

Blažek, Václav

Indo-European kinship terms in *-~~22~~2TER

In: *Grammaticvs : studia linguistica Adolfo Erharto quinque et septuagenario oblata*. Šefčík, Ondřej (editor); Vykypěl, Bohumil (editor). Vyd. 1. V Brně: Masarykova univerzita, 2001, pp. 24-33

ISBN 8021026499

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/123188>

Access Date: 28. 11. 2024

Version: 20220831

Terms of use: Digital Library of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University provides access to digitized documents strictly for personal use, unless otherwise specified.

INDO-EUROPEAN KINSHIP TERMS IN *- ϱ_2 TER

It was Andrew Sihler (together with Warren Cowgill) who has (have) determined the kinship terms in *- ϱ_2 ter (1988, 558–59), differing them from the *nomina agentis* in *-ter. Let us recapitulate the most important forms (see Brugmann 2.1, 331–35):

* b^h rāter- = * b^h re ϱ_2 ter- “brother”

OI *bhrātar*:- nom. sg. *bhrātā*, acc. sg. *bhrātaram* etc., Pkt *bhāā*, *bhāi(a)*- & *bhāu(a)*-, Hindi *bhāi*, Aškun *bāa*, Waigali *brā*, Tirahi *brā*, pl. *brāre*, Khowar *brar* etc. (Turner 1966, # 9661); Av *brātar*:- nom. sg. (Gatha) *brātā*, (late) *brāta*, acc. sg. (late) *brātarəm*, gen. sg. (late) *brāθrō*; OPers nom. sg. *brātā* “brother” (Hoffmann & Forssman 1996, 151), ZorPhl *brāt* / *brātar*, Pers *birādar*, Khot *brātar*-, Sogd *br’t(rt)*, Khwar *brād*, MParth (Turfan) *br’d(r)*, Baluči *brāt*, Kurdic *bāra*, Pašto *wror*, Yidgha *vrai*, Wakhi *vārit*, Šugni *vārād*, Yazgulami *vred*, pl. *vradar*, Sarikoli *vrōd* id., *vrador* “related brother”, Iškašim *vrud*, Wakhi *vrūt*, Rošani *virōd*, pl. *virōdar*, Munjan *v’rōy*, Yaghnobi *virot*, Osset *ʾrvad* / *ærvadæ* “brother, relative”, cf. the Sarmatian personal name Βροδοκος < **brātaka*- (Abaev 1973, 437–38; Bailey 1979, 313; EWAI I, 280) || ? Lydian *brafra*- “φράτρα”, *brafrli*- “φράτωρ” (Gusmani 1964, 85 after Hass) and / or *vrato*- / *vratu*- “brother” < * b^h rāto-, cf. OChSl *bratъ* “brother” (Georgiev 1984, 15–16; accepted by Neumann 1991, 64, fn. 6) || Arm *elbair*, gen. *elbaur* “brother” < * r^b ° < * br ° < * b^h rātēr, gen. * b^h rātros || late Phryg dat. sg. βρωτερε (Haas 1966, 103); ‘Mysian’ (Üyücek) dat.-instr. *braterais* (cf. Lith *vilkaīs*, see Georgiev 1977, 201, fn. 3; really perhaps also Phryg, so G. Neumann quoted by Katičić 1976, 150, fn. 259) || Gr Attic φράτηρ, φράτωρ, Doric φράτήρ “Mitglied einer φρατρία (Sippe, Bruderschaft)”, Ionian φρήτηρ· ἀδελφός (Hesych.) (Chantraine III, 1226) || Illyrian βρά: ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ Ἡλείων [Ἰλείων cod.; Hesych.] (cf. Krahe 1955, 44; Katičić 1976, 171) || Venetic <v>*hratere.i* “frātī” (Lejeune 1974, 18) || Lat *frāter* “brother”, Osc *fratrum*, Umb *fratrum* “frātium”, nom. pl. *frateer* < * er -es; cf. also the velar extension in Umb nom. sg. *fratrexs* < * $trikos$ (Meiser 1986, 59, 134) || Gaul (Néris-Les-Baines, Allier) man’s name *Bratronos* (Lambert 1994, 105), Welsh *brawd(r)*, pl. *brodyr* & *brodorion*, OCorn *broder*, MBret *breuzr*, Bret *breur*, pl. *breudeur*; cf. also Welsh *brodor* “club-member”; OIr *bráthir*, *bráthair*, gen. *brathar* “brother” < * $tēr$, * $tros$ (Vendryes 1980, B-80–81) || Goth *broþar*, OIc *bróðir*, OEng *brōþor*, OHG *bruoder* id. || Lith *broterēlis*, shortened in *brōlis* etc., dial. voc. *brā* (Fraenkel 1962, 59–60), Latv *b(r)ālis* “Brüderchen”, *brātarītis* “lieber Bruder”; OPr *brati*

