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VÁCLAV BLAŽEK

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

For Professor Adolf Erhart to his 75th birthday

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

I.

**ad* “zu, an bei” (B 793–94; P 3) = “to, at, by, from” (M 2) = **H₂ed* “to, by” (Be 220) = **H₄ed* “to” (EIEC 590)

Phryg $\alpha\delta\text{-}\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau$ “he (shall ?) do” (Neroznak 1978, 114f) || Maced $\alpha\delta\text{-}\delta\alpha\iota\text{-}\rho\upsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ (Hesych.) = nom. sg. * $\alpha\delta\delta\alpha$ < **ad-d^h₂-ā* (Ködderitzsch 1985, 27–28) || ‘Prehellenic’ **ad-* in $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\omega$ “salben” < **ad-leip-*, $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\phi\omega$ “sammeln” < **ad-ĝ^her(-s)-je/o-* (Hamp, *Živa antika* 39[1989], 54, 75–76) || ? Illyr *ad-* in NV *Adg-eleius* (Krahe 1955, 50) || Lat *ad* “zu, bei, an” (prep. with acc., also with gen.; preverb), *atque* “und dazu, und auch, und” < **ad-que*; Osc *adpūd* “quoad”, *az* “ad” (with acc.) < **ads*, Umb *ař-* ‘preverb’, *-ař* postposition with acc., e.g. *asam-ař* = Lat *ad aram* || Gaul *ad-* in *Ad-iantū* = Welsh *addiant* “Sehnsucht”, *Ad-mārus* (cf. OIr *már* “big”); Welsh *â*, prevocalic *ag* “with” < **ad-ĝ^he*; OIr *ad-* ‘preverb’, e.g. *ad-glādur* “appellō”; Celtib **ad-* in *aſeCaTi* “let him affirm” < Celt **ad-seg-ā(se)-ti* (Eska 1989, 37, 50); Vendryes (1959, A-13) adds Welsh *eddyl* “duty, goal” < **adilo-*, comparing it with Goth *til* “suitable”, MLG *til*

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

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

**amb^{hi}*, **m̥b^{hi}* “auf beiden Seiten, um” (B 795–98; P 34) = “on both sides; around, at” (M 18) = **H₂m̥b^{hi}* “around” (Be 221) = **H₂ent-b^h-i* “around, on both sides” (EIEC 32)

OInd *abhíta-* “umher, ringsum, von allen Seiten” = Av *aifitō* & *aiuiitō* “ringsherum”; OInd *abhi-vīra-* “von Mannen umgeben” (EWAI I, 91) || Arm *amboļj* “vollständig, unversehrt” (*oļj* “gesund”) || Myc *a-pi* (Aura Jorro 1985, 79f), Gr *ἀμφί* “um”, *ἀμφίς* “zu beiden Seiten” || Alb *mbi*, *mbë* “bei, auf, an” || Lat *ambi-* (prevocalic), *am-* / *an-* (preconsonantal) “herum, um, ringsum”, OLat *am* “circuitu, causā”; Umb *amb-* (*amboltu*), *a-* (*a-ferum* “circumferre”), *an-* (*an-ferener* “circumferendi”), Osc *ampt* “circum”, *amviannud* “circuitu”, *amfret* “ambiunt” || Gaul *ambi-* “um” (Ἀμβί-δραυοί); Welsh, Corn, Bret *am-*, *em-*; OIr *imb-*, *imm-* “um”; Celtib *amPi-* “around, about” in *amPiTišeTi* “let him rebuild” < Celt **m̥bi-deig-se-t(i)* and the derived verbal noun in dat. sg. [a]mPiTinCounēi (Eska 1989, 41–44) || OIc *umb*, OEng *ymb(e)*, OSax, OHG *umbi* “um” || Toch A *āmpi* m. < ntr. du. **^ooiH₁*, *āmpuk* f. “both” < m. du. **^oōu + -k(ā)*, besides B *antapi* ~ *āntpi* id. < ntr. du. **H₂ent-b^hoiH₁* (Adams 1999, 14). Cf. Jasanof, *BSL* 71[1976], 123–31 and Hilmarsson 1989, 56–58. It seems promising to start from **H₂en-* ± “face, side”, probably forming the following two forms too.

**an(ō)* “an einer schrägen Fläche hin, hinan” (B 798–802; P 39–40) = “on, upon” (M 21, 27) = **H₂en* “along in an upwards direction” (Be 220) = **H_aen-H_ae* “up (onto), upwards, along” & **H_aen-u* id. (EIEC 612)

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

prep. with dat. & acc. “on, in”, OEng *on*, OSax *an(a)*, OHG *an(a)* “an, auf, in, bis, gegen” (with dat., acc. & instr.) || Lith *anót(e)* “entsprechend, gemäss” (with gen.), *nuõ* “von-herab, von-weg” (with gen.), Latv *nũo* “von” (with gen.), OPr *no, na* “auf (wohin), gegen, über - hin”, as prefix “nach; von - weg” || OChSl *na* “auf - hin; auf, an” (with acc. & loc.) = Lith *nuõ* < *(H)nõ (see Kopečný 1973, 115–23) || Toch A *ešäk* “on top of”, B *omšmeṃ* “(from) above” < pToch **on(ä)šä-* < **H_ae/onu-d^{hi}*, cf. Gr ἄνωθε(ν) “from above” (Adams 1999, 108).

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

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

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

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

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

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

**ap[ṁ]mo-* (superl. from **apo*) > OInd *apamá-* “entfernest, letzt” = Av *apōma-/apōma-* “letzt” (EWAI I, 83) || HierLuw *apamá-* “west(ern)” (Puhvel 1984, 94) || early Alb *i pēr-apēm* “last” (M 29); besides **apt[ṁ]mo-* > Goth *aftuma* “last” (Lehmann 1986, 8).

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

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

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

? OInd *āti* “über - hinaus” (adnom. with acc.), “überaus, sehr” (adv., preverb)

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

**au(e)*, **uě* “herab, weg von” (B 809–10; P 72–73) = “away, off, down; very” (M 45) = **áyo* : zero-grade **ue-* : **au-* < **ayu* (Dunkel 1988, 117) = **H₂eu* “away from” (Be 220)

OInd *áva* “ab, herab, weg” (rarely prep. with abl., usually prefix), Gatha Av *auuā* “hin zu”, OPers preverb *ava-* “nieder, weg”; (EWAI I, 129–30, 132) || ? Hitt *awan* in *awan arha* “away, off”, *awan katta* “down”, *awan sarā* “up” (Puhvel 1984, 245 prefers to connect it with Lith *aurė* “there”, OChSl *ovъ*, OPers *ava-* “that”, emphasizing the same structure as in *duwan*; with respect to OInd *avár* “down, off” Polomé saw here the *-r/-n*-heterocclisis - see Puhvel l.c.) and preverbs *u-* “hither”: *uizzi* “comes”, Luw *awiti* “come!” < **aw eyti*; Hitt *we-* in *wetezzi* “builds” < **ue d^heH₁-*, cf. Ved *áva dhá* (Dunkel 1988, 118) || ? Gr $\alpha\upsilon\text{-}$ in $\alpha\upsilon\chi\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (Hesych.), if it does not represent a later variant (via apocopy) of **ap-*, cf. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ and further $\alpha\upsilon\kappa\eta\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (Hesych.) ~ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\chi\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ (Peters 1980, 43) || ? Illyr *au-* “ad” in proper names” (Krahe, *IF* 49, 273) || Lat *au-* “fort” in *au-ferō* = OInd *áva-bharati*, *au-fugiō* = OChSl *uběžati* || Gaul *au-tagis* “διόταξις” (Vendryes, *BSL* 25 [1925], 36), OWelsh *hou*, later *o* “von; wenn”, OIr *ó, úa* “von, mit, durch” (with dat.) || OPr, Lith, Latv *au-* “weg, ab”, e.g. Latv *au-manis* “unsinnig” || OChSl *u* “apud”, *u-* “weg, ab”, e.g. in *u-běžati* = *au-fugire*; “von” (with gen. by verbs expressing emotions, property etc.) - see Kopečný 1973, 257–62 || Toch A *wām-* “to disappear into, be covered up”, *wmānt* “west” < **au(e)-* + A *yom-*, B *yām-* “to achieve, obtain, reach” (Adams 1999, 497–98; Van Windekens 1976, 591 and 603–04 recognizes A *yom-* “obtenir, atteindre”, B *yām-* 1. “id.”; 2. “entrer”, cf. the derivative *kaum-yānmālle* “sunset”). It was probably Pinault 1998, 363 who first proposed the connection of A *wmānt* “west” and B *yām-* “to enter” & *kaum-yānmālle* “sunset”. The same prefix probably forms Gmc **westa-* “west” (Pokorny 1959, 73 and de Vries 1962, 658 directly connect it with OInd *avás* “herab”). Pulleyblank (1995, 189) modifies this etymology proposing the compound of the prefix **(a)ue-* “off” & the verb *sed-* “to sit / set”.

