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PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN ‘EAT’ AND ‘MOUTH’

PIE **h₃oʔ-s-* (= **h₃oh₁-s-*) ‘mouth’ is derived from PIE **h₁ed-* ‘to eat’, as an *s*-stem *o*-grade postverbal, assuming that **dC* yields **?C* (= **h₁C*), which is a well-known phenomenon of the Glottalic Theory.

Keywords: Proto-Indo-European, Etymology, Glottalic Theory.

1. INTRODUCTION

Ever since it has been established that, within the Glottalic Theory, PIE **dC* under specific conditions yields PIE **?C* (= **h₁C*), it has been possible to recover cognates which otherwise wouldn’t be deemed comparable with their respective Proto-Indo-European etyma; cf. e.g. PIE **du-* ‘two’, **dekm-* ‘ten’ and PIE **?u-i+?km-t-i-* (= **du-i+dkm-t-i-*) ‘twenty’ (> Av. *vīsaiti* id., G ep. ἐείκοσι /ἐ(γ)ίκοσι/ id., etc.) (KORTLANDT 1983: 97) (= 2010: 100).

In this paper, I propose to consider whether, by the same token, PIE **h₃oh₁-s-* ‘mouth’ is to be compared with PIE **h₁ed-* ‘eat’ on the premise that PIE ‘mouth’ is in fact to be reconstructed as **h₁oh₁-s-*.

2. PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN ‘EAT’ AND ‘MOUTH’

Typically, PIE ‘mouth’ is reconstructed as **h₃oh₁-s-* (NIL 387); cf. Hitt. *aiš* ‘mouth’ (gen sg *iššaš*), CLuw. *āas* ‘mouth’, Skt. *āś-* ‘mouth’, Av. *āh-* ‘mouth’, L *ōs* ‘mouth’, and OIr. *á* ‘mouth’.

PIE **h₃oh₁-s-* is an ablauting *s*-stem; it ablauts in both the root and the stem.

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In the root, 1. the full *o*-grade, PIE $*h_3oh_i$ -, is reconstructed by NIL 1a. on the basis of *a*- in Hitt. *aiš* and *ā*- (hyper-plene) in CLuw. *āaš*, where the root is followed by the full grade *s*-stem, PIE $*h_3oh_i-Vs$ -, eventually resulting in a hiatus (which is due to PIE $*Vh_iV$ yielding PAnat. $*V?V$, q.v. KLOEKHORST 2008: 71), 1b. on the basis of *ā*- in Skt. *ās-* and Av. *āh-*, where the root is followed by the zero-grade *s*-stem, PIE $*h_3oh_i-s$ -, eventually resulting in an acute length, and 1c. on the basis of *ō*- in L *ōs* and *á* in OIr. *á*, where the root is followed either by the zero-grade *s*-stem, PIE $*h_3oh_i-s$ -, eventually resulting in an acute length, or by the full grade *s*-stem, PIE $*h_3oh_i-Vs$ -, eventually resulting in a contracted length; 2. and, the zero-grade, PIE $*h_3h_i$ -, is reconstructed on the basis of Hitt. gen sg *iššaš*, where, according to RIEKEN 1999: 185ff., the root is followed by the full *e*-grade *s*-stem, PIE $*h_3h_i-es$.

In the stem, 1. the full *o*-grade, PIE $*h_3oh_i-os$ -, can be reconstructed on the basis of *-aš* in CLuw. *āaš*; 2. the full *e*-grade, PIE $*h_3oh_i-es$ - or $*h_3h_i-es$ -, on the basis of *-iš* in Hitt. *aiš* and *išš-* in Hitt. *iššaš*; 3. and, the *o*-grade, PIE $*h_3oh_i-s$ -, on the basis of *-s-* in Skt. *ās-* and Av. *āh-*. (L *ōs* and OIr. *á* may reflect either the full *o*-grade *s*-stem, PIE $*h_3oh_i-os$ -, or the *o*-grade *s*-stem, PIE $*h_3oh_i-s$;- the exact grade cannot be determined because, based on the data, it is unclear whether the length in L *ōs* and OIr. *á* is a contracted length, as though from PIE $*h_3oh_i-os$ -, or an acute length, as though from PIE $*h_3oh_i-s$ -. (Incidentally, the length in Skt. *ās-* and Av. *āh-* must be an acute length, and not the contracted one, because one would expect Skt. *ās-* and Av. *āh-* to scan disyllabically if it truly were a contracted length — and they do not. In the Rigveda and the Avesta they in fact scan monosyllabically; cf. e.g. Skt. abl sg *āsás* (= 2 syllables) in RV VII 99, 7 or OAv. gen sg *āyhō* (= 2 syllables) in Y 31, 3. See GRASSMANN 1873: 190 and KELLENS-PIRART 1988: 113. Therefore, Skt. *ās-* and Av. *āh-* point to PIIr. **Hās-*, not **Haas-*.)

