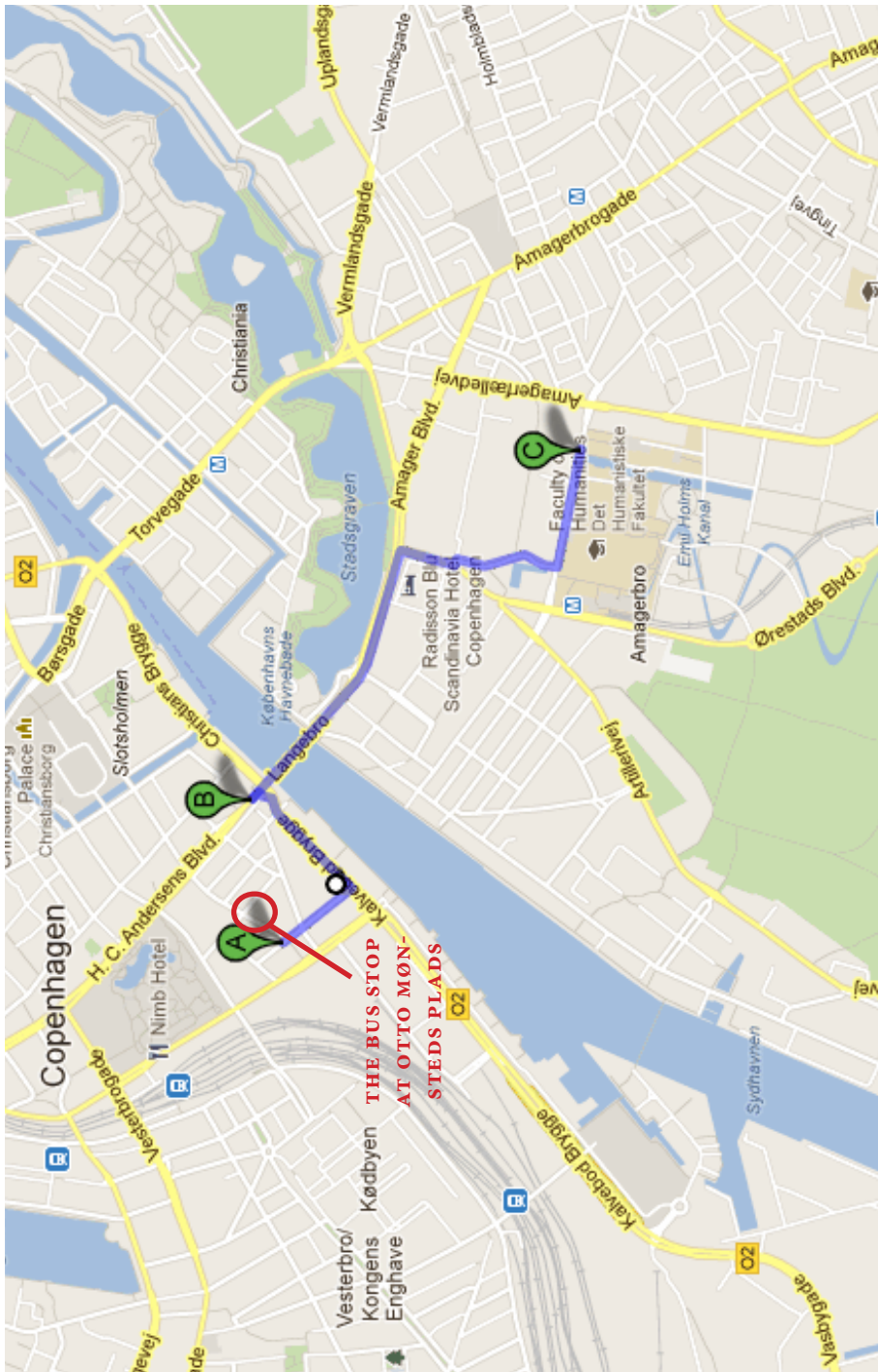
Taxis

If you need to get a taxi, there are several companies in Copenhagen, e.g.:

- DanTaxi: +45 7025 2525
- Amager-Øbro Taxi: +45 3251 5151
- Taxa 4x35: +45 3535 3535
- TaxiNord: +45 4848 4848

The initial charges vary from DDK 24 (€ 3,22) to DDK 50 (€ 6,71), depending on whether you are travelling in the daytime or in the evening/at nighttime. The price per kilometre varies from DDK 13,50 (€ 1,81) to DDK 17,40 (€ 2,34).