**au[m]mo-* > OInd *avamá-* “unterster, nächster, letzter”.

**ayos* > OInd *avás* “herab”, from here *avastād* “unten”.

**ayor* > OInd *avár* adv. “(nach) unten” = Gatha Av *auuarṣ* “downward”, besides OInd *ávāra-* “unterer, hinterer” < **ayoro-* and Av *aorā* “downward” < **ayuro-* (Dunkel 1988, 119).

**eġ^hs* “aus” (B 823–27; P 292–93) = **H₁eġ^h(s)* “out” (Be 221)

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

**eġ^hs-tos* > Gr: Ion-Att *ἐκτός* “ausserhalb”, Locrian *ἐχθός* < **ἐκσ-τος, ἔσ-χαιτος* “der äusserste, letzte” < **eġ^hs-ko-* || Alb *jashṭë* “outside” (Orel 1998, 158) || OIr *acht* prep. “sauf, excepté”, conj. “mais, moins que, pouvru que” (Vendryes 1959, A-11).

**eġ^hst[m̥]mo-* > Alb *i jashṭëm* “outermost” || Lat *extimus* || Welsh *eithaf* id. (P 292; M 237).

**eġ^hstro-* > Lat *extrā & exterus* “ausser befindlich”, Osc *ehtrad* “extra”, Umb *ap ehtre ehtre* “*ab extrim” (Krahe, *IF* 64[1958], 66–68 tries to demonstrate the primary Italic form **extrōd*) || OIr *echtar*, Welsh *eithyr* “extra”, Breton *estr* “moreover”.

**en, *n̥-, *eni, *ni-* “in” (B 827–33; P 312) = **H₁en* “in” (Be 221) = **H₁en(i)* “in, into” (EIEC 290)

OInd *ánika-* “Angesicht, Aussehen, Erscheinung; Vorderseite, Spitze; Reihe, Zug”; Av *ainika-* “Antlitz, Stirnseite, Vorderseite”, ZorPhl *ānik* “front”, Pers *peš-ānū* “forehead”, Khot *iīna* “in presence of, from”, *iīnaka* “id., vicinity” (Bailey 1979, 31) < **eni-H₃k^h*- (EWAI I, 73), besides *ni-* “hinein” in OInd *nīgam-*, Av *nigam-* “in einem Zustand gelangen”, OInd *ni-já-* “eingeborenen, innewohnend, eigen”, Av *ni-zənta-* “eingeboren, ingenuus” (EWAI II, 42) || Hitt *in-* in *innarā-* “strong, violent” < **en-(H)nor-ó-* ~ Luw *ānnara-* “vigorous” < **én-(H)nor-* (Melchert 1994, 135, 139, 263), besides Hitt *ne-/ni-* in *negna-*, *-nigna-* “brother” < **ni-ġnH₁o-*, cf. Ogam-Ir *ini-gena* “daughter” (Neumann, *HS* 104[1991], 63–66, Sprache 38[1996/98], 7–9); Lyd preverb *ēn-* “in(to)” (Melchert 1994, 348) || Arm *i*, before vowel *y* & *n-* “in” (with loc. & acc.) || ? Thracian (Kjolmen inscription, Bulgaria) *eni* “hinein” in *eni.dakatro* “soll hineingelegt werden” (Schmitt-Brandt, *Glotta* 45 [1967], 45, 59) || ? Phryg preverb *eni-* in OPhryg *eni.pakraj*, NPhryg *ενε.παρκες* (Neroznak 1978, 89, 128) || Maced *iv* in *ivδέα: μεσημβρία* (Hesych.) = Gr *ἐνδία* id. (Hesych.), *ἐνδιος* “mittäglich” < **en-djeuo-ā* (Ködderitzsch 1985, 32) || Gr *ἐν*, dial. *iv*, poet. *ἐνι, ἐνί* “in”, cf. Myc

e-ni & *e-ni-qe* = $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ $\tau\epsilon$ (Aura Jorro 1985, 220), with *s*-extension epic Ion, Att, Lesb $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, Cret, Arg $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\varsigma$, besides $\acute{\alpha}$ - ($*\eta$ -), e.g. in $\acute{\alpha}$ - $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ || Alb *n*- “in, on”, *inj* “bis” < $*en_j$ || Messap *in* “in” (Haas 1962, 168, 214) || OLat *en*, later *in*; Osc *en*, Umb *en*- in e.g. *en-dendu* “intendito”, also as postposition Osc *-en*, Umb *-e(m)* (adnom. with dat. = loc., acc. & gen.) || Gaul *en-* in *essedon* “Streitwagen”, *embrekton* “eingetauchter Bissen”, besides *in-* in *in-sinde* (Larzac) < $*en(i)$ -*sem^dhe* “in diesen”, cf. the full form *eni-* in onomastics: *Eni-geni*, *Eni-boudios* (K.H. Schmidt 1996, 34–35); OWelsh, OBret *en*, *in* “in”, Corn, Bret *en*, Welsh *yn*; OIr *in-* “in” (adnom. with dat. & acc.), *in-* (with lenition from $*eni$, cf. *ingen* < Ogam *ini-gena* “Tochter”); Celtib *en(i)* prep. “in”: (Peñalba de Villastar) *eni.oroisei* “auf dem Berg” (Meid 1996b, 14) & pref. in dat. sg. *eniTousei* “veneration, offering” < $*eni$ -*dous-* (Eska 1989, 64) || Goth *in* “in” (adnom. with dat., acc., gen.), OIc \acute{i} ; OEng, OSax, OHG *in* id. (adnom. with dat, acc.); cf. also Goth *inn* “hinein” < $*eni$ -*n-* || OPr *en* “in” (adnom. with dat. & acc.); Lith arch. & dial. *in(t)*, later \acute{i} , ($*H_1\eta$) “in” (adnom. with loc. & acc.), Latv *ie-* || OChSl $\nu\acute{z}$, $\nu\acute{z}n-$ “in” (adnom. with loc. & acc.) < $*\eta$; the reflex of $*en-$ can be found in $*(j)\acute{e}dro$ “kernel” derivable from $*en$ -*dr(y)om* “in wood”, cf. Gr (Hesych.) $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ - $\delta\rho\upsilon\omicron\nu$ καρδίᾳ δένδρου (Blažek 2000, 357) || Toch AB prefix $\gamma(n)$ -, B *in-* “in, among” (see Hilmarsson 1991 with a detailed analysis).

$*on$ “in” (EIEC 290: $*H_1on$) > Hitt *an-* “in” in *anturiyas* “interior”, *andurza* “within” < $*H_1on$ -*d^hur-s* “in-doors” (EIEC 168) || OChSl prefixes as *on-ušta* “Schuhwerk”, *q-dolb* “Tal” || Toch B *enem* “within”, *-ne* “in, to”, A *-am* “in, to”.