Based on Hittite (nom sg *aiš*, gen sg *iššaš*), RIEKEN 1999: 185ff reconstructs a proterokinetic paradigm; following Rieken, NIL posits the proterokinetic paradigm for Proto-Indo-European as well (nom sg $*h_3oh_i-s-\emptyset$, gen sg $*h_3h_i-és-os$).

PIE nom sg $*h_3oh_i-s-\emptyset$ is reflected in L nom sg *ōs* and OIr. nom sg *á* provided these stand for PIE $*h_3oh_i-s-\emptyset$; alternatively, if they stand for $*h_3oh_i-os-\emptyset$ or $*h_3oh_i-es-\emptyset$, L *ōs* and OIr. *á* coincide with CLuw. *āaš* and Hitt. *aiš* (qq.v.).

PIE gen sg $*h_3h_i-és-os$ is reflected in Hitt. gen sg *iššaš* provided NIL is right to reconstruct *iššaš* as $*h_3h_i-és-os$.

(PIE $*h_3h_i-és-os$ would regularly yield Hitt. *ešaš /éšas/*. Rieken assumes that *ešaš /éšas/* developed into *išaš /išás/* under the influence of the */gráits, gritás/*-type nouns; in this scenario, the accent in */éšas/* is shifted forward leaving *e* unstressed in the prot tonic position, where it regularly yields *i*; see KLOEKHORST 2008: 97. However, this explanation accounts only for the *i*- of Hitt. *iššaš*, not for the *-šš-*.)

PIE nom sg $*h_3\acute{oh}_1-s-\emptyset$ is reflected in Anatolian and Indo-Iranian as well, though not exactly.

In Anatolian, it is reflected as $*h_3oh_1-os-\emptyset$ and $*h_3oh_1-es-\emptyset$ in CLuw. nom sg $\bar{a}a\check{s}$ and Hitt. nom sg $a\bar{i}\check{s}$, respectively.

(In Cuneiform Luwian, the full *o*-grade was presumably introduced into the strong proterokinetic stem following other kinetic *s*-stems, such as the hysterokinetic or amphikinetic ones, which have the full grade instead of the zero-grade in the strong stem; on the other hand, in Hittite, the full *e*-grade must have been introduced into the strong proterokinetic stem from the weak proterokinetic stem, PIE $*h_1h_1-é-s-$. See KLOEKHORST 2008: 167. Therefore, the full grade in both $*h_3oh_1-os-\emptyset$ and $*h_3oh_1-es-\emptyset$ is secondary; if so, CLuw. nom sg $\bar{a}a\check{s}$ and Hitt. nom sg $a\bar{i}\check{s}$ point to PIE nom sg $*h_3oh_1-s-\emptyset$.)

In Indo-Iranian, PIE nom sg $*h_3\acute{oh}_1-s-\emptyset$ is reflected as PIIR. $*Hās-$; cf. Skt. $\bar{a}s-$ and Av. $\bar{a}h-$.

(In both Sanskrit and Avestan, the Proto-Indo-European nominative singular was remade into a presumably non-ablauting stem, PIIR. $*Hās-$, which is recorded in the weak stem cases only, viz. genitive / ablative singular (Skt. abl. $\bar{a}sās$, OAv. gen. $\bar{a}y\bar{h}ō$) and instrumental singular (Skt. $\bar{a}sā$, OAv. $\bar{a}y\bar{h}ā$ (*Lentoform*), YAv. $\bar{a}y\bar{h}a$).

The strong proterokinetic stem, PIE $*h_3\acute{oh}_1-s-$, is also reconstructed by NIL in a number of derivatives; cf. e.g. PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-n-o-$ (Skt. $\bar{a}sán$ ‘in the mouth’), PIE $*pro(H)+h_3oh_1-s-n-o-$ (L *pronus* ‘leaning forward, bending down, inclined’), PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-eh_2-$ (L *ōra* ‘coast’), PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-i-o-$ (Skt. $\bar{a}syā$ ‘mouth; throat’), PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-t-o-$ (Lith. *úostas* ‘river mouth; haven’, Latv. *uosts* ‘river mouth; haven’), PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-t-eh_2-$ (Lith. *uostà* ‘river mouth; haven’, Latv. *uōsta* ‘river mouth; haven’), PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-t-i-o-$ (L *ōstium* ‘entrance’), PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-t-i-eh_2-$ (L *ōstia* ‘river mouth’), etc.

However, PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-$ can ceteris paribus be reconstructed as $*h_1eh_3-s-$ or $*h_1oh_1-s-$ as well; thus e.g. ZUCHA 1988: 135 and MATASOVIĆ 2000: 39, 2009: 44, respectively.

(PIE $*h_1eh_3-s-$ is also reconstructed by e.g. KLOEKHORST 2008: 166 or KROONEN 2013: 394, who in fact reconstructs it as $*h_{1/3}eh_{1/3}-s-$.)

Hitt. $a\bar{i}\check{s}$ and CLuw. $\bar{a}a\check{s}$ point to PAnat. $*?o?-s-$, Skt. $\bar{a}s-$ and Av. $\bar{a}h-$ to PIIR. $*Hās-$, and, L $\bar{o}s$ and OIr. \acute{a} to PICelt. $*\bar{o}s-$.

PIIR. $*Hās-$ and PICelt. $*\bar{o}s-$ point to non-Anat. IE $*Hōs-$.

Due to laryngeal colouring, PIE $*h_1eh_3-s-$ develops into $*h_1oh_3-s-$; thus, the choice between PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-$, PIE $*h_1eh_3-s-$, and PIE $*h_1oh_1-s-$ effectively becomes the choice between PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-$, PIE $*h_1oh_3-s-$, and PIE $*h_1oh_1-s-$.

In Proto-Anatolian, PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-$, PIE $*h_1oh_3-s-$, and PIE $*h_1oh_1-s-$ all merge into $*\varrho o\varrho-s-$ since both PIE $*h_1o-$ and PIE $*h_3o-$ develop into PAnat. $*\varrho o-$ and PIE $*-h_1s-$ and PIE $*-h_3s-$ develop into PAnat. $*\varrho s-$; see KLOEKHORST 2008: 75, 78.

In non-Anatolian Indo-European, PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-$, PIE $*h_1oh_3-s-$, and PIE $*h_1oh_1-s-$ all merge into $*Hō-s-$ since both PIE $*h_1o-$ and PIE $*h_3o-$ develop into non-Anat. IE $*Ho-$ and PIE $*-oh_1s-$ and PIE $*-oh_3s-$ develop into non-Anat. IE $*-ōs-$.

Therefore, PAnat. $*\varrho o\varrho-s-$ and non-Anat. IE $*Hōs-$ can point to PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-$, PIE $*h_1eh_3-s-$ ($*h_1oh_3-s-$), or PIE $*h_1oh_1-s-$.

(Some authors reconstruct PIE $*h_3eh_1-s-$ as well, e.g. SCHRIJVER 1991: 55, RIEKEN 1999: 185, DE VAAN 2008: 489, and KROONEN 2013: 394 (who in fact reconstructs $*h_{1/3}eh_{1/3}-s-$). This, however, is an incorrect reconstruction because PIE $*h_3e-$ develops into PAnat. $*Ho-$ (> Hitt. *ha-*, CLuw. *ha-*) (v. MELCHERT 1987, KLOEKHORST 2006: 85–96, 2008: 75); cf. e.g. PIE $*h_3eu-i-$ ‘sheep’ > Hitt. *hāui-* id., CLuw. *hāui-* id.)

Based on the data, it is impossible to determine which reconstruction is the correct one: PIE $*h_3oh_1-s-$, PIE $*h_1eh_3-s-$ ($*h_1oh_3-s-$), or PIE $*h_1oh_1-s-$.

However, if we interpret $*h_1oh_1-s-$ as $*h_1o\varrho-s-$ and assume that $*h_1o\varrho-s-$ is the correct reconstruction for PIE ‘mouth’, it becomes possible to derive PIE $*h_1o\varrho-s-$ from PIE $*h_1od-s-$, where, attractively, $*h_1od-$ seems to be the *o*-grade of the PIE root $*h_1ed-$ ‘to eat’ (> Ved. *átti* id., G ἔδμεναι id., L *edō* id., Go. *itan* id., Lith. *ésti* ‘feed’, OCS *jasti* id., etc.) (LIV² 230).

Compare PIE $*h_2eu-$ ‘to see; to hear’ (Hitt- *au-i*, L *audio*, etc.) and PIE $*h_2ou-s-$ ‘ear’ (G οὖς, L *auris*, OCS *uxo*, etc.) (SZEMERÉNYI 1960: 242) or PIE $*h_3ekʷ-$ ‘to look’ (Skt. *īkṣate*, G ὄσσομαι, etc.) and PIE $*h_3okʷ-s-$ ‘eye’ (Skt. *akṣ-*) (LIV² 297, NIL 370).

