Indo-european prepositions and related words : internal analysis and external comparison

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK

INDO-EUROPEAN PREPOSITIONS AND RELATED WORDS
Internal analysis and external comparison

For Professor Adolf Erhart to his 75th birthday

The prepositions (& postpositions) of the later Indo-European languages, usually also functioning as preverbs, express the elementary spatio-temporal relations. They are usually formed from old adverbs, representing the primary substantives or adjectives in certain case-forms (Be 218). The first purpose of this article is to describe the basic forms in all important Indo-European languages, including the *Restsprachen*. The second aim consists in their morphological analysis to determine their primary nominal functions, if it is possible. The final task is to demonstrate that outside the Indo-European, e.g. in the Afroasiatic, there were also the prepositions formed in a similar way, and in some cases the similarity could even be caused by a common heritage.

I.

ad "zu, an bei" (B 793–94; P 3) = "to, at, by, from" (M 2) = *H_2ed "to, by" (Be 220) = *H_aed "to" (EIEC 590)

Phryg αδ-δακετ "he (shall ?) do" (Neroznak 1978, 114f) ‖ Maced ἄδ-δαι· ῾ρυμοί (Hesych.) = nom. sg. *αδδα < *ad-$d^h_{\partial_1}$-ā (Ködderitzsch 1985, 27–28) ‖ 'Prehellenic' *ad- in ἀλείφω "salben" < *ad-leip-, ἀγείρω "sammeln" < *ad-ĝ^{h}er(-s)-i̯e/o- (Hamp, *Živa antika* 39[1989], 54, 75–76) ‖ ? Illyr ad- in NV *Adg-eleius* (Krahe 1955, 50) ‖ Lat *ad* "zu, bei, an" (prep. with acc., also with gen.; preverb), *atque* "und dazu, und auch, und" < *ad-que; Osc *adpúd* "quoad", *az* "ad" (with acc.) < *ads, Umb *ař-* 'preverb', *-ař* postposition with acc., e.g. *asam-ař* = Lat *ad aram* ‖ Gaul *ad-* in *Ad-iantū* = Welsh *addiant* "Sehnsucht", *Ad-mārus* (cf. OIr *már* "big"); Welsh *â*, prevocalic *ag* "with" < *ad-ĝ^{h}e; OIr *ad-* 'preverb', e.g. *ad-glādur* "appelō"; Celtib *ad-* in *aśeCaTi* "let him affirm" < Celt *ad-seg-ā(se)-ti* (Eska 1989, 37, 50); Vendryes (1959, A-13) adds Welsh *eddyl* "duty, goal" < *adilo-, comparing it with Goth *til* "suitable", MLG *til*

"goal", OIc, OEng *til* "up to, till" (cf. Lehmann 1986, 344–45) ‖ Goth *at* "at, to, from", OIc *at* "zu, bei, gegen, nach", OEng *æt*, OSax *at*, OHG *az* "zu, bei, an"; cf. also Goth *at-augjan* "to show" vs. OSax *t-ōgian*, OHG *z-ougen*, or OHG *z-agēn* "to hesitate" vs. Goth *ogjan* "to frighten" and OIr *ad-ágor* "I fear" (Lehmann 1986, 45).

NB: Hamp (*IF* 90[1985], 70) proposes a primary noun *$H_a$ed-* "conformity, goal", seeing in the preposition the frozen endingless locative.

amb^hi, *$m̥b^hi$* "auf beiden Seiten, um" (B 795–98; P 34) = "on both sides; around, at" (M 18) = *$H_2m̥b^hi$* "around" (Be 221) = *H_2ent-b^h-i* "around, on both sides" (EIEC 32)

OInd *abhíta-* "umher, ringsum, von allen Seiten" = Av *aiβitō* & *aiuuitō* "ringsherum"; OInd *abhí-vīra-* "von Mannen umgeben" (EWAI I, 91) ‖ Arm *ambołj* "vollständig, unversehrt" (*ołj* "gesund") ‖ Myc *a-pi* (Aura Jorro 1985, 79f), Gr ἀμφί ″um″, ἀμφίς ″zu beiden Seiten″ ‖ Alb *mbi*, *mbë* "bei, auf, an" ‖ Lat *ambi-* (prevocalic), *am- / an-* (preconsonantal) "herum, um, ringsum", OLat *am* "circuitu, causā"; Umb *amb-* (*amboltu*), *a-* (*a-ferum* "circumferre"), *an-* (*an-ferener* "circumferendi"), Osc *ampt* "circum", *amvíannud* "circuitu", *amfret* "ambiunt" ‖ Gaul *ambi-* "um" (᾽Αμβί-δραυοι); Welsh, Corn, Bret *am-*, *em-*; OIr *imb-*, *imm-* "um"; Celtib *amPi-* "around, about" in *amPiTiśeTi* "let him rebuild" < Celt *$m̥bi-deig-se-t(i)$* and the derived verbal noun in dat. sg. [a]*mPiTinCounei* (Eska 1989, 41–44) ‖ OIc *umb*, OEng *ymb(e)*, OSax, OHG *umbi* "um" ‖ Toch A *āmpi* m. < ntr. du. *$^ooiH_1$*, *āmpuk* f. "both" < m. du.*^oōu* + *-k(ä)*, besides B *antapi* ~ *āntpi* id. < ntr. du. *$H_2ent-b^hoiH_1$* (Adams 1999, 14). Cf. Jasanof, *BSL* 71[1976], 123–31 and Hilmarsson 1989, 56–58. It seems promising to start from *H_2en-* ± "face, side", probably forming the following two forms too.

$an(ō)$ "an einer schrägen Fläche hin, hinan" (B 798–802; P 39–40) = "on, upon" (M 21, 27) = *H_2en* "along in an upwards direction" (Be 220) = *H_aen-H_ae* "up (onto), upwards, along" & *H_aen-u* id. (EIEC 612)

OInd *ánu* "nach" (with acc., abl., gen.), nach-hin, entlang, hinter-her, gemäss, in betreff, gegen" (with acc.), adv. "darauf" (with final *-u* perhaps comparable with Lesb & Thes ἀπύ vs. Attic ἀπό) = Av *anu* "nach, gemäss", OPers *anuv* "nach, gemäss; auf-hin"; Av *ana* "entlang, längs, über - hin", OPers *anā* "über-hin" (with acc. or instr.), "entlang, auf" (with acc.) (EWAI I, 73–74) ‖ Arm *am-* in *(h)am-baṙnam* "ich erhebe", *ham-berem* "ich ertrage" with *h-* after Pers *ham* "together" ‖ OPryg *an-* in *anegertoy* "has built" = Gr ἀνεγείρω ″build" (rock monument near Midas town; Woudhuizen 1993, 7, 22) ‖ Ion-Att ἄνα, ἀνά "auf, in die Höhe, entlang", Dor, Boeot, Arc, Cypr ἀν, Lesb, Thes ὀν id.; adv. ἄνω ″aufwärts, empor, hinauf, nach (oben)", maybe already Myc *a-no-* in *a-no-qa-si-ja* , if it represents *ἀνο-γʷασία (Aura Jorro 1985, 69) ‖ Lat *an-hēlō* "atme stark und mühsam" < *$an-anslō$*; Umb *an-tentu* "intendito", *an-seriato* "observatum", *anglar* "oscines" < *$an-klā-$* ‖ OIr *an-dess* "de droite" → "Sud", *an-iar* "de derrière" → "Ouest" etc. (Vendryes 1959, A-70) ‖ Goth *ana* "at, on" (with dat. & acc.), ORun *ana* "on" (Antonsen 1975, 33, 43–44), OIc *ā* adv. &

prep. with dat. & acc. "on, in", OEng *on*, OSax *an(a)*, OHG *an(a)* "an, auf, in, bis, gegen" (with dat., acc. & instr.) ‖ Lith *anót(e)* "entsprechend, gemäss" (with gen.), *nuõ* "von-herab, von-weg" (with gen.), Latv *nùo* "von" (with gen.), OPr *no, na* "auf (wohin), gegen, über - hin", as prefix "nach; von - weg" ‖ OChSl *na* "auf - hin; auf, an" (with acc. & loc.) = Lith *nuõ* < *(H)nō* (see Kopečný 1973, 115–23) ‖ Toch A *eṣäk* "on top of", B *oṃṣmeṃ* "(from) above" < pToch *on(ä)ṣä-* < *H_ae/onu-dʰi*, cf. Gr ἄνωθε(ν) "from above" (Adams 1999, 108).

anti, *anta* "sich gegenüber, angesichts", über hin, entlang" (B 802–05; P 48–50) = towards, against, facing" (M 27–28) = *H₂enti* "over against" (Be 220)

OInd *anti* adv. "sich gegenüber, vor sich, in der Nähe" ‖ Hitt *hanti* "vorne, besonders" ‖ Arm *and* "dort", *ənd* "für, anstatt" (with gen.), "längs, über (an, auf) etwas hin" (with acc.), "zur Seite" (with abl.), "mit, bei" (with loc.), "auf-" (as preverb), cf. also *andranik* "Erstgeborener, erster" ‖ Gr ἀντί "angesichts, gegenüber, vor; für, anstatt" (with gen.), also as preverb, already Myc *a-ti-ja* nom. pl. ntr./f. = ἀντία (Aura Jorro 1985, 118) ‖ Lat *ante* "gegenüber, vor" (with acc.), also preverb < *anti*, cf. *antistō, antīquus* "alt" < *anti-okᵘ̯-* ‖ Goth *and* "along, through, over" (with acc.), also preverb "towards, opposite, away from", e.g. in *andniman* "entgegennehmen", *andanems* "annehmlich, angenehm", *andbinden* "losbinden, entbinden"; OEng *and* "against", OFris *and* "to, in, on", only in compounds OIc *and-*, OEng *and-*, *ond-*, OSax *and-*, *ant-*, OHG *ant-*, *int-*, *ent-* "opposite, against, to", with verbs also "from" ‖ Lith *antə̃*, *añt*, older *anta* "on, to" (with gen.).

The zero grade continues in Osc *ant* "bis zu" (with acc.) ‖ Goth *und* "für, um" (with dat.), *unþa-þliuhan* "entfliehen" etc.; *und* "bis" (with acc.), ORun *uþ /unþ/* (Antonsen 1975, 77), OIc *unz* (*und es*) "bis dass", OHG *unt* in *unt-az* "bis" etc. ‖ Lith *iñt* "nach".

Apparently derived from the noun attested in OInd *ánta-* "Ende, Grenze, Rand", *ántya-* adj. "am Ende befindlich" ‖ Hitt *hanz(a)* "in front", dat.-loc. *hantī* "apart", Palaic *hantanā-* "meet", Luw *hantawat(i)-* "ruler", *hantili-* "first", Hier-Luw *ha-ⁿt(V)* "face", Lyc *xñtawa-* "ruler" (Melchert 1994, 117, 191, 242) ‖ Arm *h̠-andiman* "facing, opposite" < *en-anti-mn-* (M 27) ‖ Celtib *antoś* "Grenze(n)" = "fīnēs" = Gaul of Vercelli *atoś* (Meid 1996b, 48, 50); OIr *étan* "front, forehead" < *antono-*, Breton *ant* "ridge" (M 28); cf. further Gr ἀντίος "opposite", ἄντα ῀face to face", ἔναντα ῀opposite, over against" < *(en)-antṃ , κάταντες gen. sg. "die Vorderseite herab", ἄντα, ἄντην adv. "gegenüber, ins Gesicht" ‖ ? Messap *anda* "vor" (Haas 1962, 83–84, 209), contaminated with the unattested reflex of *endo* ? ‖ Goth *andeis*, ORun *aada- /anda-/* (Antonsen 1975, 75), OHG *anti, enti* "Ende" ‖ Lith *añtis* "breast(s)" ‖ Toch A *antus* "also", *antule* "ausserhalb, bis..vor", A *ānt*, B *ānte* "surface, forehead" < *H₂ento-* (Adams 1999, 43).

apo "ab, weg" (B 806–09; P 53–55) = "away; from, after" (M 30) = *H₂épo*, *H₂pó* "from, as of" (Be 220) = *H₄épo* "back, behind", temporal "afterward" (EIEC 42)

OInd *ápa* "weg, fort, zurück"; "von - weg" (with abl.), pref. *ápa-* e.g. in *ápodaka-* "wasserlos"; Av, OPers *apa* "von - weg", Khot *pa°* "weg, ohne", *paiya* "after long time, late", Pashto *ba°*, cf. also *byal* "separated" < **apa-θya-* (Bailey 1979, 210, 222, 249) ‖ Hitt *appa* adv., postp. (with dat.-loc., gen., abl.), preverb "behind; afterwards; back, again, further"; *appan* "behind; after(wards)", *appasiwatt-* "day(s) after, the future"; Luw *appa(n)* adv., postp., preverb "back, again, after", HierLuw *apa(n)* "after, behind, again", Lyc *epñ* preverb & pref. "back, after, further", *epñte* "afterwards" (Puhvel 1984, 91–94, 96–98) ‖ Arm pref. *v-* e.g. in *v-arem* "I plough" < **apo-ar-* (Mann 1963, 68; cf. M 30) ‖ Phryg *ap-* in *apnekroiun* "let he be killed" = Gr ἀπονεκρόομαι "die, be killed" (Uyučik, Mysia; Woudhuizen 1993, 17–18, 22) ‖ Gr ἄπο, ἀπό "von - weg, ab" (with gen. = *abl.), but Arc, Cypr, Lesb ἀπύ, where *-u* perhaps means "and, also", cf. Myc *a-pu* prep., preverb or adv. (Aura Jorro 1985, 88); ἄψ adv. "zurück, rückwärts, wieder"; Maced ἀπ-, ἀβ- ‖ Alb *prapë* "wieder, zurück" < **per-apë*; cf. *hap* "to open" < **H₄ép-e/o-* (EIEC 42 after Hamp); Orel 1998, 142 derives *hap* from IE **skep-* "to cut" while a continuant of IE **apo* (p. 312) should have been in Alb *pas* "after, behind" < **(en) apo kʷid* ‖ Messap *apa* "von" (Haas 1962, 28, 33, 169, 209) ‖ Lat *ab* "von" (with abl.), *abs* "zurück, wieder"; cf. also *aperiō* < **ap-u̯eri̯ō* : OInd *áv̥mor apa* "du öffnetest"; Umb *ap-ehtre* "ab extra, extrinsecus" ‖ Goth *af* "from, from..away, since" (with dat.), ORun *af-* (Antonsen 1975, 82), OIc *af* adv. & prep. (with dat.), OEng *æf, of*, OSax *af*, OHG *aba, ab-* id.