(Ench 45,3), *brote* “brother” (EV 173) < *brātē < *b^hrātēr; *bratrīkai* “brothers” (Ench 55,36) < *brātrīkai (Toporov 1975, 247–49) || OChSl *bratrъ* (-r- preserved thanks to the oblique forms of the type *b^hrātī^p; Hamp 1996, 140 proposes a starting point *b^hrātros) & *bratъ* (with a regular loss of -r, perhaps from nom. *b^hrātēr > *brati = OPr *brāti*, cf. *dъkti “daughter”, *mati < *ōtēr) id. (Šaur, *ESJS* 2, 77; Hamp 1992, 13–14) || Toch A *pracar*, dual *pratri*, B *procer*, acc. *protār* id. < *ōter / *trī (Adams 1999, 422; generally Pokorny 1959, 163–64).

The best etymological analysis was proposed by Pârvulescu (1996) who presents serious arguments for a derivation of this etymon from IE *b^her- “to give birth”.

*d^hug₂ter- “daughter”

OI *duhitār*:- nom. sg. *duhitā*, acc. sg. *duhitāram* etc., Pali *duhitā*- & *dhītār*-, °tā-, Pkt *duhiā*-, Hindi *dhī*, *dhiyā*, Gypsy (Persian) *dīhūr*, Aškun *zū*, Kati *ju*, Khowar *žūr*, Kalaša *jhūr*, Torwali *dhū*, Waigali *zū*, *jū*, *lur*, Prasun *lüst* < *duj[h]itā(r) etc. (Hamp 1970, 229–30; generally Turner 1966, # 6481); Av *dugədar*- & *duydar*:- nom. sg. (Gatha) *dug^odā*, (late) *duyda*, acc. sg. (late) *duydarəṃ*, gen. pl. (Gatha) *dug^odraṃ*, (late) *duydrəṃ* (Hoffmann & Forssman 1996, 151–152), OPers *duxci-, (M)Pers *dux*t / *duxtar*, Khot *dutar*-, Khwar *δγd* (*duxtā), BudSogd *δwyh*, Yaghnobi *duxtar* (< Pers), Pašto *lūr*, Yidgha *luydo*, Munjan *loyda*, Sangleči *wudəγd*, Iškašim *wuduyd*, Wakhi *δəγd*, Yazgulami *doγd*, pl. *δədar* id., Ormuri *dūa*, *duka*, Parači *dut*, Baluči *dutag* id., cf. the Sasanian inscription of Šāhpur I: Parth *dwxtkyh* = Pers *dwxtk* = Gr δουκτακ, Osset Iron *xo-dygd* “sister-in-law”, lit. “sister-*daughter” or “house-daughter” (Bailey 1979, 160; EWAI I, 737; Abaev 1989, 209–10) || HierLuw (Tell Ahmar, 9th cent. BC) ^{FILIA} *tū-wa/i-tara/i-na* (Hawkins 1978, 114), CunLuw ^{SAL} *dutriḫatti*-, cf. the source-name ^{TUL} *Duḫatrinna*- and the personal names in Isaurian Τουατρις and Pisidian Δωταρι (Starke 1980, 77 & 1987, 256; Melchert 1993b, 238), Lycian *kbatra*- “daughter” (Melchert 1993a, 33); ? Lydian *datro*- (Georgiev 1984, 16–17 after Bossert; rejected by Starke as unconvincing) || Arm *dowstr*, gen. *dster* “daughter” < *ducH^hēr < *d^hugH^hēr (Hamp 1970, 230–31) || Gr θυγάτηρ, acc. θυγατέρα, already in Myc nom. sg. *tu-ka-te-ge* = *t^hugátēr-k^he*, dat. sg. *tu-ka-te-re* = °trei, dat. pl. *tu-ka-ṭa-si* = °t₂si (Chantraine 1968, 444–45; Aura Jorro 1993, 374) || Osc *futir*, dat. sg. *fu(u)trei* (Fonte Romito A4, B5; see Eichner 1993, 82–83) < *fūtír < *fuhtír < *fugutír < *fugatír (Szemerényi 1977, 22, fn. 77) || Gaul (Larzac) *duxtir* < *ōēr (Lambert 1994, 61, 168); ? Celtib (Third bronze of Botorrita III-24, II-39) gen. sg. *tuateros* & nom. pl. *tuat[r]es* (Beltrán, Hoz & Untermann 1996, 119; otherwise Lambert, see de Bernardo Stempel 1996–97, 92, fn. 4); OIr *ter*-, *der*-, proclitic *dar*- ‘a component of early Irish women’s names’, derivable from the expected form *ducht(a)ir where the first syllable was dropped, perhaps for its homonymity with the prefix *do-/du- “bad” (Hamp 1975, 39–40; following