PIE $*h_1od-s-$ yields PIE $*h_1o\varrho-s-$ by $*dC$ developing into $*\varrho C$ (= $*h_1C$).

PIE $*dC$ develops into PIE $*\varrho C$: 1. where $*C$ is PIE $*k$, cf. Skt. *dāśvāṁś-* ‘devout, pious’ < PIE pt pf act $*de-dk̑-yos-$ (KLINGENSCHMITT 1982: 129), G τριάκοντα (Ion. τρύκοντα) ‘thirty’ < PIE num card $*tri-h₂+dkom-t-h₂$, G πεντήκοντα ‘fifty’ < PIE num card $*penkʷe+dkom-t-h₂$, G ἑκατόν ‘hundred’ < PIE num card $*dkm-t-om$ (KORTLANDT 1983: 97) (= 2010: 105); 2. where $*C$ is PIE $*u$ (i.e. $*\text{u̥}$) and the following syllable starts with a dental, cf. G εἴκοσι ‘twenty’ (ep. ἐείκοσι /ε(ϝ)ίκοσι/, Dor. Boeot. *fi̥kōti*) < PIE num card $*du-i+dkm-t-i-$ (KORTLANDT 1983: 97) (= 2010: 100), Skt. *ávidhat* (scanned long, *ávidhat*) < PIE 3sg ind aor act $*h_1e-dui+dʰh_1-e-t-o$ (LUBOTSKY 1994), OCS *vítorū* ‘second(ary)’ < PIE nom msg **dui-tor-o-s* (DERKSEN 2008: 532), Skt. adv *vitarám* ‘further’, Av. adv *vītarəm* ‘further’ < PIE acc nsg **dui-ter-o-m*, OPhr. *vitaran* ‘second’ (?) < PIE acc fsg **dui-ter-eh₂-m*; 3. where $*C$ is PIE $*r$, cf. CLuw. *ya-a-ar* ‘water’, Skt. *vār-* id. < PIE **uod-r-* (LUBOTSKY 2013).

Also, PIE **dC* develops into PIE **?C* where **C* is an obstruent (most likely PIE **t*) in a number or verbal roots which appear to show the *...*d*- ~ *...*h₁*- variation, cf. PIE **h₂ed-* (Hitt. *hāt⁻ⁱ* / *hat-* ‘dry up, become parched’, G ḫ̄z̄w ‘dry up’) (LIV² 255) ~ PIE **h₂eh₁-* (Pal. *hāri*, *hānta* ‘be hot’, Av. *āt(ə)r-* ‘fire’) (LIV² 257); PIE **med-* (OIr. *midithir* ‘to measure; judge’, YAv. *vī-mad-* ‘healer; physician’, G μέδω ‘rule’, Go. *mitan*, *miton* ‘measure; consider’, etc.) (LIV² 423) ~ PIE **meh₁-* (Skt. *mā-* ‘measure; measure out, assign’, L *mētior* ‘measure’, etc.) (LIV² 424); PIE *(*s*)*pend-* (L *pendō* ‘weigh; pay’, Lith. *spēsti* ‘set a trap’) (LIV² 578) ~ PIE *(*s*)*penh₁-* (G πένομαι ‘exert oneself, toil’, Lith. *pinti* ‘twist’, OCS *peti* ‘stretch’, Arm. *henum* ‘weave’, Go. *spinnan* ‘spin’, etc.) (LIV² 578); PIE **tend-* (L *tondeō* ‘cut hair, shear’, G τένω ‘gnaw at’) (LIV² 628) ~ PIE **temh₁-* (G ep. τάμνω ‘cut’, Mir. *tamnaid* ‘cut’, L *temnō* ‘scorn, despise’) (LIV² 625). See LUBOTSKY 2013: 162f (and, now, also GARNIER 2014).

If the present proposition is true, it would suggest that PIE **dC* develops into **?C* before PIE **s* as well.

3. CONCLUSION¹

PIE **h₁oh₁-s-* (= **h₁o?*₂-*s-*) ‘mouth’ can regularly be derived from PIE **h₂ed-* ‘to eat’.