$*entos$ > Gr adv. & prep. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ “innen, drinnen, innerhalb” || Lat *intus* “von innen”.

$*\acute{e}ndo$ < $*H_1\acute{e}n$ -*do* “into” > Hitt *anda(n)* “in”, Luw $\acute{a}nta$, HierLuw \acute{a} -*ta*, Lyc $\acute{n}ite$, Lyd “into” (Melchert 1994, 242, 284, 348) || Gr $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\omicron\nu$ “within” || Alb *ndë* “in” || Lat *endo* “in” (EIEC 290) || Gaul (Larzac) $*ando$ in acc. sg. *an-ando-gnam* consisting of *an-* “non” & $*ando$ -*gn^o* “né à intérieur” < $*(H)\eta\acute{d}o$ -*gnH^o*, cf. Lat *indigena* (Lambert 1994, 171).

$*ent[\eta]mo-$ > OInd $\acute{a}ntama-$ “vertraulichst, nächst, sehr lieb” = Av $\acute{a}ntama-$ “vertrautest, intimst; innerst” || Lat *intimus* “innerst, vertrautest” (EWAI I, 75).

$*enter$, $*\eta\acute{t}er$ “zwischen - hinein” (B 833–35; P 313–14) = $*H_1enter$ “between, inside” (Be 221)

OInd $\acute{a}ntár$ “innen, hinein, zwischen”, Av $\acute{a}ntar\acute{e}$ “zwischen” (adnom. with loc., instr., acc., gen.), OPers *antar* <atr> “durch, unter, in”, ZorPhl *andar* (EWAI I, 76); OInd $\acute{á}ntara-$ “innerlich”, Av $\acute{á}ntara-$ “innerer”, Khot *handara-* “within, interior”, Yidgha (*n*)*adram* “inside” (Bailey 1979, 453); cf. also OInd *antrá-* & $\nu\acute{r}ddhi$ $\acute{á}ntrá-$ “Eingeweide” || Arm $\acute{a}ndar$ -*k'* pl. “Eingeweide” || Gr $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ “Eingeweide” || Alb *nder* “zwischen, in”, *ndjer* “bis” < $*entero-$ || Messap *atar-* < $*\eta\acute{t}er$ (Haas 1962, 210) || Lat *enter*, *inter* “zwischen, in” (adnom. with acc.); Osc *Entraí* “*Interae”, *anter* “inter”, Umb *anter*, *ander* “während” (adnom. with loc. & acc.) < $*\eta\acute{t}er$ || Gaul *inter ambes* “inter rivōs”; OWelsh *ithr* “inter”, Corn *ynter*, *yntre*, Bret *entre*; OIr *eter*, *etir*, *etar* “zwischen” (adnom. with acc.); Celtib *enTarā* “within” < Celt $*entrād$ (Eska 1989, 66) || OHG *untar*

“zwischen” (different from *untar* “unterhalb” < Gmc **under* < **ǵd^her*), cf. Goth *undaúrni-mats* “midday meal”, OIc *undorn* “midforenoon” etc. || ChSl *jętro* “entrails”.

ens-ter > ? Hitt *istarna, istarni* “between, mutually, in the midst, among(st), within, internally” < **ens-ter-n^o* with the same suffix as Lat *internus* (Puhvel 1984, 478–83) || MLG *inset* “essbare innere Teile von Tieren”, OIc *istr* “das Eingeweide umgebende Fett” || OPr *instran* “Fett”, Latv *istr* pl. “Nieren” < **enstro-*.

**ěnu, *ěneu* “ohne” (B 837–38; P 318) = **H₁ěnu-* : **H₁neu-* “without” (Blažek 1999, 286–87)

? OInd *anō* “nicht”; Khot *anau* “without”, later *anā*, cf. *anāvu* “isolated” (Bailey 1979, 3), Sogd *nw-* “without”, Osset *ænxæ*, MParthian (Turfan) ‘n’ id. || Gr ἄνευ, ἄνευθε(v) “ohne”, Doric ἄνευ, Elean ἄνευς id.; cf. also ἐνεός “dumb” derivable from **enewó-ōs* “mouthless”, ἐνεόφρων “stupid”, lit. “senseless” (Blažek, *HS* 112[1999], 189–203, esp. 199, where IE **H₁neuy^o* “9” is interpreted as the accusative of the primary noun **H₁ěnu-* “lack”) || Goth *inu* “ohne”, besides OIc *án, ón*, OFr *ōni*, OSax *āno*, OHG *ānu, āno, āna* id. < **ěnu* || ? Toch AB *āñu* “rest, peace; cessation” (Adams 1999, 40: **H₁ōnH₁euy^o*-).

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

OInd *ápi* “auch, ferner, sogar, dazu” (adv.), Ved rarely prep. with loc. “bei, in”, pref. *api-, pi-* “zu, bei”, e.g. *pi-nahyati* “bindet an, zu”, *py-úksṇa-* “Überzug des Bogenstabes” = Gr πτυχή “Falte, Schicht”; Gatha Av *aipī* “auch, späterhin”, later Av *aipi* “über - hin, bei” (adnominal with acc.), temporal “bei” (with loc.), “nach” (with instr.), adv. “dazu auch, desgleichen auch, besonders; hernach, später”, pref. “hin”, OPers *apiy* “auch, noch”, cf. also adv. *apaya-* “hernach, künftig” || Hitt *appizziya-* “afterwards” < **opi-t₁jo-* = Gr ὀπίσ(σ)ω id. (Puhvel 1984, 94, 97) || Arm *ew* “und, auch”, cf. the verbal prefix *h-*: *h-aganim* “ziehe mir an” || Gr ἐπί, ἔπι “auf zu, an” (with gen., dat. & acc.), from Il., but attested already in Myc *e-pi* “upon” (Aura Jorro 1985, 223f), versus Myc *o-pi* (Aura Jorro 1993, 37) and further Hom. ὀπίθε(v) “hinten, hinterher”, Ion-Att ὀπίσθε(v) id., ὀπίσ(σ)ω “backwards, afterwards”, besides ὀπέ, Aeolic ὀψι “spät” || Alb *jap* “give” < **jep* < **epī* < **epi-di₁ō* < **epi-d(o)H₁ō* = Gr ἐπι-δίδωμι “give freely, lavishly” (Hamp 1981, 40) || ? Illyr *epi-* in NV *Epi-cadus* (-*cadus* ~ κεκαδμένος “prangend”), *Epi-caris*, NL *Epi-dotio, Epi-lentio, Epi-damnus* etc. (Krahe 1955, 54) || Messap *epei-* in *epeigrave[ō]s* (Haas 1962, 49, 167, 213) || Venet prep. with instr. *o.p* and further *opi-* in NL *Opi-tergium* (Lejeune 1974, 337) || OLat *ob* “circum, juxta”, later “gegen - hin, nach - hin, um - willen, wegen” (adnom. with acc.), *op-* in *operio* < **op-veriō, oportet* < **op-vortet* “es wendet sich einem zu, kommt einem zu, steht als Pflicht vor einem”; Osc *úp, op* “bei” (with abl. = *instr.) || OIr *fa-daim* “I close” < **epi-d^hH₁o* = OInd (*a*)*pi-dhā-* = Gr ἐπι-τίθημι = Lat *obdō*; Welsh *wyneb* “face” <

**ep-enikʷā* (Hamp 1981, 43, 39); ? Celtib *oi-* “near (to)” < Celt **oy-* < **opi* in *oiśaTus* 3 sg. fut. “?” (Eska 1989, 79); OIr *oíbell* f. “spark, flame, ember” = Welsh *ufel* “Funke” < **opi-bʰelā*; OIr *ad·opair* “sacrifices” < **ad-obber-* < **ad-op-ber-* = Lat *offerō* (Hamp 1981, 41) || Goth *ibdalja* “descent”, *ibuks* “back”, OHG *ippihhon* “to turn back”, besides OIc *ofugr* “backward”, OSax *abuh*, OHG *abuh* “turned away” (Lehmann 1986, 202) || Lith *apiē, api* “around” (with acc.), Latv *ap, ap(i)-* id., Lith *āpstas* “overflow” < **op(i)-stH-*; OPr *ep-, eb-* “be-” || Toch AB verbal pref. *p-*, A *opāśśi*, B *epastye* “skillful, adept, capable, able” < **H₁opi-stH₂-u-*, cf. Gr ἐπίσταςις “diligence, attention, care” (Adams 1999, 88), Toch B *pi* “really, indeed”, perhaps related to A *-pi* occurring as a part of the decade numbers (Adams 1999, 382–83).