*ap[m̥]mo- (superl. from **apo*) > OInd *apamá-* "entfernest, letzt" = Av *apə̄ma-/apəma-* "letzt" (EWAI I, 83) ‖ HierLuw *apamá-* "west(ern)" (Puhvel 1984, 94) ‖ early Alb *i për-apëm* "last" (M 29); besides **apt[m̥]mo-* > Goth *aftuma* "last" (Lehmann 1986, 8).

*apero- > OInd *ápara-* "hinterer, späterer, folgender, anderer", cf. *aparā́ya-* "in the future", *aparedyús* "on the following day" = Goth *in þamma afardaga* "on the day after"; Av *apara-* "hinterer, späterer", OPers *apara-* "späterer", Pashto *byarta* "again, back" < **apari-štā́-* (EWAI I, 83) ‖ HierLuw *apara-* "later, posterior", Luw *apparanti-* "the future", Lyc *epre/i-* "rear, later, following", Lyd *afara/i-* "descendant" (Puhvel 1984, 96–97, 93; Melchert 1994, 335: **ópero-*) ‖ ? Arm *var(ə)* "down, below" (M 29), besides *aparni* "future" (Greppin, *Drevnij vostok* 3[1978], 122) with surprising *-p-* (< Luw ?) ‖ Goth *afar* adv. & prep. "after" (with dat. & acc.), *afara* "descendant", OEng *eafora*, OSax *abaro* id.; OIc *afar* "besonders, sehr". Cf. also the vṛddhi-formation **āpero-* > Gr ἤπειρος, Dor ἄπειρος "Ufer; Festland" ‖ OEng *ōfer*, MLG *ōver*, G *Ufer* (P 53).

*apoter-o/i- > OInd *apataram*, OPers *apataram* "farther" ‖ Arm *vayr* "below" (Mann 1963, 68) ‖ Gr ἀπωτέρω "farther" ‖ Cornish *ater* "out of, without" (M 30) ‖ Goth *aftaro*, ORun *after*, OHG *after*, OEng *æfter*, OIc *eptir* "after" (Antonsen 1975, 44; Lehmann 1986, 8).

*ati, *ato- "über etwas hinaus" (P 70) = **at(i), *ati-* "towards, against; back, again" (M 38–39)

? OInd *áti* "über - hinaus" (adnom. with acc.), "überaus, sehr" (adv., preverb)

= Av *aiti-* e.g. in *aiti-bar-* "hinübertragen", OPers *atiy-* in *atiy-āiš* "er zog, begab sich", Khot *ata, atä* "excessively" (if the Indo-Iranian forms do not reflect **eti*, so EWAI I, 57); OInd *átas* "von hier, von dorther, vo, als" (Mayrhofer in EWAI I, 56 sees here the ablative formation from *a-*) ‖ Hitt *addu* "further" < **atu* (Puhvel 1984, 228–29) ‖ ? Gr ἀτ-άρ "however" ‖ Lat *at* id.; Venet preverb *ati-* in *atisteit* "adstat" (Lejeune 1974, 331) ‖ Gaul *ate-* in *atenoux* (Calendar of Coligny; Lambert 1994, 112), cf. NV *Ate-gnātus* = MBret *(h)aznat*, MWelsh *at-*; OIr *aith-*, pretonic *ad-*, cf. Ir *aith-gén* = Welsh *ad-waen* "je reconnais" (Vendryes 1959, A-53) ‖ Goth *aþ-þan* "aber, doch" ‖ Lith *at(a)-*, later also *ati-* "zurück,-, ab-, her-" ‖ OChSl, R *ot*, later *otъ* "weg, ab, aus" (adnom. with gen.-abl.) < **atos* (Couvreur, *IF* 60 [1960], 33), besides R-ChSl *otь* derivable from **ati* (Fortunatov; see Kopečný 1973, 151, 156) ‖ Toch A *atas*, B *ate* "away" < pToch **āté(-s)* (Adams 1999, 10).

*au̯(e), **u̯ĕ* "herab, weg von" (B 809–10; P 72–73) = "away, off, down; very" (M 45) = **áu̯o* : zero-grade **u̯e-* : **au̯-* < **au̯u* (Dunkel 1988, 117) = **H₂eu* "away from" (Be 220)

OInd *áva* "ab, herab, weg" (rarely prep. with abl., usually prefix), Gatha Av *auuā* "hin zu", OPers preverb *ava-* "nieder, weg"; (EWAI I, 129–30, 132) ‖ ? Hitt *awan* in *awan arha* "away, off", *awan katta* "down", *awan sarā* "up" (Puhvel 1984, 245 prefers to connect it with Lith *aurè* "there", OChSl *ovъ*, OPers *ava-* "that", emphasizing the same structure as in *duwan*; with respect to OInd *avár* "down, off" Polomé saw here the *-r-/-n-*heteroclisis - see Puhvel l.c.) and preverbs *u-* "hither": *uizzi* "comes", Luw *awiti* "come!" < **aw eyti*; Hitt *we-* in *wetezzi* "builds" < **u̯e dʰeH₁-*, cf. Ved *áva dhā́* (Dunkel 1988, 118) ‖ ? Gr αὐ- in αὐχάττειν· ἀναχωρεῖν, ἀναχάζεσθαι (Hesych.), if it does not represent a later variant (via apocopy) of **ap-*, cf. ἀποχάζω and further αὐκηρεσία (Hesych.) ~ ἀπόκηρος (Peters 1980, 43) ‖ ? Illyr *au-* "ad" in proper names" (Krahe, *IF* 49, 273) ‖ Lat *au-* "fort" in *au-ferō* = OInd *áva-bharati, au-fugiō* = OChSl *uběžati* ‖ Gaul *au-tagis* "διάταξις" (Vendryes, *BSL* 25 [1925], 36), OWelsh *hou*, later *o* "von; wenn", OIr *ó, úa* "von, mit, durch" (with dat.) ‖ OPr, Lith, Latv *au-* "weg, ab", e.g. Latv *au-manis* "unsinnig" ‖ OChSl *u* "apud", *u-* "weg, ab", e.g. in *u-běžati* = *au-fugire*; "von" (with gen. by verbs expressing emotions, property etc.) - see Kopečný 1973, 257–62 ‖ Toch A *wäm-* "to disappear into, be covered up", *wmänt* "west" < **au̯(e)-* + A *yom-*, B *yäm-* "to achieve, obtain, reach" (Adams 1999, 497–98; Van Windekens 1976, 591 and 603–04 recognizes A *yom-* "obtenir, atteindre", B *yäm-* 1. "id."; 2. "entrer", cf. the derivative *kaum-yänmälle* "sunset"). It was probably Pinault 1998, 363 who first proposed the connection of A *wmänt* "west" and B *yäm-* "to enter" & *kaum-yänmälle* "sunset". The same prefix probably forms Gmc **westa-* "west" (Pokorny 1959, 73 and de Vries 1962, 658 directly connect it with OInd *avás* "herab"). Pulleyblank (1995, 189) modifies this etymology proposing the compound of the prefix **(a)u̯e-* "off" & the verb *sed-* "to sit / set".

*au̯[m̥]mo- > OInd *avamá-* "unterster, nächster, letzter".

*au̯os > OInd *avás* "herab", from here *avastād* "unten".

*$au̯or$ > OInd *avár* adv. "(nach) unten" = Gatha Av *au̯uarᶚ* "downward", besides OInd *ávara-* "unterer, hinterer" < *$au̯oro-$ and Av *aoră* "downward" < *$au̯ro-$ (Dunkel 1988, 119).

*$eĝʰs$ "aus" (B 823–27; P 292–93) = *$H_1eĝʰ(s)$ "out" (Be 221)

Arm *ç-* e.g. in *ç-anem* "scatter" : *v-anem* "blow" (Mann 1963, 100–01; see M 236) ‖ Gr ἐξ "aus" (with abl.; in Arc-Cypr, Pamph with dat.); ‖ Alb *sh-* (M 236), cf. *sh-tir, sh-tij* "setze über einen Fluss, treibe an" (P 1074) ‖ Messap *ex* "(her)aus" (Haas 1962, 79, 190, 213) ‖ Lat *ex* "aus" (with abl.); Osc *ehpeilatas set* "*expilatae sunt", Umb *ehe-turstahmu* "exterminato" ‖ Gaulish *ex-* (cf. *exops* "blind"; NV *Exobnus* *"furchtlos" = OIr *essamain*, MWelsh *ehofyn*), Welsh *eh-*; OIr *ess-*, pretonic *ass-*; *a* prep. with dat.(-abl.); Celtib *eś(-)* "out of; un-" in *eś-anCioś* "not narrow" < Celt *$eχs$* (Eska 1989, 67) ‖ Lith *iž, iš*, Latv *iz, is*, Pr *is* "aus"; ? *esse, assa* "von" (with dat. & acc.) & *es-teinu* "von nun an", if it does not reflect *$et-s$ (Toporov 2, 96) ‖ Sl *$*jьz$ > OChSl *iz, izъ, iz-* "aus" (with abl.-gen.), cf. OChSl *iz-iti* = Lith *iš-eĩti* = Lat *ex-eō* "gehen heraus".

*$eĝʰs-tos$ > Gr: Ion-Att ἐκτός "ausserhalb", Locrian ἐχθός < *$*εκσ-τος$, ἔσχατος "der äusserste, letzte" < *$eĝʰs-ko-$ ‖ Alb *jashtë* "outside" (Orel 1998, 158) ‖OIr *acht* prep. "sauf, excepté", conj. "mais, moins que, pouvru que" (Vendryes 1959, A-11).

*$eĝʰst[m̥]mo-$ > Alb *i jashtëm* "outermost" ‖ Lat *extimus* ‖ Welsh *eithaf* id. (P 292; M 237).

*$eĝʰstro->$ Lat *extrā* & *exterus* "aussen befindlich", Osc *ehtrad* "extra", Umb *ap ehtre ehtre* "*ab extrim" (Krahe, *IF* 64[1958], 66–68 tries to demonstrate the primary Italic form *$extrōd$) ‖ OIr *echtar*, Welsh *eithyr* "extra", Breton *estr* "moreover".

*en, *$n̥-$, *eni, *$ni-$ "in" (B 827–33; P 312) = *H_1en "in" (Be 221) = *$H_1en(i)$ "in, into" (EIEC 290)

OInd *ánīka-* "Angesicht, Aussehen, Erscheinung; Vorderseite, Spitze; Reihe, Zug"; Av *ainika-* "Antlitz, Stirnseite, Vorderseite", ZorPhl *ānīk* "front", Pers *peš-ānī* "forehead", Khot *ñīa* "in presence of, from", *ñīaka* "id., vicinity" (Bailey 1979, 31) < *$eni-H_3kʸ-$ (EWAI I, 73), besides *ni-* "hinein" in OInd *nígam-*, Av *nigam-* "in einem Zustand gelangen", OInd *ni-já-* "eingeborenen, innewohnend, eigen", Av *ni-zənta-* "eingeboren, ingenuus" (EWAI II, 42) ‖ Hitt *in-* in *innarā-* "strong, violent" < *$en-(H)nor-ó-$ ~ Luw *ānnara-* "vigorous" < *$én-(H)noro-$ (Melchert 1994, 135, 139, 263), besides Hitt *ne-/ni-* in *negna-, -nigna-* "brother" < *$ni-ĝnH_1o-$, cf. Ogam-Ir *ini-gena* "daughter" (Neumann, *HS* 104[1991], 63–66, Sprache 38[1996/98], 7–9); Lyd preverb *ēn-* "in(to)" (Melchert 1994, 348) ‖ Arm *i*, before vowel *y* & *n-* "in" (with loc. & acc.) ‖ ? Thracian (Kjolmen inscription, Bulgaria) *eni* "hinein" in *eni.dakatro* "soll hineingelegt werden" (Schmitt-Brandt, *Glotta* 45 [1967], 45, 59) ‖ ? Phryg preverb *eni-* in OPhryg *eni.pakraj*, NPhryg ενε.παρκες (Neroznak 1978, 89, 128) ‖ Maced ἰν in ἰνδέα· μεσημβρία (Hesych.) = Gr ἐνδία id. (Hesych.), ἔνδιος "mittäglich" < *$en-di̯eu̯o-/ā$ (Ködderitzsch 1985, 32) ‖ Gr ἐν, dial. ἰν, poet. ἔνι, ἐνί "in", cf. Myc

e-ni & *e-ni-qe* = ἔνι τε (Aura Jorro 1985, 220), with *s*-extension epic Ion, Att, Lesb εἰς, Cret, Arg ἐνς, besides ἀ- (*ṇ̥-*), e.g. in ἀ-λέγω ‖ Alb *n-* "in, on", *inj* "bis" < *enị* ‖ Messap *in* "in" (Haas 1962, 168, 214) ‖ OLat *en*, later *in*; Osc *en*, Umb *en-* in e.g. *en-dendu* "intendito", also as postposition Osc *-en*, Umb *-e(m)* (adnom. with dat. = loc., acc. & gen.) ‖ Gaul *en-* in *essedon* "Streitwagen", *embrekton* "eingetauchter Bissen", besides *in-* in *in-sinde* (Larzac) < *en(i)-semdʰe* "in diesen", cf. the full form *eni-* in onomastics: *Eni-geni, Eni-boudios* (K.H. Schmidt 1996, 34–35); OWelsh, OBret *en, in* "in", Corn, Bret *en*, Welsh *yn*; OIr *in-* "in" (adnom. with dat. & acc.), *in-* (with lenition from *eni*, cf. *ingen* < Ogam *ini-gena* "Tochter"); Celtib *en(i)* prep. "in": (Peñalba de Villastar) *eni.orosei* "auf dem Berg" (Meid 1996b, 14) & pref. in dat. sg. *eniTousei* "veneration, offering" < *eni-dous-* (Eska 1989, 64) ‖ Goth *in* "in" (adnom. with dat., acc., gen.), OIc *í* ; OEng, OSax, OHG *in* id. (adnom. with dat, acc.); cf. also Goth *inn* "hinein" < *eni-n-* ‖ OPr *en* "in" (adnom. with dat. & acc.); Lith arch. & dial. *in(t)*, later *ī̃*, (*H₁ṇ̥*) "in" (adnom. with loc. & acc.), Latv *ie-* ‖ OChSl *vъ*, *vъn-* "in" (adnom. with loc. & acc.) < *ṇ̥*; the reflex of *en-* can be found in *(j)ędro* "kernel" derivable from *en-dr(u̯)om* "in wood", cf. Gr (Hesych.) ἔνδρυον· καρδία δένδρου (Blažek 2000, 357) ‖ Toch AB prefix *y(n)-*, B *in-* "in, among" (see Hilmarsson 1991 with a detailed analysis).

on "in" (EIEC 290: *H₁on*) > Hitt *an-* "in" in *anturiyas* "interior", *andurza* "within" < *H₁on-dʰur-s* "in-doors" (EIEC 168) ‖ OChSl prefixes as *on-ušta* "Schuhwerk", *ǫ-dolь* "Tal" ‖ Toch B *eneṃ* "within", *-ne* "in, to", A *-aṃ* "in, to".

entos > Gr adv. & prep. ἐντός "innen, drinnen, innerhalb" ‖ Lat *intus* "von innen".