O'Brien, *Celtica* 3[1956], 178–79); de Bernardo Stempel (1996–97, 92–94) finds this etymon fossilized in the mythological name *Dechtir*, the daughter of Conchobar, comparing it with *Kόρη*, the daughter of Demeter, lit. “girl”; in the change of the vowel of the first syllable she sees an influence of *dech* “best”, admitting Hamp’s explanation too || Goth *daúhtar*; NWGmc nom. pl. *dohtriz* (Tune, Norway, 400 AD), OIc *dóttir*, OEng *dohtor*, OSax *dohter*, OHG *tohter* || Lith *duktė*, gen. *dukteš*, OPr *duckti* (Ench 43,32), besides Lith *dūkrà & dùkrė & diminutive dukrėlė*; cf. also Lith *póduktė & pódūkra*, -ė = OPr *poducra* “Stieftochter” = R *padčerica* id. (Fraenkel 1962, 110, 636) || Sl **dъkti* > OChSl *dъsti*, gen. *dъstere* id. (Valčáková, *ESJS* 3, 160–61) || Toch A *ckācar*, B *tkācer*, gen. *tkātre*, acc. *tkātār* id. < **ōter*, **ōtros*, **ōrṃ* (Adams 1999, 312; generally Pokorny 1959, 277; Mann 1984–87, 217–18). The Fenno-Volgaic parallels as Finnish *tytär*, Vepsian, Estonian *tütar*, Livonian *tūdār* “daughter” | Erzya-Mordvinian *tehter*, *teiter*, Mokša-Mordvinian *stir* “id., girl”; ? Mari *üdür*, *üðər* id. are probably borrowed from Baltic (Thomsen 1890, 167).

A key to etymology could be sought in Goth *ga-dauka* “member of a household” (only acc. pl. *gadaukans* in 1C 1.16, see Lehmann 1986, 135), implying **dʰug₂ter-* (Szemerényi 1977, 22) and not **dʰugʰ₂ter-*, proposed in recent time e.g. by Pârvulescu (1993), the author of the excellent discussion of this etymon.

**ġem₂ter-* “son-in-law”

OI *jāmātār-* “Tochtermann, Schwiegersohn”, Pkt *jāmāu-*, Hindi *jamāi* etc., besides Gypsy (European) *jamutro*, Kašmiri *zāmatar*⁴, and further Aškun & Waigali *zamā*, Kati *zəmā*, Dameli *zāmā*, Prasun *imū* (Turner 1966, # 5198); Av *zāmātar-* id. (-ā- in the second syllable after *mātar-* “mother”), ZorPhl *dāmāt*, Pers *dāmād*, Baluči *zāmaθ*, ManSogd pl. *zʼmʼtyty*, Sangleči *zəmūd*, Yidgha *zamai*, Pašto *zūm*, Munjan *zamo*, Parači *zām* id. (EWAI I, 585–86; Bailey 1979, 345) || Alb Tosk *dhëndërr*, Gheg *dhândër(r)* “Schwiegersohn, Tochtermann, Bräutigam” (Demiraj 1997, 159–60: pAlb **ġāmtēr-* > **ð aNtór-*), besides **ġm(ə)ro-* > OI *jāmārya-* ? “related by marriage” (hapax in RV 4.3,9) || Gr γαμβρός “son-in-law”, also “brother-in-law”, besides the late doublet (Phrygia, 4th cent. AD) γαμερός (Chantraine I, 208) || Lat *gener* id. || Bret *géver* id. < **gēmero-* (Henry 1900, 132; generally Pokorny 1959, 369, 374, & 370; Mann 1984–87, 402–403).

Cf. also OI *jāmi-* “related as brother or sister”, *vījāmi-* “related by marriage”, (lex.) *jāmēya-* “sister’s son”; Av *zamaoia-* “brother of daughter’s husband” || Gr γαμέω “marry”. Bailey (1979, 345) seeks the primary semantics in “payment for the bride”, cf. Av *zəmanā-* “payment, wages”, Sogd *zʼmnʼk* “with payment”, Khot *ysamtha-* “payment for service, usury, interest”, Pašto *zəman* “stipend”. The same semantic motivation can be identified in Hitt ^{LÜ}*kusa-* “son-in-law”, ^{SAL}*kusa-* “bride”, if the stem *kusa-* is connected with *kusata-* “brideprice” and *kussan-* “payment” (cf. Weeks 1985, 36).