PIE **h₂ed-* [1] ablauts into either the zero grade, PIE **h₁d-* [2], or the full *o*-grade, PIE **h₁od-* [6], and thence forms an *s*-stem, PIE **h₁d-s-* [3] / **h₁od-s-* [7], where, before the zero-grade stem, PIE **h₁d-s-* / **h₁od-s-* allomorphs into PIE **h₁?*₂-*s-* (= **h₁h₁-s-*) [4] / **h₁o?*₂-*s-* (= **h₁oh₁-s-*) [8], which is reflected regularly as PAnat. **?o?*₂-*s-* [5] / **?o?*₂-*s-* [9–11], PIIr. — / *Hās-* [12–14], and PICelt. — / **ōs-* [15–17]; the full *o*-grade allomorph, PIE **h₁o?*₂-*s-* (= **h₁oh₁-s-*), is also reflected in its various derivatives in Indic [18–21, 28–30], Latin [22, 23, 26, 27, 31, 36–40], Proto-Germanic [24, 25], and Baltic [31–35].

Based on the data, it seems unnecessary to reconstruct a full grade *s*-stem in Proto-Indo-European.

Even though PAnat. **?o?*₂-*s-* is reflected as **?o?*₂-*es-* in Hitt. *aiš* and as **?o?*₂-*os-* in CLuw. *āaš*, these forms, **?o?*₂-*es-* and **?o?*₂-*os-*, are secondary to PAnat. **?o?*₂-*s-*; see sec. 2. Therefore, they do not warrant the reconstruction of a full grade *s*-stem in Proto-Indo-European; cf. e.g. Hitt. *nēpiš-* and CLuw. *tappaš-* next to PIE **nebh^h-s-* ‘heaven’. Likewise, the reconstruction of a full grade cannot be justified by PICelt. **ōs-* either, because it is simpler to derive it from the zero-grade, PIE **h₁o?*₂-*s-* (= **h₁oh₁-s-*); cf. PIIr. **Hās-*.

¹ Numbers in square brackets refer to lines in the Appendix (see below).

Moreover, the zero-grade *s*-stem must be reconstructed on the basis of *šš* in Hitt. gen sg *iššaš* as well because the geminate can only be explained as arising from the cluster *-*h₁s-*; cf. Hitt. *āššu-* from PIE **h₁o-h₁s-u-* (KLOEKHORST 2008: 223). (The *i-* in Hitt. *išš-* is a prothesis.)

The exact paradigm, static or kinetic, is difficult to reconstruct because the data seems to be conflicted: the supposed strong stem, PIE **h₁od-s-*, is suggestive of a static noun and the supposed weak stem, PIE **h₁d-s-*, of a kinetic noun (hysterokinetic or amphikinetic).

The structure of the strong stem, PIE **CoC-s-*, is conspicuous, though; it reappears in other *s*-stem neuters which designate body parts, such as PIE **h₂ou-s-* ‘ear’ or PIE **h₃ok^u-s-* ‘eye’.

4. MISC

In the *o*-grade, PIE **h₁ed-* ‘eat’ apparently formed an *us*-derivative as well, PIE **h₁od-us-* [41] ‘mouth’, perhaps originally a participle (as e.g. PIE **h₃d-ont-* ‘biter’ > ‘tooth’, from PIE **h₃ed-* ‘to bite’), which was apparently subjected to allomorphy as well,² producing PIE **h₁o²-us-* (= **h₁oh₁-us-*) [42], whence a derivative was formed, PIE **h₁o²-us-t(H)-* (= **h₁oh₁-us-t(H)-*) [43], which, still further derived, is attested as PIE *h₁o²-us-t(H)-o-* (= **h₁oh₁-us-t(H)-o-*) [44] in Indo-Iranian [45–47] and Slavic [48], as PIE **h₁o²-us-t(H)-i-o-* (= **h₁oh₁-us-t(H)-i-o-*) [49–50] in Slavic [51], as PIE **h₁o²-us-t(H)-r-o-* (= **h₁oh₁-us-t(H)-r-o-*) [52–53] in Avestan [54], and as PIE **h₁o²-us-t(H)-eh₂-* (= **h₁oh₁-us-t(H)-eh₂-*) [55] in Old Prussian [56].

² The allomorphy must have originated in the strong stem, PIE **h₁d-uos-*, and was then spread by analogy to the weak stem, PIE **h₁od-us-*, since **h₁od-us-* would supposedly have remained unaffected by **dC* developing into **?C*.