éndo < *H₁én-do* "into" > Hitt *anda(n)* "in", Luw *ānta*, HierLuw *à-ta*, Lyc *ñte*, Lyd "into" (Melchert 1994, 242, 284, 348) ‖ Gr ἔνδον ''within'' ‖ Alb *ndë* "in" ‖ Lat *endo* "in" (EIEC 290) ‖ Gaul (Larzac) *ando* in acc. sg. *an-ando-gnam* consisting of *an-* "non" & *ando-gnᵒ* "né à intérrieur" < *(H)ṇ̥do-gnHᵒ* , cf. Lat *indigena* (Lambert 1994, 171).

ent[ṃ]mo- > OInd *ántama-* "vertraulichst, nächst, sehr lieb" = Av *aṇtəma-* "vertrautest, intimst; innerst" ‖ Lat *intimus* "innerst, vertrautest" (EWAI I, 75).

enter, *ṇ̥ter* "zwischen - hinein" (B 833–35; P 313–14) = *H₁enter* "between, inside" (Be 221)

OInd *antár* "innen, hinein, zwischen", Av *aṇtarə* "zwischen" (adnom. with loc., instr., acc., gen.), OPers *antar* <atr> "durch, unter, in", ZorPhl *andar* (EWAI I, 76); OInd *ántara-* "innerlich", Av *aṇtara-* "innerer", Khot *handara-* "within, interior", Yidgha *(n)adram* "inside" (Bailey 1979, 453); cf. also OInd *antrá-* & vṛddhi *āntrá-* "Eingeweide" ‖ Arm *əndər-kʿ* pl. "Eingeweide" ‖ Gr ἔντερον ''Eingeweide'' ‖ Alb *nder* "zwischen, in", *ndjer* "bis" < *entero-* ‖ Messap *atar-* < *ṇ̥ter* (Haas 1962, 210) ‖ Lat *enter, inter* "zwischen, in" (adnom. with acc.); Osc *Entraí* "*Interae", *anter* "inter", Umb *anter, ander* "während" (adnom. with loc. & acc.) < *ṇ̥ter* ‖ Gaul *inter ambes* "inter rivōs"; OWelsh *ithr* "inter", Corn *ynter, yntre*, Bret *entre*; OIr *eter, etir, etar* "zwischen" (adnom. with acc.); Celtib *enTara* "within" < Celt *entrād* (Eska 1989, 66) ‖ OHG *untar*

"zwischen" (different from *untar* "unterhalb" < Gmc **under* < **n̥dʰer*), cf. Goth *undaúrni-mats* "midday meal", OIc *undorn* "midforenoon" etc. ‖ ChSl *jętro* "entrails".

ens-ter > ? Hitt *istarna, istarni* "between, mutually, in the midst, among(st), within, internally" < **ens-ter-nᵒ* with the same suffix as Lat *internus* (Puhvel 1984, 478–83) ‖ MLG *inser* "essbare innere Teile von Tieren", OIc *ístr* "das Eingeweide umgebende Fett" ‖ OPr *instran* "Fett", Latv *îstr* pl. "Nieren" < **enstro-*.

*ĕnu, *ĕneu "ohne" (B 837–38; P 318) = **H₁ĕnu-* : **H₁neu-* "without" (Blažek 1999, 286–87)

? OInd *anō* "nicht"; Khot *anau* "without", later *anā*, cf. *anāvu* "isolated" (Bailey 1979, 3), Sogd *nw-* "without", Osset *ænæ*, MParthian (Turfan) *'n'* id. ‖ Gr ἄνευ, ἄνευθε(ν) "ohne", Doric ἄνευν, Elean ἄνευς id.; cf. also ἐνεός "dumb" derivable from **enewó-ŏs* "mouthless", ἐνεόφρων "stupid", lit. "senseless" (Blažek, *HS* 112[1999], 189–203, esp. 199, where IE **H₁neun̥* "9" is interpreted as the accusative of the primary noun **H₁ĕnu-* "lack") ‖ Goth *inu* "ohne", besides OIc *án, ón*, OFr *ōni*, OSax *āno*, OHG *ānu, āno, āna* id. < **ēnu* ‖ ? Toch AB *āñu* "rest, peace; cessation" (Adams 1999, 40: **H₁ōnH₁eu̯-o-*).

*epi, *opi, *pi "nahe hinzu, auf - darauf, auf - hin" (B 838–44; P 323–24) = **Hépi, *H₁opi* "by, at, towards" (Be 221) = **H₁epi ~ *H₁opi* "near, on" (EIEC 391)

OInd *ápi* "auch, ferner, sogar, dazu" (adv.), Ved rarely prep. with loc. "bei, in", pref. *api-, pi-* "zu, bei", e.g. *pi-nahyati* "bindet an, zu", *py-úkṣṇa-* "Überzug des Bogenstabes" = Gr πτυχή "Falte, Schicht"; Gatha Av *aipī* "auch, späterhin", later Av *aipi* "über - hin, bei" (adnominal with acc.), temporal "bei" (with loc.), "nach" (with instr.), adv. "dazu auch, desgleichen auch, besonders; hernach, später", pref. "hin", OPers *apiy* "auch, noch", cf. also adv. *apaya-* "hernach, künftig" ‖ Hitt *appizziya-* "afterwards" < **opi-ti̯o-* = Gr ὀπίσ(σ)ω id. (Puhvel 1984, 94, 97) ‖ Arm *ew* "und, auch", cf. the verbal prefix *h-*: *h-aganim* "ziehe mir an" ‖ Gr ἐπί, ἔπι "auf zu, an" (with gen., dat. & acc.), from Il., but attested already in Myc *e-pi* "upon" (Aura Jorro 1985, 223f), versus Myc *o-pi* (Aura Jorro 1993, 37) and further Hom. ὄπιθε(ν) "hinten, hinterher", Ion-Att ὄπισθε(ν) id., ὀπίσ(σ)ω "backwards, afterwards", besides ὀψέ, Aeolic ὄψι "spät" ‖ Alb *jap* "give" < **jep* < **epī* < **epi-di̯ō* < **epi-d(o)H-i̯ō* = Gr ἐπι-δίδωμι "give freely, lavishly" (Hamp 1981, 40) ‖ ? Illyr *epi-* in NV *Epi-cadus* (*-cadus* ~ κεκαδμένος "prangend"), *Epi-caris*, NL *Epi-dotio, Epi-lentio, Epi-damnos* etc. (Krahe 1955, 54) ‖ Messap *eipei-* in *eipeigrave[ǫ]s* (Haas 1962, 49, 167, 213) ‖ Venet prep. with instr. *o.p* and further *opi-* in NL *Opi-tergium* (Lejeune 1974, 337) ‖ OLat *ob* "circum, juxta", later "gegen - hin, nach - hin, um - willen, wegen" (adnom. with acc.), *op-* in *operio* < **op-veriō*, *oportet* < **op-vortet* "es wendet sich einem zu, kommt einem zu, steht als Pflicht vor einem"; Osc *úp, op* "bei" (with abl. = **instr.) ‖ OIr *ía-daim* "I close" < **epi-dʰH₁ᵒ* = OInd *(a)pi-dhā-* = Gr ἐπι-τίθημι = Lat *obdō* ; Welsh *wyneb* "face" <

*ep-enik$^{\mu}$ā (Hamp 1981, 43, 39); ? Celtib *oi-* "near (to)" < Celt *oy-* < *opi* in *oiśaTus* 3 sg. fut. "?" (Eska 1989, 79); OIr *oíbell* f. "spark, flame, ember" = Welsh *ufel* "Funke" < *opi-b^{h}elā* ; OIr *ad·opair* "sacrifices" < *ad-obber-* < *ad-op-ber-* = Lat *offerō* (Hamp 1981, 41) || Goth *ibdalja* "descent", *ibuks* "back", OHG *ippihhon* "to turn back", besides OIc *ǫfugr* "backward", OSax *aƀuh*, OHG *abuh* "turned away" (Lehmann 1986, 202) || Lith *apiẽ, apì* "around" (with acc.), Latv *ap, ap(i)-* id., Lith *āpstas* "overflow" < *op(i)-stH-*; OPr *ep-*, *eb-* "be-" || Toch AB verbal pref. *p-*, A *opäśśi*, B *epastye* "skillful, adept, capable, able" < *H$_1$opi-stH$_2$-u-*, cf. Gr ἐπίστασις "dilligence, attention, care" (Adams 1999, 88), Toch B *pi* "really, indeed", perhaps related to A *-pi* occuring as a part of the decade numbers (Adams 1999, 382–83).

ep(i)t[ṃ]mo- > Goth *iftuma* in *iftumin daga* "on the following day" (Lehmann 1987, 204), besides *op(i)t[ṃ]mo-* > Lat *optimus* "best" (Hamp 1981, 42).

epiro- > Alb *épër* "upper, superior, higher" = Gheg *éper* < *opi-ro-* || OIr *iar^N, iarm-* "after, secundum" (with dat.) < *ēron, ēromV* < *epi-ro-m* (P 324 after Thurneysen: primary ntr.), *epi-ro-mV*; Welsh *w̃yr* "grandson" < *ēros* < *epi-ro*; the semantic development has an analogy e.g. in Gr ἔπισσον· τὸ ὕστερον γενόμενον (Hesych.), ἔπισσαι f. pl."nachgeborene Töchter" (Hamp 1981, 43).

et(i)-, *ot(i)-* (B 844–46; P 344) = *H$_1$eti, *H$_1$oti* "over" (Be 221)
OInd *áti* "über - hinaus, gegen" (with acc.), pref. *áti-* "vorüber, zurück"; Av *aiti-* in *aiti-bar-* "hinübertragen", OPers *atiy-* in *atiy-āiš* "er zog, begab sich", Khot *ata, atā* "excessively" (EWAI I, 57; Bailey 1979, 2), further Av *aṱ* & *aṱčā* "then, so, thus, next, therefore, and" || NPhryg ετι "and; besides, in addition to" (Lubotsky, *Kadmos* 28[1989], 79–88; he rejects the usual identification of this form in the verb ετι-τετικμενος "verflucht") || Gr ἔτι "überdies, ferner, noch" || ? Messap - *vi* "und" (Krahe, *KZ* 56[1929], 132f; Haas 1962, 220) || Lat *et* "und auch, und", Paelignian, Umb *et* id. || Gaul *eti* "auch, ferner", *eti-c* "und auch"; OBret *et-binam* gl. "lanis", OWelsh *et-met* "retunde" || Goth *iþ* "but, if", pref. *id-* in *id-weit* "reproach, disgrace" = OEng, OFris *edwīd*, OHG *it(i)wīz* id. (Lehmann 1986, 203) || Lith & Latv *at-* e.g. in *at-nèšti* & *at-nest* "carry away" respectively; OPr *et-* & *at-*; maybe also *esse ~ assa* "von" < *et-sV* (Toporov II, 91f) || Sl *(j)ešče* "still" < *ets-k$^{\mu}$e*, cf. Gaul *etic* = Av *aṱčā* (Hamp, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 27 [1984], 290) || ? Toch A *aci* "starting with, hither", B *ecce* "hither" < *eti* ? (Adams 1999, 79: otherwise).

ob^{h}i, *b^{h}i* "auf - zu, auf (über) - hin" (B 820–23; P 287) = *ob^{h}i* "athwart, against, at" (M 861) = *H$_3$eb^{h}i, *(H$_3$)b^{h}i* "towards" (Be 221)
OInd *abhí* "herbei, zu - her, gegen, wegen, über" (with acc.), *abhi-* "auf - zu"; Gatha Av *aibī*, late Av *aiβi, avi, aoi*, OPers *abiy* prep. "zu - hin" (with acc.), "über, in betreff von" (with loc.), pref. "zu, be-", Buddh. Sogd *βy^o*, Khot *by^o* etc. (Bailey 1979, 308) || ? Lat *ob* "auf - hin, nach - hin, auf - zu, vor - hin; zum Entgelt für; um - willen, wegen", cf. *obsideō* = OInd *abhi-sad-* (WH II, 192–93) ||

Goth *bi* "auf - hin", OHG *bi, bī* "in Beziehung auf, über, (with acc.), "an, bei" (with dat. = *loc.) || OChSl *obь, obъ* as preverb "um-, be-", e.g. *obь- / obъ-stojati* "umringen" (Kopečný 1973, 132–41).