**H₁jen₂ter-* “husband’s brother’s wife”

OI *yátar-* “husband’s brother’s wife”, Pkt *jāuya-* id., Hindi *jā* id., Assamese *zā* “husband’s brother’s wife”, Kalasha *žadri*, Waigali & Kati *yārī*, Prasun *irī* “co-wife”, Bashkarik *yēl* “husband’s elder brother’s wife” etc. (Turner 1966, # 10453); Iran **yaθr-ī-* > Pers *yārī*, Isfahani *yād*, Pašto *yor* id. (Morgenstierne, NTS 5[1932], 19; EWAI II, 410: **H₁ṅH₂tér-/ *H₁énH₂ter-*) || Arm *ner*, gen. *niri* “die Frauen von Brüdern oder desselben Mannes” || ? Phryg (a late epitaph from Lydia) acc. *ἰνατέρα*, if it is not a careless written Gr form with *ἰα-* for *ἰἱ-*, a late spelling of *ἑ-* (Neumann 1987, 36 thinks about a contamination of the Greek word with its Latin counterpart); Gr *ἐνάτηρ* “die Frau des Bruders des Gatten”, Hom pl. *εἰνατέρες*, -έρων, (late inscr. from Abbaitis, Asia Minor) *ἐνατρί* (Chantraine I, 323) || Lat *ianitricēs* “die Ehefrau von Brüdern” (-īc- after the nomina agentis in -īc-); Szemerény (1977, 92) proposes the assimilation **īena^o* > **īana^o* || Lith *jéntė*, gen. *jenters* “Frau des Bruders des Mannes” (g- written by Nesselmann as /j/), Couronian *jentere*, Latvian *ietere* “die Ehefrau von Brüdern” (Fraenkel 1962, 193) || OChSl *jetry*, gen. *jetrvne* “des Mannesbruders Frau, Schwägerin”, cf. also R dial. *utrónka* id. < **qtr^o* (Valčáková, ESJS 5, 292–93; generally Pokorny 1959, 506).

There are counterparts with transparent etymologies, e.g. Hittite *antiyant-* “(in-house) daughter’s husband, (socrilocal) son-in-law”, derivable from *anda* “in(to), inside” & *i-* “go, come, walk”, i.e. “he who has gone in” (Gusmani 1962, 78: “derjenige, der [in die Familie der Frau] hineingeht”; Puhvel 1984,), cf. Akkadian *errēbu* “neues Familienglied”, lit. “he has enters” (von Soden 1965, 243) or the corresponding institution of the inclusion of a son-in-law in Turkish *iç-güveylik*, lit. “inside (*iç*) son-in-law (*güvey*)”, and Georgian *časizeba*, consisting of *ča-* “in” & *sizə-* “son-in-law” (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984, 775). Accepting the same semantic starting point, it is possible to see here a derivative of IE **H₁eǵ-* “go” with the *n*-extension, attested e.g. in the Hittite iterative (*i*)*yanna-* & (*i*)*yanniya-*, *iyana-* & *iyaniya-* “to go” (Puhvel 1984, 326–28; he also quotes other verbal stems with the same nasal extension expressing an original iterative-‘durative’: *piyan(n)a-* : *pai-* “to give”, *hewaniy-* : **heu-* “to rain”) || OLat 3 pl. *prod-, ob-, red- ĩnunt* (WH I, 407) || Lith *einù* “I go”, *eĩna* “he goes”, *eĩname* “we go” etc. vs. *eĩti* “to go” || Toch B *yne-* in *ynem* “we go” (cf. Lith !), *yanem* “they go”, the present participle *ynemane* and the derived verbal adjective *ynūca* (Adams 1999, 60–61: **H₁i-ne/o-*). Carruba (1995, 155) derives it from IE **ǵem-* “(zusammen)halten, paaren” (Pokorny 1959, 505), but without any support of semantic parallels.

**māter-* = **me₂ter-* “mother”

OI *mātár-*: nom. sg. *mātā*, acc. sg. *mātāram* etc., Pkt *māyā*, pl. *māarō*, Hindi *mai**yā*, *mā*(*ī/ū*), Shina *mā*, pl. *māyārə* etc. (Turner 1966, # 10016); Av *mātar-*: nom. sg. (late) *mātā*, acc. sg. (late) *mātarəm*, voc. (Gatha) *mātarō* etc.

