

Towards Reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European Inactive Class of Verbs: Five Categories and Sixteen Specimens

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Towards Reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European Inactive Class of Verbs: Five Categories and Sixteen Specimens*

Toshiya Tanaka

1. Introduction

This paper attempts to reconstruct the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) inactive class of verbs, for which Tanaka (2001b) has laid a theoretical groundwork mainly on the basis of the method of internal reconstruction.¹ Tanaka (2000) has also demonstrated that (at least)

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¹ Specifically, the following four criteria are proposed by Tanaka (2001b: §5), which are also reproduced in Tanaka (2001c: §1; 2002a: §2):

- I.
 - a. If the meaning reconstructible for a given IE verb is agentive, it is likely to suggest that the verb at issue descended from an original active verb.
 - b. If a non-agentive meaning is reconstructible for a given IE verb, it is likely to suggest that the verb at issue derived from an original inactive verb.

N.B. Since agentivity, as well as Aktionsart, of a reconstructed meaning is often ambiguous, this criterion should not be used exclusively.
- II.
 - a. If a given IE verb has an etymological counterpart which suggests itself as a (direct) reflex of the **CeC-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* configuration, it may point to an original active verb.
 - b. If the pertinent verb lacks it (but shows a reflex of the **CeloC-h₂elh₂ele* configuration), it may point to an original inactive verb.

N.B. An ostensibly archaic verbal morphology can be an analogical creation, especially when the morphology at issue is productive in the pertinent IE dialect, and therefore, this criterion alone is not to be heavily relied upon.
- III.
 - a. If a given IE verb has a very archaic agent noun **CeC-tēŕ*, it can hint at an original active verb.
 - b. If the relevant verb lacks it, on the other hand, it can hint at an original inactive verb.

N.B. A seemingly archaic agent noun can be a secondary creation, especially when the nominal formation at issue is productive in the pertinent IE dialect, and therefore, this criterion alone is not to produce conclusive evidence for the original category.

the majority of Germanic (Gmc.) preterite-present verbs are interpretable as descending from PIE inactive verbs. Furthermore, Tanaka (2002a) reconstitutes two PIE inactives or hidden Gmc. preterite-presents, i.e., PIE **(bhi-)bhoy-h₂elth₂ele* ‘be in the state of trembling (repeatedly)’ > Gmc. **bi-~~b~~aj-(a)/t(a)/(e)* ‘fears’ and PIE **h₃orH-h₂elth₂e/e* ‘be in the state of rising’ > Gmc. **ar-(a)/t(a)/(e)* ‘be’. The discussion there is to tread in the footsteps of the proposals so far made by scholars, where intra-Germanic data are primarily taken into consideration to be compared with extra-Germanic correspondents.

The theoretical framework proposed in Tanaka (2001b: §2.2; 2002b: §3.2) suggests, differently from some traditional understanding, that a much larger number of preterite-presents must have been extant in pre-literate Germanic periods. In order to further substantiate this postulate, it is required to pinpoint many instances of inactive verbs other than those provided in Tanaka (2000, 2002a). Pursuit after pinning down more inactive verbs is also indispensable for extending our investigation to a new approach to the genesis of the Germanic verbal system, which I am planning to undertake before long.

Hence, the present paper enters upon the task of demonstrating the reconstructibility of quite a few examples of erstwhile inactive verbs. Below we shall first discuss what kind of Indo-European (IE) verbs may reveal their inactive origins, and thereafter actually reconstruct manifold specimens of PIE inactives. (It is of course impossible to reconstitute infinite instances here, but I believe that the demonstration below is sufficient to evince the reconstructibility of a virtually unlimited number of PIE inactives.)

2. *Materials Likely to Go Back to PIE Inactives*

The principal aim of the present section is to show the reconstructibility of innumerable PIE inactives or, in other words, the open-class nature of the relevant category. To this end, I should like to pay special attention to the following verbs as specimens likely to reflect PIE inactive verbs:

- i) Gk. canonical perfects
- ii) Nasal-infixing presents

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- IV. a. If a Hittite verb corresponding to a given IE verb shows a *mi*-conjugation (save for nasal-infixing, **yo*-suffixing, **sk*-suffixing, etc., *mi*-conjugations), it might perhaps be suggestive of an original active verb.
- b. If a Hittite verb corresponding to a given IE verb shows a *hi*-conjugation, it might perhaps be suggestive of an inactive verb.
- N.B. Because many Hittite verbs seem to have undergone replacement of the original conjugation class by the other one, this criterion must be regarded as a weaker one.

- iii) Those verbs purely stative in meaning
- iv) Weather verbs
- v) Others

3. *Greek Canonical Perfects*

In contrast with Old Indic, Greek attests a limited number of the ‘canonical’, reduplicating *o*-grade perfects (i.e., ‘second perfects’).² A good many Greek verbs show the so-called kappatic perfects (i.e., ‘first perfects’) at the classical period. The kappatic construction is considered to have originated from verbs ending in long vowels (e.g., *τέθη-κ-α*) in order to avoid obscurity which would take place for the 1 sg. and 3 sg. endings by way of contraction, thereafter having spread out over other types of verbs (e.g., verbs ending in a consonant such as *διέφθα-ρ-κ-α* ‘have destroyed’). See Buck (1933: 289f.), Sihler (1995: 576f.), etc. In terms of the Greek paradigmatisation, however, there is no cogent evidence that *every* verb originally paradigmatised the canonical perfect at some pre-literate period, thereafter having tended to be gradually replaced by the kappatic counterpart. It remains possible to reason that during the period of paradigmatisation, some verbs acquired the kappatic construction as their paradigmatised perfects. This inference implies that among the limitedly attested Gk. canonical perfects, direct reflexes or remnants of PIE inactive verbs are discoverable (though I do not claim that all the second perfects come from a PIE inactive). Below I should like to deal with typical three examples from which PIE inactives are reconstructible.

3.1. PIE **loik^w-e* ‘is away, apart from’

Gk. *λέ-λοιπ-α* ‘I am away’ seems to me one of the typical instances suggestive of the PIE inactive origin. Observe the verbal morphologies of its cognate IE verbs (cf. Pokorny 1994: 669f.; Seebold 1970: 327f.; Lehmann 1986: 230; Whitney 1885: 139f.; Macdonell 1916: 412; etc.):

- (1) IE verbs from PIE **leik^w-*
 - a. OInd.

² Gk. ‘second perfects’ (this terminology provided by school grammar) do not always correspond to the ‘canonical’ (i.e., reduplicating, *o*-grade) perfects we are now discussing. For example, *γέ-γραφ-α* (pres. *γράφω* ‘I write’) is non-ablauting (cf. Buck 1933: 287; etc.).

pres. (VII, Ved.) *ri-ṇá-k-mi* ‘I leave’

perf. (Ved.) *ri-réc-a* ‘I have left’

aor. (Ved.) (*a*)-*rec-i* ‘I was left, emptied’ (aor. middle/passive, cf. Monier-Williams 1899: 880; Macdonell 1910: p.368, §501a.)

(Bra.) *a-ri-ric-a-m* ‘I left’ (redpl. aor.)

(Classical Skt.) *a-ric-a-m* ‘I left’ (them. aor.)

N.B. No agent noun such as ***rec-ṭr* ‘one who leaves (?)’ is attested (cf. Whitney 1885: 140; Monier-Williams 1899: 880).

b. Gk.

pres. *λείπ-ω* ‘I leave’

perf. *λέ-λοιπ-α* ‘I have left, am away’³

aor. *ἔ-λιπ-ον* ‘I left’

N.B. No agent noun such as ***λείπ-τη/ωρ*, ***λείπ-της/τᾱς* is attested (cf. Liddell and Scott 1889: 467; Liddell and Scott 1968: 1035).

c. Lat.

pres. *li-n-qu-ō* ‘I leave’

perf. *liqu-ī* ‘I have left’ (from either **leikʷ-ai* or **loikʷ-ai*)⁴

N.B. No agent noun such as ***liqu-tor* is attested (cf. OLD 1982: 1035).

d. OIr.

³ Benveniste (1973: 151) makes the following observation about the relevant Gk. perfect: “The Homeric perfect tense *léloipa* does not mean ‘I have left’ like *reliqui*, the transitive perfect, but ‘I am in a state of deficiency’, an intransitive perfect ...”

⁴ It is known that Italic **oi* changes into Latin *i* between *l* and a following labial, as the following instances indicate (cf. Sihler 1995: 53f.):

(i) Lat. **liba* ‘drink offering’ < PIE **loybā*, cf. Gk. *λοιβή*

(ii) Lat. *limus* < PIE **loy-mō-* ‘mud’

(iii) Lat. *clivus* < **kloy-wo-* ‘slope, rise’, cf. Go. *hlaiw*, neut. ‘grave’ (< ‘mound’)

The same vowel change should undoubtedly be available between *l* and a labio-velar, *kʷ*. Thus, **loikʷ-a-i*, as suggested by Pokorny (1994: 669), etc., seems to be the most convincing pre-form for Latin *liquī*. Buck (1933: 292), on the other hand, suggests that Lat. *liquī* has lost an original reduplication. I am totally sceptical of this idea, given that no such reduplicated form as **le-liqu-ī* is attested in the whole history of Latin, while earlier reduplicated perfects are attested concerning several other verbs, e.g., *te-tul-ī* (Plautus) for *tul-ī* ‘I have carried’, *sci-cid-ī* for *scid-ī* (late) ‘I have cut’, etc.

lēicid ‘he leaves, lets’ (from **li-n-kʷ-*; cf. Pokorny 1994: 669)

e. Lith.

liekù, (OLith.) *liekmì* ‘I leave’ (remodelled from **link-mi*; cf. Fraenkel 1962-65: I. 372f.; Pokorny 1994: 669)

f. Gmc.

	inf.	pret. sg.	pret. pl.	p.p.	
Go.	<i>leihwan</i>	—	—	—	‘lend’
OE	<i>līon</i>	<i>lēh</i>	—	<i>-ligen</i>	‘lend’
	<i>lēon</i>	<i>lēah</i>			
OS	<i>līhan</i>	<i>lēh</i>	<i>li(h)wun</i>	<i>-liwan</i>	‘lend’
OHG	<i>līhan</i>	<i>lēh</i>	<i>liwun</i>	<i>giliwan</i>	‘lend’

Among related IE verbs, no sure reflex of such an archaic morph as ***leikʷ-mi/silti* (athematic root present) or ***leikʷ-m/s/t* (athematic root aorist) is found. Also, no such archaic noun of agency as ***leikʷ-te/or* ‘one who (agentively) leaves’ is attested among IE dialects. Therefore, the inactive **loikʷ-h₂elth₂ele* ‘be away, apart (from something/ someone)’ may be posited for the PIE lexicon.⁵

Several IE dialects show a nasal-infixing present: e.g., OInd. (Ved.) *ri-ṇá-k-ti* ‘leaves, gives up’, Lat. *li-n-quō* ‘leave’, OLith. *liekmì* (remodelled from **link-mi*) ‘leave, remain’. These presents are to be explained in terms of the assumption that PIE **-n-* was a formant which could add a causative meaning to the verbal base it attached to (cf. Tanaka 2002a: Note 11). It must have modified the original stative meaning ‘be away, apart’ into ‘make (oneself/someone/something) away’, hence ‘leave (behind), remain’.⁶

⁵ It has occasionally been maintained that PIE **leikʷ-* was an aoristic root (see Sihler 1995: 559; etc.). The presents from this root in not a few IE dialects have the meaning ‘leave’, which is interpretable as denoting a punctual or momentary (agentive) action. Biased by the present-based system (cf. Kurzová 1993: 113), this meaning is liable to be attributed to the root. However, if **leikʷ-* had really been an aoristic root with the meaning ‘leave’, the athematic root aorist ***leikʷ-m/s/t* or the noun of agency ***leikʷ-te/or* ‘one who leaves’ should have been attested at least in one IE dialect. But as far as we can tell, this is not the case.

⁶ More specifically, the following type of inferences may be drawn as to the development of the attested meanings with the paradigmatised presents in dialects:

- (i) If one makes oneself away, then one *leaves* the place that one has been staying at.

Non-nasal-infixing presents, such as Gk. $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\text{-}\omega$ and Gmc. $*leih^w\text{-}a$ ‘I leave’, are interpretable as direct products of the paradigmatisation in these dialects. When the original $*loik^w\text{-}h_2e$ ‘am apart’ was reinterpreted into a perfect ‘have left’ (or further into a preterite ‘left’), the innovative e -grade counterpart $*leik^w\text{-}\bar{o}$ acquired the corresponding agentive meaning ‘leave’, for the e -grade form was created by the analogy with other originally active verbs.⁷

3.2. PIE $*bhoidh\text{-}e$ ‘is convinced’

Along with $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda o\iota\pi\text{-}\alpha$ ‘I am away’, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi o\iota\theta\text{-}\alpha$ ‘I trust’ is a representative example of a Gk. canonical perfect. Now let us demonstrate that this Gk. verb is also likely to return to a PIE inactive verb, $*bhoidh\text{-}h_2elth_2e/e$ ‘be (in the state of being) convinced’.

Related verbs in major IE dialects are charted below (cf. Pokorny 1994: 117; Benveniste 1973: 94ff.; Seebold 1970: 94ff.; Lehmann 1986: 56, 65f.; etc.):

(2) IE Verbs from PIE $*bheidh\text{-}$

- a. Gk. pres. $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ ‘I obey, am persuaded’
 $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\text{-}\omega$ ‘I persuade’
 perf. $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi o\iota\theta\text{-}\alpha$ ‘I trust, rely on, have confidence in (a person or thing)’
 aor. $\xi\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\alpha$ ‘I persuaded’ (< $*\epsilon^2\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\alpha$, cf. Sihler 1995: 560)
 $\xi\text{-}\pi\iota\theta\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\nu$ ‘I persuaded’
- b. Lat. pres. $fid\bar{o}$ ‘I trust (in), have confidence (in), rely (on)’
 perf. $fisus\ sum$ ‘I (have) trusted’
- c. Gmc.
 i) $*beid\bar{a}$ - Str. I
 Go. $beidan$ ‘wait for’
 ON $bīð\bar{a}$ ‘expect, endure’
 OE $bīdan$ ‘wait, stay’
 OS $bīdan$ ‘wait’

-
- (ii) If one makes someone/something away (from oneself), then one *leaves behind* him/her/it at the place, or one *remains* at the place, letting him/her/it go away.

⁷ The assumption underlying the current discussion is that thematisation of the originally active(-durative) verbs (i.e., $*CeC\text{-}mi \rightarrow *CeC\text{-}\bar{o}$, etc.) had already started at the Late PIE period and that many of the active-durative verbs had undergone thematisation at the period of Greek paradigmatisation. For the probability of thematisation of verbs as early as the PIE period, see also Lehmann (2002: 160), among others.