*ud, *ūd* "in die Höhe, empor, heraus" (B 902–06; P 1103–04) = *ud* "on high" (Be 222) = *ūd* "upward, out (from under)"

OInd *úd-, út-* preverb "empor, weg, heraus"; Av *us-, uz-* id. (*ud-s), OPers *us-* id., ? *ud-* in *ud-apatatā* "er erhob sich, rebellierte", Khot *uys-* "out, up", Sogd *'z-*, MPers (Tumshuq) *'wz-, 'z-*, ZorPhl *uz-, us-*, Wakhi *zü-, z(ə)-*, Yidgha *zə-*, Osset *æs-, (i)s-* etc. (Bailey 1979, 38), if the Iranian forms do not represent *uz-* compatible with BSl || Arm *us-* in *us-anan* "breathe out" : *v-anem* "breathe out" (Mann 1963, 101) || Gr ὑ- in ὕστριξ "Stachelschwein", ὕσπληξ "Startseil", Cypr ὕ-χηρος "Aufgeld" || Lat *ūs-que* "ineinem fort, ununterbrochen von - her oder bis -hin"; Venet prep. *u* in *u.dono.m* "pro dono", *u.teu.ta[m]* "pro civitate" (Lejeune 1974, 339, 170) || ? OIr preverb *uss-, oss-*; cf. Ir *úd(h)* "beginning"; Welsh *oddi* "from" < *ud-dē* (M 1474) || Goth adv. *ut* "out" /ūt/, *uta* "outside", *utana* "from outside, up to", OIc adv. *út*, OEng & OFris, OSax adv. & prep. *ūt*, OHG adv., prep. & conj. *ūz* "out", OIc, OSax, OFris *ūtan*, OHG *ūzan(a)*, G *aussen* "outside" (Lehmann 1986, 384), besides OIc *útar*, OEng *ūter*, OSax *ūtar*, OHG *ūzar*, G *ausser*; *uds > Gmc *uz-* "aus, aus - heraus, aus - vor, vor weg" > Goth *us & uz-* "von, aus" (with dat. = abl.), OIc *ór , ór-, or-, ǫr-* id., OEng *or-*, OSax *ur-, or-*, OHG *ur, ir, ar* "aus, von", pref. *ur-, ir-, ar-, er-* || Lith *už* "hinter, für", *už-* "auf-, hinauf-, zu-", Latv *uz, ūz* "auf" || OChSl *vъz(ъ)* "hinauf an etwas" (with acc.), although the Iranian & Balto-Slavic forms are derivable from *uĝ(h)-* (Kopečný 1973, 280–81 with discussion; Erhart 1987, 124). In principle, these forms could represent a merger of *ud-* with *-ĝh(V)-*, cf. Welsh *ag* "with" < *ad-ĝhe-* (P 3) or Lith *ažuõ* "hinter, für" < *ad-ĝhō* ? Finally, a continuant of *ūd-* can be found in OChSl *vy-*, e.g. in *vygъnati* "drive out" (Kopečný 1973, 267–69).

*ud(s)t[m̥]mo- > OInd *ut-tamá-* "highest" = Av *us-təma-* "last" (EIEC 612).

*udtero- > OInd *úttara-* "oberer, oben befindlich, nördlich, späterer", Sogd *'str'myδ* "next day", Pashto *ustərai* "last" || Gr ὕστερος "hinterer, späterer" (EWAI I, 213).

NB: Mayrhofer (EWAI I, 214) proposes the starting point *Hud ~ *uHd > *ūd* with the laryngeal metathesis (after Peters).

*upo, *(e)up-s- "unten an etwas heran" (B 911–18; P 1106–07) = *upó "under" (Be 222) = *H₄upó "up (from underneath), rising into view" (EIEC 612)

OInd *úpa* preverb & prep. "hin - zu" (with acc.); "an, bei, zu" (loc.), "im Laufe von, gemäss, mit im Sinne der Begleitung" (instr.); Gatha Av *upā*, later *upa* preverb & prep. "hin - zu, bei, an, in" OPers *upā* "bei", Khot *bā* "toward (oneself)", ZorPhl *'p'k /apāk/*, Pers *(a)bā* "with", Pashto *bōe* "near" < *upākai (Bailey 1979, 274; EWAI I, 218) || Hitt *up-zi* "geht auf" || Gr ὑπό "preverb & prep. "unten an etwas heran, unter etwas" (acc.); "unten an, unter" (dat. = *loc.);

"unter" (gen.); "von unten weg, unter - hervor" (abl.), already Myc *u-po* (Aura Jorro 1993, 388f) ‖ Alb *hypem* "to go up" < *H_4up-i̯e/o-, *hypi* ~ *hipi* "to mount, climb up" < *H_4up-ni̯e/o-* (EIEC 612) ‖ Gaul *uo-* in *uo-dui* = OIr *fo-dí* "twice" < *upo-du̯ī* (Lambert 1994, 167), OWelsh *guo-*, *gu(a)-*, Corn *go-*, *gu-*, Bret *gou-* preverb, OIr *fo* preverb & prep. "unter" (with acc., dat. = *loc.), cf. further Gaul *uasso-* in NV *Vasso-rīx*, cf. MLat *vassus*, *vassalus*; Welsh, Bret *gwas*, Corn *guas*; MIr *foss* "Diener" < *upo-* & *stā-*, cf. OInd *úpa-sti-* & *upa-stí-* "Diener, Untergebener" ‖ Venet preverb *upo-* (Lejeune 1974, 340; 170: in contrary to the common Italic form in *s-*) ‖ Messap *hupa-* > *hipa-/hopa-* (Haas 1962, 214) ‖ Goth *uf* & *ub-uh* pref. "auf, unter", prep. "unter" (with acc., dat. = loc.), OIc *of* "über, an, in", OEng *ufe-* < *úpo, OHG *ūf* "auf", *oba* "über" < *upó*; cf. perhaps also Goth *iup* "upward", *iupa* "above", *iupana* "from before, from above" < *eub-* with puzzling *-b-*, but cf. OIr *uabar* "vanity" (Lehmann 1986, 208). Hamp (*Baltistica* 4.2[1968], 257) tries to explain the absence of any trace of *upo in Balto-Slavic from his interpretation of the pair OPr *ape* : Lith *ùpė* "river", which should represent the full and reduced apophonical grades respectively, causing the merging of *upo with the reduced grade of *apo.

up[m̥]mo- > OInd *upamá-* "der oberste, höchste, nächste", Av *upəma-* id. ‖ Celtib *uamo-* in dat. sg. *uameiśte* (bronze *reś*) < *upm̥m-ei stH-e[i]; Lepontic *uvamo-kozis* (Prestino) < *upm̥mo-ghostis* (Meid 1996b, 31) ‖ OEng *ufemest* & *yfemest* "der höchste, oberste".

uper(i) "über" (B 906–11; P 1105–06) = *upér(i)* "over" (Be 222) = *$H_4upér(i)$* "over" (EIEC 412) > OInd *upári* "oben, über, oberhalb, nach oben" = Av *upairi* "oben, über", OPers *upariy* "über, auf", Khot *vīra* "on", ZorPhl *apar*, Pers *bar* "on" (EWAI I, 221; Bailey 1979, 387–88) ‖ Arm *i ver* "hinauf, oben" < *upero-*, *i veroy* "ob, oberhalb", *i veray* "darüber, darauf" ‖ Gr ὑπέρ preverb "über, über - hinaus", prep. "über - hin, oberhalb, über - hinaus" ‖ Gaul *uer-* in *uer-tragos* "eine Art schnellfüssiger Hunde", attested in οὐέρτραγοι (Arrien) = *vertraha* (Grattius) > French *vautre* "chien de chasse" (Lambert 1994, 200); NV *Ver-cingeto-rīx*, NP *Vertamo-corii* („der höchste"), Welsh *gwar-* & *gor-*, Corn *gor-*, Bret *gour-*; Celtiber *uer-* "over" in *uersoniTi* < Celt *wer-son-ī-t(i)* "he carries out" (Eska 1989, 115–17), *ueramos* "summus" < *uperm̥mos*; OIr *for* "über, über - hin, über - hinaus" (with acc.); "über auf" (with dat. = *instr. or loc.), *for-* preverb "über, auf" ‖ Goth *ufar* "over", OIc *yfir*, OEng *ofer* id. < *úperi, OHG *ubir* id. < *upéri; o-extension: *upero-* "der Obere" > OInd *úpara-* "unterer, näherer. hinterer, späterer"; Av *upara-* "oberer" ‖ Gr ὕπερος "Mörserkeule", ὑπέρᾱ "oberes Seil", ὑπερῴα "Gaumen" (Frisk II, 969 from *ὑπέρω; otherwise Schweizer-Siedler, *KZ* 12 [1863], 309); cf. also Gr ὕπατος "oberster, höchster" ‖ Goth *ufaro* adv. "über, darüber", OHG *obaro* adj. "der obere", OEng *yferra* id. < *uberizō.

ups- > Gr ὕψι adv. "hoch", probably loc. pl. in -σι; from here ὑψίτερος, ὑψίων "höher", ὕψιστος "der höchste", ὑψοῦ, ὑψόθι,-όσε id., ὑψόθεν "von hoch herab", τὸ ὕψος "Höhe, Gipfel", ὑψηλός "hoch" ‖ Celtib *use* adv. "above" < Celt *uχs-i*, preverb *uśa-* "high" in *uśaPiTus* "let him raise" < Celt *uχsa-bwī-tū(d)* + *-s* (Eska 1989, 121–22); Gaul *uxsi* in *uxsedia* "somme"

(Graufesenque) < *uxsi-diā (Lambert 1994, 44, 131, 153); OIr preverb uss-, oss-
< ups-, cf. osnad "Seufzer" = uss- & anad (P 38); Welsh uch, Corn ugh, Bret
uc'h, OIr ós, úas "oben, über" < oup-su, cf. also *oupselo- > Gaul NL Οὐξελ-
λον,-α, Uxello-dūnum, Welsh uchel, Corn huhel, Bret uc'hel "hoch", OIr úasal
"hoch", and the derivatives in *-ṃmo-: Celtiber NL Vxama, Gaul Vxisama,
Welsh uchaf "höchst" ‖ ? OChSl vysokъ "high" < *ūps-okᵘ- ?

*upélo- > MIr fel "schlecht" ‖ Goth ubils, OEng yfel, OHG ubil "übel". Sal-
mons & Adams (EIEC 43) prefer the connection of this Celt-Gmc isogloss with
Hitt huwappi ~ huwapzi "ill-treats, harrows, harasses, disfigures, despoils",
huwappa- "evil, ill, bad" < *H₂/₃u̯op-.

*[ ]s-upo > Arm hup "near" (or directly from *H₄upó ?) ‖ Lat sub preverb &
prep. "unten an etwas heran, unter etwas" (with acc.); unten an, unter" (abl. =
*loc.); Osc συπ μεδικιαι , Umb su maronato with s- perhaps from *eks-upᵒ, cf.
Gr ἐξύπερθεν ‖ Toch B spe adv. "near by" < *(s)H₄upo (Adams 1999, 718–19).
Adams (EIEC 612) adds Hitt suppala- "animal", with respect to Lat animalia
suppa "animal on all fours".

*[ ]s-upmo- > Lat summus "der höchster, äusserste, grösste", Umbr somo
"summum".

*[ ]s-uper > Lat, Umb super preverb "über, drüber", prep. "über - hin, über -
hinaus" (with acc.); "über" (with abl. = *loc.); cf. further Lat super, superus
"der obere", Osc supruis "superis" and Lat supernus "der obere", Umb superne
"super" (with acc.).

*b⁽ʰ⁾e-(ĝʰ-) "ausser(halb), ohne" (B 810–11; P 112–13) = *bʰeĝʰ- (EWAI I,
220)

OInd bahíṣ- "draussen, von aussen, ausserhalb von" (with abl.); MPers bē
"fort, aus" (EWAI I, 220) ‖ OPr bhe "ohne" (with acc.), Lith bè "ohne" (prep.
with gen., nominal prefix), Latv bez id., although the borrowing from Sl cannot
be excluded ‖ OChSl bez & be id. (Kopečný 1973, 41–46). Cf. Lith be "noch" =
*"ausserdem", bèt "sondern, aber", bḗs, Latv dial. (Inflantian) be/bä "without",
besides Latv bḗst "vielleicht, etwa" < *bʰe + est ‖ OIr bés "vielleicht" < *béis <
*bʰe + esti ? Starting from the primary BSl form *be, it is tempting to mention
the equation Bulg bezok "blind" = Lat ab oculis > French aveugle (Fraenkel, KZ
69[1951], 78f).

*dě̃, *dŏ̃ "dar" (B 811–14; P 181–83) = *do ~ *de "to" (EIEC 590)

? Gr δή "eben, nun, gerade, gewiss", ἤ-δη "schon", δέ "aber", already Myc -
de enclitic conjunctive particle with adversative function (Aura Jorro 1985, 162)
‖ Messap de adversative particle (Haas 1962, 183, 212) ‖ Lat dē "von - weg, von
- herab, in betreff", Faliscan de id., cf. Osc dat "dē" < *dād (after ehtrād), cf.
further Lat dēmum, OLat also dēmus "eben, nun, erst" < *"zu unterst" -
"zuletzt, endlich", dēterior comp. "minder gut, schlechter", dēterimus super. ‖
OIr dí, OWelsh di, Corn the, Bret di "von - herab, von - weg"; Gaulish di-;
Celtib Ti- "from; not" < Celt *dī < *dē in TinPiTus "let him effect, cause"
< *dī-en-bwī-tō(d) + -s (Eska 1989, 107–08) ‖ ? OHG zādal "Armut, Not"

< *dē-tlom, from *dē "von - weg", similarly wādal "arm" : Lat vē ?

Lat dō- in dō-ni-cum, dōnec "so lange als, bis dass, bis endlich; dann" ‖ OIr do, du, OWelsh di, Corn đe "zu" < Celt *dū < *dō; cf. also Gaul (Graufesenque) du-ci "associé "„ ? (Lambert 131) ‖ OEng tō, OSax tō, OHG zuo "zu"; ? Goth du "zu" (prep. with dat. and peverb, e.g. in du-ginnan "beginnen") ‖ Lith do "zu" (prep. & pref.), ELatv da "bis" ‖ OChSl do "bis, zu" (Kopečný 1973, 59–66), besides da "so, und, aber".

*ĝʰō "hinter, nach, wegen" (B 846–51; P 451–52)

Arm z prep. & preverb "mit Bezug auf" ‖ Lith dial. ažúo, ažu, až "hinter, für", Latv az, later aiz "hinter, nach, wegen, statt", also the verbal prefix "hinter, von, zu, zu-, ver-"; in Balt a- it is tempting to identify the prepostition *ad-, cf. the same components in Welsh ag "with" < *ad-ĝʰe (P 3) ‖ OChSl za prep. & verbal pref. "hinter; an; für, wegen, während, an" (Kopečný 1973, 283–95). Perhaps an instr. of the pronominal stem *ĝʰo-.