(Hoffmann & Forssmann 1996, 151), OPers *ha-mātar-* “von der selben Mutter stammend”, Khot *māta*, BudSogd *m'th*, Khwar *mād*, MParth (Turfan) *m'd(r)*, ZorPhl *māt / mātar* (**mātā / *mātaram*), Pers *mādar*, Baluči *māt, māθ, mās*, Kurd *māk* < **mādk* (cf. ZorPhl *mātak* “female”), Ormuri *māwā*, Pašto *mor* < **māθr^o*, Rošani *mōd*, pl. *mōdērij*, Osset *mad / madæ* (Abaev 1973, 62; Bailey 1979, 328; EWAI II, 345) || Arm *mair*, gen. *maur* id. (= Gr μητρός), *mauru*, gen. *maurui* “Stiefmutter” < **mātrujiā* || OPhryg nom. *ματαρ*, acc. *ματερον* (Haas 1966, 101f, 197), gen. *ματερεζ* (Haas 1966, 179 & Georgiev 1977, 218 proposed dat. *ματερεϊ*) || Gr μήτηρ, Doric μάτηρ id., already in Myc nom. sg. *ma-te*, dat. sg. *ma-te-re* = *mātrei* (Chantraine II, 698–99; Aura Jorro 1985, 429–30), further μητρυιά “Stiefmutter”; cf. the theonym Hom. Δημήτηρ, Thessalian Δαμμάτερι || Messap *diva mata* “Dea Mater”, cf. also the theonym *Doimata & Damatira* “Δεμήτηρ”, gen. *damatras*, dat. *Dama[ta]ri*, acc. [*D*]amatra (Haas 1962, 40, 44–48) || Alb *motër*, arch. & dial. (Tosk) *motërë* “sister” (Demiraj 1997, 279; Hamp 1996, 140 proposes a starting point **mātr-ā* comparable with early Sl **sesr-ā* “sister”) || Lat *māter, -tris* “Mutter, Amme, Quelle”, *mātrōna* “Ehefrau”, *mātertera* “Mutters Schwester”, Faliscan dat. *māterei*; Osc gen. sg. *maatreis*, Umb gen. sg. *matrer*, SPic (cippus of Castignano) dat. sg. *matereih* (Eichner 1993, 60), ‘NPic’ *materešo* (Poultney 1979, 58) || Gaul (Larzac) nom. sg. *matir* < **ōēr*, acc. sg. *materem*, (Istres) gen. pl. *ματρων*, (Glanum, Saint-Rémy) dat. pl. *ματρεβο* < **mātrībo* < *°trb^ho* (Lambert 1994, 61, 86), cf. the river-name *Mātrōna*, today “Marne”; OIr *máthir* “mother”; cf. also OBret *motrep*, Welsh *modryb* “Mutterschwester” (**mātrk^hā*) and *modrydaf* “Bienenstock” consisting of “mother” & *bydaf* “Nest wilder Bienen”, besides the goddess-name *Modron* < **Mātrōna* || OIc *móðir*, OEng *mōdor*, OHG *muoter* “mother”; cf. also OEng *mōdrige*, OFris *mōdire*, MLG *mōdder* “Mutters Schwester” < **mōðrujiōn-* || Lith *mótė*, gen. *móteres* (arch. & dial.), besides *móters*, Žemaitic nom. sg. *móters* “Frau, Weib, Ehefrau”, dial. also “Mutter” (a usual term for “mother” is *mótina & mótyna*), Latv *māte*, gen. *mātes* “Mutter”, *pamāte* “Stiefmutter”, OPR *mūti* (Ench 43.32), *muti* (Grunau 69), *mothe* (EV 170) “Mutter”, *pomatre* “Stiefmutter” (EV 180), see Fraenkel 1962, 465 || OChSl *mati*, gen. *matere* “mother” < **mātēr*, gen. **māteres* (Valčáková & Erhart, *ESJS* 8, 457–458) || Toch A *mācar*, B *mācer*, acc. *mātār* < **ōter, °trm* “mother” (Adams 1999, 447).

**p₂ter-* “father”

OI *pitár-*: nom. sg. *pitá*, acc. sg. *pitáram* etc., Pkt *piu(a)-*, Hindi *piu*, Sinhalese *piyā* etc. (Turner 1966, # 8179); Av *pitar-*: nom. sg. (Gatha) *ptā & tā*, (late) *ptā & pita*, acc. sg. (Gatha) *p^otarəm*, (late) *pitarəm*, dat. sg. (Gatha) *f^odrōi & piðrē*, (late) *piðre*, nom. pl. (late) *p^otarō* etc., OPers nom. sg. *pitā*, gen. sg. *piça* < **piðrah* (Hoffmann & Forssman 1996, 151), Khwar *pic*, Khot *pātar-*: nom. sg. *pāte*, acc. sg. *pātaru*, BudSogd *ptr-*, ManSogd *ptr-*, *ptr-*, MParth (Turfan) *pydr*, ZorPhl *pit / pitar* (**pitā / *pitaram*), Pers *pidar*, Baluči *pit, piθ, pis*, Pašto