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

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

**et(i)-, *ot(i)-* (B 844–46; P 344) = **H₁eti, *H₁oti* “over” (Be 221)

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

**obʰi, *bʰi* “auf - zu, auf (über) - hin” (B 820–23; P 287) = **obʰi* “athwart, against, at” (M 861) = **H₃ebʰi, *(H₃)bʰi* “towards” (Be 221)

OInd *abhi* “herbei, zu - her, gegen, wegen, über” (with acc.), *abhi-* “auf - zu”; Gatha Av *aibī*, late Av *aīḥi, avi, aoi*, OPers *abiy* prep. “zu - hin” (with acc.), “über, in betreff von” (with loc.), pref. “zu, be-”, Buddh. Sogd *βy^o*, Khot *by^o* etc. (Bailey 1979, 308) || ? Lat *ob* “auf - hin, nach - hin, auf - zu, vor - hin; zum Entgelt für; um - willen, wegen”, cf. *obsideō* = OInd *abhi-sad-* (WH II, 192–93) ||

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

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

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

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

**udtero-* > OInd *úttara-* “oberer, oben befindlich, nördlich, späterer”, Sogd ’*str’mýō* “next day”, Pashto *ustərai* “last” || Gr *ὑστερος* “hinterer, späterer” (EWAI I, 213).

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

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

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

“unter” (gen.); “von unten weg, unter - hervor” (abl.), already Myc *u-po* (Aura Jorro 1993, 388f) || Alb *hypem* “to go up” < **H₄up-je/o-*, *hypi* ~ *hipi* “to mount, climb up” < **H₄up-nje/o-* (EIEC 612) || Gaul *uo-* in *uo-dui* = OIr *fo-dí* “twice” < **upo-duī* (Lambert 1994, 167), OWelsh *guo-*, *gu(a)-*, Corn *go-*, *gu-*, Bret *gou-* preverb, OIr *fo* preverb & prep. “unter” (with acc., dat. = *loc.), cf. further Gaul *uasso-* in NV *Vasso-rīx*, cf. MLat *vassus*, *vassalus*; Welsh, Bret *gwas*, Corn *guas*; MIr *foss* “Diener” < **upo-* & **stā-*, cf. OInd *úpa-sti-* & *upa-sti-* “Diener, Untergebener” || Venet preverb *upo-* (Lejeune 1974, 340; 170: in contrary to the common Italic form in *s-*) || Messap **hupa-* > *hipa-/hopa-* (Haas 1962, 214) || Goth *uf* & *ub-uh* pref. “auf, unter”, prep. “unter” (with acc., dat. = loc.), OIc *of* “über, an, in”, OEng *ufe-* < **úpo*, OHG *ūf* “auf”, *oba* “über” < **upó*; cf. perhaps also Goth *iup* “upward”, *iupa* “above”, *iupana* “from before, from above” < **eub-* with puzzling **-b-*, but cf. OIr *uabar* “vanity” (Lehmann 1986, 208). Hamp (*Baltistica* 4.2[1968], 257) tries to explain the absence of any trace of **upo* in Balto-Slavic from his interpretation of the pair OPr *ape* : Lith *ùpè* “river”, which should represent the full and reduced apophonical grades respectively, causing the merging of **upo* with the reduced grade of **apo*.

**up[ɪ]mo-* > OInd *upamá-* “der oberste, höchste, nächste”, Av *upəma-* id. || Celtib **uamo-* in dat. sg. *uameište* (bronze *res*) < **upɪm-ei stH-e[i]*; Lepontic *uvamo-kozis* (Prestino) < **upɪmo-g^hostis* (Meid 1996b, 31) || OEng *ufemest* & *yfemest* “der höchste, oberste”.

**uper(i)* “über” (B 906–11; P 1105–06) = **upér(i)* “over” (Be 222) = **H₄upér(i)* “over” (EIEC 412) > OInd *upári* “oben, über, oberhalb, nach oben” = Av *upairi* “oben, über”, OPers *upariy* “über, auf”, Khot *vīra* “on”, ZorPhl *apar*, Pers *bar* “on” (EWAI I, 221; Bailey 1979, 387–88) || Arm *i ver* “hinauf, oben” < **upero-*, *i veroy* “ob, oberhalb”, *i veray* “darüber, darauf” || Gr *ὑπέp* preverb “über, über - hinaus”, prep. “über - hin, oberhalb, über - hinaus” || Gaul *uer-* in **uer-tragos* “eine Art schnelfüssiger Hunde”, attested in οὐδέpτραγοι (Arrien) = *vertraha* (Grattius) > French *vautre* “chien de chasse” (Lambert 1994, 200); NV *Ver-cingeto-rīx*, NP *Vertamo-corii* („der höchste”), Welsh *gwar-* & *gor-*, Corn *gor-*, Bret *gour-*; Celtiber *uer-* “over” in *ueršoniTi* < Celt **wer-son-ī-t(i)* “he carries out” (Eska 1989, 115–17), *ueramos* “summus” < **uperɪmos*; OIr *for* “über, über - hin, über - hinaus” (with acc.); “über auf” (with dat. = *instr. or loc.), *for-* preverb “über, auf” || Goth *ufar* “over”, OIc *yfir*, OEng *ofer* id. < **úperi*, OHG *ubir* id. < **upéri*; *o*-extension: **upero-* “der Obere” > OInd *úpara-* “unterer, näherer, hinterer, späterer”; Av *upara-* “oberer” || Gr *ὑπεp* “Mörserkeule”, *ὑπέpā* “oberes Seil”, *ὑπεpά* “Gaumen” (Frisk II, 969 from **ὑπέpō*; otherwise Schweizer-Siedler, KZ 12 [1863], 309); cf. also Gr *ὑπέpτος* “oberster, höchster” || Goth *ufaro* adv. “über, darüber”, OHG *obaro* adj. “der obere”, OEng *yferra* id. < **uđerizō*.

**ups-* > Gr *ὑψι* adv. “hoch”, probably loc. pl. in -σι; from here *ὑψίτεp*ος, *ὑψίων* “höher”, *ὑψιστος* “der höchste”, *ὑψοῦ*, *ὑψόθι*, -όσε id., *ὑπόθεν* “von hoch herab”, *τὸ ὑψος* “Höhe, Gipfel”, *ὑψηλός* “hoch” || Celtib *use* adv. “above” < Celt **uxs-i*, preverb *usa-* “high” in *usaPiTus* “let him raise” < Celt **uxsa-bwī-tū(d)* + *-s* (Eska 1989, 121–22); Gaul **uxsi* in *uxsedia* “somme”

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

**upélo-* > Mlr *fel* “schlecht” || Goth *ubils*, OEng *yfel*, OHG *ubil* “übel”. Salmons & Adams (EIEC 43) prefer the connection of this Celt-Gmc isogloss with Hitt *huwappi* ~ *huwapzi* “ill-treats, harrows, harasses, disfigures, despoils”, *huwappa-* “evil, ill, bad” < **H_{2/3}uop-*.

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

*[*js-upmo-* > Lat *summus* “der höchste, äusserste, grösste”, Umbr *somo* “summum”.