*kom "neben, bei, mit" (B 851–55; P 612–13) = *ko(m) "together, with" (Be 221: *k̂-)

?? OInd kám "zu, für" (postp. after dat.); Av kạm (Y. 44,20) ‖ ? Hitt particle after dat. -(Vk-)kan: hastai-kan hastai handan "bone [is] collated with bone" (Puhvel 1997, 39–41; in EWAI I, 304 Mayrhofer quotes Eichner's equation nu kan = Gr νύ κεν = Ved nú kam), besides ka- in kapirt- "mouse" < *kom-bʰér-t-, similarly Lyd kabrdokid "Diebstahl" < *kab(ē)rdu̯a-ka- "das Stehlen" (Oettinger, HS 108[1995], 44–45) and kappuvai- "count" < kom-pu̯ᵍ° = lat. com-putō (Puhwel 1997, 66–72); cf. also Lyd preverb kan- e.g. in kantro- (Melchert 1994, 340) ‖ Gr κοινός "gemeinsam" < *κομ-ι̯ό-ς "zusammen ge-hend" ‖ Venet PN Com-petalis; Lat cum "mit, bei" (prep. & after pronouns postp. with abl. = instr.), pref. com-, var. con- before C, and co- before v & V, Faliscan cuncaptum "conceptum"; Osc com, con "with" (prep. with abl. = instr.), pref. com-, kúm- id., Umbr com "with" (prep. with abl. = instr.), pref. com-, kum- id., Volscan co-uehriu abl. "curiā" < *ko-uīrio- = Lat cūria < *co-uǐriā ; cf. also with the comparative extension: Lat contrā "gegenüber, dagegen, gegen", Osc contrud "contra", cf. Hitt kattera- "unterer" ‖ OIr coᴺ "mit" (prep. with dat. = instr.), pref. com-, proclitic con-, Gaul com-, but before v only co-, e.g. NV Covīrus, similarly Welsh cyf-, cyn-, but cy-wir, OBret keuuir-gar; Celtib Com-, Con- "together" in ComPalCes "senators" < Celt *kom-bl̥(s)k-, ConśCiliTom acc. sg. "cut up" < Celt *kom-sklito- etc. (Eska 1989, 56–59) ‖ OFranconian ham-ēdii "coniūrātōres". Sl *kǫ- in *kǫdělь and *kъn- in *kъnorzъ "boar", lit. "with testiculi", vs. Lith iš-arža "castrated animal", lit. "without testiculi" (Kretov 1994, 197–203) ‖ Toch k(ä)- in B klu̦snāträ "rubs" : A lyu "to rub", B käccitär (s sg. opt. med.) : tā- "to put" (Penney 1989, 59–60), cf. also AB kulyp- "to ask, want, wish, desire" < *kä-lyup- < *ko(m)-leubʰ-, with an analogous development of the vocalism of the first syllable as in A pukmäs "come!" (: kum- "to come") < *pä-kum-äs, formally corresonding e.g. to SCr sljubiti "to promise" (Blažek 1997, 23).

*km̥-tH₂ /-ti "by, along" (Be 221) > Hitt *katta* postp. "unter, unten an, bei, mit" (with dat.), "von, aus - herab" (with abl.), *kattan* id., *kattimi/-ti* "bei mir / dir" = Welsh *gennyf/-t* "with me / thee" (Holmer, *Ériu* 21[1969], 23–24; Hamp, *Études celtiques* 14[1974], 461–72); *kattera-* "unterer"; Lyd *kat-* "down" (Melchert 1994, 330, 341) || Gr κάτα, κατά prep. "entlang, über - hin, durch - hin, an, bei" (with acc.), "über - hin, entlang, abwärts" (with gen.), also pref.; κασί-γνητος "brother", lit. "born together with" || OIr *cét-*, pretonic *ceta-*; cf. *cét-buith* "Sinn"; OWelsh *cant*, MWelsh *can, gan*, OCorn *cans*, Bret *gant* "mit, bei, längs". Adams (EIEC 169) derives the Hitt & Gr forms from *kat-Hₐe "down", seeking a support in Hitt *katkattiya-* "to kneel, go down" || Toch B *kätk-* "to lower" (*kat-śke/o-*), *kätkare* "deep" (cf. already Toporov, *Etimologija* 1971[73], 286–297, who adds possible Iranian parallels: Tajik, Yaghnobi *kati*, *qati*, Shugni, Sarikoli, Ishkashim etc. *qati*, maybe also Osset Digor *xæccæ* "(together) with", cf. *dæw-xæccæ* = Tajik *tu-kati* "with thee", see Abajev 1989, 151).

? *kʸu- "to"
Sogd *kw* "to" || OIr *co* "zu, bis" (prep. with acc.), MWelsh *py* "jusqu'à", Welsh *bw-y gilydd* "(von einem) zum andern" (Vendryes 1987, C-133) || ? OChSl *kъ* "toward" (Kopečný 1973, 99–106; he confirms that the sometimes proposed protoform ⁺*kъn-* is a fiction; its existence in a fossilized form *kъnorzъ* indicates another origin). The most probable source seems to be an interrogative root of the type Av *kū* "where", Sogd *kw* id. Sims-Williams (*Peredneaziatskij sbornik* 4[1986], 116f) offers a convincing explanation of the transformation of the functions "where" → "to", using e.g. the following clause: Khot *thatau hā jsāte ku balysa* "quickly he goes where the Buddha [is]" → "quickly he goes to the Buddha..".

*medʰi "zwischen, inmitten, unter" (B 856–59; P 706–07, 702–03)
OInd *mádhya-*, Gatha Av *maidiia-*, later *maiδiia-* "mitlerer; Mitte", Shugni *mīδ* "Mitte, Taille", Osset *mīd-/med-* "in, innerhalb, inmitten"; Av *maiδiiāna-* "Mitte, Zentrum", MPers <mdy'n>, Pers *miyān* "Mitte, inmitten, zwischen", Parth *mdy'n*, Sogd *myδ'n*, Khot *myāna-* "middle"; superl. OInd *madhyamá-* (*madhamá- < *medʰm̥mo-), Av *maδəma-* id. = Goth *miduma* "die Mitte" (EWAI I, 303–04; Bailey 1979, 340–41) || Arm *mēǰ* "Mitte" || Gr (ep.) μέσσος, (Att) μέσος, (Cret, Boeot) "mitlerer", already Myc *me-sa-to* m., *-ta* f. = μέσ(σ)ατος "de calidad media" (Aura Jorro 1985, 441) || ? Venet river-name *Meduana* || Lat *medius*, Osc *mefiaí* "in mediā", *messimas* ± "medioximas" || Gaul *medio-* in *mediotamica* (Graufesenque) "(vins) de qualité moyenne" (Lambert 1994, 145); NL *Medio-lānum*, the river-name *Meduana*; OIr *mid-* (*medʰu-*) in compouds "medius", *i-mmedón* "in medio", MIr *mide* "Mitte", MWelsh *mywn*, Welsh *mewn* "in" (*medu-gno-*), MWelsh *mei-iau* "Mittel-Joch" (*medʰi̯o-*) || Goth *midjis*, OIc *miðr*, OEng *midd*, OHG *mitti* "medius", superl. Goth *miduma* "die Mitte", OIc *mjǫðm* f. "Hüfte", OEng *midmest* "der mittelste", *medeme*, OHG *metemo* "mediocris", Goth *midjuma-* in *midjun-gards*, OEng *middan-*

geard "Erdkreis", OHG *mittamo* "mediocris", *in mittamen* "inmitten", *mittar* "medius"; Goth *miþ*, OSax *mid(i)*, OEng *mid̄*, OIc *med̄(e)*, OHG *mit(i)* "mit" (but the derivation from **metí* is possible too) ‖ OPr *median*, Latv *mežs* "Wald, Gehölz", Lith *mēdžias* "Baum"; cf. the Lith river-name *Medujà*, suggestively corresponding to *Metuje*, earlier *Meduja* in Eastern Bohemia ‖ OChSl *mežda* "Strasse" (**medja*), R *mežá* "Grenze, Rain", besides OChSl *meždu* "zwischen" (adv., prep.; orig. loc. du.), R *meži* id., Cz *mezi* id. (orig. loc. sg.) ‖ Toch A *mäcriṃ* "southeast" (Winter 1988, 781–82) or "south" (Pinault 1998, 364) < **mäcär°* < **mäTjär°* < **medʰir°/*medʰjer°* < **medʰi* & **H₂ei̯er/*H₂ir* "midday" (Av *aiiarə* "day", Goth *air* "early"); B *omotruññaise* "southerly, southern, of the south" < **æn-motär°* < **H₁n̥-m[e]dʰjrṃ*, where the effect of the palatalization of **dʰ* was neutralized in the final cluster, cf. B *procer* "brother" < **bʰrātēr* : acc. sg. *protär* < **bʰrātrṃ*.

*me-/ṃĝʰ(s)ri- "bei, bis" (P 702–03; M 745)

Arm *merj* "bei", *merjenam* "nähere mich", cf. *jefn* "Hand" < **ĝʰes-r-ṃ* (Hamp, *Revue des études arméniennes* 17[1983], 7 proposes the starting point **(s)meĝʰr-i*) ‖ Gr μέχρι(ς) "bis" < **me-* plus the loc. of χείρ "Hand", besides ἄχρι(ς) id. < **ṃ-*.

*meta "zwischen, mit" (P 702–03) = **metH₂* "between, with" (Be 221)

Gr prep. μετά with dat. "with", with dat. "among", already Myc prep. with dat. *me-ta* "with" (Aura Jorro 1985, 441–42), cf. Μετάπιοι, Hellenized Μεσσάπιοι, NP in Aetolia ‖ Illyr *Metu-barbis* *"zwischen (loc.) Sumpfen", NL by Sava (Plin. *NatHist* III, 148), Μέτουλον (Strab. IV, 207) ‖ Alb *mjet* "Mittel", *mje* "till" (M 762) ‖ ? Messap *Met-aurus* *"Mittelfluss", NL in Umbria and Bruttium (Krahe 1955, 95, 103) ‖ ? Ligurian *Os Metapīnum* 'the mouth of Rhôna' *"zwischen den Wassern" ‖ OIc *med̄(r)* "mit, zwischen", Goth *miþ*, OEng *mid̄*, OHG *mit(i)* "mit" (< **metí*, if it does not continue **medʰi-*).

*ṇdʰi "über" (P 312)

OInd *ádhi* adv. "dazu, darüber, über - hinweg, von - her, wegen, auf, in"; ? Iran **adi* > MPers *ēwar* <'ywl> "certain(ly), assured(ly)"; OPers *adiy* in *ufraštādiy prsā* does not belong here, better *-diy* = Ved *hi* (EWAI I, 67) ‖ Lyc *ẽti* "below, down" < **ṇdʰi* (Melchert 1994, 327) ‖ Gaul *ande-* e.g. in gen. pl. *ande-díon* (Chamalieres) "very divine" : *diíiuion* "divine", maybe corresponding to OIr *An-dé* "Dieux d'en-bas", although from the point of view of semantics it agrees with Gaul (Larzac) *antumnos* "enfer" < **and'dumno-* < **ande-dubno-* and Welsh *annwfn* "other world" < **ande-dubno-* "le monde d'en-bas" (Lambert 1994, 153, 171), cf. also Gaul NV *Ande-roudus* *"der sehr rote", Welsh *annel* "Vorrichtung", OIr *indel* id. (**ṇdʰilom*).

According to *Petersburger Wb.* I, 141, OInd *ádhi* is interpreted as the loc. sg., while *adhás* (see below) is the abl. sg., cf. further Av *adō* "unten" (Y 44,4), Khot *dī* "under".

*ṇdʰos "unter" (P 771) = **ṇdʰés* "under, low" (EIEC 611)

OInd *adhás* "unten" (prep. with acc. & gen.), Av *adō* id., Khot *dī* "under" < **dai* < **daz* < **adas* (Bailey 1979, 158) ‖ Arm *ǝnd* "unter" (with instr.) ‖ OIc

und "unter" ‖ ? Toch A *āñc* "down" < *$ṇd^hi$, B *ette(m̥)* adv. "down", adj. "lower" < *$ṇd^hos$ (Van Windekens 1976, 163:), *etteś* "downward" (EIEC 611; Adams 1999, 81 expresses doubts concerning this etymology).

$ṇd^h[m̥]mo$- > OInd *adhama-* adj. "unterster, niedrigster, geringster"; Ormuri *jēm* "below" < *adama-* ‖ Lat *īnfimus* "unterster" (EWAI I, 66–67) ‖ Gaul (Lezoux) *andam°* in *andamica* "(vins) de qualité inférieure" (Lambert 1994, 145).

$ṇd^heri$ "unter, sub" (B 859) = *$ṇd^her(i)$* "under" (Be 221) > Av *aδairi* "unter, unterhalb", Khot *dīra-* "low" < *adarya-* (Bailey 1979, 159) ‖ Goth *undar*, OIc *under*, OSax *undar*, OHG *untar(i)* "unter, sub". The *o*-stem meaning "der untere" occurs in OInd *ádhara-* adj. "unterer"; Av *aδara-* "unterer, westlicher", MPers *ēr* <'dl> "niedrig" (EWAI I, 66: *(H)$ṇd^hero$-) ‖ Lyc *ētre/i-* "lower" (Melchert 1994, 284) ‖ Lat *īnfer(us)* "unterer", besides adv. & prep. *infrā* "unterhalb" < *inferād* ‖ Gaul (Chamalieres) *anderon* "qui est au-dessous" (Lambert 1996, 153) ‖ Goth *undaro* "unter" < *°ōd* (abl.), OHG *untaro* id. = OInd *ádharāt* "unten"; cf. also Gr ἀθερίζω "verachte, verschmähe" = OInd *adharīṇa-* "verachtet".

ni "nieder" (B 861–62; P 312) = *ni* "downward" (Be 221) = *ni* "downwards" (EIEC 169)

OInd *ní* "niederwärts, hinunter, hinab, rückwärts" = Av *nī* "niederwärts", OP *ni(y)-* "nieder-", Khot *ni°*, *nä°*, (M)Pers *ni°* etc. (Bailey 1979, 186f; EWAI II, 40); OInd comp. *nitarā́m* "unterwärts"; Av superl. *nitəma-* "der unterste" ‖ Arm *n-* e.g. in *n-stim* "setze mich" = Ved *ni-ṣad* ‖ Gaul *ni-* in *ni-tixsintor sies* (Lambert 1994, 167) ‖ OHG *nidar*, OSax *nithar*, OEng *niþer*, OIc *niðr* "niederwärts" : OHG *nidana*, OSax *nithana* "unten", OEng *neoðan*, *niþan* "(her)unter", OIc *neðana* "von unten her", prep. with acc. "unterhalb", OSax *nithe* adv. "unten", OHG *nida* prep. with dat. & acc. "unter(halb)" ‖ OChSl *nizъ* "hinab, hinunter".