APPENDIX

PIE root *h₁d- ‘eat’ ³	[1]
:: \emptyset -grade *h₁d- id.	[2]
⇒ \emptyset -grade s-stem *h₁d-s- ‘mouth’ (< ‘eat’)	[3]
·· allomorph *h₁h₂s- (= *h₁h₁s-) id.	[4]
> Hitt. <i>iš-</i> id. (e.g. in gen sg <i>iššāš</i> / <i>iš-ša-a-aš</i> /) ⁴	[5]
:: o-grade *h₁od- id.	[6]
⇒ o-grade s-stem *h₁od-s- ‘mouth’ (< ‘eat’)	[7]
·· allomorph *h₁o²s- (= *h₁oh₁s-) id.	[8]
> PAnat. *o²s- id.	[9]
>> Hitt. nom sg <i>aiš</i> / <i>a-i-iš</i> / n. (c.) id. ⁴	[10]
>> CLuw. nom sg <i>āaš</i> / <i>a-a-aš-ša</i> / n. id. ⁴	[11]
> PIIr. *Hās- id.	[12]
> Skt. <i>āś-</i> n. id., ‘face’, abl sg <i>āśás</i> ⁵	[13]
> Av. <i>āh-</i> n. id., gen sg <i>āγhō</i> ⁶	[14]
> PICelt. *ōs- id. ⁷	[15]
> PIr. *ōs- id. (L <i>ōs</i> n. id., gen sg <i>ōris</i>) ⁸	[16]
> PCelt. <i>ās-</i> (OIr. poet. <i>á</i> id., gen sg <i>á</i> (in <i>fer há</i> ‘man of the mouth’ (= ‘tooth’)) ⁹	[17]
⇒ n-stem derivative *h₁o²s-n- (= *h₁oh₁s-n-) id.	[18]
⇒ e-grade n-stem noun *h₁o²s-en- (= *h₁oh₁s-en-)	[19]
→ loc sg *h₁o²s-en-ō (= *h₁oh₁s-en-ō) ‘in mouth’	[20]
> Skt. <i>āśán</i> id. (in adj <i>āśānn-iṣu-</i> ‘having arrows in the mouth’) ⁵	[21]
⇒ o-stem derivative *pro(H)+h₁o²s-n-o- (= *pro(H)+h₁oh₁s-n-o-) ‘facing forward’ (< ‘with mouth, face forward’)	[22]
> L adj <i>pronus</i> ‘leaning forward, bending down, inclined’ ¹⁰	[23]
⇒ o-stem noun *h₁o²s-o- (= *h₁oh₁s-o-) ‘river mouth, estuary’ (< ‘mouth’)	[24]
> PGm. *ōsa- id. (ON <i>óss</i> m. id., Far. <i>ósi</i> m. id., Nw. <i>os</i> m. / n. id., ‘hole in the ice’, OE <i>ōr</i> n. ‘edge’, <i>ōra</i> m. id.) ¹¹	[25]
⇒ <i>eh₂</i> -stem noun *h₁o²s-eh₂- (= *h₁oh₁s-eh₂-) ‘edge’ (< ‘mouth’)	[26]
> L <i>ōra</i> f. id., ‘coast’	[27]
⇒ i-derivative *h₁o²s-i- (= *h₁oh₁s-i-) id.	[28]
⇒ o-stem noun *h₁o²s-i-o- (= *h₁oh₁s-i-o-)	[29]
> Skt. <i>āsyā^o</i> id., ‘throat’ (in adj <i>āsyá-daghná-</i> ‘reaching up to the mouth’) ⁵	[30]