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

**b^(h)e-(ġ^h-)* “ausser(halb), ohne” (B 810–11; P 112–13) = **b^heġ^h-* (EWAI I, 220)

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

**dě*, **dō* “dar” (B 811–14; P 181–83) = **do* ~ **de* “to” (EIEC 590)

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

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

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

**ĝ^hō* “hinter, nach, wegen” (B 846–51; P 451–52)

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

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

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

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

? **k^u*- “to”

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

**med^hi* “zwischen, inmitten, unter” (B 856–59; P 706–07, 702–03)

OInd *mādhyā-*, Gatha Av *maidīa-*, later *maidīia-* “mitlerer; Mitte”, Shugni *mīd* “Mitte, Taille”, Osset *mīd-/med-* “in, innerhalb, inmitten”; Av *maidīiāna-* “Mitte, Zentrum”, MPers <mdy’n>, Pers *miyān* “Mitte, inmitten, zwischen”, Parth *mdy’n*, Sogd *myδ’n*, Khot *myāna-* “middle”; superl. OInd *madhyamā-* (**madhamā-* < **med^hṛṇmo-*), Av *madəma-* id. = Goth *miduma* “die Mitte” (EWAI I, 303–04; Bailey 1979, 340–41) || Arm *mēj* “Mitte” || Gr (ep.) μέσσοσ, (Att) μέσοσ, (Cret, Boeot) “mitlerer”, already Myc *me-sa-to* m., -ta f. = μέσ(σ)ατος “de calidad media” (Aura Jorro 1985, 441) || ? Venet river-name *Meduana* || Lat *medius*, Osc *mefiāi* “in mediā”, *messimas* ± “medioximas” || Gaul *medio-* in *mediotamica* (Graufesenque) “(vins) de qualité moyenne” (Lambert 1994, 145); NL *Medio-lānum*, the river-name *Meduana*; OIr *mid-* (**med^hu-*) in compounds “medius”, *i-mmedón* “in medio”, MĪr *mide* “Mitte”, MWelsh *mywn*, Welsh *mewn* “in” (**medu-gno-*), MWelsh *mei-iau* “Mittel-Joch” (**med^hjo-*) || Goth *midjis*, OĪc *midr*, OEng *midd*, OHG *mitti* “medius”, superl. Goth *miduma* “die Mitte”, OĪc *mjçdm* f. “Hüfte”, OEng *midmest* “der mittelste”, *medeme*, OHG *metemo* “mediocris”, Goth **midjuma-* in *midjun-gards*, OEng *middan-*

geard "Erdkreis", OHG *mittamo* "mediocris", in *mittamen* "inmitten", *mittar* "medius"; Goth *miþ*, OSax *mid(i)*, OEng *mið*, OIc *með(e)*, OHG *mit(i)* "mit" (but the derivation from **metí* is possible too) || OPr *median*, Latv *mežs* "Wald, Gehölz", Lith *mėdžias* "Baum"; cf. the Lith river-name *Medujà*, suggestively corresponding to *Metuje*, earlier *Meduja* in Eastern Bohemia || OChSl *mežda* "Strasse" (**medja*), R *mežá* "Grenze, Rain", besides OChSl *meždu* "zwischen" (adv., prep.; orig. loc. du.), R *meži* id., Cz *mezi* id. (orig. loc. sg.) || Toch A *mācristm* "southeast" (Winter 1988, 781–82) or "south" (Pinault 1998, 364) < **mācār*^o < **māTīār*^o < **med^hir^o/*med^hier^o* < **med^hi* & **H₂eier/*H₂ir* "mid-day" (Av *aiiarə* "day", Goth *air* "early"); B *omotruññaise* "southerly, southern, of the south" < **æ̃n-motār*^o < **H₁ṅ-m[e]d^hirṅ*, where the effect of the palatalization of **d^h* was neutralized in the final cluster, cf. B *procer* "brother" < **b^hrātēr* : acc. sg. *protār* < **b^hrātrṅ*.

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

Arm *merj* "bei", *merjenam* "nähere mich", cf. *jeñ* "Hand" < **g^hes-r-m̄* (Hamp, *Revue des études arméniennes* 17[1983], 7 proposes the starting point **(s)meḡ^hr-i*) || Gr μέχρι(ς) "bis" < **me-* plus the loc. of χείρ "Hand", besides ἄχρι(ς) id. < **m̄-*.

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

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

**ṅd^hi* "über" (P 312)

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

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

**ṅd^hos* "unter" (P 771) = **ṅd^hés* "under, low" (EIEC 611)

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

und “unter” || ? Toch A *āñc* “down” < **ḡd^{hi}*, B *ette(m)* adv. “down”, adj. “lower” < **ḡd^{hos}* (Van Windekens 1976, 163:), *ettes* “downward” (EIEC 611; Adams 1999, 81 expresses doubts concerning this etymology).

**ḡd^h[m]mo-* > OInd *adhama-* adj. “unterster, niedrigster, geringster”; Ormuri *jēm* “below” < **adama-* || Lat *īnfimus* “unterster” (EWAI I, 66–67) || Gaul (Lezoux) **andam^o* in *andamica* “(vins) de qualité inférieure” (Lambert 1994, 145).

**ḡd^{heri}* “unter, sub” (B 859) = **ḡd^{her(i)}* “under” (Be 221) > Av *aḍairi* “unter, unterhalb”, Khot *dīra-* “low” < **adarya-* (Bailey 1979, 159) || Goth *undar*, OIc *under*, OSax *undar*, OHG *untar(i)* “unter, sub”. The *o*-stem meaning “der untere” occurs in OInd *ádharma-* adj. “unterer”; Av *aḍara-* “unterer, westlicher”, MPers *ēr* <’dl> “niedrig” (EWAI I, 66: *(H)*ḡd^{hero-}*) || Lyc *ētre/i-* “lower” (Melchert 1994, 284) || Lat *īnfer(us)* “unterer”, besides adv. & prep. *īnfrā* “unterhalb” < **īnferād* || Gaul (Chamalieres) *anderon* “qui est au-dessous” (Lambert 1996, 153) || Goth *undaro* “unter” < **ōd* (abl.), OHG *untaro* id. = OInd *ádharāt* “unten”; cf. also Gr ὀθερίζω “verachte, verschmähe” = OInd *adhariṇa-* “verachtet”.

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

OInd *nī* “niederwärts, hinunter, hinab, rückwärts” = Av *nī* “niederwärts”, OP *ni(y)-* “nieder-”, Khot *ni^o*, *nā^o*, (M)Pers *ni^o* etc. (Bailey 1979, 186f; EWAI II, 40); OInd comp. *nitarām* “unterwärts”; Av superl. *niṭama-* “der unterste” || Arm *n-* e.g. in *n-stim* “setze mich” = Ved *ni-ṣad* || Gaul *ni-* in *ni-tixsintor sies* (Lambert 1994, 167) || OHG *nidar*, OSax *nithar*, OEng *niper*, OIc *nidr* “niederwärts”: OHG *nidana*, OSax *nithana* “unten”, OEng *neoðan*, *niþan* “(her)unter”, OIc *neðana* “von unten her”, prep. with acc. “unterhalb”, OSax *niþe* adv. “unten”, OHG *nida* prep. with dat. & acc. “unter(halb)” || OChSl *nizb* “hinab, hinunter”.

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

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

OInd *nīṣ-* “hinaus, aus, weg von, darüber hinaus, ent-, un-, nicht-” = Gatha Av *nīṣ* “hinaus”, later *nīštara-* “der äusserste”, OPers <niṣ-> in <nijaym> = *niṣ-āyam/* “ich ging weg”, Khot preverb *naṣ^o* etc. “out”, Wakhi *než-* id. (Bailey 1979, 176; EWAI II, 47) || OChSl *ništъ* “arm” < **nīstj^o* = OInd *nīṣṭya-* “auswärtig, fremd” (EWAI II, 48). Brugmann (B 862) added Gr ἄνυς “ohne” (explaining α- per analogiam to ἄνευ id.), but it is better derivable from **ṣḡH₁i* “without”.