A journey from the conference venue to Kongens Nytorv on a Monday evening will cost you appr. DDK 90 (€ 12).

You are welcome to ask one of the members of the organising team to call for a taxi.

Locations of events in the city centre

We have several events located in the city centre:

- The Anreisetag get-together at Studenterhuset (Købmagergade 52), Sunday 16.

- The reception in the Round Tower (Købmagergade 52A), Monday 17.

- The post-reception dinner at Ankara (Krystalgade 8), Monday 17.

- The official conference dinner in the University's Ceremonial Hall (Frue Plads 4), Saturday 22.

  These are all within walking distance from either Nørreport (500 m away) or Kongens Nytorv (about 1k away)
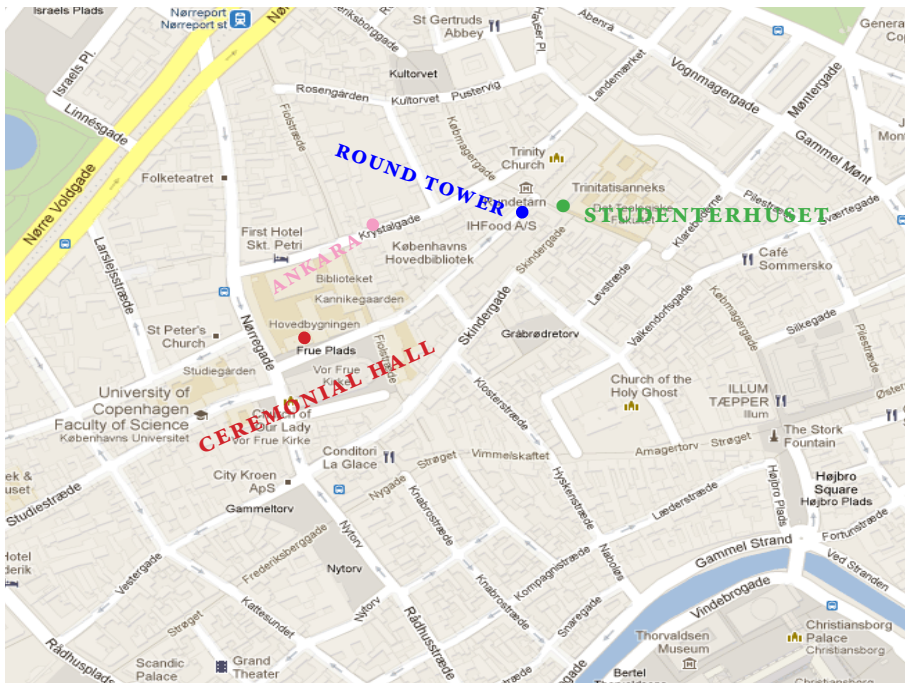
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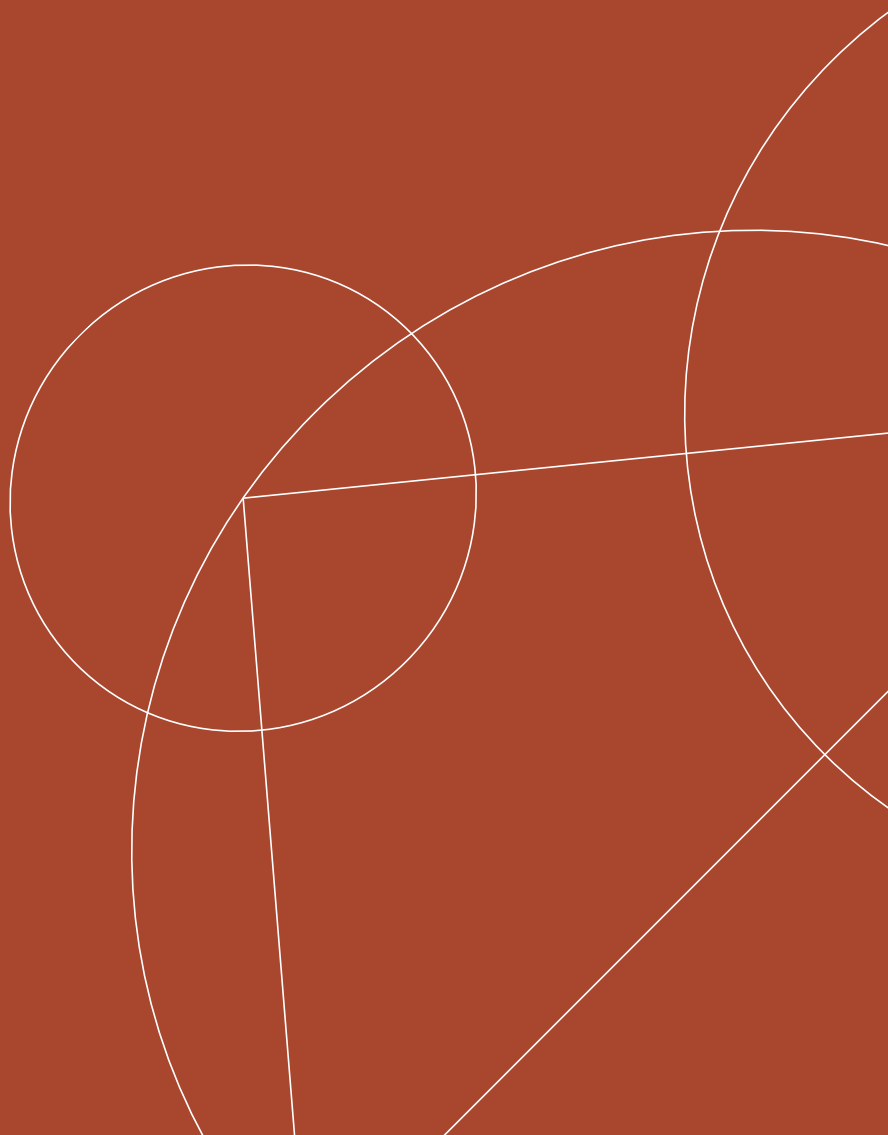
☛ Pre-booked restaurants