plār, Wanetsi *piyār* < **pitāram*, Sarikoli *pit*, Šugni *ped*, Osset *fyd / fidæ* (Abaev 1958, 488; Bailey 1979, 237; EWAI II, 128–29) || Arm *hair*, gen. *haur* < **ōtēr*, **tros* || late Phryg *πατερης* "Eltern", lit. pl. of **pater-* (Haas 1966, 112); cf. also 'Mysian' (Üyücek) *patriyiojs* adj. extension in **-jo-* (correctly Phryg, see Neumann 1988, 7; cf. also Katičić 1976, 150, fn. 259 with reference to G. Neumann) || Gr *πάτηρ*, gen. *πατρός*, cf. *εὖ-πάτωρ* "ein guter Vater", already in Myc *pa-te = patē(r)* (Chantraine II, 863–85; Aura Jorro 1993, 89) || ? Illyr *Δει-πάτωρος*: θεὸς παρὰ (σ)τυμφαίους (Hesych.; Krahe 1955, 44, 54) || Venetic *pater* "father" (Lejeune 1974, §110) || Lat *pater*, gen. *patris*; Osc dat. sg. *paterei*, SPic (cippus of Castignano) dat. sg. *patereiḥ* (Eichner 1993, 60), Marrucinian *patres* "patris" (WH II, 262–64) and 'NPic' (near Castignano) *paterešo* (Poultney 1979, 58); cf. Umb *Iu-pater*, dat. *Iuve-patre* = Lat *Iuppiter* < *(*d*)iū-*piter* || Gaul (Plumergat, Morbihan) dat. pl. *atrebo* (Lambert 1994, 53, 62); *ater* in *gutu-ater* "a class of priests" (Hirtius, *Bellum Gallicum* VIII, 38, 3), lit. probably "Vater des Anrufs (an Gott)"; OIr *athir*, gen. *athar*, in Ogam script (Waterford, 7th cent.) ATAR (Korolev 1984, 92, 119) "father" < **ōtēr*, **tros*; maybe also MWelsh *edrydd* m. "Wohnstätte", if originally meant "väterlicher Besitz" (*(*p*)*atrijom* ?), cf. OIr *aithre* f. "väterliche Sippe", Gr *πάτηρ* & Lat *patria* || Goth *fadar*, Oic *faðir*, OEng *fæder*, OHG *fater* "father" || Toch A *pācar*, B *pācer*, acc. *pātär* < **ōter*, **tr̥m* (Adams 1999, 365). In Slavic, this etymon probably continues (1) in the derivative **p₂truujō-* > **ptrǔvjo-* > **strūjo-* > Serb-ChSl, OR *stryjъ* etc. "father's brother", cf. OI *pitṛvya-*, Av *tūriia-* "Vaterbruder", Pašto *trə*, Arm *yauray*, Gr *πατρυιός* "Stiefvater", Lat *patruus* "Vaterbruder", OHG *faturoo* id.; (2) in the OR compound *Stribogъ* "a god of winds" (*Povesť vremennyx let*, AD 980) < **p₂trij-bʰagos* "father-god" (M. Vey, *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1958/3, 96), formally corresponding to the common IE idiom **djēus-p₂tēr* "heaven-god" (Pokorny 1959, 829, 184). Szemerényi (1977, 7) proposes a tempting etymology for Lith *tėvas* "father", Latv *tēvs* "id., old man", OPr (Ench) *tāws*, *taws*, *tāwas*, *tawas* & (EV 169) *towis* "Vater", (EV 176) *thewis* "Vetter" too, based on the compound of *(*p*)*tē* "father" & **ayos* "ancestor" (otherwise Hamp 1978, 7, 3 who assumes the substitution **p₂tr-(o)Hu-* → *(*a*)*t-(o)Hu-* for Baltic and **p₂tr-(o)Hu-* → *(*a*)*t-tr-(o)Hu-* > **stry*° for Slavic).

Both the parents terms, **māter-* & **p₂ter-*, were probably transformed from *Lallwörter* of the type *mama* & *papa*. The difference in quantity between **māter-* and **p₂ter-* could have been explained by identification of the latter with the formation **p₂ter-* "breadwinner", the regular nomen agentis from **pā-*: **p₂-* "to nourish" (Pokorny 1959, 787).

Sihler & Cowgill are undoubtedly right separating the derivational marker **-p₂ter* here. It remains to determine its function. A promising solution might be found in the Hittite suffix *-štar* forming the abstract nouns of both the

denominal and deverbal origin: *anniyatar* “motherhood” : *anna-*, Luw *ānna/i-* “mother”, *antuhsātar* “population” : *antuhsa-* “man, human being”, *pesna-* “man” : *pisnatar-* “manhood”, *palhatar* “width” : *palhi-* “wide”, *taksulatar* “friendship” : *taksul* “friend”, etc. (Kronasser 1966, 292–97). In Luwian the corresponding suffix *-attar* forms the verbal abstracts, e.g. *tarmattar* “Nagelung” : *tarmayi-* “nageln”, *gulzattar* “Zeichnung” : *gulzayi-* “zeichnen”, *karsattar* “parcel” : *kar(a)s-* “to cut” etc. (Starke 1990, 435–525; NB: Oettinger 1986, 13 proposes the segmentation *tarma-ttar* etc.). Starke (1990, 438) mentions that the Hittite *-ātar*-verbal abstracts belong to the factitive verbs in *-ahh-* which represent the denominalatives from adjectives in ^o*a-* or ^o*(a)nt-*, e.g. *marsātar* “Betrug” : *marsahh-^{hhi}* “verfälschen” : *marsa-* “falsch”, *idalawātar* “Bosheit” : *idalawahh-^{hhi}* “Böses tun” : *idalawant-* “böse”. Starke concludes that the Hittite suffixal conglomerate *-ā-tar* is derivable from pHit **-ahh-tar*. Similarly Oettinger (1986, 13), who reconstructs the starting point **-āH-tar* < ^o*t_g*, implying the regular lenition in Hittite. Probably the same suffix occurs in Lyc *huwe-dr-i* “alle” (Oettinger, l.c.).