Note: Mayrhofer (EWAI II, 40) speculates about the possibility that IE *ni* represents the zero grade of *eni* "in".

nis "hinaus, weg von" (B 862) = *nis* "hinaus, weg" (EWAI I, 47)

OInd *níṣ-* "hinaus, aus, weg von, darüber hinaus, ent-, un-, nicht-" = Gatha Av *nīš* "hinaus", later *ništara-* "der äusserste", OPers <niǰ-> in <niǰaym> = /niž-āyam/ "ich ging weg", Khot preverb *naṣ°* etc. "out", Wakhi *než-* id. (Bailey 1979, 176; EWAI II, 47) ‖ OChSl *ništь* "arm" < *nīstio-* = OInd *níṣṭya-* "auswärtig, fremd" (EWAI II, 48). Brugmann (B 862) added Gr ἄνις "ohne" (explaining α- per analogiam to ἄνευ id.), but it is better derivable from *$sṇH_ji$ "without".

*pe / *po* "weg" (Hackstein 1997, 47; Be 220:*$H_2pó$ = EIEC 42: *$(H_4)pó$)

Av *pa-zdaiieiti* "lässt wegrücken, scheucht", Khot *pa-* e.g. in *pa-ysan* "know" = R *po-znát'*, Sogd *pa-rēč-* "leave" = Lith *pa-likti* id., Osset *fæ-* e.g. in *fæ-zūryn* : *zūryn* = R *pozvat'* : *zvat'* "to invite", including the perfective function of the prefix (Abajev 1965, 65–68) ‖ Hitt *pē / pa: pē har(k)-* "hold, keep (possession), bring along, have along" (CHD 1994f, 253f) : *hark-* "hold, keep, have" (Puhvel

1991, 145–57) = Lat *porceō* "hold off" (**po-arc°*) : *arceō* "hold in", Hitt *pai-* "go (by / past), pass" (CHD 1994f, 18f), Luw 3 sg. imper. *paiddu* : Hitt *i-* "go", *iya-* "go, come, walk, march" = R *pojti* "go away" : *idti* "go", Lyd preverb & conj. *fa-* (Puhvel 1984, 325–35; Ajchenval'd, Bajun & Ivanov 1985, 52; Melchert 1994, 335) ‖ Alb *pa* "without" (with acc.), *pa-* "un-" ‖ Messap *pades* "dedicavit" < **po-dʰēs-t*, *padazeran* "posuerunt" < **po-dʰēki̯ĕront* with **-i̯-* after present (Haas 1962, 66, 170, 217) ‖ Lat *pōnō* (**po-s[i]nō*) : *po-situs, po-liō, po-lūbrum, pōrcet* (**po-arcet*) ‖ OFris *fãn*, OSax *fan(a)*, OHG *fon(a)* "von" (with dat. = *abl.) ‖ BSl **pō-* > Lith *pó-*, OPr *pō-* = Sl *pa-* in OChSl *pamętь* "memory", *pamьnĕti* "to remember" etc.; besides Lith *po-* in *pabėgti* "run away" = R *pobég* "flight, run", *pa-upè* = R *po-rečje* "riverside", but Lith *pa-tèvis* "father-in-law" : R *pa-synok* "stepson" (Hamp, *Baltistica* 4.2[1968], 255–57) ‖ Toch imper.: A *päklyos*, B *päklyaus* "hear!" = Cz *poslyš!* id.

*pos "unmittelbar bei, hinter" (B 888–90; P 841–42: **p-* + *-os*, gen.-abl. from **ep-* ?) = **pos* "after" (Be 221) = **pos* "immediately adjacent; behind, following" (EIEC 42: **H₁ep-* "near, on" or **H₄ep-* + gen. **-os*)

Gr (Arc-Cypr; Gr inscriptions from Phrygia) πός ‖ Lith *pȃs* prep. "an, bei", *pãstaras* "der letzte, hinterste" ‖ OChSl *po* "hinter, nach", *-s* is preserved in the forms with the *d*-extension: *poz-dъ* adj. "spät", *poz-dĕ* adv. "spät".

*post(H)i/u > Arm *ǝst* "nach" adv. & prep. "nach = secundum, gemäss", ? *stor* "der untere Teil" ‖ OLat *poste*, Lat *post* adv. & prep. with acc. "nach, hinter", Osc *púst, post*, Umbr *post, pus* adv. & prep. with acc. "post"; further Lat *posterus*, Osc *pústreí* "in postero", Umbr *postra*; Lat *postumus*, Osc *pustma[s]* "postremae"; Umbr *postne*, Lat *pōne* < **posti-ne*; Osc *pústin*, Umbr *pustin* prep. with acc. "je nach" (**posti en*); Lat *postīcus* "hinten befindlich" ‖ Toch B *pest* & *päst* "away, back", *postäm̥* "finally, afterwards" < **postu-nu* < **pé-/po-* + **stH₂- -u* (Adams 1999, 382, 400, 405; Hackstein 1997, 45–50).

*poskʷ⁾o- > OInd *paścā́* (instr.) adv. "hinten, nach, zurück, westlich, später", Av *pasča* prep. "hinter, nach", Khot *pātcu* "nachher", Osset *fæs-* "hinter", OPers *pasā* "nach", in Elamite transcription **pasča°* "unter-, Nach-, Vize-", Parth *paš*, (M)Pers *pas* "dann, nachher, hinten", Parači *pēš* "behind"; OInd *paścát* (abl.) prep. "hinter, nach, westlich", Av *paskāt̰* adv. "von hinten her, hinterdrein", Khot *paska* "back", Yazgulami *paski* id. (EWAI II, 110; Abajev I, 456; Bailey 1979, 225) ‖ ? Alb *pas ~ mbas* adv., prep. "behind, after" (Hamp, *KZ* 75[1965], 23) ‖ Lith *paskuĩ, pãskui* (dat.) adv. "hinterher, nachher", prep. "nach", from older *pasakuĩ*. Adams (EIEC 43) proposes the segmentation **po-* + **-skʸo-*, deriving the latter component from **sekʸ-* "to follow".

*poti "gegenüber, entgegen, gegen" (B 891–93; P 842: **(a)po-* + *-ti*) = **poti* "(over)against" (Be 221)

Gatha Av *paitī*, later *paiti*, OPers *patiy* preverb. & prep. "gegen, entgegen, zu, auf, bei; an, für, um; von - aus, an - hin, in", ZorPhl *pat*, Pers *bad-* & *bah* "zu, bei", Khot *patä* "before, in front of" (EWAI II, 174; Bailey 1979, 205) ‖ Gr (Hom, Bœot, Lac) ποτί "πρός", preverb. & prep. "gegen - hin, gegen, gegenüber; an, zu; an - hin, von".

*per(i) loc. "vorwärts, im Hinausgehen, Hinübergehen über, im Durchdrin-gen, im Übermass", from here "über - hinaus, durch - hin" (B 865–71; P 810–11) = *péri* "over" (Be 221)

OInd *pári* "rings, ringsum, um, herum, von - her, wegen, gemäss", Av *pairī* "inmitten von, um", later *pairi* "um - herum, bei, über - hin", OPers *pariy* "über, betreffs", Sogd *pr⁰, pyr⁰*, Khot *par⁰*, (M)Pers *par⁰*, Osset *fæl⁰* etc. (EWAI II, 91; Abajev I, 434f) ‖ ? Hitt *par(s)za & pirza* adv. "-ward", e.g. *āppa p.* "backward" (CHD 196–97) ‖ Gr περί, πέρ "ringsum, um, überaus, in betreffs"; Myc *pe-ri⁰* in *pe-ri-ra-wo* = Περίλαος ‖ Alb *për, pe(j)*; *per* "for" (Orel 1998, 319) ‖ Lat *per* "hindurch, über - hin"; Osc-Umbr *per- & pert* ; Venet *per* prep. with acc. (Lejeune 1974, 337) ‖ Gaul *eri-*, OIr *ir- & er-* (*ero-*), Welsh, Corn, Bret *er* ‖ Goth *faír-*, OEng *fyr*, OHG *fir-* "ver-", OHG, OSax *firi-* id. ‖ OPr *per*, Lith *peř, per-* "über -hin, um - herum, durch", cf. *per(-)didelis* "zu gross", *permãžas* "zu klein" ‖ Sl **per-* in OChSl *prě-* in *prěvelikъ* "zu gross", *prědědъ* "Ururvater", ChSl *prěotьcь* "Urvater" etc. (Kopečný 1973, 167–68, 207).

From "vorwärts" the meaning "sehr" developed: OInd *pari-prī-* "sehr lieb" ‖ Gr περι-καλλής "sehr schön" ‖ Lat *per-magnus* "sehr gross" ‖ Lith *peř-didis* "zu gross" ‖ OChSl *prě-blagъ* "sehr gut".

Other derivatives: Goth *faírra* adv. "fern", prep. "fern von", OIc *fjar(ri)* adv. "fern", OEng *feor(r)* "far", OSax *ferr*, OHG *ferro* adv. "fern, sehr", comp. *ferrōr* < **fer-ero-* " vs. the *n*-extension in Toch A *pärne*, B *parna* "outside" < **päränä-i* (Adams 1999, 359); in the temporal sense: (loc. or acc. ?) **per-ut(i)* > OInd *par-út* "in past years" ‖ Arm *heru* "last year" ‖ Gr πέρυσι, Dor πέρυτι "last year" ‖ OIr *ón n-urid* "ab anno priore" (vowel metathesis ?) ‖ OIc *fjorð* "last year", MHG *vert* id. (P 1175); **per-H₁(e)n-* > MHG *verne* "vorjährig", *vern* "im vorigen Jahre", Goth *af faírnin jera* "vom Vorjahre", OSax *fernun gēre, fernun iāra* "im Vorjahre", besides Goth *faírneis* "old", OHG *firni* id., OIc *fyrnd* "Alter" ‖ Lith *pérnai* "im vorigen Jahre", Latv *pērns* "vorjährig, firn"; cf. also Lat *perendiē* "übermorgen".

*peros and fossilized case forms (B 872–73; P 811)

OInd *parás* prep. with acc. "über - hinaus", with abl. "fern von", with instr. "jenseits von" (the final position of the tone indicates the adverbial origin); Gatha Av *parə̄* "darüber hinaus, mehr als etwas", later *parō* prep. with acc. "ausser - abgesehen von", cf. *parō.asna-* "jenseitig, künftig seiend" = Pashto *parūn* "gestern" < **para-azn*, OPers *para* "jenseits (von)"; besides the nom. sg. above, the other cases were also grammaticalized: instr. sg. OInd *párā* adv. "fort, weg, über" = Av *para* adv. "fort, weg, zur Seite" = OPers *parā-* in *parā-ay-* "wegziehen, aufbrechen" (EWAI I, 88–89); loc. sg. OInd *paré* "darauf, fernerhin"; acc. sg. OInd *param* prep. with abl. "hinaus über, jenseits, nach" = Osc *perum*; further OInd *pára-* adj. "fernergelegen, ferner, äusserst, höchst, jen-seitig, Feind; früher; später", superl. *paramá-* "fernster, letzter, bester, höchster" = Sogd postp. *(')prm(w)* = /paramam/, besides *prβtm* "letzter" /parama-tama-/, cf. also Hispano-Lat (< Lusitanian ?) *paramus* "Hochebene" (EWAI I, 86–88) ‖ Hitt *peran* postp. "before, in front of, in the presence of, in the sight or hearing of; preverb "in front"; adv. "previously, at first, in advance", Luw *parran*, Hier-

Luw *pa+ra/i-na* "„before, in front" < **pérem* (CHD 291–312; Melchert 1994, 122, 124, 242) ‖ Arm *heri* "entfernt, fern" ‖ Gr πέρᾱ(ν), Ion πέρην adv. (orig. acc. sg. f.) & prep. with abl. (gen.) "darüber hinaus, jenseits"; πέρᾱ "darüber hinaus, jenseitis" (orig. instr. sg. from **pero-*) ‖ Lat *pre-perām* "verkehrt", *per-perus* "falsch"; Osc *perum* "sine" ‖ OIr *īre* "weiter, länger" (**perịo-*).

*prai, *pr̥rai, *pr̥ri (B 880–83; P 811–12) = **preH₂i* "at the front" (Be 221: loc.) = **pr̥H₄éi* "in front of; before (of time)" (EIEC 60–61; Hamp 1997, 48: dat.)

OInd *paré* "daraufhin" (orig. loc. sg.) ‖ ? Hitt *pariyan, parean* postp., preverb., adv. "across, over, beyond", postp. "over to, across to; in opposition to"; adv. "in front; beyond ?, besides ?" (CHD 151–53; Melchert 1994, 117 determines the adverbial particle *-an*; Hamp 1997, 48 speculates about an *anit*-starting form or about a source of the type **pr-i-*, cf. also Gr Cret πρειν, Lat *prī*, OPr *prei*, Lith *priē*, Sl *pri* ‖ Gr παραί "παρά" (Hamp 1997, 48: dat. sg. **pr̥f̑-éi*) ‖ ? Alb *pa* "bevor", if it is derivable from **parị-* (Jokl, *IF* 37[1916–17], 107–08); Orel 1998, 307 derives it from **apo* ‖ Lat *prae* pref. "voran, voraus, überaus", prep. "vor, wegen", comp. *praeter* "vorbei an = ausser, ausgenommen" (**prai-tero-*), Osc *prai, prae-*, Umbr *pre* pref. & prep. "prae", *pretra* "prīōrēs" ‖ Gaul *are-* in *Are-morica, Are-brigium*, OBryth *Are-clūtā*, Ir *an-air* "von Osten"; Celtib *aře(i)-* "(be)fore" in *ařei-Tena* "davor befindlich", *ařei-talo* "region" ? = Welsh *ar-dal* "border(land)" (Hamp, *Études celtiques* 27[1990], 190–91) or *aře-šTalo* "Vorsteher" (Meid 1993, 85–87; Id. 1996, 147) ‖ OHG, OSax *furi* "vor, für, vorbei", OIc *fyr* "vor, für"; OHG comp. *furiro* "der frühere, vordere", superl. *furist* "erster, vornehmster", OSax *furist*, OEng *fyr(e)st* "first", OIc *fyrr* adv. "früher, vorher" etc. ‖ Toch A *pre* "draussen vor" (Hackstein 1997, 42–45). Sometimes the following BSl forms have been included: Lith *priē* "bei, an", nominal pref. *príe-, priē-, prie-, prý-*, preverb *pri-*; prep. *priēš* "gegen", *príeš* "vor", Latv *priè(k)ša* "das Vordere" (**preitịā*), *piere* "Stirn, Vorderseite" (**pr°* ?), OPr *prei* "zu, bei", as pref. also "auch, vor, an" ‖ OChSl *pri* prep. & pref. "bei, an, zu", but they reflect **prei-* and are compatible only with OLat *prī* "en avant, d'avant" and Gr Cret πρειν. OChSl *prědъ* "at the front" and *prězъ* "über - hin" are derivable from **perdъ* & **perzъ* respectively (see Kopečný 1973, 215 with a detailed discussion).