**pe* / **po* “weg” (Hackstein 1997, 47; Be 220: **H₂pó* = EIEC 42: *(*H₄*)*pó*)

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

1991, 145–57) = Lat *porceō* “hold off” (**po-arc*^o) : *arceō* “hold in”, Hitt *pai-* “go (by / past), pass” (CHD 1994f, 18f), Luw 3 sg. imper. *paiddu* : Hitt *i-* “go”, *iya-* “go, come, walk, march” = R *pojti* “go away” : *idti* “go”, Lyd preverb & conj. *fa-* (Puhvel 1984, 325–35; Ajchenval’d, Bajun & Ivanov 1985, 52; Melchert 1994, 335) || Alb *pa* “without” (with acc.), *pa-* “un-” || Messap *pades* “dedicavit” < **po-d^hēs-t*, *padazeran* “posuerunt” < **po-d^hēk_iēront* with **-i-* after present (Haas 1962, 66, 170, 217) || Lat *pōnō* (**po-s[i]nō*) : *po-situs*, *poliō*, *po-lūbrum*, *pōrcet* (**po-arcet*) || OFris *fān*, OSax *fan(a)*, OHG *fon(a)* “von” (with dat. = *abl.) || BSl **pō-* > Lith *pó-*, OPr *pō-* = Sl *pa-* in OChSl *pamętb* “memory”, *pa^męnęti* “to remember” etc.; besides Lith *po-* in *pabęgti* “run away” = R *pobęg* “flight, run”, *pa-upę* = R *po-rečje* “riverside”, but Lith *pa-tęvis* “father-in-law” : R *pa-synok* “stepson” (Hamp, *Baltistica* 4.2[1968], 255–57) || Toch imper.: A *pāklyoş*, B *pāklyauş* “hear!” = Cz *poslyš!* id.

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

Gr (Arc-Cypr; Gr inscriptions from Phrygia) *πός* || Lith *pās* prep. “an, bei”, *pāstaras* “der letzte, hinterste” || OChSl *po* “hinter, nach”, *-s* is preserved in the forms with the *d*-extension: *poz-dъ* adj. “spät”, *poz-dě* adv. “spät”.

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

**posk^uo-* > OInd *paścā* (instr.) adv. “hinten, nach, zurück, westlich, später”, Av *pasča* prep. “hinter, nach”, Khot *pātcu* “nachher”, Osset *fæs-* “hinter”, OPers *pasā* “nach”, in Elamite transcription **pasča*^o “unter-, Nach-, Vize-”, Parth *paš*, (M)Pers *pas* “dann, nachher, hinten”, Parači *pēš* “behind”; OInd *paścāt* (abl.) prep. “hinter, nach, westlich”, Av *paskā^t* adv. “von hinten her, hinterdrein”, Khot *paska* “back”, Yazgulami *paski* id. (EWAI II, 110; Abajev I, 456; Bailey 1979, 225) || ? Alb *pas* ~ *mbas* adv., prep. “behind, after” (Hamp, *KZ* 75[1965], 23) || Lith *paskuī*, *pāskui* (dat.) adv. “hinterher, nachher”, prep. “nach”, from older *pasakuī*. Adams (EIEC 43) proposes the segmentation **po-* + **-sk^uo-*, deriving the latter component from **sek^u-* “to follow”.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**prai*, **pṛai*, **pṛi* (B 880–83; P 811–12) = **preH₂i* “at the front” (Be 221: loc.) = **pṛH_aéi* “in front of; before (of time)” (EIEC 60–61; Hamp 1997, 48: dat.)

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

**pṛgrā* “vormals, vor” (B 884; P 813) = **pṛH₂-éH₁* “before” (Be 221: instr.) = **pṛH_a-éH₁* “in front of; before (of time)” (EIEC 60)

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

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

**pr̥res*, **pr̥ros* “vor” (B 883; P 812) = **pr̥H₂ós* “before” (Be 221: gen.) = **pr̥H-és/-ós* (EWAI II, 147)

OInd *purás* adv. & pref. “voran, vorn”, prep. “vor”, Av *parō* adv. “vorn, vordem”, prep. “vor” || Gr *πάρος* adv. “früher; voran, vorn”, prep. “vor”; in compounds the *aniṭ*-form **pres-*: *πρέσ-βυς*, *-γυς* “alt” = * “im Alter vorangehend” || ? OIr *arsaid*, *arsid* “vetus” < **pr̥H₂os-stH₂tis* “im Alter voran seiend” || OHG, OSax *frist*, OEng *first* “Frist” < **pres-stHi-*, OIc *frest* id. < **pres-stHo-* || Toch A *prašt* (**prēstā*), B *prešciyo/a* (**prēsti(i)jā*) “time, occasion, season” (Adams 1999, 421).

**pro*, **prō* “vorwärts, voran” (B 873–76; P 813–14) = **pro* “before, towards the front” (Be 221) = **pró-H₁* (EWAI II, 174: instr. sg. with the sandhi variant **pró H₁ °*) = **pro* “forward, ahead, away” (EIEC 61)

OInd *prá-* pref. “vor, vorwärts, fort” (before subst. and verbs), “sehr” (before adj.), Gatha Av *fra-* e.g. in *fra-uuač* “verkünden” = Ved *prá-vac*, later Av *fra-* e.g. in *fra-zaiṇti-* “Nachkommenschaft”, OPers *fra-* e.g. in *fra-māna-* “Befehl”, MPers <pl> = *fra°*, Pers *far°*, Parachi *rha°*, BuddhSogd *pr°*, Tumshuq Saka *ra°*, Khot *ha°*, Wakhi *ra°*, *re°*, Osset *ræ°*, *læ°* etc. (Abajev II, 16f, Bailey 1979, 438; EWAI II, 173–74) || Hitt *parā* adv., preverb, postp. “out (to), forth, toward; out of, from; forward, further, along; further(more), moreover, additionally, still; then, after that; over to; fully, completely” (CHD 109–32; cf. Melchert 1994, 123: **prō*; Hamp 1997, 48; Adams, EIEC 61) || OPhyrg *pro-* in the title *proitawos* “governor”, formally corresponding to the Gr NV *Προΐτας*, the name of a legendary king of Tiryns (Woudhuizen 1993, 3) || Gr *πρό* preverb “vor”; prep. “vor”, cf. also *προ-πάτωρ* “Grossvater”, lit. “Urvater”; Myc *po-ro-* in *po-ro-ko-wo* = Hom *πρόχοος*, Att *πρόχους* : *χέω* (Aura Jorro 1993, 148) || Lat *prō-*, *prō-* in compounds, e.g. *pro-nepōs*, *prō* prep. “vor, für”; Osc-Umbr preverb *pro-*, *pru-* || Celtib *řo-* in *řo-PišeTi* 3 sg. pres. subj. (Eska 1989, 90); Gaul *ro-* in *ro-siru* (Graufesenque) “trop long” < **pro-sērū* (Lambert 1994, 143), cf. ND *Ro-smerta*; OIr *ro-* preverb & intensifying pref., e.g. in *ro-már* “zu gross”, Welsh *ry-*, OBret *ro-*, *ru-*, (M)Bret *ra-* id. || Goth *fra-*, OHG *fir-* “ver-”, besides *fruo* “früh” || OPr *pra*, *pro* “durch”, preverb “ver-”, Lith *pra*, *prō* “vorbei”, preverb “vorbei-, durch-, ver-”, Latv *pruō-jām* “weg, fort” || OChSl preverb *pro-* “durch-, ver-”, Cz *pro* “wegen”, besides R *prá-děd*, SCr *prà-djed* “Urgrossvater” < **prō-* (Kopečný 1973, 216–20, 205–08) || Toch A *ana-pār*, B *ene-pre* “before, in front of” < **H₁on-e* + **pro* (Adams 1999, 84).

