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INDO-EUROPEAN KINSHIP TERMS IN *-∂_2 TER

It was Andrew Sihler (together with Warren Cowgill) who has (have) determined the kinship terms in *-∂_2ter (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^hrāter- = *b^hre∂_2ter-* "brother"

OI *bhrátar-*: nom. sg. *bhrátā*, acc. sg. *bhrátaram* etc., Pkt *bhāā, bhāi(a)-* & *bhāu(a)-*, Hindi *bhāī*, Aškun *bŕa*, 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 *βr't(rt)*, Khwar *βrād*, MParth (Turfan) *br'd(r)*, Baluči *brāt*, Kurdic *bəra*, Pašto *wror*, Yidgha *vrai*, Wakhi *vərit*, Šugni *vərâd*, Yazgulami *vred*, pl. *vradar*, Sarikoli *vrōd* id., *vrador* "related brother", Iškašim *vrud*, Wakhi *vrüt*, Rošani *virōd*, pl. *virōdar*, Munjan *v*rōy*, Yaghnobi *virot*, Osset *"rvad / ærvadæ* "brother, relative", cf. the Sarmatian personal name Βραδακος < *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^hrāto-*, cf. OChSl *bratъ* "brother" (Georgiev 1984, 15–16; accepted by Neumann 1991, 64, fn. 6) || Arm *ełbair*, gen. *ełbaur* "brother" < *rb° < *br° < *b^hrātēr*, gen. *b^hrātrós* || late Phryg dat. sg. βρατερε (Haas 1966, 103); 'Mysian' (Üyücek) dat.-instr. *brateraí* (cf. Lith *vilkaís*, 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 φρᾱτήρ "Mitglied einer φρατρία (Sippe, Bruderschaft)", Ionian φρήτηρ· ἀδελφός (Hesych.) (Chantraine III, 1226) || Illyrian βρά· ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ Ἠλείων ['Ιλείων cod.; Hesych.] (cf. Krahe 1955, 44; Katičić 1976, 171) || Venetic *<v>hratere.i* "frātrī" (Lejeune 1974, 18) || Lat *frāter* "brother", Osc *fratrúm*, Umb *fratrum* "frātrum", 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 *broterėlis*, shortened in *brólis* etc., dial. voc. *brǎ* (Fraenkel 1962, 59–60), Latv *b(r)ālis* "Brüderchen", *brātarītis* "lieber Bruder"; OPr *brati*

(Ench 45,3), *brote* "brother" (EV 173) < **brātē* < **bʰrātēr*; *bratrīkai* "brothers" (Ench 55,36) < **brātrīkai* (Toporov 1975, 247–49) ‖ OChSl *bratrъ* (-*r*- preserved thanks to the oblique forms of the type **bʰrātᵣ°*; Hamp 1996, 140 proposes a starting point **bʰrātros*) & *bratъ* (with a regular loss of -*r*, perhaps from nom. **bʰrātēr* > **brati* = OPr *brāti*, cf. **dъkti* "daughter", **mati* < **ᵒtēr*) id. (Šaur, *ESJS* 2, 77; Hamp 1992, 13–14) ‖ Toch A *pracar*, dual *pratri*, B *procer*, acc. *protär* id. < **ᵒter* / *ᵒtrm̥* (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 **bʰer*- "to give birth".