- OHG *bītan* ‘wait’
 ii) **baið-eja-*, Wk. 1
 Go. **baidjan* ‘compell’
 (cf. 2 sg. pres. *baideis* ‘you compell’), Wk. 1
 ON *beiða* ‘request’, Wk. 1
 OE *bædan* ‘constrain, compell’, Wk. 1
 OS *bēdian* ‘compell’, Wk. 1
 OHG *beit(t)en* ‘request’, Wk. 1
 iii) **baið-ō-*, Wk. 2
 OHG *beitōn* ‘expect, remain’
 iv) **bið-ō-*, Wk. 2
 ON *biða* ‘wait’
 OE *on-bidian* ‘wait’
 OFris. *bidia* ‘wait’
 OS *bidōn* ‘remain’

No reflex of an originally active morphology ***bheidh-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* is observable. Neither is a reflex of an archaic agent noun ***bheidh-īēlōr* ‘one who (agentively) persuade (?)’.⁸ This suggests that the original PIE verb was an inactive **bhoidh-h₂elth₂ele*, and the meaning ‘be convinced (of something or someone)’ may be assigned to it.

Presents in Greek and Latin reflect the same pre-form **bheidh-ō*, but they show substantially different meanings. Since a Greek present expresses a dynamic (or non-stative) meaning (cf. Burrow 1955: 296f.), *πεῖθ-ω* acquired the meaning ‘persuade’ from the original stative meaning ‘be convinced’, to a degree retained in *πέ-ποθ-α*, similarly to the pair *λείπ-ω* ‘leave’ and *λέ-λοιπ-α* ‘am away’. The Latin present *fidō* ‘I trust’, on the other hand, seems to have inherited the original stative meaning to a larger extent, thereby the original *o*-grade form (i.e., **foed-α(i)*) being suppressed. The perfect of this semi-deponent (cf. Gildersleeve and Lodge 1895: 114; etc.) is *fisus sum* ‘I (have) trusted’, which should be a relatively late creation during the pre-Latin history.

⁸ Neither Classical Greek nor Latin attests such an example as ***πεισ-τηρ* (or even ***πεισ-της/τᾱς*, a more productive type), ***fid-sor*. (For the sound changes in the relevant consonant clusters, see Buck 1933: 144; Sihler 1995: 202; etc.) The attestation of *πειστήρ* ‘one who obeys’ in Suidas Lexicographus in the 10th century A.D. (cf. Liddell and Scott 1968: xxxvi & 1356) is evidently due to a later analogical creation.

The Gmc. Wk. 1 **baid-j-a* ‘I request, compel’ (cf. Go. *baideis* ‘you compel’, etc.) can be explained by the assumption that PIE **-y-* was a formant which could add a causative meaning to the verbal base:⁹ i.e., ‘make someone convinced of something’ > ‘push someone into something’ > ‘request, compel’. This situation is comparable to the pair attested in Gothic *kann* ‘know’ and *kannjan* ‘make known’.

My interpretation of the Gmc. Str. 1 **beid-a* is that the *e*-grade present was created at the time of the Gmc. paradigmatisation and that there was a semantic development, ‘be convinced of someone/something’ > ‘be convinced of someone/something coming’ > ‘expect someone/something’ > ‘wait for someone/ something’ > ‘remain, stay’.

3.3. PIE **dwoy-e* ‘is divided, split (in mind)’

Homeric *δεῖδω* ‘I fear’ reflects **de-dwoy-a* (cf. Att. *δέ-δοι-κ-α* ‘I fear’, kappatic), and thus constitutes another example of Gk. canonical perfect (cf. Sihler 1995: 573; etc.). This verb also hints, it seems to me, at the inactive origin. Lexical items related with this Gk. verb (i.e., derivatives from the PIE root **dwey-*) are enumerated below (cf. Pokorny 1994: 227f.; Watkins 1985: 15; etc.):

(3) Derivatives from PIE **dwey-*

a. Gk. (Attic)

pres. *δεῖδω* ‘I fear’ (only in 1 sg.)

perf. (in pres. sense) *δέ-δοι-κα* ‘I fear’

aor. *ἔ-δει-σ-α* ‘I feared’

b. Av. *dvaēθā* ‘threat’

c. Arm. *erkñčim* ‘I fear’

erkiul ‘fear’

d. Lat. *dirus* (< **dwi-* + *-ro-*) ‘ill-omened, ominous, fearful’

Greek and Armenian attest related verbs, but among these materials no reflex of an archaic active morphology ***dwey-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* is observable. And also, no IE dialect attests a reflex of a surmisable agent noun ***dwey-īē/ōr* ‘one who (agentively) fears (?)’ (i.e., no Gk. ***δει-τη/ωρ*, ***δει-της*, ***δει-τᾱς*, no Latin ***di-tor*, etc., documented).

⁹ As regards PIE **-y-*, a number of functions may be identifiable from historically attested data, such as a causativiser, a iterativiser/frequentativiser, etc., cf. Lehmann (1993: 167f.), Sihler (1995: 502ff.), etc.

Lexical items given in (3) show a meaning relatable with the sense ‘fear’ (and etymological dictionaries tend to assign this meaning to the relevant root), but I would rather attribute ‘be (mentally) divided, split’ to this root. For the IE numeral for ‘two’ (e.g., Go. *twai*, OInd. *dve-* < **dwoy-*) is construable as coming from the same PIE root (cf. Pokorny, Watkins, *loc.*, *cit.*) and this suggests that a more rudimentary radical meaning must have been ‘be divided or split into two’.

It thus seems likely that the PIE lexis contained an inactive verb **dwoy-e* ‘is divided, split (in mind)’.¹⁰

4. Nasal-Infixing Presents

It seems suitable to judge that PIE **n* had a function of a causative-agentiviser.¹¹ We can present several examples where this formant is attached to an originally inactive base to derive an innovative, paradigmatised present:

¹⁰ The OInd. verb *dvéṣ-ṭi* ‘hates, shows hatred against’ < **dwey-s-* is presumably an Indic creation, since no other IE dialect attests this type of *s*-enlarged verb. It remains moot whether this *-s-* element, attached to the Type II base **dwey-*, was a perfectiviser (cf. Lehman 1997; Tanaka 2001c: Note 9) or had another function. If I may tentatively adopt the former option, creation of this verb in pre-OInd. will be surmisable as follows. The relevant perfectiviser changed the originally stative meaning of the relevant base into something like ‘take a momentary action so as to be split in mind’, hence ‘show hatred against’. A corresponding agent noun *dvestṛ* ‘one who hates or dislikes, enemy, foe’ is documented from the Epic period onwards (cf. Whitney 1885: 81; Monier-Williams 1899: 507; etc.).

¹¹ Following in the footsteps of Brugmann (1904: 510f., 518) and Delbrück (1897: 40–59), Lehmann (1993: 171) pins down the general function of PIE **n* as terminative. “Terminative” is, however, too general a notion to apply to our empirical analysis of verbal forms. We must thus try to grasp a more definite function of this particle. One of the most salient functions attributable to the element in question is causative. In Hittite, the oldest attested IE dialect, *-nin-* and *-nu-* are utilised to derive causative verbs, e.g., *ḫar-nin-k-ir* ‘they destroyed’ along with *ḫark-ir* ‘they perished’, *ḫuiš-nu-zi* ‘he causes to live’ along with *ḫuiš-zi* ‘is alive, lives’, cf. Sihler (1995: 499 & 501), along with Friedrich (1940: 46f & 48ff.), Kronasser (1956: 171ff.), etc. There is no reason not to believe that PIE **n* could function as a *causativiser* (see also Lehmann 1974: 108; Schmitt-Brandt 1987: 85f.; etc.). Furthermore, we should like to pay special attention to the examples like the pair *ḫuiš-nu-zi* ‘he causes to live’ and *ḫuiš-zi* ‘is alive, lives’, where

(4)

- a. Ved. pres. (VI) *vindāti* ‘he finds’ < **wi-n-d-e-ti*,
the *n*-formant infixed into the zero-grade form of the base **woid-* ‘see’, the underlying meaning presumably ‘make oneself see (something)’, cf. Tanaka (2000: §3.1.1).
- b. Ved. pres. (V) *dhṛṣṇóti* ‘he dares’ < **dhṛs-neu-ti*,
Lith. pres. *dresù* ‘I dare’ < **dhr-en-s-ō*
OCS inf. *drъznati* ‘dare’
the *n*-formant (followed or preceded by some additional elements) suffixed to the zero-grade form of the base **dhors-* ‘be courageous’, the underlying meaning presumably ‘he makes himself courageous’, cf. Tanaka (2000: §3.3.1).
- c. Ved. pres. (V) *ṛpṇóti* ‘he is pleased’ < **ṛp-neu-ti*
(VI) *ṛmpāti* ‘he is pleased’ < **ṛ-n-p-e-ti*
the *n*-formant (with some additional elements) suffixed to or infixed into the zero-grade form of the base **torp-* ‘be satisfied’, the underlying meaning presumably ‘he makes himself satisfied’, cf. Tanaka (2000: §3.3.2).
- d. Ved. pres. (VII) *riṇákti* ‘he leaves’ < **li-ne-kʷ-ti*
Lat. pres. *linquō* < **li-n-kʷ-ō* ‘I leave’
the *n*-formant (with some additional element) infixed into the zero-grade form of the base **loik-* ‘be away’, the underlying meaning presumably ‘he makes himself away’, cf. §3.1 above.
- e. Ved. pres. (V) *manuté* ‘he thinks’ < **mṇ-nu-tai*, a medium tantum; the zero grade variant of the **-new*-formant suffixed to the zero-grade form of the base **me/on-* ‘be in the process/state of thinking’, the underlying meaning presumably ‘he makes himself in the process/state of thinking’, cf. Tanaka (2000: §3.4.1).
- f. Ved. pres. (V) *ṛmóti* ‘I go, send’ < **h₃rH-new-ti*

a causative verb is derived by means of the relevant element from a stative verb. This shows that with the *n*-element a stative verb could undergo the process of, as it were, *agentivisation*, inasmuch as the verb characterised by the element requires an agent (as a natural consequence of causativisation) whereas the uncharacterised one, stative, has nothing to do with an agent. There is no reason to deny that a function similar to this was also available to the relevant particle at the (pre-)PIE period. Thus, this subsection assumes that the relevant element was also capable of functioning as an *agentiviser*, especially when the verbal base it attached to denoted a stative or non-agentive meaning.

Gk. pres. *ὄρνυμι* ‘urge on’ < **h₃rH-new-mi*

Cf. middle *ὄρ-νυ-μαι*

Arm. pres. *y-ārnem* ‘I arise’ (*nelo*-pres.)

Hit. pres. *ar-nu-zi* ‘sets in motion’ (a causative, along with *ar-ḫitili* ‘arrive at’)

the *-*new-* formant suffixed to the zero-grade form of the base **h₃elorH-* ‘be in the process of rising’ ‘be (in the state of being) afloat’ in Greco-Aryan; the *-*n-* formant inserted between the relevant base and the thematic vowel in Armenian; a causativising formant *-nu-* suffixed to the relevant base in Hittite; the underlying meaning presumably ‘one makes oneself or someone else rise’.

cf. Tanaka (2002a: §3.2 [5]).

It may be expected that among other IE nasal-infixing presents, those which return to original inactives are discoverable. Below, just a couple of typical examples whereby PIE inactives are reconstructible are illustrated.¹²

4.1. PIE **doik-e* ‘is pointing (at/to), is indicative (of)’

(4) above provides a good few Vedic nasal-infixing presents which are analysable as inheriting from PIE inactive verbs. But we have seen only one Greek instance which is likely to go back to an erstwhile inactive verb (i.e., *ὄρ-νυ-μι* ‘urge on’; see (4f) above). Let us thus start with Gk. *δείκνυμι* ‘I display, exhibit’, one of the representative examples of Gk. nasal-infixing presents.

Verbs in major IE dialects cognate with Gk. *δείκνυμι*, i.e., descending from PIE **deik-*, are charted below (cf. Pokorny 1994: 188f.; Seebold 1970: 499f.; Lehmann 1986: 150; Whitney 1885: 73; Macdonell 1916: 389; etc.):

(5) Verbs from PIE **deik-*

a. OInd.

pres. (VI, Ved.) *dis-á-ti* ‘he points’

cf. subj. (Ved.) *di-des-á-ti* ‘he would point’

perf. (Ved.) *di-dés-a* ‘he is in the state of pointing’

aor. root type (Ved.) 2 pl. *á-diṣ-ta* ‘you pointed’

¹² In this connection, the chart provided by Poultney (1937: 164f.) is worth mentioning. There examples where some IE dialects employ a nasal-infixing present while for others different types of present (a thematic present, etc.) are enumerated. Our discussion below will not exhaust those data.

s-aor. (Ved.) 1 sg. middle *á-dik-ṣ-i* ‘I pointed at myself’
 sa-aor. (Brāhmaṇa) 3 sg. *á-dik-ṣa-t* ‘he pointed’

b. Gk.

pres. *δείκ-νῦ-μι* ‘I display, exhibit’

perf. *δέ-δειχ-α* ‘I am in the state of displaying’

(aspirated perfect, cf. Sihler 1995: 575; etc.)

aor. *ἔ-δειξ-α* ‘I displayed’ (sigmatic aorist)

Cf. No agent noun such as ***δείκ-τη/ωρ* (or even ***δείκ-της/τᾱς*) ‘one who displays, exhibits (?)’ documented from Homer to the close of Classical Attic Gk., see Liddell and Scott (1889: 176).¹³

c. Lat.

pres. *dicō* ‘I indicate’

dicō ‘I say’

inf. *dicāre*

dicere

perf. *dicāvi*

dixī < **deik-s-ai*

Cf. No agent noun such as ***dīctor* ‘one who indicates/says (?)’ documented, see OLD (1982: 537f.).

d. Hit. *tek-kūš-ša-nu-mi* ‘I show’

e. Gmc.¹⁴

i) Str. I

pres. **teiχ-a* ‘I indicate’ (< **deik-ō*)

pret. **taiχ* ‘I indicated’ (< **doik-a*)

Go. *ga-teihan* ‘announce, tell’, Str. I

ON only 1 sg. pres. *té* ‘I show’

Cf. *tēa* (later *tīā*) ‘show, report’, Wk. Irrg.

(< **tīh-æ*)

OE *tēon* ‘accuse’ (< **teiχan*, but shifted to Str. II, i.e., pret. *tēah*, *tugon*; cf. Campbell 1959: 308)

¹³ A relevant agent noun *δείκ-της* ‘exhibitor’ is attested at post-classical periods, cf. Liddell and Scott (1968: 373). This is safely ascribable to a later analogical creation.