To make it easier to dine in a group with other conference participants, we have booked tables in a number of restaurants from Tuesday till Friday. Look for the ☛ sign to see which restaurants have been pre-booked; then talk to a secretary in the Faculty Lounge to reserve your seat before 3PM on the day. The secretary will provide you with a printed instruction on how to find the restaurant.

The restaurants are all part of the groups Madklubben and Cofoco, popular for their high standard and innovative cuisine at mid- and slightly higher-range prices.

Note that part of Madklubben's strategy for keeping costs low is to instruct waiters to provide a minimum of service, albeit with a smile. The atmosphere is friendly and no-frills, but don't expect long talks about the food or even to have your wine poured.

At the Cofoco restaurants, a menu has been chosen in advance for those who wish to dine there. To see the menus of the day, please contact a secretary in the Faculty Lounge.

Amager and Christianshavn, close to the conference venue

Christianshavn, one of Copenhagen's most picturesque and bohemian neighbourhoods, and a good place to go for an evening stroll, is located between Kongens Nytorv and the conference venue, only one metro station or 15 minutes' walk away from either. Along the canal are several small cafés, pubs, bars, and restaurants at all price ranges.

For a cheap and convenient meal close to the conference venue and Hotel Amager, choose *Rimini*; for a more stylish and innovative evening, walk along the harbour to *Scarpetta*, about 2 kilometres from the conference venue.

Rimini

Italian restaurant, very popular among locals for its staple Italian menu, unpretentious atmosphere, and reasonable prices.

- Amagerbrogade 7, 2300 København S
- Reservations: +45 3257 2819
- Pizzas range from DKK 51-74; main courses from DKK 82-195
- http://www.rimini.dk/

Scarpetta

Italian cuisine. *Scarpetta* means 'a small shoe' and refers to the shape of bread used to scoop the sauce from your plate. This is where the restaurant gets its name: the owners want their sauces to be so good customers use the bread to scoop up every last drop. Courses come in the size of an appetizer, so you can taste many different dishes. They have a large variety of dishes both with and without meat. There is a second Scarpetta in Nørrebro.