*pr̥rā "vormals, vor" (B 884; P 813) = **pr̥H₂-éH₁* "before" (Be 221: instr.) = **pr̥H₄-éH₁* "in front of; before (of time)" (EIEC 60)

OInd *purā́* adv. "vormals, früher; ehe, bevor", prep. "vor, ohne, ausser", *purāṇá-* "alt, vergangen"; Gatha Av *parā* "vor, bevor", later *para* "zuvor, vor, vordem", OPers *parā* adv. "zuvor", prep. "vor", *paranam* adv. "vormals", Pers *paran* "gestern" (EWAI II, 147) ‖ Hitt *parranda* postp., adv., preverb "across, over; over to, across to" < **parā(+)anda* (CHD 135–37) ‖ ? Arm *aṙ* adv. & prep. with acc., loc., instr. "bei, an, neben" (P 816 connected Arm with Gr πόρρω, πόρσω "vorwärts", Lat *porrō* "id., fürder" < **pors(ō)d*) ‖ Gr παρά, πάρα verbal pref. "vor - hin, dar-", prep. "an etwas hin, entlang, neben; während; bei, aus der Nähe weg, von seiten", Aeolic πάρο, corresponding to Myc *pa-ro* (Aura Jorro 1993, 85–86; Hamp 1997, 48, fn. 8: *-o* < **-m̥*) ‖ Alb prep. with gen. *para*

"before", *pardje* "the day before yesterday" ‖ Goth *faúra* "vor, davor, vorne", OHG, OSax *fora* adv. "vorn, vorher", verbal. pref. "vorher, voraus, vor", prep. "vor", OEng *fore* prep. "vor".

*$*p\b{r}res$, *$*p\b{r}ros$ "vor" (B 883; P 812) = *$*p\b{r}H_2ós$ "before" (Be 221: gen.) = *$*p\b{r}H\text{-}és/\text{-}ós$ (EWAI II, 147)

OInd *purás* adv. & pref. "voran, vorn", prep. "vor", Av *parō* adv. "vorn, vordem", prep. "vor" ‖ Gr πάρος adv. "früher; voran, vorn", prep. "vor"; in compounds the *anit̥*-form *pres-*: πρέσ-βυς, -γυς "alt" = *"im Alter vorangehend" ‖ ? OIr *arsaid, arsid* "vetus" < *$*p\b{r}H_2os\text{-}stH_2tis$ "im Alter voran seiend" ‖ OHG, OSax *frist*, OEng *first* "Frist" < *$*pres\text{-}stHi\text{-}$, OIc *frest* id. < *$*pres\text{-}stHo\text{-}$ ‖ Toch A *praṣt* (*$*prēstā$*), B *presćiyo/a* (*$*prēst(i)\b{i}ā$*) "time, occasion, season" (Adams 1999, 421).

*$*pro$, *$*prō$ "vorwärts, voran" (B 873–76; P 813–14) = *$*pro$ "before, towards the front" (Be 221) = *$*pró\text{-}H_1$ (EWAI II, 174: instr. sg. with the sandhi variant *$*pró\ H_1°$) = *$*pro$ "forward, ahead, away" (EIEC 61)

OInd *prá-* pref. "vor, vorwärts, fort" (before subst. and verbs), "sehr" (before adj.), Gatha Av *fra-* e.g. in *fra-uuač* "verkünden" = Ved *prá-vac*, later Av *fra-* e.g. in *fra-zainti-* "Nachkommenschaft", OPers *fra-* e.g. in *fra-māna-* "Befehl", MPers \<pl\> = *fra°*, Pers *far°*, Parachi *rha°*, BuddhSogd *pr°*, Tumshuq Saka *ra°*, Khot *ha°*, Wakhi *ra°, re°*, Osset *ræ°, læ°* etc. (Abajev II, 16f, Bailey 1979, 438; EWAI II, 173–74) ‖ Hitt *parā* adv., preverb, postp. "out (to), forth, toward; out of, from; forward, further, along; further(more), moreover, additionally, still; then, after that; over to; fully, completely" (CHD 109–32; cf. Melchert 1994, 123: *$*prŏ$; Hamp 1997, 48; Adams, EIEC 61) ‖ OPhryg *pro-* in the title *proitawos* "governor", formally corresponding to the Gr NV Προῖτας, the name of a legendary king of Tiryns (Woudhuizen 1993, 3) ‖ Gr πρό preverb "vor"; prep. "vor", cf. also προ-πάτωρ "Grossvater", lit. "Urvater"; Myc *po-ro-* in *po-ro-ko-wo* = Hom πρόχοος, Att πρόχους : χέω (Aura Jorro 1993, 148) ‖ Lat *prŏ-*, *prō-* in compounds, e.g. *pro-nepōs*, *prō* prep. "vor, für"; Osc-Umbr preverb *pro-, pru-* ‖ Celtib *ŕo-* in *ŕo-PiśeTi* 3 sg. pres. subj. (Eska 1989, 90); Gaul *ro-* in *ro-siru* (Graufesenque) "trop long" < *$*pro\text{-}sērū$ (Lambert 1994, 143), cf. ND *Ro-smerta*; OIr *ro-* preverb & intensifying pref., e.g. in *ro-már* "zu gross", Welsh *ry-*, OBret *ro-, ru-*, (M)Bret *ra-* id. ‖ Goth *fra-*, OHG *fir-* "ver-", besides *fruo* "früh" ‖ OPr *pra, pro* "durch", preverb "ver-", Lith *pra, prŏ* "vorbei", preverb "vorbei-, durch-, ver-", Latv *pruô-jãm* "weg, fort" ‖ OChSl preverb *pro-* "durch-, ver-", Cz *pro* "wegen", besides R *prá-děd*, SCr *prä-djed* "Urgrossvater" < *$*prō\text{-}$ (Kopečný 1973, 216–20, 205–08) ‖ Toch A *ana-pär*, B *ene-pre* "before, in front of" < *$*H_1on\text{-}e$ + *$*pro$ (Adams 1999, 84).

*$*prot[\b{m}]mo\text{-}$ > OInd adj. *prathamá-* "erster, vorderster, frühester" ‖ MPers *pahlom* "bester, erster, exzellent" (-*th-* from the contamination of the superlative suffixes -*tamá-* vs. -*tha-* & -*ma-*), besides adv. *pratamā́m* "besonders, vorzugsweise" = Av *fratəma-*, OPers *fratama-* "vorderster" (EWAI II, 179).

*$*protero\text{-}$ > OInd *pratarám* "weiter, ferner, künftig", Av *fratara-* "voranstehend", OPers *fratara-* "überlegen" (EWAI II, 179) ‖ Gr πρότερος "der vordere, der vorige".

*preti, *proti "gegenüber, entgegen, gegen" (B 877–88; P 815–16) = *préti, *proti "(over) against" (Be 221) > OInd práti pref. "gegen, zurück", prep. "gegen, entgegen, nach - hin, zur Zeit von, um"; ? Av pərəskā "Preis oder Wert" < *pṛt-skā ‖ Arm pl. eres-kʻ "Gesicht, Miene, Anblick, Vorderseite" < *proti-H₃kʸ-(iḱ-)ā = Gr pl. πρόσωπα "Gesicht, Antlitz" < *proti-H₃ōkʸ-ə₂ (Hamp 1984, 153) ‖ Gr (Hom) προτί, Ion-Att, Lesb πρός (cf. πρόσσω "vorwärts" < *protį̄ō), Pamph περτί (*πρετί), Aeolic πρές adv. "noch dazu, überdies", pref. prep. "gegen - hin, zu, gegen, an, nach einem Bereich hin; bei; von - her, von" ‖ Lat pretium "Wert, Preis einer Sache", ntr. from the unattested adj. *pretįos ‖ Latv pretie, pretī, pret "against" ‖ OChSl, OR protivъ, protivǫ "entgegen", originaly from protiva attested in OCz & Slk (Kopečný 1973, 222–27) ‖ Toch A pratsak, B pratsāko "breast" (*protį-H₃ōkʸ-eHₐ-, see Adams 1999, 413; concerning semantics, he confronts Lith añtis "breasts" : Goth endi "forehead") = Gr πρόσσωπον "Antlitz, Gesicht, Blick, Maske" (*proti-H₃ōkʸ-) = OInd prátīka- "Oberfläche, Antlitz, Gestalt" (*proti-H₃kʸ-, see EWAI II, 177).

*som "zusammen" (B 896–99; P 903) = som "together" (Be 221)

OInd sám- "zusammen, zugleich mit", Gatha Av hə̄m, later hạm "zusammen", OPers ha(m)- "id., mit", Khot haṃ- e.g. in haṃ-jsam- "to assemble", Sogd 'n-jmn, MPers han-jaman "assembly", Osset æm-byrd/-burd id. (EWAI II, 702; Bailey 1979, 446) ‖ Hitt -san in hassi-ya-ssan tianzi "and they put in the hearth" (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984, 66, fn. 2), ᴳᴵˢpaddar-a-ssan hassī tehhe "I put the tray on the hearth" (Puhvel 1984, 222) ‖ Arm ham- "mit", if it is not borrowed from any Iranian source; better Arm amusin "spouse" < *som-euk-ino- "the fitting [partner]" : OInd sam-ucyati "likes to be together with" (Pârvulescu, AAL 7 [1986], 45–49), atean "court, sitting of the Court" < *som- + *dʰē- (Saradjeva, AAL 6 [1985], 83–84) = Sl *sǫdъ "court" = Lith samdas "Miete, Pacht" = OInd saṁ-dhám "Vereinigung" (P 237), cf. Hitt -san...dai- "to put" (see above) ‖ Lith sam-, sạ-, e.g. in sam-dýti "dingen", sán-dora "Eintracht", sá̦-žinė "Gewissen, conscientia", OP san-, sen-, e.g. san-insle "Gürtel", sen prep. "mit" (*sem) ‖ OChSl sǫ- "mit", e.g. sǫ-sědъ "Nachbar" : OInd saṁ-sád- "Versammlung", sǫ-logъ "consors tori" : Gr ἄ-λοχος id., etc., besides the preposition sъ "with", sъn- in sъn-iti "convenire" (Kopečný 1973, 244).

Gr ξύν "with" (Hom, OAtt), later also σύν (Hom), represents a specific problem. Myc ku-su id. (Aura Jorro 1985, 411) could indicate *kʸsun analyzable as *kʸ- (= *kʷu- "to" above ?) and *sun < *son < *som ? Otherwise Hamp (Études celtiques 14[1974], 470), who proposes a conflation *ḱom x *su > *ksum, explining the vocalization of *su by influence of *su- "very".

*sṃ- > OInd sa-há, sadhaᵒ "gemeinsam, zusammen" = Av haδa, OPers hadā "zusammen"; OInd satrá "zusammen, ganz und gar" = Av harə̆ "zusammen, zugleich, vereint mit", OInd sádam, sádā "allzeit, stets immer" = Av haδa "immer"; OInd sá-dhrī adv. "zusammen" (*sṃ- & *dʰer- "halten") = Gr ἀ-θρόοι, Att ἀ-θρόοι "im Verein, gesamt"; OInd sa-hásra- = Av ha-za-ra- "1000" < *sṃ-ǵʰéslo- = Celtiberian *san-gles- in the name of a coin śanCiliśTara

meaning "thousandth" (Botorrita A - see Lambert 1994, 372; Blažek 1999, 314–15); OInd *sākám* adv. "zusammen, zugleich" < *$*sm̥-H_3k^u-ó-$* ~ Toch A *smakk* "égal, constant" < *$*sm̥-H_3ek^u-$* (EWAI II, 721) || Hitt *san-* in *sankui-* "claw" < *$*sanankui-$* < *$*sm̥-H_3ong^h-u-$* (Blažek 1999, 145) & *sa-* in *sa-witis(t)-* "Säugling" < *$*sm̥-u̯ētes-$* "one-year[-old]" (Neumann, *KZ* 75[1958], 221f) || Messap *sa-*, later *ha-* "con-" (Haas 1962, 192, 214, 218).

$*sen-$, *$*sn̥n-$* "abseits von" (B 893–94) = *$*seni-$* "für sich, abgesondert" (P 907) = *$*sn̥H_ji$* "without" (Be 221)

Gr ἄνις "ohne" || Lat *sine* "ohne" < *$*seni$* < loc. *$*sn̥H_ji$* (Beekes) or *$*sénH_2i$* (Hackstein 1997, 54) || OIr *sain* adj. "verschieden, besonders" < *$*sn̥H_ji-$*; Welsh *o-han*, *a-han* "von", *gwa-han* "getrennt, verschieden"; OWelsh *han* "alium"; Welsh *hanes* "Erzählung" = MIr *sanas* "Geheimnis, Lispeln" < *$*sani-stā$* || Toch A *sne*, B *snai* "without" < pToch *$*s(ä)nai$* < dat. *$*sn̥H_jéi$* (Adams 1999, 712–13) or loc. coll. *$*sn̥H_2-éH_2-i$* (Hackstein 1997, 54 who also proposes a primary nomen actionis nom. sg. *$*sénH_2-s$* "Verborgensein, Fehlen", gen. *$*sn̥H_2-és$*, derivable from IE *$*senH_2-$* "verborgen sein" > Hitt *sanna-* "verheimlichen, verschweigen", following N. Oettinger).

Cf. also OInd *sanu-tár* "abseits von, weit weg, fort" < *$*sn̥Hu-$* (EWAI II, 697); Av *hanarə* "abseits, ohne" || Gr (Ion) ἄτερ "abseits, ohne" < *$*sn̥-ter$* || OSax *sundir* "ohne", OHG *suntar* "abgesondert; aber, dagegen", OEng *sundor* "für sich, besonders", OIc *sundr* "entzwei", Goth *sundro* "für sich, abseits, besonders".