- ⇒ *t*-derivative $*h_1o^2-s-t-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-s-t-$) ‘mouth; river mouth’
(< ‘mouth’) [31]
- ⇒ *o*-stem noun $*h_1o^2-s-t-o-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-s-t-o-$) id. [32]
 - > Lith. *úostas* m. id., ‘haven’, Latv. *uosts* m. id., ‘haven’¹² [33]
- ⇒ *eh₂*-stem noun $*h_1o^2-s-t-eh_2-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-s-t-eh_2-$) id. [34]
 - > Lith. *uostà* id., ‘haven’, Latv. *uõsta* f. id., ‘haven’¹² [35]
- ⇒ *i*-derivative $*h_1o^2-s-t-i-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-s-t-i-$) id. [36]
 - ⇒ *o*-stem noun $*h_1o^2-s-t-i-o-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-s-t-i-o-$) id. [37]
 - > L *ōstium* n. id., ‘entrance’ (< ‘mouth’)⁷ [38]
 - ⇒ *eh₂*-stem noun $*h_1o^2-s-t-i-eh_2-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-s-t-i-eh_2-$) id. [39]
 - > L *ōstia* f. id.⁷ [40]
- ⇒ *us*-stem $*h_1o^2-us-$ ‘mouth’ (< ‘eat’) [41]
 - .. allomorph $*h_1o^2-us-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-us-$) id. [42]
 - ⇒ *t(H)*-derivative $*h_1o^2-us-t(H)-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-us-t(H)-$) ‘mouth; lip’ (< ‘mouth’) [43]
 - ⇒ *o*-stem noun $*h_1o^2-us-t(H)-o-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-us-t(H)-o-$) id. [44]
 - > PIIr. **Hauštʰa-* ‘upper lip’ (< ‘mouth; lip’) [45]
 - > Skr. *óṣṭha-* m. id.¹³ [46]
 - > YAv. *aoṣṭa-* m. id.¹⁴ [47]
 - > PSl. **usta* ‘mouth’ (OCS pl *usta* n. id., Ru. pl *ustá* n. id., ‘lips’, Cz. pl *ústa* n. id., Slk. pl *ústa* n. id., Pl. pl *usta* id., SCr. pl *ústa* n. id., Sln. pl *ústa* n. id., Bulg. *ustá* f. id.)¹⁵ [48]
 - ⇒ *i*-derivative $*h_1o^2-us-t(H)-i-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-us-t(H)-i-$) ‘mouth; estuary’ (< ‘mouth’) [49]
 - ⇒ *o*-stem noun $*h_1o^2-us-t(H)-i-o-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-us-t(H)-i-o-$) id. [50]
 - >> PSl. *ustīje* id. (Ru. *ust'e* n. id., ‘mouth; orifice’, Cz. *ústí* n. id., Slk. *ústie* n. id., Pl. *ujście* n. id., Sln. *ūstje* n. id., SCr. *ūšće* n. id., Bulg. *ústie* n. id., ‘opening’)¹⁶ [51]
 - ⇒ *r*-derivative $*h_1o^2-us-t(H)-r-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-us-t(H)-r-$) ‘mouth; lip’ (< ‘mouth’) [52]
 - ⇒ *o*-stem noun $*h_1o^2-us-t(H)-r-o-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-us-t(H)-r-o-$) ‘lip’ (< ‘mouth; lip’) [53]
 - > Av. *aoštara-* m. ‘lower lip’ (< ‘lip’)¹⁴ [54]
 - ⇒ *eh₂*-stem noun $*h_1o^2-us-t(H)-eh_2-$ (= $*h_1oh_1-us-t(H)-eh_2-$) ‘mouth’ [55]
 - > OPr. *austo* id.¹² [56]

³ IEW 287, LIV² 230, NIL 208, 387.

⁴ KLOEKHORST 2008: 166.

⁵ MAYRHOFER 1992: 181.

⁶ BARTHOLOMAE 1903: 345.

⁷ PICelt. *ōs- can reflect PIE *h_₂oh_₁-os- as well; cf. CLuw. āaš above.

⁸ SCHRIJVER 1991: 55, DE VAAN 2008: 436.

⁹ MATASOVIĆ 2009: 44

¹⁰ DE VAAN 2008: 489.

¹¹ KROONEN 2013: 394.

¹² DERKSEN 2015: 481. (DerkSEN takes Lith. úostas ‘river mouth; haven’ and Latv. uosts ‘river mouth; haven’ together with OP *austo* ‘mouth’ [56] and derives both from PIE *Hous-t- (> Skt. óṣṭha- ‘upper lip’) ascribing the aberrant vocalism of the East Baltic forms to the influence of PIE ‘mouth’, *h_₂oh_₁-s- (or, as he reconstructs it, *h_₃oh_₁-s-), whereas, in this paper, PIE *Hous-t- is taken to be a derivative of *h_₁ed- (· *h_₁e[?]-) ‘eat’ and reconstructed as *h_₁o[?]-us-t(H)- (= *h_₁oh_₁-us-t(H)-) [43], whence OP *austo* would later arise, and Lith. úostas and Latv. uosts are taken to be descendants of a different derivative of *h_₁ed- (· *h_₁e[?]-) ‘eat’, PIE *h_₁o[?]-s-t- (= *h_₁oh_₁-s-t-) [31], seen also e.g. in L ōstium ‘entrance’ [38].)

¹³ MAYRHOFER 1992: 282.

¹⁴ BARTHOLOMAE 1903: 44.

¹⁵ DERKSEN 2008: 509.

¹⁶ DERKSEN 2008: 510.