¹⁴ Alongside these verbs, Gmc. seems to have had another type of cognate weak verb, i.e., pres. **taik-jel-a* (< **doig-yelo-*) and pret. **taih-t* (< **doik-t* < **doig-t*). This is reflected by OE Wk. 1 *tēcan* ‘show’ (pret. *tēhte*, but Northumbrian *tāhte*; cf. Onions 1966: 906). The assumption of relatedness of PIE **doig-* with **doik-* is adopted here, cf. Pokorny (1994: 189).

OHG *zīhan* ‘accuse’ Str. Ib. (i.e., pret. sg. *zēh* < **zeih*; cf. Braune and Eggers (1987: 274)

ii) Wk. 2 **taiy-ō-*

OHG *zeigōn* ‘show’

No instance suggesting the original active morphology ***deik-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* ‘I/you/he (agentively) indicate(s)’ is found among these materials.¹⁵ Outside Old Indic, no reflex of PIE ***deik-tel-* ‘one who (agentively) indicates’ is attested. In Old Indic, a relevant agent noun *deśtr* (masculine) ‘a pointer, indicator’ is observable later in the Epic period (in a compound *kupatha-deśtr* ‘a pointer of a bad road, evil way’, documented in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* vi 7. 14.), cf. Monier-Williams (1899: 496). In Vedas, the feminine counterpart *deśtrī* is attested but used solely as the name of a divine female (e.g., RV. 10.85.47),¹⁶ cf. *ibid.*, Macdonell (1897: 115), etc. This indicates that the relevant agent noun was developed rather later in the history of Old Indic.

There is thus due reason to judge that an inactive-stative verb **doik-e* ‘is indicative (of something)’ was available at the PIE period, perhaps along with its processive counterpart **deik-e* ‘gets indicative (of something)’. The original *o*-grade morphology of the inactive-stative is retained in the Ved. perf. *di-dés-a* (leaving aside the reduplication, a perfect-marker) and the Gmc. pret. **taih*. The meaning underlying Gk. δείκνῦμι ‘I display, exhibit’ must be ‘I make myself indicative of something’.

4.2. PIE **wos-e* ‘is dressed’

Another Gk. nasal-infixing present ἔν-νῦ-μι ‘I dress’ (cf. Ion. εἰ-νῦ-μι; < **wes-new-mi*; see Sihler 1995: 183 & 526) also seems to point at PIE inactive origin. Etymologically related verbs in major IE dialects are listed below (cf. Pokorny 1994: 1172f.; Macdonell 1916: 417; Whitney 1885: 156; Lehmann 1986: 395; Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995: 610; Sihler 1995: 504; etc.):

¹⁵ Rig Veda attests a root type aorist for 2 pl., á-diṣ-ta ‘you pointed’ (cf. (5a) above), but it is incredible that this points at the erstwhile ***deik-m/s/t* morphology. Phonologically speaking, the relevant 2 pl. aorist can be returned to a previous *s*-aorist **a-dik-ṣ-ta* < **e-dik-s-te*, cf. Sihler (1995: 511). (The relevant phonological change is *-kṣ-* + *-t-* > *-ṣt-*, e.g., *cakṣ-* (< **k^wek-s-*) + *te* > *cáṣte* ‘he sees’, cf. Thumb and Hauschild 1958-78: Vol. I., Part I., 312f.; etc.).

¹⁶ This situation may be comparable to the case of Gk. Μέντωρ, in relation to the inactive **mel-on-h₂e* ‘I think’ (cf. Tanaka 2000: §3.4.1).

(6) Verbs from PIE *wes-

a. OInd.

pres. (II, Ved.) *vās-te* ‘he wears’, med.tant.

cf. caus. (Ved.) *vās-āya-ti* ‘he dresses’

perf. (Ved.) *vā-vas-é* ‘he is in the state of wearing’

(Cl.Skt.) *va-vas-e* ‘he has been dressed’

aor. (Ved.) *ā-vas-iṣ-ṭa* ‘he wore’, *iṣ*-aor., mid.

Cf. Such agent nouns as *vastr* and *vasitr* ‘one who wears’ are attested later in Sūtras and Classical Sanskrit, respectively.

b. Av. *vaste* ‘he wears’

vaṇhaiti ‘he gets dressed’ (< *wes-e-ti, thematic pres.; cf. Kellens 1984: 104)

Cf. No agent noun by the suffix *-tr- is attested; derivational nouns are restricted to *vaṇhana-* and *vastra-* ‘clothing’.

c. Gk.

pres. *ἔν-νῦ-μι* ‘I dress, clothe’ < *wes-new-mi

perf. (passive) *ἐν-μαι* ‘I am dressed’

ἐσ-σαι ‘you are dressed’

ἐν-ται ‘he is dressed’

aor. *ἔσ-σ-α* ‘I dressed, clothed’

Cf. No agent noun such as ***ἐσ-τηρ* ***ἐσ-της*, ***ἐσ-τᾶς* ‘one who dresses (?)’ is attested,¹⁷ see Liddell and Scott (1889: 318f.; 1968: 698f.).

d. Lat. *vestiō* ‘I clothe’

Cf. No agent noun such as ***ves-tor* ‘one who clothes (?)’ is attested,¹⁸ see Lewis and Short (1879; 1981f.), OLD (1982: 2050).

e. Hit. *waš(š)-*, *wēššiya-* ‘clothe’

3 sg. *wa-āš-ši-ya-zi* ‘he clothes’ < *wos-eye/o-

wēš-ta ‘he gets dressed’, 3 sg. medio-pass.

f. Arm. *z-genum* ‘I get dressed’ < *wes-nu-

g. Alb. *vesh* ‘I clothe’

¹⁷ A masculine noun *ἐστωρ* ‘a peg at the end of the pole’ is attested, see Liddell and Scott (1889: 319; 1968: 699). Due to its meaning, however, it is difficult to connect this verb with the root *wes-. Its derivation remains uncertain, cf. Liddell and Scott (1889: 319).

¹⁸ *Vesfi-tor* ‘a maker of clothing, tailor’ is attested, but this is evidently a Latin creation.

vishem ‘I get dressed’

h. Toch. A, B *wäs-* ‘get dressed’

i. Gmc. Wk. 1 **was-je/a-* ‘dress, be dressed’

Go. *wasjan* ‘dress, be dressed’

ON *verja* ‘clothe’

OE *werian* ‘clothe’

OHG *werien* ‘clothe’

Among these, no material strongly suggests the erstwhile existence of such an originally active morphology as ***wes-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)*. Although Gk. *ἔσσεα* ‘I got dressed’ is descriptively classified as a second aorist (cf. Liddell and Scott 1889: 318; etc.), it rather points at, historically, a sigmatic aorist **wes-s-m̥* (cf. Drinka 1995: 109). Also, no material evinces a PIE agent noun ***wes-te/or* ‘one who clothes, dresses (?)’. *Vastṛ* in Sūtras and *vasitṛ* in Classical Skt. may be ascribed to later creations. An agentive meaning ‘clothe’ has frequently been assigned to the PIE root **wes-* (cf. Pokorny 1994: 1172; etc.), but if this were the case, Vedic, Greek and/or Latin would have expected to attest a corresponding archaic agent noun.

It thus seems likely that at a PIE pre-paradigmatised stage, the lexicon had an inactive verb **wos-h₂elth₂e/e* ‘be dressed’ rather than an active ***wes-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* ‘(agentively) dress, clothe’.¹⁹

The meaning underlying Gk. *ἐν-νῦ-μι* (< **wes-new-mi*) ‘I clothe’ must have been ‘make someone else dressed’. What is of especial interest in this connection is Go. *wasjan*, which shows dual usage, i.e., transitive ‘dress’ and intransitive ‘be dressed’, cf. Lehmann (1986: 395).²⁰ Here the formant **-je/a-* (< PIE **-ye/o-*) also seems

¹⁹ I hold that along with the inactive-stative **wos-h₂elth₂e/e* ‘be dressed’, the inactive-processive **wes-h₂elth₂e/e* ‘be in the process of (involuntarily) getting dressed (?)’ was available in the PIE lexis, which then was inherited by the Ved. medium tantum *vāste* ‘he wears’ (and also by Av. *vaste*), modifying the original ending.

²⁰ Compare the following two passages:

(i) tr. ‘dress’, Matthew 6.30

Jah	pan-de	ṭata	hawi	haiṭjōs
		n.acc.sg.	n.acc.sg.	f.gen.sg.
and	but-if	the	hay	of-field

interpretable as a causative (cf. Note 9 above), hence, ‘make someone else dressed’ for the former and ‘make oneself dressed’ for the latter. The meaning of Arm. *z-genum* (< **wes-nu-*), ‘get dressed’, may be construed as descending from ‘make oneself dressed’.

4.3. PIE *(s)g^wos-e ‘is inactive’

Let us illustrate one more example of a PIE inactive which is reconstructible on the basis of a Greek nasal-infixing present. The verb at issue now is *σβέν-νῦ-μι* ‘quench’ (< **σβέσ-νῦ-μι*, cf. *σβεσ-τός*; see Sihler 1995: 526). The following IE verbs are considered to be cognate with this Gk. verb (cf. Pokorny 1994: 479f.; Lehmann 1986: 277; Whitney 1885: 53; Macdonell 1916: 383; Monier-Williams 1899: 416; etc.):²¹

himma	daga	wisandō	jah	gistra-dagis
m.dat.sg.	m.dat.sg.	prpl.n.acc.sg.		adv.gen.
this	day	being	and	tomorrow
in	auhn	ga-lagiṭ	guṭ	swa wasjiṭ ...
	m.acc.sg.	ptpl.	n.nom.sg.	adv. 3 sg.pres.
in	oven	laid	god	thus clothes

‘but if God thus clothes the grass of the field which exists today and which will be laid in the oven tomorrow, ...’

(ii) intr. ‘get dressed’, Matthew 6.25

ni	maurnaiṭ	saiwalai	izwarai	h ^w a
	2 pl.imp.	f.dat.sg.	f.dat.sg.	n.acc.sg.
not	ye-worry	soul	your	what
matjaiṭ	jah	h ^w a	drinkaiṭ	nih
2 pl.subj.		n.acc.sg.	2 pl.subj.	
ye-should-eat	and	what	ye-should-drink	and-not
leika	izwaramma	h ^w e	wasjaiṭ	
n.dat.sg.	n.dat.sg.	adv.instr.	2 pl.subj.	
body	your	how	ye-should-get-dressed	

‘Do not concern your soul about what you eat, what you drink, or your body about how you get dressed.’

²¹ The OInd. materials given in (7a) may encompass a phonological difficulty because the relevant verb (i.e., *jas-*) shows the initial palatal throughout the paradigm. PIE **g^w*- changes into Indo-Ir. **g-*, and then into **g-* if it is followed by *ṛ*, *y* or *ē* (i.e., *das*

(7) Verbs from PIE **(s)g^wes-*

a. OInd.

pres. (I) **jās-a-te* ‘gets exhausted’

(Ved. IV, 2 pl. imp.) *jās-ya-ta* ‘you (pl.) shall get exhausted’

cf. causative (Bra.) *jās-āya-ti* ‘extinguish, exhaust’

perf. (Ved.) *ja-jās-a* ‘I am exhausted’

(Ved. 2 du. imp.), *ja-jas-tām* ‘you two shall be exhausted’, cf. Macdonell (1910: 362)

aor. (Bra.) *ā-jī-jas-a-ta* ‘he got exhausted’, redupl. aor., mid.

Cf. No agent noun such as ***jastṛ-* ‘one who exhausts (?)’ is attested.

b. Gk.

pres. *σβέν-νῦ-μι* ‘I quench’

perf. *ἔσβεσμαι* ‘I am quenched’

ἔσβεηκα ‘I have been quenched’

aor. *ἔσβεσα* ‘I quenched’ (< **ἔ-σβεσ-σ-a*, see Sihler 1995: 561), first aorist

ἔσβεην ‘I got quenched’, second aorist (but not phonologically reflecting ***e-sbes-m*)

Cf. No agent noun such as ***σβεσ-τηρ*, ***σβεσ-τωρ*, ***σβεσ-της*, ***σβεσ-τᾶς* ‘one who quenches (?)’ is attested, from Homer to the close of Classical Attic Gk., see Liddell and Scott (1889: 724).²²

c. Lith.

pres. *gestù* (older *gesù*) ‘I expire’ (< **g^wes(t)-ō*)

pret. *gesau* ‘I expired’

inf. *gèsti* ‘to go out, be extinguished, expire’

cf. Leskien (1919: 247), Fraenkel (1962-65: 149), etc.

d. OCS *u-gasiti* ‘to put out’

žasiti ‘to be terrified’

Palatalgesetz or the second palatalisation), hence, OInd. *j-*, cf. Thumb and Hauschild (1958-78: Vol. I., Part I., 289ff.), Burrow (1955: 76f.), etc. For this, I assume that the perfect *ja-jas-a* ‘he is exhausted’ was remodelled from the previous **ja-gas-a*, due to the influence of other paradigmatised categories, i.e., the present, etc.

²² The agent noun *σβεσ-τηρ* ‘an extinguisher’ is documented in the post-classical period (by Plutarchus, Biographus et Philosophus, the first to the second century AD), see Liddell and Scott (1968: 1557). This is ascribable to a later analogical creation.

e. Gmc.

Go. (*fra-*)*qistjan* ‘destroy, subject to torment’, Wk. 1

fra-qistnan ‘perish, be destroyed’, Wk. 4

ON *kvista* ‘mutilate’, wkv.

No material gives a strong inkling of a previous active morph $^{**}(s)g^{wes-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)}$. Although Gk. $\epsilon\sigma\beta\eta\nu$ ‘I got quenched’ is descriptively classified as a second aorist (cf. Liddell and Scott 1889: 724; etc.), this can scarcely be an authentic root aorist since it does not phonologically reflect $^{**}e-sbes-m$. As Pokorny (1994: 479) claims, this must be an analogical creation after the $\epsilon\beta\lambda\eta\nu$ -type of aorists. The first aorist $\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ ‘I quenched’, on the other hand, is safely ascribable to a previous sigmatic aorist, as Shiler (1995: 561) expounds. The Homeric unmistakably sigmatic aorist $\sigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma-\sigma\alpha\iota$ (imp. mid. 2 sg. ‘quench!’) lends support to this interpretation, cf. Pokorny (1994: 479).

Furthermore, no reflex of an archaic noun of agency $^{**}(s)g^{wes-t\acute{e}l\acute{o}r}$ ‘one who quenches (?)’ is documented in ancient IE dialects.

The PIE verb must have been $^{*}(s)g^{wos-h_2elth_2ele}$ ‘be inactive’ and perhaps $^{*}(s)g^{wes-h_2elth_2ele}$ ‘be in the process of getting inactive’. The meaning underlying Gk. $\sigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}\nu-\nu\bar{\upsilon}-\mu\iota$ ‘I quench, put out’ is best construed as ‘I make something inactive’.