- One course is around DKK 50-80; a five-course dinner costs DKK 285
- Islands Brygge 81F, 2300 København S – reservations: +45 7020 7172
- Rantzausgade 7, 2200 København N – reservations: +45 3535 0808
- http://www.cofoco.dk/scarpetta.php

☛ *10 seats pre-booked Tue-Thur 7.30PM and Fri 8.15PM* (*Islands Brygge*)

Around Kongens Nytorv

Around Kongens Nytorv, restaurants and good pubs are plentiful, especially along Nyhavn canal, a popular spot for tourists. Below are a number of alternatives to Nyhavn, all within walking distance of Kongens Nytorv metro station.

Royal Garden

Chinese restaurant offering the best dim sum in Copenhagen as well as delicious main courses. The atmosphere is very much Chinese, and you may often find yourself the only non-Chinese there.

· A main course costs from DKK 100-200
· Dronningens Tværgade 30, 1302 København K
· Reservations: +45 3315 1607
· http://www.royalgarden.dk/

La Vecchia Signora

Genuine Italian pizzeria-trattoria, especially famous for its high-quality pizzas from the brick oven. Cosy atmosphere in a picturesque old building where the decoration is dominated by mementos from the soccer team Juventus, nicknamed La veccia signora.

· A pizza costs about DKK 130.
· Grønnegade 12, 1107 København K
· Reservations: + 33160048
· http://www.la-vecchia-signora.dk/

Madklubben – Bistro-de-Luxe

A fusion between French and Danish cuisine. Unruffled, tasteful, delicious food at tolerable prices. The menu has something for everyone, including vegetarians. On the menu are the slow-cooking foods that you can't always find the time to cook yourself, but also well-cooked steaks and homemade fries.

· One dish is DKK 100, two dishes DKK 150, three dishes DKK 200; four dishes DKK 250.
· St. Kongensgade 66, 1264 København K

· Reservations: +45 3332 3234
· http://www.bistrobooking.dk/madklubben/

☛ *8 seats pre-booked Tue-Fri at 8:30 PM*

Tony's

Italian/New York-inspired restaurant whose name evokes Lady and the Tramp dining in the backyard of Tony's restaurant. Indeed, spaghetti and meatballs are on the menu, but this is where the Disney references end, and the mafia-gangster theme takes over.

· Three courses cost DKK 200, four courses DKK 250 (some dishes cost extra)
· Havnegade 47, 1058 København K
· Reservations: +45 3313 3307
· http://www.bistrobooking.dk/tonys/

☛ *8 seats pre-booked Tue-Fri at 8:30 PM*

Vespa

Italian. They don't leave much to your own choosing—in fact they only have one menu. However, this concept allows Vespa to offer a completely freshly cooked, four-course dinner.

· DKK 300 for a four-course meal
· St. Kongensgade 90, 1264 København K
· Reservations: +45 3311 3700
· http://www.cofoco.dk/vespa.php

☛ *10 seats pre-booked Tue-Thur 7.30PM and Fri 8.15PM*

Café Quote

Modern Scandinavian cuisine. Offers a café menu day and night as well as a pricier restaurant menu at night. Open late nights as a bar. Overlooks Kongens Nytorv square.

· A main course from the café menu is DKK 150; dinner from the evening menu is about DKK 250
· Kongens Nytorv 16, 1050 København K
· Reservations: +45 3332 5151
· http://www.cafequote.dk/index.html

Geist

Nordic fusion restaurant. The owner, Bo Bech, is a former Michelin chef, but the gourmet level, and thus also the price level, has been turned down a notch here. Still, this is not among the cheaper Copenhagen restaurants.

· You can get a main course for DKK 150-200, and they also offer small starters and desserts at reasonable prices.
· Kongens Nytorv 8, 1050 København K
· Reservations: +45 3313 3713
· http://restaurantgeist.dk/

The Latin Quarter

To reach the Latin Quarter from the conference venue, either catch the metro to Nørreport or take line 33 from to Rådshuspladsen (City Hall Square). The restaurants listed below are all within ten minutes' walking distance from either stop.

Chilimili

Healthy fast food restaurant offering a range of delicious and varied salads that you can mix as you wish. With salads from every part of the world, Chilimili offers something for every taste. Choose 'today's special' for a more substantial meal.