$*ter-$, *$*tr-$*, *$*tr̥-$* "hindurch, über - weg" (B 899–902; P 1075–76) = *$*tr̥H_2ós$* "through" (Be 221)

OInd *tirás* "adv. "weg, abseits", prep. with acc. "durch - hin, über - weg" = Gatha Av *tarō-* in *tarō.man* "sich erheben fühlen", *tarō.maiti-* "Übermut", later *tarō* adv. "seitwärts, unvermerkt", prep. with acc. "durch - hin, über - hinweg, hinaus; abgesehen von, ausser", OPers *ta[ra]* "durch", ZorPhl *tar* "across, through", Ormuri *tar* "passed", Khot *ttīnu* "through" (*$*tarina-$*), Pashto *tar* "from; up to, untill" (Bailey 1979, 128; EWAI I, 646–47); OInd *tiraś-cā́* adv. (orig. instr.) "quer durch" = Av (with acc.) *taras-ča* "durch - hin, über - hin, über - hinweg" || Arm *vtar̄* "opening in the body" (Bailey 1979, 128) || OIr (with acc.) *tar* "über - hinaus" < Celt *$*tares$*; cf. *tairse*, *tairsiu* "trans eam, trans eos, eas, ea" with palatalization indicating the original front vowel, i.e. *$*tr̥H_1-es$* (Schrijver 1995, 74, 87); OIr (proclitic) *tri*, *tre*, OWelsh *trui*, MWelsh *trwy*, *drwy*, OBret *tre*, Bret, Corn *dre* "durch"; Celtib *Tiŕi-* "through" < Celt *$*trei$* (Eska 1989, 109) < *$*treH-i$* (Schrijver 1995, 247: loc.) || OEng (with acc.) *đurh*, OHG *durh* "durch" < *$*tr̥(H)-k^ue$*, Goth *þaírh* id. < *$*ter(H)-k^ue$*. Lat *trāns*, Umbr (with acc.) *traf*, *trahaf* "jenseits, über - hinweg", perhaps from the participle *$*trānt-s$* of the unattested verb +*trāre* || Welsh *tros* "über", *tra-* in *trannoeth* "über Nacht, am folgenden Tage" < *$*trāns-$*.

II.

Analyzing the collected material, the nominal case-forms can be identified e.g. in the following examples:

root	nom. *-s	gen.-abl. *-és /*-ós	acc. *-e/om /*-ṃ	dat. *-éi	loc. *-Ø/* -i	instr. *-éH$_1$
*H$_1$ep-[1] "near"	*H$_1$ŏp-s	*H$_1$p-ós	+H$_1$op-ṃ	*H$_1$p-éi	*H$_1$ép(-i)	
*H$_1$enu-[2] "without"	*Hĕnu(-s)		*H$_1$néu̯-ṃ		*H$_1$neu ?	
*perH$_a$-[3] "over"	+pérH$_a$-s > *pérH$_a$-os	*pr̥H$_a$-ós	*perH$_a$-em/-om	*pr̥H$_a$-éi	*pérH$_a$(-i)	*pr̥H$_a$-éH$_1$
*senH-[4] "without"	+sénH-s	+sn̥H-ós		*sn̥H-éi	*sénH-i	
*terH-[5] "through"	*térH-s	*tr̥H-és/-ós			*treH-i	

Notes: The symbol ⁺ instead of the asterisk (*) indicates the hypothetical forms without any safe material support. 1) See Hamp 1981, 47. 2) See Blažek, *HS* 112[1999], 199–200; the paradigm corresponds to *pélH$_1$-u(-s) "many", acc. *p̥lH$_1$éum postulated by Beekes 1985, 166. Hamp (*JIES* 10[1982], 187–92) reconstructs *H$_1$enH$_1$u- : *H$_1$n̥H$_1$eu-. 3) See P 811–13 & Hamp 1997, 47–48. His derivation from the verb attested in Hitt *parh*- "drive out" is attractive, but it remains to explain the absence of any laryngeal in the Anatolian prepositions. 4) Hackstein (1997, 54) determines H = *H$_2$, proposing the starting point *senH$_2$- > Hitt *sanna*- "verheimlichen, verschweigen" (after Oettinger); cf. also OIr *sann*- "séparer, aliéner" (Vendryes 1974, S-25). Beekes (1995, 221) and Schrijver (1995, 117) reconstruct H = *H$_1$. 5) Beekes (1995, 221) reconstructs H = *H$_2$, while Schrijver (1995, 74, 87) prefers H = *H$_1$. It is generally accepted to derive these forms from IE *terH- "überqueren" (P 1074–76). Hitt *tarh*- "siegen, mächtig sein; können" with -h- indicates IE *H$_{2/3}$.

For other forms the adjectival & adverbial derivative suffixes are characteristic, although some extensions represent the same fossilized case endings analyzed above:

form / extension	*-s	*-es/-os	*-i	*-b^{h}i	*-ti/-tH$_a$	*-tos	*-t(e)r-	*-(e/o)r-	*-il-	*-(t)[ṃ]m-
*H$_a$ed- "to"	+								+	
*H$_1$eg^{h}s "out"	+					+	+			+
*H$_1$en-/*H$_1$on- "in"	+		+			+	+			+
*H$_1$ep-/*H$_1$op- "by, near"	+		+					+		+
*H$_1$ob^{h}i "at" < *H$_1$op-b^{h}i				+						
*H$_1$et-/*H$_1$ot-	+?		+							

form / extension	*-s	*-es/-os	*-i	*-bʰi	*-ti/-tHₐ	*-tos	*-t(e)r-	*-(e/o)r-	*-il-	*-(t)[ṃ]m-
"over"										
*H₂en-Hₐ/u "on" *H₂en-bʰi "around" *H₂en-ti/tHₐ "facing"				+	+					
*H₄epo "behind"							+	+		+
*H₄et- "beyond"		+	+							
*H₄eu̯o "away"		+						+		+
*(H)ŭd- "up"	+						+			+
*(H)upo "under"	+							+	+	+
*bʰe-(ĝʰ-) "without"										
*dĕ/*dŏ "to"										
*ĝʰō "behind"										
*kʷu "to"										
*kom " with"					+		+			
*kṃ-tHₐ/-ti "by, with"					+			+		
*me(-)dʰi "in the middle"		+	+							+
*me-ĝʰ(s)ri "near"			+							
*me-tHₐ/-ti "between"					+					
*(H)n̥dʰi "over" / "under"		+	+					+		+
*ni "downwards"	+		+				+			+
*pe-/*po- "after, away"		+			+					
*pro "before, ahead"					+		+			+

Notes: The symbols for laryngeals were used as follows: *Hₐe- > late IE *a- without any Anatolian correspondence; *H₁e- > late IE *e- ~ Anat *e-; *H₂ > late IE *a- ~ Anat *ha-; *H₃ > late IE *o- (non-apophonic) ~ Anat *ha-; *H₄e- > late IE *a- ~ Anat *a-.

III.

The final part is devoted to parallel formations in the Afroasiatic languages.

1) *Hₐed- "to" ||| Semitic *ʕad-ay/-i/-u OAkkadian adum, Akkadian adi/u "up to, until", Eblaic a-dė id. (Limet 1984, 65), Hebrew ʕăḏē, ʕaḏ "up to", Aramaic ʕaḏ, Ugaritic, Phoenician ʕd , Sabaic ʕdy "untill", Jibbali ʕɛd "till, untill" etc. (Dolgopolsky, p.c.: IE + AA; AA *d regularly corresponds to IE *dʰ, Dolgopolsky explains this difference from the neutralization in the final position).

2a) *H₁en- "in" ||| Semitic *ʔina > Akkadian in(a) "in, on, by; from" (CDA 129), Eblaic in "in, on", Hebrew ʔɛṯmōl, Aramaic ʔiṯmāl "yesterday" <

*$\mathit{?itt\partial m\=ol}$ < *$\mathit{?ina\ tim\=ali(m)}$, lit. "in [the day of] yesterday", cf. Akkadian *ina timāli(m)* (after Dolgopolsky), Geez *ən-* in *ənbala* "without, except for" = Akkadian *ina bāla* "without" (Leslau 1987, 27) || Egyptian *in* "durch, seitens" (Erman & Grapow I, 89) || Berber *$\mathit{*H\=in}$ > Nefusi, Siwa *in* "à, vers" (Prasse 1972, 224–25) || East Cushitic: Rendille *in-* "place", *inta* "(at) this place" (Dolgopolsky, p.c.: IE + Semitic + Berber).

2b)*H_1en-do* "into, inside" ||| Semitic *$\mathit{?in}$-ta/i/u* > Akkadian *itti, ittu(m), itta-* "with" (CDA 137), Phoenician *$\mathit{?t}$*, Hebrew *$\mathit{?e\underline{t}}$* "together with, by the side of", Geez *$\mathit{?\partial nta}$* "through, by way of, at, into, to, in the direction", Tigre *$\mathit{?\partial t}$* "on, in, by, with, because of" (Leslau 1987, 32–33).

3) *H_1ep-* "by, near, after" ||| Semitic: Hebrew *$\mathit{?a\underline{p}}$* "also, and also, and even", Syriac *$\mathit{?\=a\underline{p}}$* "also", Ugaritic *áp* id. (Bomhard 1984, 252: IE + Semitic), cf. also Geez *$\mathit{?af?\u{a}}$* "out, outside, outside part, beyond" || Central Cushitic: Awngi *af* "outside, outdoors" (Leslau 1987, 9)

4) *H_2en-* ±"face" ||| Semitic: Arabic *ʃan* prep. "from, away from, instead of, for; with regard to; in accordance with; on account of, after; upon; in; about", cf. *ʃanan* "side" (Steingass 1988, 729), Sabaic *ʃn* "away from", Śxeri *ʃan* id., Soqotri *ʃan* "de, pour" (Leslau 1938, 315) || East Cushitic: Somali *ʃan* "cheek, chin" || ? Egyptian *ʃnʃn* 1. "Kinn"; 2. "Hals" (Erman & Grapow I, 191). If we separate the form *$H_a$en-H_a* "on" from *H_2en-tH_a /-ti* "facing", there are alternative comparanda: Semitic *[h]ana* > Akkadian *an(a)* "to, for" (CDA 16) || Egyptian *hn* 1. "Kopf"; 2 "bis hin nach.." (Erman & Grapow II, 492, 495) || Cushitic: (East) Harso-Dobase *ana* "auf" (Amborn - Minker - Sasse); Sidamo *aana* "over, on", Hadiyya, Gedeo *hana* id. (Hudson) | (South) Ma'a *aná* "above" (Dolgopolsky, p.c.: IE + AA).

5) *b^he-* "without" ||| Semitic: Phoenician *by* "sans" (Cohen 1970f, 61), Soqotri *be* id. (Leslau 1938, 80) || Egyptian *by* "nein" (Erman & Grapow I, 432) || Berber: Tuareg of Ahaggar *iba* "ne pas y avoir de" (Prasse 1972, 235) || Cushitic: (North) Beja *baa-* m., *bii-* f. "nicht" | (Central) Bilin, Khamir *bi* "ausser Stande sein, nicht können; nicht finden, nicht haben; abgehen, ermangeln" (Reinisch) | (East) Burji *abóonn(i)* "no", Hadiyya *beʔe* "not be present" (Sasse) || Chadic: Hausa *ba* "not", Ngizim *bai* id., Jegu *bâa-* "nein, nicht" (Skinner 1996, 12).

6) *me-$\hat{g}^h$(s)ri-* "near", lit. "at hand", formally corresponds to Egyptian *mdy* "mit, bei" (Erman & Grapow II, 176–77) which can be analyzed as the preposition *m* "in, aus, von", while *d* is the phonetic value of the sign "hand" (~ Semitic *$\mathit{*yady-u}$* "hand"). The analogous formation occurs in the preposition *mʃ* "in der Hand von.., durch die Hand jemands, wegen" (Erman & Grapow II, 1, 45) where *ʃ* means "hand, arm". In Semitic an exact cognate appears in Arabic *maʃa* "with" and a formal parallel in *lada(y)* "auprès de" < *li* "à" & *yad* "main" (Vycichl 1983, 145). With respect to such the striking paralelism, it is tempting to relate IE *me-* (cf. *me(-)d^{h}i* and *me-tH_a/ti*) and the corresponding *mV-* in Semitic and Egyptian. Let us mention that the prefix *mV-* forms nomina instrumenti in Afroasiatic languages.

7) *pe-/*po-* "after, away" ||| Semitic: Ugaritic *p* "und, dann; nun; aber", Ara-

bic *fa-* "and; then", Sabaic *f* "and, so; then" (Aistleitner 1965, 251); cf. Geez *fe* "to this side, in the direction of, that way" (Leslau 1987, 154).

8) **perHₐ₂* - "before" ‖‖ Semitic √*p-r-ʕ* > Ugaritic *prʕ* "first; excellent, the best; chief", Hebrew *peraʕ* "chief", Arabic *farʕ* "top (of branch)", *farʕiyy* "first(-born)" (Bomhard 1984, 191; Blažek 1999, 157: IE + Semitic).

Conclusion

It is apparent that the process of a creation of the prepositions (& postpositions) was parallel in both the Indo-European and Afroasiatic families: From fossilized case-forms of certain nouns to adverbs, which were finally grammaticalized. In spite of certain semantic differences, fully comparable with the semantic dispersion in the IE material proper, for the paralelism between the Indo-European and Afroasiatic data the hypothesis of a common heritage seems to be not only quite legitimate, but also most promising.

Abbreviations

AA Afroasiatic; Alb Albanian; Anat Anatolian; Arc Arcadian; Arm Armenian; Att Attic; Av Avestan; Balt Baltic; Boeot Boeotian; Bret Breton; BSl Balto-Slavic; Celt Celtic; Celtib Celtiberian (usually of Botorrita, if it is not expressed explicitly); Corn Cornish; Ch Church; Cret Cretan; Cypr Cypriote; Cz Czech; Dor Doric; Eng English; Fris Frisian; G German; Gaul Gaulish; Goth Gothic; Gr Greek; H High; Hier Hieroglyphic; Hitt Hittite; Hom Homeric; Ic Icelandic; Illyr Illyrian; Ind Indian; Ion Ionian; Ir Irish; Iran Iranian; Khot Khotanese; L Low; Lac Laconian; Lat Latin; Latv Latvian; Lesb Lesbian; Lith Lithuanian; Luw Luwian; Lyc Lycian; Lyd Lydian; M Middle; Maced Macedonian (ancient); Messap Messapian; ND nomen dei; NL nomen loci; NP nomen populi; NV nomen viri; O Old; Osc Oscan; Osset Ossetic; Pamph Pamphylian; Pers Persian; Phl Pahlavi; Phryg Phrygian; Pr Prussian; R Russian; Run Runic; Sax Saxon; SCr Serbo-Croatian; Sl Slavic; Slk Slovak; Sogd Sogdian; Thes Thessalian; Toch Tocharian; Umb Umbrian; Ved Vedic; Venet Venetic; Zor Zoroastrian.

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Václav Blažek
Ryneček 148
261 01 Příbram III
blazek@phil.muni.cz