ABBREVIATIONS

*	— reconstructed form	→	— forms
:	— is in ablaut with	←	— is formed from
::	— is in ablaut gradation with	>	— regularly yields
..	— is an allomorph of	<	— regularly derives from
⇒	— derives into	>>	— irregularly yields
⇐	— is derived from	<<	— irregularly derives from

1, 2, 3	— tres verbi personae	ind	— indicativus
acc	— accusativus	loc	— locativus
act	— activum	m	— masculinum
adj	— adjectivum	n	— neutrum
adv	— adverbium	nom	— nominativus
aor	— aoristum	num	— numerale
c	— commune	pf	— perfectum
card	— cardinale	pl	— pluralis
f	— femininum	pt	— participium
fut	— futurum	sg	— singularis
gen	— genitivus		

Anat.	— Anatolian	OE	— Old English
Arm.	— Armenian	OIr.	— Old Irish
Av.	— Avestan	ON	— Old Norse
Boeot.	— Boeotian	OPhr.	— Old Phrygian
Bulg.	— Bulgarian	OPr.	— Old Prussian
CLUw.	— Cuneiform Luwian	Pal.	— Palaic
Cz.	— Czech	PAnat.	— Proto-Anatolian
Dor.	— Doric	PGm.	— Proto-Germanic
ep.	— epic	PICelt.	— Proto-Italo-Celtic
Far.	— Faroese	PIE	— Proto-Indo-European
G	— Greek	PIIr.	— Proto-Indo-Iranian
Go.	— Gothic	PIt.	— Proto-Italic
Hitt.	— Hittite	Pl.	— Polish
IE	— Indo-European	PSl.	— Proto-Slavic
L	— Latin	Ru.	— Russian
Latv.	— Latvian	SCR.	— Serbo-Croatian
Lith.	— Lithuanian	Skt.	— Sanskrit
MIr.	— Middle Irish	Slk.	— Slovak
Nw.	— Norwegian	Sln.	— Slovenian
OCS	— Old Church Slavonic	YAv.	— Young Avestan

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ПРАИНДОЕВРОПСКИ ‘ЈЕСТИ’ И ‘УСТА’

С а ж е т а к

Пие. **h₁oh₁-s-* (= *h₁oʔ-s-) ‘уста’ (> хет. *aiš id.*, клин. лув. *āaš id.*, стинд. *ās- id.*, ав. *āh- id.*, лат. *ōs id.*, итд.) изводи се од пие. коријена **h₁ed-* ‘јести’ (> стинд. *átti id.*, грч. ἔδειν *id.*, лат. *edō id.*, гот. *itan id.*, стсл. *jasti id.*, итд.), као поствербал *s*-основа степена **h₁od-*, под претпоставком да, у оквиру глоталне теорије, пие. **dC* (= **dC*) даје пие. **?C* (= *h₁*C*), што бива и у којекаквим другим случајевима, као напр. у пие. **?u-i+?km-t-i-* (= *h₁*u-i+h₁km-t-i-*) ‘двадесет’ (> ав. *vīsaiti id.*, грч. εἴκοσι /έ(ρ)ίκοσι/ *id.*, итд.), од пие. **du-i+dkm-t-i-* (тј. од пие. **du-* ‘два’ и **dekm* ‘десет’), или у пие. **uoʔ-r-* (= *h₁oh₁-r-) ‘вода’ (> клин. лув. *u-a-ar id.*, скр. *vār- id.*, итд.), од ие. **uod-r-* ‘вода’ (> хет. *wa-a-tar*, итд.).

Кључне ријечи: праиндоевропски, етимологија, глотална теорија.

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ПРАИНДОЕВРЕЙСКИЕ ‘ЕСТЬ’ И ‘РОТ’

Р е з ю м е

Праије. **h₁oh₁-s-* (= *h₁oʔ-s-) ‘пот’ (> хетт. *aiš id.*, клинопись лув. *āaš id.*, др.-инд. *ās- id.*, авест. *āh- id.*, лат. *ōs id.*, и т.д.) выводится от ие. корня **h₁ed-* ‘есть’ (> др.-инд. *átti id.*, греч. ἔδειν *id.*, лат. *edō id.*, гот. *itan id.*, ст.-слав. *jasti id.*, и т.д.) в качестве поствербала *s*-основы степени **h₁od-*, с предположением, что, в рамках глottальной теории, праије. **dC* (= **dC*) дает праије. **?C* (= *h₁*C*), а такоје бывает и в разних иных случаях, как напр. в ие. **?u-i+?km-t-i-* (= *h₁*u-i+h₁km-t-i-*)

‘двадцать’ (> авест. *vīsaiti id.*, греч. эп. ἑείκοσι / ἑ(Γ)ικόσι / *id.*, и т.д.) от праиे. *du-
i+dkm-t-i- (т.е. праиे. *du- ‘два’ и *dekm ‘десять’), или в ие. *uo?r- (= *uo̯h,-r-) ‘вода’ (> клинопись лув. 𒌦-ա-ար *id.*, санскр. *vār-* *id.*, и т.д.), от ие. *uod-r- ‘вода’ (> хетт. *wa-a-tar*, и т.д.).

Ключевые слова: праиндоевропейский, этимология, глоттальная теория.