**prot[ṃ]mo-* > OInd adj. *prathamá-* “erster, vorderster, frühester” || MPers *pahlom* “bester, erster, exzellent” (-*th-* from the contamination of the superlative suffixes *-tamá-* vs. *-tha-* & *-ma-*), besides adv. *pratamám* “besonders, vorzugsweise” = Av *fratəma-*, OPers *fratama-* “vorderster” (EWAI II, 179).

**protero-* > OInd *pratarám* “weiter, ferner, künftigt”, Av *fratarā-* “voranstehend”, OPers *fratarā-* “überlegen” (EWAI II, 179) || Gr *πρότερος* “der vordere, der vorige”.

preti*, **proti* “gegenüber, entgegen, gegen” (B 877–88; P 815–16) = **préti*, **proti* “(over) against” (Be 221) > OInd *práti* pref. “gegen, zurück”, prep. “gegen, entgegen, nach - hin, zur Zeit von, um”; ? Av *pərəskā* “Preis oder Wert” < **pṛt-skā* || Arm pl. *eres-k’* “Gesicht, Miene, Anblick, Vorderseite” < **proti-H₃k^h-(ik-)*ā = Gr pl. πρόσωπα “Gesicht, Antlitz” < **proti-H₃ōk^h-ǵ₂* (Hamp 1984, 153) || Gr (Hom) προτί, Ion-Att, Lesb πρόσ (cf. πρόσσω “vorwärts” < **protiō*), Pamph περτί (preti*), Aeolic πρές adv. “noch dazu, überdies”, pref. prep. “gegen - hin, zu, gegen, an, nach einem Bereich hin; bei; von - her, von” || Lat *pretium* “Wert, Preis einer Sache”, ntr. from the unattested adj. **pretios* || Latv *pretie*, *preī*, *pret* “against” || OChSl, OR *protivъ*, *protivō* “entgegen”, originally from *protiva* attested in OCz & Slk (Kopečný 1973, 222–27) || Toch A *pratsak*, B *pratsāko* “breast” (**proti-H₃ōk^h-eH_a*-, see Adams 1999, 413; concerning semantics, he confronts Lith *añtis* “breasts” : Goth *endi* “forehead”) = Gr πρόσσωπον “Antlitz, Gesicht, Blick, Maske” (**proti-H₃ōk^h-*) = OInd *prátika*- “Oberfläche, Antlitz, Gestalt” (**proti-H₃k^h-*, see EWAI II, 177).

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

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

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

sm̥-* > OInd *sa-há*, *sadha*^o “gemeinsam, zusammen” = Av *hadā*, OPers *hadā* “zusammen”; OInd *satrá* “zusammen, ganz und gar” = Av *harā* “zusammen, zugleich, vereint mit”, OInd *sádam*, *sádā* “allzeit, stets immer” = Av *hadā* “immer”; OInd *sá-dhrī* adv. “zusammen” (sm̥-* & **dher-* “halten”) = Gr ἄ-θροοι, Att ἄ-θροοι “im Verein, gesamt”; OInd *sa-hásra-* = Av *ha-za-ra-* “1000” < **sm̥-ǵ^héslo-* = Celtiberian **san-gles-* in the name of a coin *sanCilišTara*

meaning “thousandth” (Botorrita A - see Lambert 1994, 372; Blažek 1999, 314–15); OInd *sākām* adv. “zusammen, zugleich” < **sm̥-H₃ky-ó-* ~ Toch A *smakk* “égal, constant” < **sm̥-H₃ek^u-* (EWAI II, 721) || Hitt *san-* in *sankui-* “claw” < **sanankui-* < **sm̥-H₃ong^h-u-* (Blažek 1999, 145) & *sa-* in *sa-witis(t)-* “Säugling” < **sm̥-ūētes-* “one-year[old]” (Neumann, KZ 75[1958], 221f) || Messap *sa-*, later *ha-* “con-” (Haas 1962, 192, 214, 218).

**sen-*, **sn̥n-* “abseits von” (B 893–94) = **seni-* “für sich, abgesondert” (P 907) = **sn̥H₁i* “without” (Be 221)

Gr ἄνως “ohne” || Lat *sine* “ohne” < **seni* < loc. **sn̥H₁i* (Beekes) or **sénH₂i* (Hackstein 1997, 54) || OIr *sain* adj. “verschieden, besonders” < **sn̥H₁i-*; Welsh *o-han*, *a-han* “von”, *gwa-han* “getrennt, verschieden”; OWelsh *han* “alium”; Welsh *hanes* “Erzählung” = MÍr *sanas* “Geheimnis, Lispeln” < **sani-stā* || Toch A *sne*, B *snai* “without” < pToch **s(ä)nai* < dat. **sn̥H₁éi* (Adams 1999, 712–13) or loc. coll. **sn̥H₂-éH₂-i* (Hackstein 1997, 54 who also proposes a primary nomen actionis nom. sg. **sénH₂-s* “Verborgensein, Fehlen”, gen. **sn̥H₂-és*, derivable from IE **senH₂-* “verborgen sein” > Hitt *sanna-* “verheimlichen, verschweigen”, following N. Oettinger).

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

**ter-*, **tr-*, **tr̥-* “hindurch, über - weg” (B 899–902; P 1075–76) = **tr̥H₂ós* “through” (Be 221)

OInd *tiráś* “adv. “weg, abseits”, prep. with acc. “durch - hin, über - weg” = Gatha Av *tarə-* in *tarə.man* “sich erheben fühlen”, *tarə.maiti-* “Übermut”, later *tarō* adv. “seitwärts, unvermerkt”, prep. with acc. “durch - hin, über - hinweg, hinaus; abgesehen von, ausser”, OPers *ta[ra]* “durch”, ZorPhl *tar* “across, through”, Ormuri *tar* “passed”, Khot *tīnu* “through” (**tarina-*), Pashto *tar* “from; up to, untill” (Bailey 1979, 128; EWAI I, 646–47); OInd *tiráś-cā* adv. (orig. instr.) “quer durch” = Av (with acc.) *taras-ča* “durch - hin, über - hin, über - hinweg” || Arm *vtar̥* “opening in the body” (Bailey 1979, 128) || OIr (with acc.) *tar* “über - hinaus” < Celt **tares*; cf. *tairse*, *tairsiu* “trans eam, trans eos, eas, ea” with palatalization indicating the original front vowel, i.e. **tr̥H₁-es* (Schrijver 1995, 74, 87); OIr (proclitic) *tri*, *tre*, OWelsh *trui*, MWelsh *trwy*, *drwy*, OBret *tre*, Bret, Corn *dre* “durch”; Celtib *Tiri-* “through” < Celt **trei* (Eska 1989, 109) < **treH-i* (Schrijver 1995, 247: loc.) || OEng (with acc.) *đurh*, OHG *durh* “durch” < **tr̥(H)-k^ue*, Goth *pairh* id. < **ter(H)-k^ue*. Lat *trāns*, Umbr (with acc.) *traf*, *trahaf* “jenseits, über - hinweg”, perhaps from the participle **trānt-s* of the unattested verb **trāre* || Welsh *tros* “über”, *tra-* in *trannoeth* “über Nacht, am folgenden Tage” < **trāns-*.

II.