5. *Those which are purely stative in meaning*

Tanaka (2001b: §2; 2002b: §3.2) has provided the hypothesis that some earlier stage of PIE was furnished with an active-inactive type of language structure. The characteristic of (pre-)PIE as an active-inactive language which directly concerns our present discussion is that it lacked a distinct adjective class, for an inactive verb, such as ‘be small’, was used instead of the construction of a copula plus an adjective (cf. Lehmann 1992: 107; 1993: 227; Tanaka 2001b: p.32 [1e]).²³ In other words, before the nominal sentence (i.e., the subject plus an adjective) or the construction of Subject + Copula + Adjective was established in IE dialects, verbs whose meanings could be represented as ‘be + an adjective’ must have had an inactive(-stative) morphology. Ancient IE dialects retain relics of verbs which are purely stative in meaning. And also, there are PIE roots which are naturally accredited with a meaning of the ‘be + an adjective’ type. On the basis of these verbs or roots, PIE inactives also seem reconstructible.

²³ Further to this assumption, Tanaka (2002b: §4.1) has presented the hypothesis that PIE $^{*}h_1es-$ was originally an active-durative verb with the meaning ‘sit and occupy a place’.

5.1. PIE *tors-e ‘is thirsty’

A stative meaning ‘be thirsty’ is normally attributed to the Old Indic root $\sqrt{tr̥s-}$, cf. Whitney (1885: 66), Macdonell (1916: 387), etc. As spelled out above, the Old Indic verb from this root and its cognates in other IE dialects may return to an original inactive verb. To begin with let us examine whether or not this might be the case.

The Indic radix at issue conforms to the PIE base *ters-. Related IE verbs are listed below (cf. Pokorny 1994: 1078f.; Seebold 1970: 515f.; Lehmann 1986: 151 & 358; Whitney 1885: 66; Macdonell 1916: 387; etc.):

(8) Verbs from PIE *ters-

a. OInd.

pres. (IV, Ved.) $tr̥s\text{-}ya\text{-}ti$ ‘he becomes thirsty’

perf. (Ved.) 3 pl. $tā\text{-}tr̥s\text{-}úr$ ‘they are thirsty’

aor. (Ved.) $tr̥s\text{-}a\text{-}t$ ‘he became thirsty’, a-aor. (cf. Macdonell 1910: 372)

1 pl. $a\text{-}tī\text{-}tr̥s\text{-}āma$ ‘we became thirsty’, redpl. aor. (cf. Macdonell 1910: 375)

Cf. No agent noun such as ** $tars\text{-}tar$ documented.

b. Gk.

pres. $τέρσ\text{-}ο\text{-}μαι$ ‘I become thirsty’

cf. caus. $τερσ\text{-}αίν\text{-}ω$ ‘I dry up, wipe up’

perf. unattested

aor. inf. $τερσ\text{-}ῆναι$, $τερσ\text{-}ῆμεναι$ ‘to become thirsty’, from which the aor. * $\acute{e}\text{-}τερσ\text{-}ην$ ‘I became thirsty’ is expected but not documented, cf. Liddell and Scott (1889: 801; 1968: 1778), etc.

Cf. No agent noun such as ** $τερσ\text{-}τηρ$, ** $τερσ\text{-}τωρ$, ** $τερσ\text{-}της$, ** $τερσ\text{-}τᾶς$ documented, see Liddell and Scott *loc.cit.*

c. Lat.

pres. $torreō$ ‘I parch (something)’ < * $tors\text{-}eyelo\text{-}$, cf. Sihler (1995: 504 and 531f.), etc.

perf. $torruī$ ‘I (have) parched (something)’ < * $tors\text{-}w\text{-}$

Cf. No agent noun such as ** $ters\text{-}tor$ ‘one who parches (?)’ documented, see OLD (1982: 1929).

d. Arm. $t'a\text{-}r\text{-}am\text{-}im$, $t'arš\text{-}am\text{-}im$ ‘I fade, wither’

e. Alb. ter ‘dry off’ (tran.)

f. Gmc.

i) Str.III * $pers\text{-}a$ ‘I am/become thirsty, dry’

**þars* ‘I was/became thirsty, dry’

Go. **ga-þairsan* ‘wither’

(ptpl. f.acc.sg. *ga-þaursana* ‘withered’ attested)

ii) Wk. **þarz-jela-*, **þurz-nō-*, etc.

Go. **þaursjan* ‘be thirsty’,²⁴ Wk.1 < **þurz-jela-*,

²⁴ This Gothic verb was used impersonally (see [i] below) and perhaps personally as well ([ii] and [iii] below appear interpretable also as impersonal examples):

(i) impersonal, John 6.35

þana	gaggandan	du	mis	ni
m.acc.sg.	prpt.m.acc.sg.	prep	1sg.dat.sg.	
that	going	to	me	not
huggreiþ	jah	þana	galaubjandan	du
3sg.ind.pres.		m.acc.sg.	prpt.m.acc.sg.	prep.
it-hungers	and	that	believing	to
mis	ni	þaurseiþ	h ^w anhun.	
1sg.dat.sg.		3sg.ind.pres.	adv.	
me	not	it-thirsts	ever	

‘It will never hunger or thirst him who comes to me and him who believes in me.’

‘He who comes to me and he who believe in me will never be thirsty or hungry.’

(ii) personal (?), Rome 12.20

jabai	gredō	fijand	þeinana,	mat
	3sg.subj.pres.	m.acc.sg.	m.acc.sg.	m.acc.sg.
if	it-shall-hunger	enemy	thy	food
gif	imma	; iþ	jabai	þaursjai,
2sg.imp.	m.dat.sg.			3sg.subj.pres.
give	to-him	but	if	he-thirsts
dragkei	ina;			
2sg.imp.	m.acc.sg.			
give-to-drink	him			

‘if your enemy is hungry, give him food; but if he is thirsty, let him drink’

(iii) personal (?), 1C 4.11

- ga-paursnan* ‘become thirsty’, Wk.4 < **parz-nō-*
 ON *perra* ‘dry, make dry’ < **parz-eje/a-*
porna ‘become dry’ < **parz-nō-*
 OE *ā-pierran* ‘parch’ < **parz-eje/a-*
 OHG *derran* ‘parch’ < **parz-eje/a-*
dorrēn ‘become dry, make dry’ < **parz-ǣ-*

This verb does not have a derived agent noun ***ters-īē/ōr*, because its semantics would be odd (i.e., ** ‘one who agentively or voluntarily becomes thirsty’). Also, none of these materials attests a reflex of an active configuration ***ters-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)*. Vedic attests an aorist participle of the root type, i.e., *tr̥ṣ-ānā-* (middle) ‘getting thirsty’ (cf. Whitney 1885: 66; Macdonell 1910: 370; 1916: 387; etc.), but the documented verbal (i.e., non-participial) aorists are restricted to a thematic type (i.e., *a*-aorist) or a reduplicated type, as shown in (8a) above.

Thus, it may be understood that the PIE lexicon contained an inactive-stative verb **tors-h₂elth₂e* ‘be thirsty’, perhaps along with an inactive-processive **tors-h₂elth₂e* ‘become/get thirsty’. The former morphology is retained in the Latin verbal base *torr-* (< **tors-*), the Gmc strong preterite stem **pars-* (and the weak verbal base **parz-*), etc. The latter morphology may be reflected (indirectly via thematisation, etc.) in the Gk. medium tantum *τέρσ-ο-μαι*. Ved. *īṣyati*, Go. **paursjan* (< **tr̥ṣ-ye/o-*), etc. may be explained in terms of the (pre-)PIE *-y- as a causativiser (cf. Note 9 above), hence, ‘make oneself thirsty’ > ‘become thirsty’ (personal) and ‘make someone thirsty’ > ‘it thirsts someone’ (impersonal), cf. Note 24 above.

und	þo	nu	h ^w eila	jah	huggridai
prep.	f.acc.sg.	adj	f.acc.sg.		ptpl m.nom.pl
up-to	the	present	time	both	hungered
jah	<i>paursidai</i>	jah	naqadai	jah	
	ptpl m.nom.pl		adj m.nom.pl		
and	thirsted	and	naked	and	
kaupatidai	jah	ungastopai.			
ptpl m.nom.pl.		adj m.nom.pl.			
buffeted	and	unsatisfied			

‘up to the present time we are hungry, thirst, naked, buffeted and unsatisfied’

5.2. PIE *dōk-e ‘is suitable, seemly’

Latin *decet* ‘is seemly’ has an obvious stative meaning. This verb is often used impersonally.²⁵ An impersonal verb is, by definition, a typical verb which lacks an agent or which obscures it behind its obligatory third person singular conjugation.²⁶ The Latin verb in question derives from the PIE root *dēk-. Cognate verbs in principal IE dialects are charted below (cf. Pokorny 1994: 189f.; etc.).²⁷

(9) Verbs from PIE *dēk-

a. Gk.

pres. δέκ-ο-μαι (Ion. and Aeol.) ‘I take, accept, receive’, cf. δέχ-ο-μαι (Attic)

perf. δέ-δεγ-μαι ‘I have accepted’

aor. ἐ-δέξ-ά-μην ‘I accepted myself’, middle, aor.1

ἐ-δέχ-θην ‘I got accepted’, passive, aor.1

(Epic) ἐ-δέχ-μην ‘I accepted myself’, middle, aor.2

²⁵ Personal and impersonal examples are what follows:

(i) personal

Dubitābant	quid	decēret.
3pl.ind.impf.	n.nom.sg.	3sg.subj.impf.
were-uncertain	what	was-suitable
‘they were uncertain of what was suitable’		

(ii) impersonal

Me	decet	lēgibus	parēre.
acc.sg.	3sg.ind.pres.	f.dat.pl.	pres.inf.
me	is-suitable	to-laws	to-obey
‘It is suitable for me to obey laws’			
‘I am suited to obeying laws’			

²⁶ See Lehmann (1993: 220f.), where he offers a possible interpretation of IE impersonal verbs (or rather impersonal passives) as a vestige of a subclass of PIE inactive verbs. Lehmann (1999: 75) also provides some relevant information.

²⁷ As derivatives from PIE *dēk-, Pokorny (1994: 189) includes OInd. (IV, Ved.) *dāsasyāti* ‘he shows honour, admires a god, is merciful’ (denominative from *dāsas = Lat. *decus* ‘grace, honour’, according to Pokorny *loc. cit.*; see also Monier-Williams 1889: 472) and Av. *dikšate* ‘he desires to consecrate himself’ (desiderative, i.e., a secondary verb), but these are omitted in (9) below, for they have undergone some secondary extension and the verbal base therefore does not consist simply of *dēk-.

(Epic) 3 sg. ἔ-δεχ-το, δέχ-το ‘he accepted himself’, middle, aor.2

Cf. An agent noun δέκ-της ‘a receiver, a beggar’ is attested, but not **δέκ-τη/ωρ, from Homer to the close of Classical Attic Gk., see Liddell and Scott (1889: 178).²⁸

b. Lat.

pres. *decet* ‘is seemly’ (inf. *decēre*)

cf. caus. *doceō* ‘I teach’ < **dok-eye/o-* (see Sihler 1995: 531f.; etc.)

perf. unattested

cf. *doc-vī* ‘I (have) taught’ for *doceō*

Cf. No agent noun such as ***dec-tor* unattested, cf. OLD (1982: 494).

c. Alb. *ndieħ* ‘feel’ (< **dek-skō-* ?)

ndesh ‘find’

d. Gmc.

(i) **teh-w-ōn* (?)

OE *teohhian* ‘think, consider’, Wk. 2, pret. sg. *teohhode* (cf. Wright 1914: 278; etc.)

(ii) **teh-ō-*

OE *tēon* ‘frame, create’, pret. sg. *tēode*

OHG *gi-zehōn* ‘put (something) in order’

No remnant of an archaic active conjugation ***dek-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* is discovered among these materials. The Latin present *decet* is characterised by the *-ē-* element (< **-eh₁-*, a stative marker; cf. Sihler 1995: 497)²⁹ attached to the base, which suggests a relatively new creation or an innovative present through paradigmatisation.

²⁸ The agent noun δέκ-τήρ ‘(a title of an official) receiver’ is attested in the post-classical period (in *Inscriptiones Graecae* 5(2).274, Mantinea, ii/i B.C.), cf. Liddell and Scott (1968: 377). This should be a later analogical creation.

²⁹ Sihler (1995: 497) observes that stative stems in **-eh₁-*/**-h₁-* are widespread in IE dialects (“well-attested in Latin, Celtic, Germanic, and Balto-Slavonic, and marginally in Avestan and early Hittite”) and ascribes two functions to this element, i.e., “making stative (or durative) forms out of aoristic roots” on the one hand and “making stative denominatives” on the other. The following examples may illustrate these two functions (cf. Sihler 1995: 497, 531):

Neither is a direct reflex of an ancient noun of agency ***dek-ǵelōr* attested. Gk. δέκ-της ‘a receiver, a beggar’ is ascribable to an independently Greek innovation. At the Homeric period, the authentic -τηρ or -τωρ type of agent nouns were more productive than at the classical period (cf. Buck 1933: 325). Nevertheless, *Odyssey* documents an innovative type of an agent noun with -της (τῷ δέκτῃ ‘to the beggar’; cf. Autenrieth 1984[1877]: 81). This suggests that it was a new creation and not an inheritance from a PIE counterpart. We may infer that this was created after the present δέκομαι was paradigmatised, acquiring the meaning construable as agentive (i.e., ‘take, accept, receive’).

Hence, it seems feasible to posit an inactive verb **dok-h₂elth₂ele* ‘be suitable, seemly’, presumably along with its processive pair-form **dek-h₂elth₂ele* ‘get suitable, seemly’, in the PIE lexis. The relevant *o*-grade base is preserved in the Latin causative *doceō* (< **dok-eyelo-*), while the processive, *e*-grade correspondent in many others.