**dʰugₔₜter*- "daughter"

OI *duhitár*-: nom. sg. *duhitā́*, acc. sg. *duhitáram* etc., Pali *duhitā*- & *dhītar*-, *ᵒtā*-, Pkt *duhiā*-, Hindi *dhī*, *dhiyā*, Gypsy (Persian) *dīhīr*, Aškun *zū*, Kati *ju*, Khowar *žūr*, Kalaša *jhūr*, Torwali *dhū*, Waigali *zū*, *jū*, *lur*, Prasun *lüšt* < **duj[h]itā(r)* etc. (Hamp 1970, 229–30; generally Turner 1966, # 6481); Av *dugədar*- & *duγðar*-: nom. sg. (Gatha) *dugᵒdā*, (late) *duγða*, acc. sg. (late) *duγðarəm*, gen. pl. (Gatha) *dugᵒdrąm*, (late) *duγðrąm* (Hoffmann & Forssman 1996, 151–152), OPers **duxçī*-, (M)Pers *duxt* / *duxtar*, Khot *dutar*-, Khwar *δγd* (**duxtā*), BudSogd *δwγh*, Yaghnobi *duxtar* (< Pers), Pašto *lūr*, Yidgha *luγdo*, Munjan *loγda*, Sangleči *wuδəγδ*, Iškašim *wuduγd*, Wakhi *δəγd*, Yazgulami *δoγd*, pl. *δədar* id., Ormuri *dūa*, *duka*, Parači *dut*, Baluči *dutag* id., cf. the Sasanian inscription of Šahpur I: Parth *dwxtkyh* = Pers *dwxtk* = Gr δουκτακ, Osset Iron *xo-dyğd* "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*tú-wa/i-tara/i-na* (Hawkins 1978, 114), CunLuw ˢᴬᴸ*duttriĭatti*-, cf. the source-name ᵀᵁ̄ᴸ*Duṵattrinna*- 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" < **ducHtʰēr* < **dʰugHtḗr* (Hamp 1970, 230–31) ‖ Gr θυγάτηρ, acc. θυγατέρα, already in Myc nom. sg. *tu-ka-te-qe* = *tʰugátēr-kʷe*, dat. sg. *tu-ka-te-re* = *ᵒtrei*, dat. pl. *tu-ka-ta-si* = *ᵒtr̥si* (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* < **ᵒēr* (Lambert 1994, 61, 168); ? Celtib (Third bronze of Botorrita III-24, II-39) gen. sg. *tuateroś* & nom. pl. *tuate[r]eś* (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 Κόρη, 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 *dukté̃*, gen. *dukter̃s*, OPr *duckti* (Ench 43,32), besides Lith *dŭkrà* & *dùkrè* & diminutive *dukrėlė*; cf. also Lith *póduktė* & *pódŭkra*, *-ė* = OPr *poducre* "Stieftochter" = R *padčerica* id. (Fraenkel 1962, 110, 636) || Sl *dъkti* > OChSl *dъšti*, gen. *dъštere* id. (Valčáková, *ESJS* 3, 160–61) || Toch A *ckācar*, B *tkācer*, gen. *tkātre*, acc. *tkātär* id. < *°ter*, °*tros*, °*trṃ* (Adams 1999, 312; generally Pokorny 1959, 277; Mann 1984–87, 217–18). The Fenno-Volgaic parallels as Finnish *tytär*, Vepsian, Estonian *tütar*, Livonian *tüdār* "daughter" | Erzya-Mordvinian *tehteŕ*, *teiteŕ*, Mokša-Mordvinian *stiŕ* "id., girl"; ? Mari *üdür*, *üδər* 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 *$d^h ug_2 ter$-* (Szemerényi 1977, 22) and not *$^+ d^h ug^h{}_2 ter$-*, proposed in recent time e.g. by Pârvulescu (1993), the author of the excellent discussion of this etymon.

$\hat{g}em_2 ter$- "son-in-law"

OI *jámātár-* "Tochtermann, Schwiegersohn", Pkt *jāmāu-*, Hindi *jamāī* etc., besides Gypsy (European) *jamutro*, Kašmiri *zāmatur^k*, and further Aškun & Waigali *zamá̃*, Kati *zəmä*, Dameli *zâmá̃*, Prasun *imī́* (Turner 1966, # 5198); Av *zāmātar-* id. (*-ā-* in the second syllable after *mātar-* "mother"), ZorPhl *dāmāt*, Pers *dāmād*, Baluči *zāmaθ*, ManSogd pl. *z'mt'yty*, 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 *$\hat{g}āmtẽr$-* > *δ aNtór-*), besides *$\hat{g}ṃ(_2)ro$-* > OI *jámarya-* ? "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. < *gemero-* (Henry 1900, 132; generally Pokorny 1959, 369, 374, & 370; Mann 1984–87, 402–403).