· Three salads cost DKK 69
· H.C. Andersens Boulevard 12, 1553 Vesterbro
· Reservations: +45 33 125 125
· http://www.chilimili.dk/da

RizRaz – Sticks'n'Veggies/Steaks'n'Veggies

Large restaurant known for its vegetarian buffet with classics like falafel, tzatziki, and hummus as well as original salads with bulgur, chickpeas, beans, and seasonal vegetables. Steaks or sticks can be ordered on the side.

· The vegetarian buffet costs DKK 99
· (Sticks) Kompagnistræde 20, 1208 København K – reservations: +45 3315 0575
· (Steaks) St. Kannikestræde 19, 1169 København K – reservations: +45 3332 3345
· http://www.rizraz.dk/

La Galette

French restaurant serving 22 different versions of the traditional buckwheat pancake from Brittany, savoury as well as sweet.

· Each pancake is around DKK 75
· Larsbjørnsstræde 9, 1454 København K
· Reservations: +45 3332 3790
· http://www.lagalette.dk/www.lagalette.dk/DK_forside.html

Jensens Bøfhus

Danish family-friendly budget steakhouse chain with six different locations in Copenhagen. Along with your steak you can either have potatoes ad lib or dig into the salad buffet as many times as you wish.

· A menu costs around DKK 150-250
· Rådhuspladsen 57, 1550 København V
· Reservations: +45 3333 7094
· http://www.jensens.com/forside.htm

The Italian

Italian quality restaurant offering a wide variety of popular Italian dishes at reasonable prices. You can either choose a three-course dinner or browse the menu, where you will find pizzas, pastas, and meat and fish courses.

· A three-course dinner is around DKK 200-300, whereas a pizza is around DKK 100
· Vester Voldgade 25, 1552, København V
· Reservations: +45 7026 2320
· http://www.cofoco.dk/theitalian.php

☛ *10 seats pre-booked Tue-Thur 7.30PM and Fri 8.15PM*

Spuntino

Rustic and delicious Italian food in a locale that exudes Italy and the Italian country kitchen. Italian wines are sold by the glass (DKK 40) or by the bottle.

- An antipasti, a main course, and a dessert for DKK 295
- Vesterbrogade 68, 1620 København V
- Reservations: +45 7020 5089
- http://www.cofoco.dk/spuntino.php

☛ *10 seats pre-booked Tue-Thur 7.30PM and Fri 8.15PM*

Det Lille Apotek

Traditional Danish food, meaning potatoes and sauce on the side of almost every dish. The oldest restaurant in Copenhagen, once frequented by many cultural figures, including Hans Christian Andersen. Welcomes you with an atmosphere of yesteryear, nostalgia, and *hygge*.

- A starter and a main course for approximately DKK 200-300
- St. Kannikestræde 15, 1169 København K
- Reservations: +45 3312 5606
- http://www.detlilleapotek.dk/frontpage

Madklubben – Steak

American-inspired steak house. The menu is simple: the steak comes with a sauce and one side dish; extra sides dishes may be ordered at an additional cost. Also on offer is a variety of delicious starters and desserts, with classics like New York cheesecake to complete the American theme.

- Three courses at DKK 300, four courses at DKK 350 (some steaks cost extra)
- Pilestræde 23, 1112 København K
- Reservations: +45 3313 3334
- http://www.bistrobooking.dk/steak/

☛ *8 seats pre-booked Tue-Fri at 8:30 PM*

Frankie's Køkken

A bistro that offers a good substantial dinner at a relatively low cost. A mix of French, Spanish, and Danish cuisines, the main focus is on simplicity and good produce. They try to mix the familiar with the unexpected.

· Three courses cost DKK 200, four courses DKK 250 (some dishes cost extra)
· Admiralgade close to the Parliament/Christiansborg.
· Admiralgade 25, 1066 København K
· Reservations: +45 3313 3377
· http://www.bistrobooking.dk/frankies/

☛ *8 seats pre-booked Tue-Fri at 8:30 PM*

Restaurant Brdr. Price

Brothers Adam and James Price have made a name for themselves as TV chefs. In a time of healthy and slimming food, they instruct viewers to use plenty of butter and not be stingy in any respect. Their newly opened low-key French-style bistro has become very popular. The brothers claim to serve the food they themselves wish to go out and eat, and promise to be generous with everything. The atmosphere is comfortable and homey, with lots of *hygge*.