5.3. PIE **poh₂g/k-e* ‘is firm’

Kurzová (1993: 130) assigns a stative meaning ‘be firm’ to PIE **peh₂g/k-* and proposes that it was originally an inactive base. This subsection checks if an inactive verb is plausibly reconstructible from this PIE base within our own theoretical framework. (10)

(i) PIE **eh₁-* as a stativiser, affixed to a non-stative verbal base, making it express a stative meaning

- a. PIE **sed-m/s/t* ‘sit down’ (an active-momentary verb; cf. Tanaka 2002b: Note 15)
 → post-PIE **sed-eh₁-* ‘be seated’
 → pre-Latin **sed-eh₁-ye/o-* ‘am/are/is seated’
 > Lat. pres. *sedeō* ‘I am seated’

(ii) pre-Latin **eh₁-* as a stative-marker, attaching to an originally stative verbal base (somehow remodelled so as to be more suitable for an innovative, paradigmatised present) and showing its original status as stative

- a. PIE **woid-h₂/th₂le* ‘see, know’ (an inactive-stative verb; cf. Tanaka 2000: §3.1.1)
 → pre-Lat. **woid-eh₁-ye/o-* ‘see(s)’ > Lat. pres. *videō* ‘I see’
- b. PIE **louk-h₂/th₂le* ‘be bright, is in the state of shining’ (an inactive-stative verb; cf. §7.2 below)
 → pre-Lat. **louk-eh₁-ye/o-* ‘am/are/is bright, shine(s)’
 > Lat. pres. *lūceō* ‘I am bright, shine’

below diagrams morphological properties of IE verbs from PIE **peh₂g̃/k-* (cf. Pokorny 1994: 787f.; Seebold 1970: 185f.; Lehmann 1986: 102; etc.):

(10) Verbs from PIE **peh₂g̃/k-*

a. Gk.

pres. πῆγ-νῦ-μι ‘I stick’

πηγ-νύ-ω ‘I stick’

perf. πέ-πηγ-μαι ‘I am stuck’

πέ-πηγ-α ‘I am stuck’

aor. ἔπηξα < **epāk-s-m̃* ‘I stuck’, 1 aor.

(Dor.) ἐ-πάγ-ην ‘I stuck’, 2 aor.

(Ep.) πάγ-ην ‘I stuck’, 2 aor.

Cf. No agent noun such as ***πη/āk-τηρ*, ***πη/āk-τωρ*, ***πη/āk-της*, ***πη/āk-τᾱς* ‘one who sticks (?)’ documented from Homer to the close of Classical Attic Gk., see Liddell and Scott (1889: 586 and 638).³⁰ (The consonant cluster -γτ- changes into -κτ- in Greek; cf. Sihler 1995: 199; etc.)

b. Lat.

pres. **pacō* (3 pl. *pacunt* ‘they contract’ attested)

perf. unattested

pres. *paciscō* ‘I arrange or secure by negatiation’

perf. *pactus sum* ‘I arranged by negatiation’

pres. *paciscōr* ‘I negotiate’ (deponent)

perf. *pactus sum* ‘I negotiated’

pres. *pangō* ‘I fasten, make fast’ (inf. *pangere*)

perf. *pepigī* ‘I fastened’

pēgī

(OLat.) *panxī* < **pāng-s-a-i*

³⁰ The noun πῆκ-της (*dubio sensu*) is attested only later in the second century A.D. (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 5.387), see Liddell and Scott (1968: 1400).

Cf. An agent noun *pāc-tor* ‘a contractor, negotiator, one who makes an agreement’ documented, but not ***pāc-tor*, cf. OLD (1982: 1280). (The consonant cluster *-gt-* changes into *-ct-* in Latin, cf. Sihler 1995: 200; etc.)

c. Lith.

pres. *puošiti* ‘I adorn’, Class IV (< **pōk-ye/o-*)

pret. *puošiau* ‘I adorned’

inf. *puošti* ‘to adorn’

cf. Fraenkel (1962-65: II. 669), etc.

d. Gmc.

(i) Str. VII **fanχan* (nasal present) ‘catch, capture’

	inf.	pret.sg.	pret.pl.	p.p.	
Go.	<i>fāhan</i>	<i>fai-fah</i>	<i>fai-fahun</i>	<i>fāhans</i>	‘catch, capture’
ON	<i>fā</i>	<i>fekk</i>	<i>fango</i>	<i>fengenn</i>	‘ibid.’
OE	<i>fōn</i>	<i>feng</i>	<i>fengon</i>	<i>fangen</i>	‘ibid.’
OFri.	<i>fā</i>	<i>feng</i>	<i>fingen</i>	<i>fangen</i>	‘ibid.’
OS	<i>fāhan</i>	<i>feng</i>	<i>fengun</i>	<i>gi-fangen</i>	‘ibid.’
OHG	<i>fāhan</i>	<i>fiang</i>	<i>fiangun</i>	<i>gi-fangan</i>	‘ibid.’

(ii) Wk. 2 **fanγ-ō-* (nasal-infixing)

OE *fangian* ‘fasten’

OFri. *fangia* ‘catch’

OHG *fure-vangon* ‘forestall’

(iii) Wk. 1 **fōγ-je/a-* (nasal uninfixed)

OE *ge-fēgan* ‘join, fix’

OFri. *fōga* ‘join, fix’

OS *fōgian* ‘join, fix’

OHG *fuogen* ‘join, fix’

None of these materials reflects a pre-paradigmatised active configuration **peh_{2g/k}-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)*. Moreover, no relic of an ancient agent noun **peh_{2g/k}-tē/ōr* is observable in ancient IE dialects. Latin attests *pāc-tor* ‘a contractor, negotiator’ but as its short stem vowel betokens, it is not descendent from **peh_{2g/k}-tor*. It must have been a Latin creation, which was realised when or after it innovated *paciscō(r)* as one of the paradigmatised presents. (This was feasible because the noun of agency with *-tor* had already become the most productive type, cf. Buck 1933: 324f.) Consequently, our theoretical criterion allows the reconstruction of the PIE inactive(-stative) **poh_{2g/k}-h_{2e}lth_{2e}le* ‘be firm’, presumably in company with the processive variant **peh_{2g/k}-*

h₂elth₂ele ‘get firm’. The meaning underlying such nasal-infixing presents as Gk. *πήγνυμι*, Lat. *pangō*, Gmc. **fanχan* must be ‘make something (get) firm’, hence, ‘stick’, ‘fasten’, etc. The original *o*-grade form **poh₂g/k-* (> **pōg/k-*) was largely lost among IE dialects, but it seems maintained in the Gmc. Wk. 1 stem **fōγ-jela-* ‘capture, catch’ (see (10d.iii) above) and in Lith. *puošiti* ‘I adorn’ (< **pōk-yelo-*; see (10c) above).

6. Weather Verbs

In §5.2 above we attempted to analyse the historical nature of Latin *decet*, whose conjugation was confined to the third person singular and whose null third singular subject refers to nothing, therefore categorisable as an impersonal verb. When it comes to impersonal verbs, many IE dialects are furnished with the so-called weather verbs, which are used impersonally, e.g., English *it rains* (but not ***I rain*, ***you rain*), where the subject pronoun *it* is non-anaphoric. As a subset of impersonal verbs, these verbs do not concern themselves with an agent of the action which the verb might express.³¹ For instance, when one says “it rains”, the agent who or which caused the event of raining is absent. Weather verbs are thus characterisable with its non-agentivity, which motivates the current subsection to see if PIE inactive verbs can be reconstituted from them.

6.1. Snow: PIE **(s)noig^{wh}-e* ‘is snowing’

Among the variety of IE words which are concerned with weather, the lexical item for ‘snow’ is one of the instances with the most frequent equation between dialects, cf. Buck (1949: 68f.), Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995: I. 587f. and 763f.), etc. To put it differently, a good many IE nouns or verbs for ‘snow’ come from the PIE base **(s)neig^{wh}-*. We are in a position to examine, to begin with, if an inactive **(s)noig^{wh}-e* ‘it is snowing’ (a stative variant) and/or **(s)neig^{wh}-e* ‘it gets snowing’ (a processive variant) can be convincingly posited in the PIE lexicon. (11) lists up IE verbs from **(s)neig^{wh}-*, where verbs with meanings other than ‘snow’ are also included (cf. Pokorny 1994: 974; Sihler 1995: 163; Seebold 1970: 442f.; Lehmann 1986: 316; Whitney 1885: 195; Monier-Williams 1899: 1267; Macdonell 1910: 394; etc.):

³¹ My discussion here remains a rough argument, for as Denison (1993: 61ff., 93) explicates, there is in fact no clear demarcation between impersonals and other verbs. Actually there are scholars who do not admit zero-place weather verbs into impersonals (e.g., Fischer and van der Leek, see Denison 1993: 93).

(11) Verbs from PIE **(s)neig^{wh}h-*

a. OInd.

pres. (IV, Epic) *sniḥ-y-a-ti* ‘it becomes moist, sticky’

cf. caus. (Ved.) *sneh-áya-* ‘destroy’

perf. unattested (but **si-ṣneh-a* and other forms are suggested by Hindu grammarians)

aor. unattested (but **a-sniḥ-a-t* and other forms are suggested by Hindu grammarians)

Cf. No such agent noun as ***sneh-tr̥* is attested.

b. Av.

pres. *snæžaiti* ‘it snows’, Class IV, i.e., them.pres. (for the usage for ‘falls on the ground like snow’, only present active participle is attested), cf. Reichelt (1909: 500).

c. Gk.

pres. *νεῖφ-ει*, *νῖφ-ει* ‘it snows’, them.pres.

perf. unattested

aor. *ἐνυψε* (< **e-nip-s-e*) ‘it snowed’, aor.1

Cf. No agent noun such as ***νεῖφ-τη/ωρ*, ***νῖφ-τη/ωρ*, etc. ‘one who causes it to snow (?)’ is documented, see Liddell and Scott (1889: 533).

d. Lat.

pres. *nīvit* ‘it snows’ (inf. *nīvere*)

perf. unattested

pres. *ning(u)it* ‘it snows’, nasal-infixing pres. (inf. *ningere*)

perf. *ninxit* ‘it (has) snowed’ < **ni-n-g-s-e-t*

Cf. No conceivable agent noun such as ***nīc-tor*, ***nīgu-tor*, ***nīv-tor*, etc. attested, see OLD (1982: 1176f., 1182, etc.)

e. OIr.

pres. *snigid* ‘it rains, drips’ < **snig^{wh}h-y(e)-ti*

f. Lith.

pres. *snīnga* ‘it snows’, nasal-infixing pres. (see Leskien 1919: 192, among others), along with dialectal *snīegti* and *snīega*, cf. Fraenkel (1962-65: II. 853).

pret. *snigo* ‘it snowed’

inf. *snìgti* ‘to snow’

g. Gmc. **sneiγ^w(-j)-e-p* ‘it snows’

ON *snýr* ‘it snows’ (inf. **sníva*, unattested; cf. Vries 1977: 527; etc.)

OE *snīwþ* ‘it snows’, Wk. 1 (pret. *snīw-de*)

OHG *snīwit* ‘it snows’ (pp. *gi-snigan*), Str. Ib. (cf. Braune and Eggers 1987: 274)

Only some dialects allow the usage where an agentive subject is collocated with this verb, such as Lat. *ningunt... rosarum floribus* ‘they snow down rose-flowers in a shower.’^{32, 33} And most of the dialects show impersonal usage of this verb (i.e., ‘it snows’, ‘it rains’). Consequently, the meaning best reconstructed for the original PIE verb should be ‘snow’, or else ‘falls on the ground (like snow)’. This situation suggests that the original verb must have been non-agentive (i.e., inactive) rather than agentive (i.e., active).

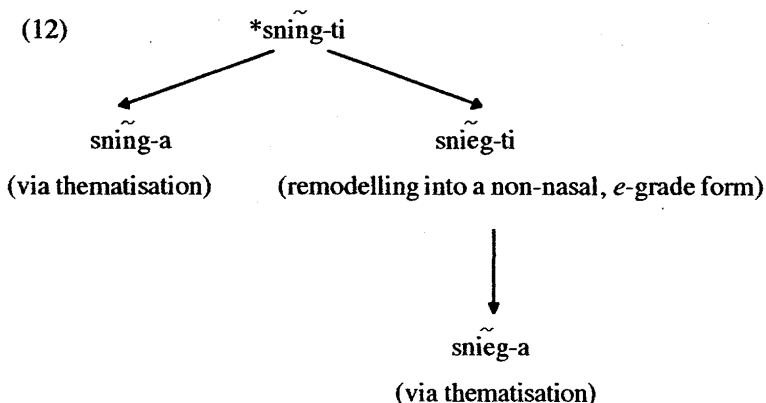
Among the materials from IE dialects, no reflex of an agent noun ***sneig^{wh}-iē/ōr* ‘one who causes it to snow (?)’ is observable.³⁴ This also hints that the original PIE verb was non-agentive or inactive.

As regards a conceivable original active morphology ***sneig^{wh}-m(i)/s(i)/l(i)*, no IE material provides a reflex of the relevant configuration, except for Lith. *sniegti* ‘it snows’ (see (11f.) above). This present form, documented in Lithuanian beside *snĩnga* and *snĩga*, is interpretable as a reflex of an erstwhile athematic root present (cf. Brugmann 1895: §511, p.77; Endzelins 1971: §339, p.207; etc.). Is it, then, feasible to reconstruct a PIE active-durative verb ***sneig^{wh}-mi/si/ti*, only on the basis of this Lith. verbal form? The answer is obviously no. Reconstruction of a PIE active-durative verb is incompatible with the facts observed in the two paragraphs immediately above. The best interpretation seems, on the contrary, that the Lith. form now in question is actually a secondary, remodelled form. It seems plausible to consider that as roughly sketched in (12) below, the three attested Lith. present forms descended from a single pre-form **snĩgti*, which can be at least to some extent equated with OLat. *ninguit* (both reflecting a nasal-infixing, zero-grade base **(s)ni-n-g^w-*):

³² This is a partial quotation from Lucretius *De Rerum Natura*, 2. 627-8. Here I adopt the translation made by Rouse and Smith (1937: 145).

³³ It is dubious that the god filling in the subject position in such a construction as Epic Gk. ὅτε ὤρετο Ζεὺς νιφέμῳ ‘when Zeus started to snow’ (νιφέμῳ infinitive) should be construed as an agentive subject. The fact that only gods can fill in this position seems hinting that the relevant god’s name just functions as a dummy or expletive third person singular pronoun (cf. Denison 1993: 97). For a related discussion, see also Lehmann (1997: 237) commenting upon Hirt (1931-34: III. 160-163).

³⁴ Gk. (New Testament) νιπ-τήρ ‘a washing vessel, basin’ is a derivative from another verb νίζω (later νίπτω) ‘wash the hands or feet of another’.



The change from a nasal-infixing, zero-grade present to a non-nasal-infixing, *e*-grade present (e.g., from **sning-ti* to *snieg-ti* in (12) above) is not a single occurrence in Lithuanian. The same type of change is observable in the change from **link-mi* to *liek-mi* 'I leave, remain' as well, see §3.1 above again. (For a similar idea, see also Specht 1935: 89.)