Conclusion

The kinship terms in *-₂ter* are analyzable as the names of the institution of the type “brotherhood”, “daughterhood”, “motherhood” etc.

NB: Recently Carruba (1995) proposed an alternative solution for the kinship terms studied above, assuming their compound character. The second component should have been sought in HierLuw *atari-* “form, figure, image; soul” (after J. Hawkins) and Lyc *atra-/atla-* “person, self” (Melchert 1993a, 8). Comparing these forms with Gr *ἡτῶν* “heart”, Carruba reconstructs **H₁ter* (p. 152–53). In spite of the attractivity of Carruba’s idea, especially the semantic aspect of his solution remains rather unconvincing.

Abbreviations

Alb Albanian; Arm Armenian; Av Avestan; Bret Breton; Bud Buddhistic; Ch Church; Corn Cornish; Cun Cuneiform; Eng English; Fris Frisian; G German; Gaul Gaulish; Goth Gothic; Gr Greek; H High; Hier Hieroglyphic; Hitt Hittite; Hom Homeric; I Indic; Ic Icelandic; IE Indo-European; Illyr Illyrian; Ir Irish; Iran Iranian; Khot Khotanese; Khwar Khwarezmian; L Low; Lat Latin; Latv Latvian; Lith Lithuanian; Luw Luwian; Lyc Lycian; M Middle; Man Manichean; Myc Mycenaean; N North; O Old; Osc Oscan; Osset Ossetic; p proto-; Parth Parthian; Pers Persian; Phl Pahlavi; Phryg Phrygian; Pic Picene Pkt Prakrit; Pr Prussian; R Russian; S South; Serb Serbian; Sl Slavic; Sogd Sogdian; Toch Tocharian; Umb Umbrian; Zor Zoroastrian.

REFERENCES

- Abaev, Vasilij I. 1959–73–78–89. *Istoriko-étimologičeskij slovař osetinskogo jazyka*, I–IV. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Adams, Douglas Q. 1999. *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Rodopi: Amsterdam – Atlanta.
- Aura Jorro, Francisco. 1985–93. *Diccionario micénico*, I–II. Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas.
- Bammesberger, Alfred (ed.). 1988. *Die Laryngaltheorie*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Bader, Françoise. 1988. Noms de parenté anatoliens et formations à laryngale. In: Bammesberger 1988, 17–48.
- Bailey, Harold W. 1979. *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Beltrám F., de Hoz J. & Untermann J. 1996. *El terciar bronce de Botorrita (Contrebia Belaisca)*. Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón.
- Brugmann, Karl. 1906. *Vergleichende Laut-, Stammbildungs- und Flexionslehre nebst Lehre vom Gebrauch der Wortformen der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 2.1. Strassburg: Trübner.
- Carruba, Onofrio. 1995. Die Verwandtschaftsnamen auf *-ter* des Indogermanen. In: *Kuryłowicz Memorial Volume*, I. Cracow: Universitas, 143–158.
- Chantraine, Pierre. 1968–80. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, I–III. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Eichner, Heiner. 1993. 1919 oder 1991? Zur Entwicklung der oskisch-umbrischen Studien nebst einer neuen Interpretation des Textes von Romito (Vetter Nr. 147). In: *Oskisch-Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik*, ed. H. Rix. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 46–95.
- ESJS *Etymologický slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, 1–10, eds. E. Havlová & A. Erhart. Praha: Academia 2000.
- EWAI Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1986–92. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindoarischen*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Gamkrelidze, Tamas V. & Ivanov, Vjačeslav V. 1984. *Indoeuropejskij jazyk i indoevropejcy*, I–II. Tbilisi: Izdatel'stvo Tbilisskogo universiteta.
- Georgiev, Vladimir I. 1977. *Trakite i texnijat ezik*. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata akademija na naukite.
- Georgiev, Vladimir I. 1984. Lydiaka und lydische-etruskische Gleichungen. *Linguistique balkanique = Balkansko ezikoznanie* 27/1, 5–35.
- Gusmani, Roberto. 1962. Kleinasiatische Verwandtschaftsnamen. *Die Sprache* 8, 77–83.
- Gusmani, Roberto. 1964. *Lydisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Haas, Otto. 1962. *Messapische Studien*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Haas, Otto. 1966. *Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler*. Sofia: *Linguistique balkanique = Balkansko ezikoznanie* 10.
- Hamp, Eric P. 1970. Sanskrit *duhitā*, Armenian *dustr*, and IE internal schwa. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90, 228–231.
- Hamp, Eric P. 1975. **dhugHtēr* in Irish. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 33, 39–40.
- Hamp, Eric P. 1978. Slavic *stryjъ* 'father's brother'. *General Linguistics* 18/1, 1–9.
- Hamp, Eric P. 1992. Old Prussian *brāti*, *brote*; *duckti*. In: *Colloquium Pruthenicum Primum. Papers from the First International Conference on Old Prussian held in Warsaw, Sept 30 -Oct 1 1991*, eds. W. Smoczyński & A. Holvoet. Warszawa: Wydawnicwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 13–14.
- Hamp, Eric P. 1996. The nominative singular of *r*-stems. *Baltistica* 31/2, 139–140.