· In the pricier end of the range: a main course costs around DKK 200-300, but is worth every penny.
· Rosenborggade 15-17, 1130 København K
· Reservations: +45 3841 1020
· http://rosenborggade.brdr-price.dk/

Nørrebro

From the conference venue, you can reach the heart of Nørrebro in just 15 minutes: from Nørreport metro station, Nørrebrogade is a mere ten minutes by foot, or five by bus (take line 5A towards Husum Torv). Nørrebro is the most culturally varied and hip-and-happening neighbourhood in Copenhagen, with ethnic restaurants side by side with trendy experimental locales like Soupanatural and Grød.

If you arrive in the daytime, you may nip into Assistens Kirkegård and study the multilingual inscriptions on Rasmus Rask's picturesque grave.

Soupanatural

Soup restaurant with the slogan 'don't panic—it's organic'. Their concept is a 100% organic soup dinner based on seasonal vegetables. At night the place becomes an organic cocktail bar. There is a second Soupanatural in the Latin Quarter.

- Dinners at less than DKK 100
- Guldbergsgade 7A, 2200 København N – reservations: +45 3213 1735
- Sankt Peders Stræde 31, 1453 København K – reservations: +45 3215 2735
- http://www.soupanatural.dk

Grød

Porridge restaurant, inspired by the newest trends from London and New York. Each week there is a new menu based on seasonal vegetables. The base is always porridge, whether for breakfast, lunch, or dinner—such as porridges with different fruits for breakfast and risotto for dinner.

- Student friendly prices: breakfast DKK 30, while dinner is around DKK 60
- Jægersborggade 50, 2200 København N
- http://www.facebook.com/groed

Oysters & Grill

Visiting Oysters & Grill feels more like being in a seafood restaurant in a French or Spanish dock than in a hip area of Nørrebro, surrounded by kebab shops. Bare white walls, iron bars in the ceiling, colourful table cloths, and bantering waiters lend the place its charm.

- Oysters are charged by the number (DKK 17 for French oysters; DKK 24 for Danish ones)—other seafood dishes by weight. À la carte dishes around DKK 150-200
- Sjællandsgade 1B, 2200 København N
- Reservations: +45 7020 6171
- http://www.cofoco.dk/oysters.php

Vesterbro

The once seedy Vesterbro has undergone extensive renovation in recent years, giving way to a range of exciting ethnic and modern restaurants as well as trendy bars and cafés. Catch line 33 from the conference venue and get off at City Hall Square/Rådhuspladsen, then walk down Vesterbrogade to find the restaurants below. In the more shady parts around the Central Station you will find a variety of cheap Chinese, Pakistani and Indian restaurants in Istedgade and Vesterbrogade.

Noodle House

Tiny, authentic Chinese open-kitchen restaurant and take-away specializing in both southern and northern Chinese food.

· Dinners for less than DKK 100
· Abel Cathrines Gade 23, 1654 København V
· Reservations: +45 3889 8818

Magasasa

Chinese restaurant offering traditional Cantonese cuisine. The authentic atmosphere mixes the best from Southern China with Danish minimalism.

· Student-friendly prices: main courses at DKK 69-130
· Istedgade 4, 1650 København V
· Reservations: +45 3323 8088
· http://magasasa.dk/

Yan's Wok

Chinese restaurant offering 'Hong Kong Cuisine'. The duck allegedly is to die for.

· Main courses from DKK 110.
· Bagerstræde 9, 1617 København V
· Reservations: +45 3323 7333
· http://www.yanswok.dk

Ankara

Large Turkish restaurant offering an extensive buffet with Turkish specialities; affiliated with Ankara in Krystalgade where conference participants meet on Monday night.

· The buffet is DKK 89
· Vesterbrogade 35, 1620 København V – reservations: +45 3331 9233
· Krystalgade 8-10, 1172 København K – reservations: +45 3315 1915
· http://www.ankararestaurant.dk

Les Trois Cochons

French restaurant in the Cofoco group, offering a limited but excellent menu in beautiful old settings. The chef sets starter and dessert, while there are three options for the main course, one always fish, the others mostly meat. Vegetarian options are rare.

· A three-course dinner is approximately DKK 300
· Værnedamsvej 10, 1619 København V
· Reservations: +45 3331 7055
· http://www.cofoco.dk/ltc.php

Madklubben – Vesterbro

Aims to serve appetizing courses that you don't have to be a gourmet chef to understand. For a substantial meal that will keep you full for a long time, choose the 'staff meal' specialty. Across the street from the restaurant is a miniature model of mediaeval Copenhagen.