With reference to OIr. *snigid* 'it snows', on the other hand, some scholars have suggested that it goes back to a PIE athematic root present. For example, see Watkins (1962: 141f.), where, treading in Meillet's footsteps, this possibility is underlined, especially on the strength of the fact that the corresponding OLith. *sniegti* appears analysable as reflecting a PIE athematic, *e*-grade present. But we cannot accept this opinion. The OLith. *sniegti* is, as discussed immediately above, likely to be a secondary form, remodelled from an originally nasal-infixing zero-grade present, and it is dubious that the base form underlying OIr. *snigid* was full grade. It is more convincing to consider that this verb contains a palatal element after the base (cf. Pokorny 1914: 88), and therefore, the best reconstructed pre-form of this OIr. verb should be **snig^{wh}-y(e)-ti*, as given in (11e) above. This form is completely or nearly equatable with OInd. *snihyati* 'it becomes moist, sticky' (see (11a) above).

Now it may be concluded that no IE material cogently points to an original active morphology ***sneig^{wh}-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)*.

These observations make it plausible to posit a PIE inactive verb, **snoig^{wh}-e* 'it is snowing' and/or **sneig^{wh}-e* 'it gets snowing'. The original *o*-grade shape, characteristic of the inactive-stative counterpart, is largely lost in the IE dialects, but this seems maintained in, say, the Ved. causative *sneh-āya-* (< **snoig^{wh}-eye-*) 'destroy' (see (11a) above).

What is of special interest is that some dialects, such as Latin and Lithuanian, constitute a paradigmatised present by means of the nasal element (< *-n-, a PIE causative-agentiviser; cf. Note 11 above). The meaning ‘snows’ of the relevant presents must have come from ‘makes it snow’. In Latin, moreover, the paradigmatised perfect for *ning(u)it* is also nasal-infixing (*ni-n-x-it*). The fact that the relevant Latin verb has a personal use as well, or can show an agent as its nominative subject, as exemplified above, might possibly be pertinent to this formational pattern, since it seems to have undergone causative-agentivisation in deriving from an original inactive verb.

6.2. Rain: PIE *plow-e ‘is flowing, floating’

IE verbs for ‘it rains’ do not show so high a frequency of equation between dialects as those for ‘it snows’, since they come from several different etyma.³⁵ See Buck (1949: 67f.). It will minimally meet with the aim of this subsection if it is demonstrated that one type of IE verbs for ‘it rains’ is likely to go back to a PIE inactive verb.

Among the relevant verbs, let us consider Lat. *pluit* ‘it rains’. Cognate IE verbs are charted below (cf. Pokorny 1994: 835f.; Seebold 1970: 204f.; Lehmann 1986: 119; Whitney 1885: 103f.; Macdonell 1916: 400; etc.):

(13) Verbs from PIE *plew-

a. OInd.

pres. (I, Ved.) *plāv-a-te* ‘he floats’ (< *plew-a-tai)

(I, Br.) *plav-a-ti* ‘he floats’

cf. caus. (Br.) *plāv-āya-ti* ‘he causes to swim’

perf. (Br.) *pu-pluv-e* ‘he has floated’

aor. (Br.) *a-plo-ṣ-ṭa* ‘he floated’ (s-aor.)

(Br.) *ā-pi-plav-am* ‘he floated’ (rdpl. aor.)

Cf. No such agent noun as ***plo-tr̥* or ***plav-tr̥* is attested.³⁶

b. Gk.

³⁵ Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995: 586) ascribe this fact to “taboo replacement of the original sacral term by other lexical formations” because “rain was sent by the supreme deity” and “the rain he sent was crucial to agriculture”.

³⁶ Epic *plavitr̥* ‘a leaper’ is best analysable as a later creation and should not be ascribed to PIE ***plew-H-tr̥* since the shape ***plew-H-* is not permissible for a PIE verbal base, cf. Benveniste (1935). Epic *plāvayitr̥* ‘one who causes to swim, causing to cross or go in a boat’ is also evidently a later creation from a causative.

pres. $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}(F)\omega$ ‘I float, sail’ (them. pres.)

perf. $\pi\acute{\epsilon}-\pi\lambda\epsilon\nu-\kappa-\alpha$ ‘I have floated, sailed’ (kappatic perf.)

aor. $\acute{\epsilon}-\pi\lambda\epsilon\nu-\sigma-\alpha$ ‘I floated, sailed’ (sigmatic aor.)

(Homeric) $\acute{\epsilon}-\pi\lambda\omega\nu$, $-\omega\varsigma$, $-\omega$ in compounds

Cf. No agent noun such as $**\pi\lambda\epsilon(v)-\tau\eta/\omega\rho$ is attested, see Liddell and Scott (1968: 1416f.).

c. Lat.

pres. *pluit* ‘it rains’

perf. *pluit*, *plūvit* ‘it (has) rained’

pres. *plu(v)ō* ‘I rain down’

perf. *plūi*, *plūvī* ‘I (have) rained down’

Cf. No agent noun such as $**plou-tor$ or $**plū-tor$ is attested (cf. PIE $*eu > OL ou > Lat. ū$), see OLD (1982: 1392).

d. Arm.

pres. *luanam* ‘I wash’

aor. *luac‘i* ‘I washed’ (cf. Godel 1975: 51; etc.)

e. Lith. (causative)

pres. *pláuju* ‘I wash, rinse’ (< $*plow-eye-$)

pret. *plóviau* ‘I washed, rinsed’

inf. *pláuti* ‘to wash, rinse’

f. OCS

pres. *plovq* ‘I flow, I sail’

inf. *pluti* ‘to flow, sail’

g. Gmc.

i) Strong VII

OE *flōwan* ‘to flow’ (Class VII)

flēow ‘I flowed’

flēowon ‘we flowed’

flōwen ‘flowed’

ii) Weak Verbs

OHG *flewen* ‘to rinse, wash’ < $*flau-ja-$ (cf. Braune and Eggers 1987: p.291, §358 Note 3)

ON *flóa* ‘to boil fluids, to flood’ < $*flōw-ǣ-$ (cf. Noreen 1970: p.170, §235.1.d; Vries 1977: 132f.)

Among these materials, no athematic root present or aorist is found to verify a pre-paradigmatised active morphology ***plew-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)*. A seeming candidate might be a Homeric Gk. aorist $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\omega\nu$, $-\omega\varsigma$, $-\omega$ (cf. (13b) above), which is found in compounds such as $\acute{\alpha}\pi\text{--}\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\omega$ ‘he sailed away’, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\text{--}\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\omega\varsigma$ ‘you sailed on’ (cf. Liddell and Scott 1968: 1417). But this cannot be considered a true reflex of a root aorist ***plew-m/s/t* because no Gk. phonological rule straightforwardly connects these two morphs. Greco-Aryan branches predominantly show sigmatic aorists (cf. (13a,b) above), and the relevant Homeric contracted aorist must be some secondary creation. Neither can a material pointing to a PIE noun of agency ***plew-te/or* ‘one who agentively flows or floats (?)’ be found here.

There seems to be, on the other hand, some positive evidence to indicate that the underlying PIE verb must have been inactive, **plew-h₂elth₂e/e* ‘get flowing, floating’ and/or **plow-h₂elth₂e/e* ‘be flowing, floating’. ‘Flow’ or ‘float’, the meaning best reconstructed for the verbal root, suggests a non-agentive, involuntary action. Ved. medium tantum *plāv-a-te* ‘he floats, swims’ (< **plew-a-tai*; cf. (13a) above) most eloquently speaks, it seems to me, for the processive variant of a PIE inactive (though it has undergone some morphological alterations such as insertion of a thematic vowel and employment of the new third singular middle ending **-tai*). As the semantic development ‘flow’ > ‘float’ > ‘swim’ went on (and also the cancellation of the original active-inactive language structure was advanced), Old Indic reinterpreted the original status of the verb into the one which was similar to those originally active. Br. *plav-a-ti* ‘he floats, swims’ (cf. (13a) above) must have been created by analogy with *vah-a-ti* ‘he carries’, originally active (see Tanaka 2001b: §3.2 (5c)), etc. The stative counterpart **plow-h₂elth₂e/e* ‘be flowing, floating’ must also have been extant at the PIE period. The *o*-grade shape in it seems to be conserved in, say, Lith. *pláuju* ‘I wash, rinse’ (< **plow-eye-*; cf. (13e) above).

The form underlying Lat. *pluit* ‘it rains’ may be **plovit* (cf. Lindsay 1894: 466). This then seems descendent from **plew-ye-t(i)* or **plow-ye-t(i)*. Since the *y*-element is interpretable as a causativiser (cf. Note 9 above), the meaning underlying Latin *pluit* ‘it rains’ seems to be ‘it causes to flow’.

As concerns the OE Str. VII *flōwan* ‘to flow’ (pret. sg. *flēow*, pret. pl. *flēowon*, pp. *flōwen*), given in (13g) above, it can be inferred that the pre-Gmc. shapes may have been **plo-H-w-* and ***plew-H-* (i.e., laryngeal ‘infixes’ at Positions 2a and 3a; see Tanaka 2001a: §3.2 (1)). Conceivable phonological changes are given below (cf. Wright and Wright 1925: §§90, 127, 173(3); Moulton 1972: 155; etc.):

(14)

pre-Gmc.	*plo-H-w-	*plew-H-
Gmc.	*flōw-	*fleww-
WGmc.		*fleuw-
OE	flōw-	flēow-

6.3. Thunder: PIE *(s)ton-e ‘is sounding (loudly)’

Similarly to the IE verbs for ‘it rains’, the verb for ‘it thunders’ tends to differ in etymon from dialect to dialect, see Buck (1949: 57f.). Among them, the PIE root *(s)ten- is used for the relevant verb in a couple of dialects. This subsection deals with IE verbs from PIE *(s)ten- and illustrates that they are likely to go back to a PIE inactive.

Observe the following IE verbs from PIE *(s)ten- (cf. Pokorny 1994: 1021; Seebold 1970: 469f.; Whitney 1885: 191f.; Macdonell 1916: 429; etc.):

(15) Verbs from PIE *(s)ten-

a. Old Indic

pres. (I, Ved.) *stánati* ‘it thunders’ (< *sten-e-ti)

cf. (caus. Ved.) *stanáyati* ‘it causes to thunder’ (< *ston-eye-ti)

perf. unattested (but *ta-stān-a, etc., suggested by Hindu grammarians)

aor. (Ved.) *á-stān-īt* ‘it thundered’ (iṣ-aor.)

Cf. No such agent noun as ***stan-tr* is documented.

b. Gk.

pres. *στένω* ‘I moan’

perf. unattested

aor. unattested

Cf. No such agent noun as ***στέν-τη/ωρ* is documented, except for the proper noun *Στέντωρ* ‘a Greek at Troy, famous for his loud voice’, see Liddell and Scott (1968: 1639).

c. Lat.

pres. *tonat* ‘it thunders’

tonō ‘I roar’

perf. *tonāvit* ‘it (has) thundered’

tonāvī ‘I (have) roared’

Cf. No corresponding agent noun such as ***te/on-tor* is documented, see OLD (1982: 1921 and 1949).³⁷

d. Lith.

pres. *stenù* ‘I groan, moan’
 pret. *stenė jau* ‘I groaned, moaned’
 inf. *stenė ti* ‘to groan, moan’

e. OCS

pres. *stenjq* ‘I groan, moan’
 inf. *stenati* ‘to groan, moan’

f. Gmc.

i) Str. IV

OE *stenan* ‘to groan’, *stæn* ‘I groaned’, *stēnon* ‘we groaned’, cf. ASDS (1921: 711)

ii) Wks.

OE *þunian* ‘to stand out, make a noise’, Wk.2, pt. sg. *-ode* (< **þun-ō-*)
 ON *stynja* ‘to groan’, Wk. 1, pt. sg. *stundi* ‘I groaned’ (< **stun-je/a-*)
 OS unattested; cf. MLG *steden*, *stonen*, *stōnen* ‘to groan’
 OE *stunian* ‘to crash, make a loud sound’, Wk. 2, pt. sg. *-ode* (< **stun-ō-*)
 OE *stēnan* ‘to groan’, Wk.1, pt. sg. *stēn-de* ‘I groaned’, cf. ASD (1898: 915), ASDS (1921: 711)

Here no trace of an original active verbal configuration ***sten-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* is discoverable.³⁸ Neither is evidence for a corresponding archaic noun of agency ***sten-tel/or* ‘one who roars, moans (?)’. The Greek personal name Στέντωρ (*Iliad* 5.785) ‘a Greek at Troy, famous for his loud voice’ (cf. (15b) above) must have been a creation at

³⁷ The extant *tentor* ‘a functionary connected with a chariot-racing establishment’ comes from *tendo* ‘extend outwards’ plus *-tor* and has nothing to do with the verb now at issue, cf. OLD (1982: 1921).

³⁸ Besides those given in (15a) above, Vedic supplies other verbal forms worth mentioning here. As indicated in (15a) above, the relevant verb shows a thematic conjugation for its present indicative and is classified as a Class I verb. For an imperative and an injunctive, however, Class II type conjugations are found (i.e., *stanihi* ‘thunder!’ and *stán* ‘it thunder’), whilst a Class I type imperative is also observable (i.e., *stána* ‘thunder!’). But these conjugations, descriptively classifiable as Class II, do not speak for the existence of the ***sten-mi/si/ti* morphology itself at the PIE period.

the Homeric period, on the analogy of the other personal names ending in *-τωρ*, cf. Notes 16 above.

The meaning ‘sound (loudly)’ or ‘give off a roaring sound’ seems best attributable to the PIE root **(s)ten-*. The verb must have been inactive, and probably both the processive and the stative variants were available at the PIE period. The *e*-grade base of the processive **(s)ten-e* ‘gets giving off a roaring sound’ is preserved in many instances above, such as Gk. *στένω* ‘I moan’, Lith. *stenù* ‘I groan, moan’, OE *stenan* ‘to moan’, etc. The *o*-grade shape of the stative counterpart **ston-e* ‘is giving off a roaring sound’, on the other hand, seems to be conserved in Ved. causative *stan-āya-ti* ‘he causes to thunder’, Lat. *tonat* ‘it thunders’, OE pret. sg. *stæn* ‘I/he moaned’ (< pre-Gmc. **ston-h₂e/le*).

Furthermore, if it is assumed that the lengthened stem vocalism of OE Wk. 1 *stēnan* ‘to groan’ (cf. (15f.ii) above) is not of a secondary or analogical origin inside Old English but an authentic inheritance from PIE, this verbal form may point to a laryngeal-infixing variant of the inactive verb at issue, i.e., **ste-H-n-h₂e/th₂e/le* ‘be in the process of (really) giving off a roaring sound’ (cf. Tanaka 2001a: Note 13). This verb can be an equivalent of Class VI pretetite-presents such as **ōg-* (< **h₂o-H-gh-*) and **mōt-* (< **mo-h₁-t-*), cf. Tanaka (2001a: §3.3).