- Hawkins, John D. 1978. The Luwian word for "Daughter". *KZ* 92, 112–116.
- Henry, Victor. 1900. *Lexique étymologique des termes les plus usuels du breton moderne*. Rennes: Plihon & Hervé.
- Hoffmann, Karl & Forssman, Bernhard. 1996. *Avestische Laut- und Flexionslehre*. Innsbruck: IBS 84.
- Katičić, Radoslav. 1976. *Ancient Languages of the Balkans*. The Hague – Paris: Mouton.
- Korolev, A.A. 1984. *Drevnejšie pamjatniki irlandskogo jazyka*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Krahe, Hans. 1955. *Die Sprache der Illyrier, I: Die Quellen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Kronasser, Heinz. 1966. *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache, I*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves. 1994. *La langue Gauloise*. Paris: Errance.
- Lehmann, Winfred P. 1986. *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden: Brill.
- Lejeune, Michel. 1974. *Manuel de la langue vénète*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Meiser, Gerhard. 1986. *Lautgeschichte der umbrischen Sprache*. Innsbruck: IBS 51.
- Melchert, H.Craig. 1993a. *Lycian Lexicon*. Chapel Hill: Lexica Anatolica 1.
- Melchert, H.Craig. 1993b. *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*. Chapel Hill: Lexica Anatolica 2.
- Neumann, Günter. 1987. Zur Verwandtschaftsbezeichnung **iaṽaṽṛp*. *Glotta* 65, 33–37.
- Neumann, Günter. 1988. *Phrygisch und Griechisch*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (*Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 499. Band).
- Neumann, Günter. 1991. Hethitisch *negna-* 'Bruder'. *Historische Sprachforschung* 104, 63–66.
- Oettinger, Norbert. 1986. "Indo-Hittite"-Hypothese und Wortbildung. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Vorträge und Kleine Schriften 37.
- Pârvulescu, Adrian. 1993. IE. **dhughatér* "daughter" and Grassmann's law. A phonetic and semantic analysis. *IF* 98, 55–91.
- Pârvulescu, Adrian. 1996. IE. **bhrātēr* "brother". *IF* 101, 99–106.
- Poultney, James W. 1979. The language of the Northern Picene Inscription. *Journal of the Indo-European Studies* 7, 49–64.
- Schmidt, Gernot. 1973. Die iranische Wörter für 'Tochter' und 'Vater'. *KZ* 87, 36–83.
- Sihler, Andrew L. 1988. Greek Reflexes of Syllabic Laryngeals with Postscript on PIE kinship terms in *-*H₂ter*. In: Bammesberger 1988, 547–561.
- von Soden, Wolfram. 1965. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Starke, Frank. 1980. Das luwische Wort für "Frau". *KZ* 94, 74–86.
- Starke, Frank. 1987. Die Vertretung von uridg. **d'ugh₂tér-* "Tochter" in den luwischen Sprachen und ihre Stammbildung. *KZ* 100, 243–269.
- Starke, Frank. 1990. *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Szemerényi, Oswald. 1977. *Studies in the kinship terminology of the Indo-European languages*. Leiden: Brill – Téhéran-Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi (*Acta Iranica* 16).
- Thomsen, Wilhelm. 1890. *Beröringer mellem de finske og baltiske (litauisk-lettiske) Sprog*. Kobenhavn: Dreyer.
- Turner, Ralph L. 1966. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Vendryes, J. 1980. *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*. Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies & Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Weeks, David M. 1985. *Hittite Vocabulary: An Anatolian Appendix to Buck's "Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages"*. Los Angeles: Ph.D. Thesis of UCLA.

WH Walde, Alois & Hofmann, J.B. 1938–54. *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*₃, I-II. Heidelberg: Winter.

Václav Blažek
Ryneček 148
26101 Příbram III
(blazek@phil.muni.cz)