· One, two, three, or four dishes at DKK 100, 150, 200, or 250, respectively (some dishes cost extra)
· Vesterbrogade 62, 1620 København V
· Reservations: +45 3841 4143
· http://www.bistrobooking.dk/vesterbro/

☛ *8 seats pre-booked Tue-Fri at 8:30 PM*

Restaurant Cofoco

New Nordic cuisine in the backstreets of Vesterbro. The menu consists of a wide range of appetizer-sized dishes to combine whichever way you like.

· Four, five, or six dishes at DKK 295, 345, and 395, respectively
· Abel Cathrines Gade 7, 1654 København V
· Reservations: +45 3313 6060
· http://www.cofoco.dk/cofoco.php

☛ *10 seats pre-booked Tue-Thur 7.30PM and Fri 8.15PM*

List of participants
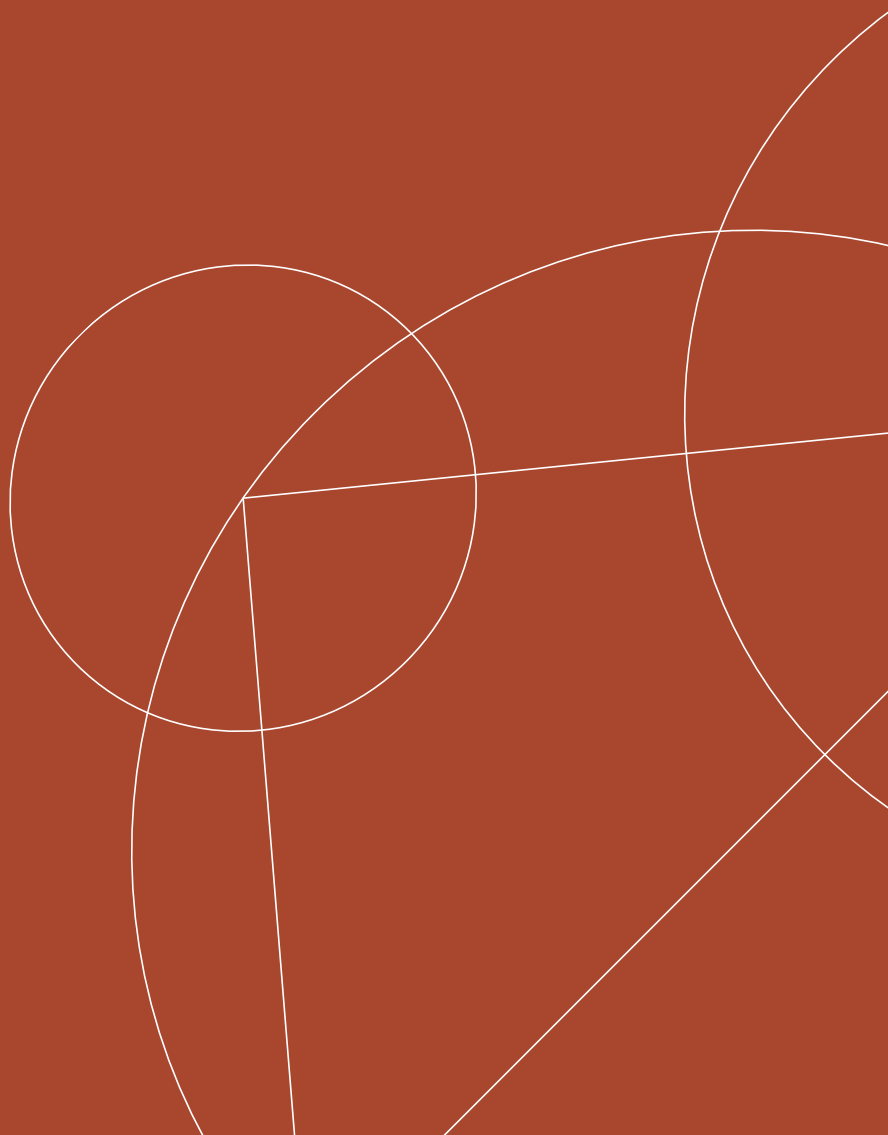
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