7. Others

At the end of our attempt to demonstrate the reconstructibility of innumerable, manifold PIE inactive verbs, we now have to deal with a few examples whose inactive characters may be expected from standpoints that can deviate from those four categories heretofore discussed (i.e., Gk. canonical perfects, Gk. nasal-infixing presents, verbs purely stative in meaning, weather verbs).

7.1. PIE **(s)kowH-e* ‘hears, is hearing’

In PDE there is a pair of stative verbs *see* and *hear* (though I acknowledge that today these verbs are occasionally used like dynamic verbs for the progressive construction, e.g., *I am hearing what you say*). It may be supposed that PIE also contained an inactive verb for ‘hear’ along with that for ‘see’. Tanaka (2000: §3.1.1) suggests that the Gmc. preterite-present **wait-* is interpretable as reflecting a PIE inactive **woid-h₂e/th₂e/le* ‘be in the state of seeing’ (> ‘know’). What form of a verb, then, is reconstructible for an auditory counterpart of the visual **woid-e*?

It seems to me that the verb from the PIE base **(s)kewH-* constituted an inactive verb for ‘hear’. Examine the following materials from major IE dialects (cf. Porkony 1994: 587f.; Lehmann 1986: 180f. & 310f.; Whitney 1885: 20; Sihler 1995: 44; etc.):

(16) Verbs from **(s)kewH-*

a. OInd.

Except for (Br. med. tant.) *ā-kūvate* ‘he intends’, no verb is documented but only nominals such as *kaví-* ‘wise’ (< **kowH-*), etc. No agent noun such as ***cavi-tr* (> ***kewH-tr*) is documented, see Monier-Williams (1899: 391).

b. Av.

(1 sg. med. aor.) *čāvīši* ‘I hoped’

c. Gk.

pres. *κο(F)έω, κοῶ* ‘I mark, perceive, hear’ (< **kow(H)-eye/o-*)

perf. unattested

aor. unattested

Cf. No corresponding agent noun such as ***κε/o(F)-τη/ωρ* is documented, see Liddell and Scott (1968: 944, 974).

d. Lat.

pres. *caveō* ‘I beware’ (< **kowH-eye/o-*; see Sihler 1995: 44)

perf. *cāvī* ‘I (have) bewared’ (< **kaawei* < **kawa-wai*, according to Sihler 1995: 581)

inf. *cavēre* ‘to beware’

Cf. No corresponding agent noun such as ***calovator*, ***coutor*, ***cūtor* is documented, see OLD (1982: 286 453, 479).³⁹ (Cf. PIE **eu* > OLat. **ou* > Lat. **ū*)

e. Arm.

pres. *çuçanem* ‘I show’ < **skow-sk-ō*

aor. *eçoye* ‘I showed’

f. Lett. *kavēt* ‘hesitate, delay’ (equatable with Lat. *cavēre*)

g. Gmc. (documented in WGmc. as wk. 2 verbs)

OE *scēawian*, OS *skauwōn*, OHG *scouwōn* ‘look at’ < **skauw-ō-*

OE *hāwian* ‘look at’ < **hēw-ō-* < pre-Gmc. **ke-h₁-w-eh₂-*

³⁹ The extant *cavātor* ‘one who hollows out, excavator’ comes from *cavō* ‘hollow out’ plus *-tor* and has nothing to do with the verb now at issue. See OLD (1982: 286), etc.

No material here suggests the existence of a PIE active configuration ***(s)kewH-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* ‘(voluntarily) listen to (?)’ or of a PIE noun of agency ***(s)kewH-īēlōr* ‘one who (voluntarily) listens to (?)’. Hence, it is inferable that there was an inactive verb **(s)kowH-h₂elth₂e* ‘be in the state of hearing’ at the PIE period.

Traditionally it has often been claimed that those verbs in (16) above are ‘denominatives’ (cf. Pokorny 1994: 587f.; etc.). It does not seem appropriate to presume, however, that each dialect, independently from the others, created a verb with the *o*-grade stem (i.e., **(s)kowH-*) from nominals with the *o*-grade stem (e.g., Gk. *κοῖον* ‘of what nature?’ < **koF-iov*, Lat. *cautus* ‘careful’ < **kowntos*, Go. *us-skaus* ‘vigilant’, OHG *scōni* ‘splendid, beautiful’), after it separated from the parent language. The fact that each dialect shows an *o*-grade verb similar to those in the others is more convincingly construed as indicating that PIE had a verb with the *o*-grade stem which underlies those verbs attested in dialects and that each dialect inherited this PIE verb but modified the morphology in its own way, to some extent differently from others, when it built up its own paradigmatised verbal system. As for Greek (cf. (16c) above), though a corresponding perfect or aorist was not paradigmatised, a present was newly created from the original *o*-grade verbal base plus a causativiser **-y-* (plus additional vowels), hence, ‘make oneself hear’ > ‘mark, perceive, hear’. With reference to Latin (cf. (16d) above), while the paradigmatised present was created similarly to the Greek congener, the corresponding perfect was also paradigmatised by attaching the Latin perfect marker *-w-* to the original *o*-grade verbal base (i.e., **kowH-wa-i*). As regards Armenian (cf. (16e) above), the paradigmatised present was innovated by means of the **-sk-* element suffixed to the parental *o*-grade verbal shape. Documented WGmc. dialects, furthermore, inherited the relevant verb as weak verbs (cf. (16g) above). Some phonological and/or morphological commentaries on these Gmc. weak verbs may be required here.

As regards such Wk. 2 verbs as OE *scēawian*, OS *skauwōn*, OHG *scouwōn* ‘look at’, on one hand, the following series of phonological changes from the pre-Gmc. period are conceivable (cf. Wright and Wright 1925: p.48, §76; etc.):

(17) pre-Gmc. **skowH-eh₂(-ye)-*

Gmc. **skaww-ō(j)-* (vocalic changes and Verschärfung)

WGmc. **skauw-ō(j)-*

OE *scēaw-o-* (cf. pret. sg. *scēaw-o-de*) or *scēaw-i-* (cf. inf. *scēaw-i-an*)

Another Wk. 2 verb, OE *hāwian* ‘look at’, on the other hand, is normally construed as reflecting the PIE lengthened grade **kēw-* (cf. Pokorny 1994: 587; Lehmann 1986: 180;

etc.). Given that the pre-form of *hāwian* cannot be posited as ***hēawian*, which is unattested,⁴⁰ it cannot be returned to pre-Gmc. ***kowH-eh₂-* by way of phonological changes similar to those for *scēawian* in (17) above, but only to pre-Gmc. **ke-h₁-w-eh₂-*, whose verbal base is comprised of the radix with a laryngeal phoneme infix in ‘Position 2’. This may be construed as an equivalent for Class VI pretetite-presents such as **ōg-* (< **h₂o-H-gh-*) and **mōt-* (< **mo-h₁-t-*), cf. Tanaka (2001a: §3.3). The meaning of PIE **ke-h₁-w-e* must have been ‘is really hearing’ with a strengthened or intensified nuance (cf. Tanaka 2001a: Note 13). The quondam strengthened meaning is, it seems to me, traceable in the meaning ‘look at’ attested with the Old English descendant, i.e., ‘one *really* hears someone as if one could actually *see* (or *look at*) him/her.’

Greek and Germanic have cognate verbs from another PIE base **keus-*⁴¹ (cf. Pokorny 1994: 587f.; Lehmann 1986: 180f.; etc.):

(18) Verbs from PIE **keus-*

a. Gk.

pres. ἀκούω ‘I hear’ (< **sm̥-kous-e/o-*)

perf. ἀκήκοα ‘I have heard’

(Lacon.) ἄκουκα ‘I have heard’

aor. ἤ-κούσ-α ‘I heard’ (aor. I)

(Epic.) ἄ-κουσ-α ‘I heard’

Cf. No corresponding agent noun such as ***ἄ-κουσ-τη/ωρ* (cf. verbal adjective ἄ-κουσ-τός ‘heard, audible’), ***ἄ-κευσ-τη/ωρ* is documented, see Liddell and Scott (1889: 26, 29).

b. Gmc.

(i) Wk. 1 **χaus-je/a-* (ii) Wk. 2 **χaus-j-ō(j)-*

Go. *hausjan* ‘hear’

Go. *hausjōn* ‘hear’

ON *heyra* ‘hear’

OE *hūeran* ‘hear’

OS *hōrian* ‘hear’

OHG *hōren* ‘hear’

⁴⁰ See Hogg (1992a: 214f.) for the relevant topic.

⁴¹ It is evident that the difference between **kewH-* and **keus-* only lies in whether the zero-grade post-radical suffix is **-H-* or **-s-*.

None of these materials suggests the existence of PIE ***keus-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* ‘(voluntarily) listen to (?)’ or ***keus-tē/ōr* ‘listener (?)’. Perhaps both **kous-h₂e/th₂e* and **(s)kowH-h₂e/th₂e* were extant at the PIE period as pair-forms for ‘be in the state of hearing’. The former was lost in dialects except Greek and Germanic (cf. (18) immediately above), while the latter was inherited in more dialects (cf. (16)). Both of these verbs were inherited in Germanic, where semantic differentiation is observable. Namely, the former (> **haus-je/a-*, cf. (18b)) conserved the auditory meaning whilst the latter (> **skauw-ō-*, cf. (16g)) acquired a visual meaning.

It may be added here that as an active counterpart of the inactive **(s)kowH-h₂e/th₂e* or **kous-h₂e/th₂e* ‘hear’, PIE **klew-m/s/t* ‘give an ear to’ seems reconstructible. This is suggested by the Ved. athematic root aorist *á-śro-t* ‘he heard’ (< **e-kleu-t*)⁴² and such archaic nouns of agency as Ved. *śrotṛ* ‘one who hears, hearing, hearer’⁴³ and Av. *upa.sraotar-* ‘responsorischer Beibeter (a priest who gives a response)’ (< ‘a listener’)⁴⁴ (< **kleu-te/or*).

7.2. PIE **louk-e* ‘is bright, is shining’

Lehmann (1999: 75) suggests that Hittite *lu-uk-kat-ta* ‘it became light, dawn’ and Latin *lūcet* ‘it is bright’ are reflexes of a PIE inactive verb (see also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995: 257). This subsection aims at showing that our heuristic method can also accord with this idea. Consider the following list of IE verbs from the PIE base **leuk-* (cf. Pokorny 1994: 687ff.; Lehmann 1986: 236; Whitney 1885: 141f., 150f.; Macdonell 1916: 413; Sihler 1995: 504, 531; etc.):

(19) Verbs from PIE **leuk-*⁴⁵

a. OInd.

pres. (I, Ved.) *róc-a-te* ‘he shines’ (< **leuk-e-tai*)

cf. (caus. Ved.) *roc-āya-ti* ‘make shine, light up’

⁴² See Whitney (1885: 179), Macdonell (1910: 366), Beekes (1969: 226; 1995: 235), etc.

⁴³ See Whitney (1885: 180), Monier-Williams (1899: 1131), etc.

⁴⁴ See Strunk (1967: 83), etc.

⁴⁵ Germanic denominatives, such as Go. **liuhtjan* ‘give light’ (cf. *liuhap* ‘light’), ON *lýsa* ‘gleam’ (cf. *ljös* ‘light’), are excluded from this list. For they are most probably independently Germanic creations after weak verbs became extremely productive in the Gmc. verbal system.

perf. (Ved.) *ru-roc-a* ‘he has shone’
 aor. (Ved.) *á-rū-ruc-ata* ‘he shone’ (redupl. aor.)
 (Ved.) *a-roc-i* ‘I was shone’ (passive aor.)

pres. (I, Br.) *lók-a-te, lóc-a-te* ‘he looks, become aware of’
 cf. (caus. Ep.) *lokayati, -te* ‘he makes look’
 perf. (Class. Skt.) *lu-lok-e* ‘he has looked’
 aor. (Class. Skt.) *a-lok-i* ‘I was looked’

Cf. No agent noun such as ***roktṛ* ‘one who shines (?)’, ***loktṛ* ‘one who looks (?)’ is documented, see Monier-Williams (1899: 888, 906f.); but *-loka-yitr* (e.g., *ava-loka-yitr* ‘one who views’, cf. Monier-Williams 1899: 103) is documented in Classical Sanskrit.

b. Av.

pres. (caus.) *raocayeiti* ‘make shine, light up’

c. Lat.

pres. *lūceō* ‘I am bright, shine’ < **leuk-eh₁-ye/o-*
 (OL.) *lūceō* ‘I kindle’ < **louk-eye/o-*
 perf. *lūxī* ‘I (have) shone’ < **leuk-s-ai*
 inf. *lucēre* ‘to shine’

Cf. No agent noun such as ***lūctor* ‘one who shines (?)’ is documented, see OLD (1982: 1046f.).⁴⁶

d. Arm.

pres. *luṣanem* ‘I ignite, burn’ (*skō*-pres.)
 aor. *luṣi* ‘I ignited, burnt’

e. Toch. (A, B)

luk- ‘gleam’

f. Hitt.

pres. (caus.) *lu-uk-ki-iz-zi* ‘he sets fire to’ < **louk-eye-ti*
 pret. *lu-uk-kat-ta* ‘it became light, dawn’

As seen from (19), there is no evidence that points to PIE ***leuk-īē/ōr* ‘one who (voluntarily) shines (?)’. Although Old Indic (Classical Sanskrit) attests a cognate agent

⁴⁶ The attested deponent *lūctor* ‘I wrestle’ (< PIE **leug-* ‘bend’, cf. Pokorny 1994: 685; etc.) has nothing to do with the verb now at issue.

noun *-lokayitr*, it cannot be a reflex of a canonical archaic agent noun but is obviously a later creation from a causative. Moreover, no morphology which reflects a PIE active configuration ***leuk-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* is observable in (19). These pieces of negative evidence suggest the presence of an inactive verb, **louk-h₂e/th₂e/e* ‘be bright, be in the state of shining’ and/or **leuk-h₂e/th₂e/e* ‘get bright, be in the process of shining’, in the PIE lexicon.

Both the stative and the processive variants seem to have been available at the PIE period, for those IE verbs garnered in (19) above can provide positive evidence for either of them. The Vedic medium tantum *rócate* ‘he shines’ (< **leuk-e-tai*; cf. (19a)) is best explicated as a successor of the original *e*-grade processive variant (i.e., **leuk-e* ‘gets shining’, hence, ‘shines’) though it has undergone thematisation and replacement of the original inactive ending with the OInd. middle ending. The shape of the original *o*-grade stative variant is, on the other hand, traceable in the Ved. perfect *ru-roc-a* ‘he has shone, is bright’ (< **-louk-e*; cf. (19a)) and those causatives in Vedic, Avesta, Old Latin, Hittite (cf. (19a, b, c, f); < **louk-eye-*).