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

root	nom. * <i>-s</i>	gen.-abl. * <i>-és</i> / * <i>-ós</i>	acc. * <i>-e/om</i> / * <i>-ṃ</i>	dat. * <i>-éi</i>	loc. * <i>∅</i> / * <i>-i</i>	instr. * <i>-éH₁</i>
* <i>H₁ep</i> - ¹⁾ "near"	* <i>H₁ǫp-s</i>	* <i>H₁p-ós</i>	* <i>H₁op-ṃ</i>	* <i>H₁p-éi</i>	* <i>H₁ép(-i)</i>	
* <i>H₁enu</i> - ²⁾ "without"	* <i>Hēnu(-s)</i>		* <i>H₁néu-ṃ</i>		* <i>H₁neu ?</i>	
* <i>perH_a</i> - ³⁾ "over"	+ <i>pérH_a-s</i> > * <i>pérH_a-os</i>	* <i>pṛH_a-ós</i>	* <i>perH_a-em/om</i>	* <i>pṛH_a-éi</i>	* <i>pérH_a(-i)</i>	* <i>pṛH_a-éH₁</i>
* <i>senH</i> - ⁴⁾ "without"	+ <i>sénH-s</i>	+ <i>sṇH-ós</i>		* <i>sṇH-éi</i>	* <i>sénH-i</i>	
* <i>terH</i> - ⁵⁾ "through"	* <i>térH-s</i>	* <i>tṛH-és/-ós</i>			* <i>treH-i</i>	

Notes: The symbol + instead of the asterisk (*) indicates the hypothetical forms without any safe material support. 1) See Hamp 1981, 47. 2) See Blažek, *HS* 112[1999], 199–200; the paradigm corresponds to **pélH₁-u(-s)* "many", acc. **pṛH₁éuṃ* postulated by Beekes 1985, 166. Hamp (*JIES* 10[1982], 187–92) reconstructs **H₁enH₁u- : *H₁pH₁eu-*. 3) See P 811–13 & Hamp 1997, 47–48. His derivation from the verb attested in Hitt *parh-* "drive out" is attractive, but it remains to explain the absence of any laryngeal in the Anatolian prepositions. 4) Hackstein (1997, 54) determines *H* = **H₂*, proposing the starting point **senH₂-* > Hitt *sanna-* "verheimlichen, verschweigen" (after Oettinger); cf. also OIr *sann-* "séparer, aliéner" (Vendryes 1974, S-25). Beekes (1995, 221) and Schrijver (1995, 117) reconstruct *H* = **H₁*. 5) Beekes (1995, 221) reconstructs *H* = **H₂*, while Schrijver (1995, 74, 87) prefers *H* = **H₁*. It is generally accepted to derive these forms from IE **terH-* "überqueren" (P 1074–76). Hitt *tarh-* "siegen, mächtig sein; können" with *-h-* indicates IE **H_{2/3}*.

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

form / extension	* <i>-s</i>	* <i>-es/-os</i>	* <i>-i</i>	* <i>-b^{hi}</i>	* <i>-ti/-tH_a</i>	* <i>-tos</i>	* <i>-t(e)r-</i>	* <i>-(e/o)r-</i>	* <i>-il-</i>	* <i>-(t)[ṃ]m-</i>
* <i>H_aed-</i> "to"	+								+	
* <i>H₁eġ^{hs}</i> "out"	+					+	+			+
* <i>H₁en-/ *H₁on-</i> "in"	+		+			+	+			+
* <i>H₁ep-/ *H₁op-</i> "by, near"	+		+					+		+
* <i>H₁ob^{hi}</i> "at" < * <i>H₁op-b^{hi}</i>				+						
* <i>H₁et-/ *H₁ot-</i>	+?		+							

form / extension	*-s	*-es/-os	*-i	*-b ^h i	*-ti/-tH _a	*-tos	*-t(e)r-	*-(e/o)r-	*-il-	*-(t)l̥m-
"over"										
*H ₂ en-H _a /u "on"										
*H ₂ en-b ^h i "around"				+						
*H ₂ en-ti/tH _a "facing"					+					
*H ₄ epo "behind"							+	+		+
*H ₄ et- "beyond"		+	+							
*H ₄ eṽo "away"		+						+		+
*(H)ūd- "up"	+						+			+
*(H)upo "under"	+							+	+	+
*b ^h e-(ĝ ^h -) "without"										
*dē / *dō "to"										
*ĝ ^h ō "behind"										
*k ^h u "to"										
*kom "with"					+		+			
*k _m -tH _a /-ti "by, with"					+			+		
*me(-)d ^h i "in the middle"		+	+							+
*me-ĝ ^h (s)ri "near"			+							
*me-tH _a /-ti "between"					+					
*(H)ūd ^h i "over" / "under"		+	+					+		+
*ni "downwards"	+		+				+			+
*pe- / *po- "after, away"		+			+					
*pro "before, ahead"					+		+			+

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

III.

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

1) *H₄ed- "to" ||| Semitic *ʕad-ay/i/-u Oakkadian *adum*, Akkadian *adi/u* "up to, until", Eblaic *a-dē* id. (Limet 1984, 65), Hebrew *ʕādē*, *ʕad* "up to", Aramaic *ʕad*, Ugaritic, Phoenician *ʕd*, Sabaic *ʕdy* "untill", Jibbali *ʕed* "till, untill" etc. (Dolgopolsky, p.c.: IE + AA; AA *d regularly corresponds to IE *d^h, Dolgopolsky explains this difference from the neutralization in the final position).

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

**ʔittəmōl* < **ʔina timāli(m)*, lit. “in [the day of] yesterday”, cf. Akkadian *ina timāli(m)* (after Dolgopolsky), Geez *ən-* in *ənbala* “without, except for” = Akkadian *ina bāla* “without” (Leslau 1987, 27) || Egyptian *ʔn* “durch, seitens” (Erman & Grapow I, 89) || Berber **Hīn* > Nefusi, Siwa *in* “à, vers” (Prasse 1972, 224–25) || East Cushitic: Rendille *in-* “place”, *inta* “(at) this place” (Dolgopolsky, p.c.: IE + Semitic + Berber).

2b) **H₁en-do* “into, inside” || Semitic **ʔin-ta/i/u* > Akkadian *itti, ittu(m), itta-* “with” (CDA 137), Phoenician *ʔt*, Hebrew *ʔet* “together with, by the side of”, Geez *ʔanta* “through, by way of, at, into, to, in the direction”, Tigre *ʔət* “on, in, by, with, because of” (Leslau 1987, 32–33).

3) **H₁ep-* “by, near, after” || Semitic: Hebrew *ʔap* “also, and also, and even”, Syriac *ʔāp* “also”, Ugaritic *ʔp* id. (Bomhard 1984, 252: IE + Semitic), cf. also Geez *ʔafʔā* “out, outside, outside part, beyond” || Central Cushitic: Awngi *af* “outside, outdoors” (Leslau 1987, 9)

4) **H₂en-* ±“face” || Semitic: Arabic *ʃan* prep. “from, away from, instead of, for; with regard to; in accordance with; on account of, after; upon; in; about”, cf. *ʃanan* “side” (Steingass 1988, 729), Sabaic *ʃn* “away from”, Šxeri *ʃan* id., Soqotri *ʃan* “de, pour” (Leslau 1938, 315) || East Cushitic: Somali *ʃan* “cheek, chin” || ? Egyptian *ʃnʃn* 1. “Kinn”; 2. “Hals” (Erman & Grapow I, 191). If we separate the form **H_aen-H_a* “on” from **H₂en-tH_a/-ti* “facing”, there are alternative comparanda: Semitic *[*h*]ana > Akkadian *an(a)* “to, for” (CDA 16) || Egyptian *hn* 1. “Kopf”; 2 “bis hin nach..” (Erman & Grapow II, 492, 495) || Cushitic: (East) Harso-Dobase *ana* “auf” (Amborn - Minker - Sasse); Sidamo *aana* “over, on”, Hadiyya, Gedeo *hana* id. (Hudson) | (South) Ma’a *aná* “above” (Dolgopolsky, p.c.: IE + AA).

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

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

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

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

8) **perH_{az}* - “before” III Semitic $\sqrt{p-r-f}$ > Ugaritic *prf* “first; excellent, the best; chief”, Hebrew *peraf* “chief”, Arabic *farf* “top (of branch)”, *farfiyy* “first(-born)” (Bomhard 1984, 191; Blažek 1999, 157: IE + Semitic).

Conclusion

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

Abbreviations

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

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