The Latin present *lūceō* ‘I am bright, shine’ (< **leuk-eh₁-ye/o-*) is constituted of the verbal base, a stative marker **-eh₁-* (cf. Note 27 above) and the **-ye/o-* element, which suggests a new creation on behalf of the Latin paradigmatisation. The Armenian present *luçanem* ‘I ignite, burn’ also suggests itself as a new formation by means of the **-sk-* element (cf. Tanaka 2001b: Note 13) so as to fulfill the Armenian paradigmatisation.

7.3. PIE **bhoudh-e* ‘is awake’

Indo-European etymological dictionaries such as Pokorny (1994: 150), Lehmann (1986: 30), etc. assign both of the meanings ‘be awake’ on the one hand and ‘wake(n)’ ‘observe’ on the other to the PIE base **bheudh-*. In terms of our continuing concern, i.e., whether a given PIE verb was active or inactive, this situation only puzzles us. For the meaning ‘be awake’ reminds us of the original inactive status whereas the meaning ‘wake(n)’ or ‘observe’ could be associated with the quondam active character. It seems, therefore, worth attempting, at the final stage of this section, to sort out the problem of this kind of a verb, whose prior status etymological dictionaries leave ambiguous.

Now let us canvass morphological features of kindred IE verbs from PIE **bheudh-* (cf. Pokorny 1994: 150ff.; Seebold 1970: 108ff.; Lehmann 1986: 30; Whitney 1885: 106; Macdonell 1916: 400f.; etc.):

(20) Verbs from PIE **bheudh-*

a. OInd.

pres. (IV Ved.) *búdh-ya-te* ‘he wakes’

(I. Ved.) *bódh-a-ti* ‘he wakes’

cf. (caus. Ved.) *bodh-áya-ti* ‘he waken (someone)’

perf. (Ved.) *bu-budh-é* ‘he is awake, he has wakened himself’

aor. (Ved.) *á-bhodh-i* ‘I woke, I wakened myself’

(Ved.) *a-bū-budh-a-t* ‘he woke, he wakened himself’

Cf. An agent noun *boddhṛ* ‘one who perceives or comprehends’ is documented in the Epic period onwards; but before that period, this agent noun is not attested; see Monier-Williams (1899: 734).

b. Av.

pres. *baodaiti* ‘he perceives, indicates’, Class IV, i.e., them.pres., cf. Reichelt (1909: 461)

c. Gk.

pres. *πέρθ-ο-μαι, πέρσ-ο-μαι* ‘I learn’

πυ-ν-θ-άνο-μαι ‘I learn’ (maybe from a conflation of **πυ-ν-θ-ο-μαι* and **πυθ-άνο-μαι*, cf. Sihler 1995: 519)

perf. *πέρ-πυσ-μαι* ‘I have learned’ (cf. 2 sg. *πέρπυσαι*; Epic *πέρπυσσαι* ‘you have learned’)

aor. *ἐ-πυθ-ό-μην* ‘I learned’

Cf. No agent noun such as ***πευσ-τη/ωρ* is documented, see Liddell and Scott (1889: 636f.).

d. OIr.

ad-bond- ‘proclaim, explain’ (nasal-infixing pres.)

od-bond- ‘cancel, refuse’ (nasal-infixing pres.)

e. Lith.

pres. *bundù* ‘I awake, wake up’ (< **bhu-n-dh-*; nasal-infixing pres.)

pret. *budaù* ‘I awoke, woke up’

inf. *bùsti* ‘to awake, wake up’

pres. *budù* ‘I am awake’

inf. *budé ti* ‘be awake’

pres. *bùdinu* ‘I waken’

pret. *bùdinau* ‘I wakened’

inf. *bùdinti* ‘to waken’

pres. (caus.) *baudžiũ* ‘I punish, beat’ (refl.) ‘I intend’ (< **bhoundh-yō*)
pret. *baudžaiũ* ‘I punished, beat’ (refl.) ‘I intended’
inf. *baũsti* ‘to punish, beat’

inf. *pasi-baudyti* ‘to get up, set out’
inf. *baudinti* ‘to cheer up, rouse’

f. OCS

pres. *bljudq* ‘I observe’
inf. *bljusti* ‘to observe’

pres. (caus.) *buždq* ‘I waken’ (< **bhoundh-yō*)
inf. *buditi* ‘to waken’

pres. *bъздq* ‘I wake’ (a stative with the *ē*-suffix)
inf. *bъдѣti* ‘to wake’

inf. *въз-бънqti* ‘to become awake’ (< **bhudh-no-*)

g. Gmc. (as Str. II verbs)

Go. *ana-biudan* ‘order, command’
faur-biudan ‘forbid’
ON *bjō ða* ‘bid, order, offer’
OE *bēodan* ‘bid, order, offer’
OS *biodan* ‘bid, order, offer’
OHG *biotan* ‘bid, order, offer’

If the PIE verb from this base had been active, a remnant of an active configuration ***bheudh-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* would be liable to be attested. But no material in (20) above speaks for this. As regards the theoretically supposable agent noun ***bheudh-īē/ōr*, Epic Sanskrit attests an apparent reflex. Given, however, that an agent noun by *-tṛ* had been quite productive in the Indic grammar since the Vedic, the oldest documented period (cf. Macdonell 1910: 121), the authenticity of this later attested agent noun may be doubted. It is more likely that this was analogically created in the Epic period, despite

the ostensible effect of Bartholomae's Law (i.e., the etymological $*-dh + *t \rightarrow \text{-}ddh\text{-}$).⁴⁷ The fact that Greek does not attest a parallel agent noun also suggests the non-existence of $**bheudh\text{-}telor$ at the PIE period.

Reconstruction of a PIE inactive, i.e., a pair of $*bheudh\text{-}h_2e/th_2e/e$ 'become awake' and $*bhoudh\text{-}h_2e/th_2e/e$ 'be awake', seems sufficiently explanatory of those materials in (20) above. The Gk. medium tantum $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\theta\text{-}o\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ 'I learn' (cf. (20c) above) must be a direct scion of the PIE processive variant, whilst morphologically it has gone through thematisation and replacement of the endings and semantically it has seen a meaning change such as 'become awake' > 'become aware of' > 'learn'. The original *o*-grade shape of the PIE stative variant is traceable in the Ved. causative $bodh\text{-}\acute{a}ya\text{-}ti$ 'he waken (someone)' (< $*bhoudh\text{-}eye\text{-}$; cf. (20a) above) and the Gmc. strong preterite (e.g., OE $b\acute{e}ad$ 'I offered' < Gmc. $b\acute{a}ud\text{-}a$ < Pre-Gmc. $*bhoudh\text{-}h_2e$; cf. (20g) above).

Several IE present formations are construable as having derived via causativisation by such a component as $*-n\text{-}$ or $*-y\text{-}$ (cf. Notes 11 and 9 above). Significations of the nasal-infixing presents could be explained in the following manner:

(21) Presents from $*bhu\text{-}n\text{-}dh\text{-}$

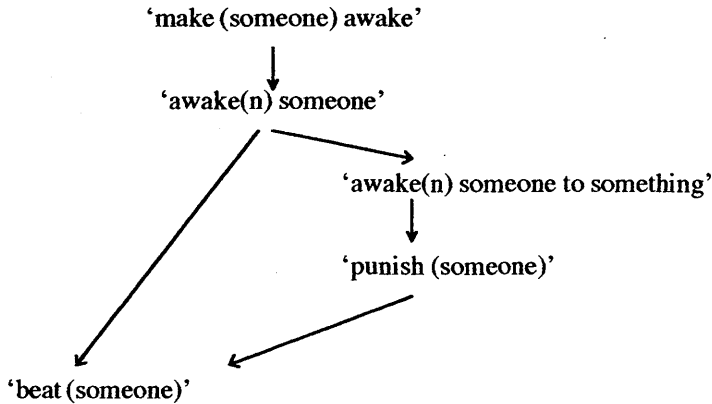
- a. Gk. $*\pi\upsilon\upsilon\theta\text{-}o\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ 'I learn' (underlying $\pi\upsilon\upsilon\theta\text{-}\acute{a}vo\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$; cf. (20c) above): 'makes (oneself) awake' > 'makes oneself aware of' > 'learn'
- b. OIr. $-bond\text{-}$ (cf. (20d) above): 'makes (something) awake' > 'makes something clear' > 'proclaim', etc.
- c. Lith. $bundù$ 'I awake, wake up' (cf. (20e) above): 'make (oneself) awake' > 'awake, wake up'

Semantic developments in those presents suffixed by $*-y\text{-}$ may be considered as follows:

⁴⁷ The effect in question seems to have been appropriable from such derivatives as $buddhi$ 'intelligence, reason, intellect' (a female noun by $-ti$, attested since the Sūtras period), $boddhavya$ 'to be attended to or noticed' (a future passive participle by $-tavya$, attested since the Upanishads period) (cf. Whitney 1885: 106, Monier-Williams 1899: 733f.), as well as from other agent nouns of a similar shape such as $roddhṛ$ 'one who stops or obstructs, a besieger' (attested since the Brāhmaṇas period; cf. Whitney 1885: 143, Monier-Williams 1899: 884). This creation also became feasible, it seems to me, because beside the original non-agentive meaning 'be awake' or '(involuntarily) wake up', a new, agentive-like meaning such as 'observe', 'heed', 'attend', 'deem', 'consider', 'regard as', developed to a larger extent.

(22) Presents from **bh(o)udh-yelo-*

- a. Ved. *búdh-ya-te* ‘he wakes, is attentive, observes, understands’ (cf. (20a) above):
‘makes (oneself) awake’ > ‘wake’, ‘is attentive’, etc.
- b. Lith. *baudžiù* ‘I punish, beat’ (< **bhoudh-yō*; cf. (20e) above):



- c. OCS *bŭzĭq* ‘I waken’ (< **bhoudh-yō*; cf. (20f) above): ‘make (someone) awake’ >
‘waken (someone)’

Meanings attested in the Germanic verbs (cf. (20g) above) appear difficult to explain. But Porzig (1954: 122) has already proposed an exegesis, which is restated by Lehmann (1986: 30) as “from PIE ‘awake, observe’ to Gmc. and Celt. ‘point out, warn’ and then ‘order’.” To the extent that we regard the meaning of PIE or pre-Gmc. **bhoudh-h₂e* as ‘I am awake’, we ought to understand the relevant semantic development in view of, say, strengthening. The original meaning ‘be awake’ could imply ‘observe’, ‘recognise’ (i.e., *I am awake*, thus *I can observe, recognise*), which in turn could develop via ‘point out, warn’ into ‘order’. This supposition remains speculative, but it is doubtful if any other explanation works more satisfactorily.

7.4. PIE **swop-e* ‘is asleep’

If **bhoudh-e* is reconstructible as an inactive verb for ‘is awake’ (cf. §7.3 immediately above), presence of an antonymous inactive verb for ‘is asleep’ in the PIE lexicon may also be expected. Further to this anticipation, the present subsection examines the original status of the PIE verb from the radix **swep-*. Relevant materials from major IE dialects are given below (cf. Pokorny 1994: 1048; Buck 1948: 268f.; Seebold 1970: 482f.; Lehmann 1986: 315; Whitney 1885: 201; Macdonell 1916: 432; etc.):

shows a yod element between the verbal root and the ending,⁴⁸ which is not congruous with the theoretically supposed quondam active morphology.⁴⁹ Except for the Classical Sanskrit *svapitr̥* ‘a sleeper’ (cf. (23a) above), there is no agent noun from **swep-* plus **-iē/ōr* testified among IE dialects. The relevant agent noun *svapitr̥* is safely ascribable to a later innovation in the history of Old Indic, due to its late attestation and the yod element between the root and the suffix *-tr̥*. Hence, it seems more natural to reconstruct an inactive verb **swelop-h₂e/th₂e* ‘get/be asleep’ for PIE. The morphology of the *o*-grade stative variant **swop-* is traceable especially in the Gmc. strong V preterit singular, **swaf-* (cf. (23e) above).

8. Conclusion

The present paper has sought to illustrate the reconstructibility of various many PIE or pre-Gmc. inactive verbs, beside those reconstituted in §1 above. In obtaining new specimens of a PIE inactive, we followed the five criteria nominated in §2 above, but there should of course be other points of view to lead to reconstruction of PIE inactives. Since it is far beyond the scope of this paper to exhaust conceivable PIE inactives (actually this is impossible, as mentioned before), we should like to close the current paper by enumerating those samples of an inactive verb accumulated in the present investigation (the third person singular of the *o*-grade stative variant is given here as a representative form):

(24)

- a. **loik^w-e* ‘is away, apart from’
- b. **bhoidh-e* ‘is convinced’
- c. **dwoy-e* ‘is divided, split (in mind)’

⁴⁸ The yod element at issue might be accounted for in the light of the **-y-* as a PIE causativiser or frequentiviser, cf. Note 9 above. If the original verb was inactive as expounded immediately below, the testified signification ‘he sleeps’ in Ved. *svapiti* can be descendent from ‘he makes himself asleep’ or ‘he repeats the condition of being asleep’, although the problem of why this verb did not constitute a Class IV conjugation in Old Indic remains.

⁴⁹ Neither does the Ved. 3 sg. imperative *sváp-tu* ‘may he sleep’ (Atharva Veda; cf. Macdonell 1910: 338) directly point to the erstwhile ***swep-m(i)/s(i)/t(i)* morphology. The Ved. 2 sg. imperative *sváp-a* (cf. Macdonell 1910: 324) ‘sleep!’, on the other hand, shows a thematic vowel after the verbal base.

- d. **doik-e* 'is pointing (at/to), is indicative (of)'
- e. **wos-e* 'is dressed'
- f. **(s)g^wos-e* 'is inactive'
- g. **tors-e* 'is thirsty'
- h. **dok-e* 'is suitable, seemly'
- i. **poh₂g/k-e* 'is firm'
- j. **(s)noig^wh-e* 'is snowing'
- k. **plow-e* 'is flowing, floating'
- l. **(s)ton-e* 'is sounding (loudly)'
- m. **(s)kowH-e* 'is hearing, hears', perhaps along with a pair-form **kous-e*
- n. **louk-e* 'is bright, is shining'
- o. **bhoudh-e* 'is awake'
- p. **swop-e* 'is asleep'

Some of these did not survive into documented Gmc. dialects (e.g., (24c, f, n)), but we may consider that they were extant at the pre-Gmc. period. In other words, at a period not long after the Gmc. branch split off from the parent-language, the lexicon must have contained an unlimited number of inactive verbs, i.e., those given in (24) and many others which we have not yet reconstructed. It may also be claimed that when paradigmatisation took place at some period in the pre-history of Germanic, many of these inactive verbs were still alive in the lexicon. These inactive verbs seem to have played a crucial role in realising the Gmc. paradigmatisation. The relationship between the Gmc. paradigmatisation and the remnants of inactive verbs will be scrutinised in my future research.

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