Cf. also OI *jāmi-* "related as brother or sister", *vijāmi-* "related by marriage", (lex.) *jāmēya-* "sister's son"; Av *zamaoiia-* "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 *z'mn'k* "with payment", Khot *ysaṃtha-* "payment for service, usury, interest", Pašto *zəman* "stipend". The same semantic motivation can be identified in Hitt *$^{LÚ}kusa$-* "son-in-law", *$^{SAL}kusa$-* "bride", if the stem *kusa-* is connected with *kusata-* "brideprice" and *kussan-* "payment" (cf. Weeks 1985, 36).

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*H₁i̯enǵₐter- "husband's brother's wife"

OI *yā́tar-* "husband's brother's wife", Pkt *jāuya-* id., Hindi *jā* id., Assamese *zā* "husband's brother's wife", Kalasha *žadri*, Waigali & Kati *yārī́*, Prasun *irī́* "co-wife", Bashkarik *yēl* "husband's elder brother's wife" etc. (Turner 1966, # 10453); Iran **yaθr-ī-* > Pers *yārī*, Isfahani *yåd*, Pašto *yor* id. (Morgenstierne, *NTS* 5[1932], 19; EWAI II, 410: **H̥i̯nH₂tér-/*H̥i̯énH₂ter-*) || Arm *ner*, gen. *niri* "die Frauen von Brüdern oder desselben Mannes" || ? Phryg (a late epitaph from Lydia) acc. ιανατερα , if it is not a carelessy written Gr form with ια- for αι-, a late spelling of ė- (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 *ianitrīcēs* "die Ehefrau von Brüdern" (*-īc-* after the nomina agentis in *-īc-*); Szemerény (1977, 92) proposes the assimilation **i̯ena°* > **i̯ana°* || Lith *jéntė*, gen. *jenters* "Frau des Bruders des Mannes" (*g-* written by Nesselmann is */j/*), Couronian *jentere*, Latvian *ietere* "die Ehefrau von Brüdern" (Fraenkel 1962, 193) || OChSl *i̯ętry*, gen. *i̯ętrъve* "des Mannesbruders Frau, Schwägerin", cf. also R dial. *utróvka* id. < **ǫtr°* (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 *časiʒeba*, consisting of *ča-* "in" & *siʒe-* "son-in-law" (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984, 775). Accepting the same semantic starting point, it is possible to see here a derivative of IE **H₁ei̯-* "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- īnunt* (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: **H̥i-ne/o-*). Carruba (1995, 155) derives it from IE **i̯em-* "(zusammen)halten, paaren" (Pokorny 1959, 505), but without any support of semantic parallels.

*māter- = *meǵₐter- "mother"

OI *mātár-*: nom. sg. *mātā́*, acc. sg. *mātáram* etc., Pkt *māyā*, pl. *māarō*, Hindi *maiyā*, *mā(ī/ū)*, Shina *mā*, pl. *mǎyārę* 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 *mâwä*, Pašto *mor* < **māθr°*, Rošani *mōd*, pl. *mōdērj*, Osset *mad / madæ* (Abaev 1973, 62; Bailey 1979, 328; EWAI II, 345) ‖ Arm *mair*, gen. *maur* id. (= Gr μητρός), *mauru*, gen. *maurui* "Stiefmutter" < **mātruu̯iā* ‖ OPhryg nom. ματαρ, acc. ματεραν (Haas 1966, 101f, 197), gen. ματερεζ (Haas 1966, 179 & Georgiev 1977, 218 proposed dat. ματερεj) ‖ Gr μήτηρ, Doric μᾱτηρ 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-ā́* "sister") ‖ Lat *māter, -tris* "Mutter, Amme, Quelle", *mātrōna* "Ehefrau", *mātertera* "Mutters Schwester", Faliscan dat. *māterei*; Osc gen. sg. *maatreís*, Umb gen. sg. *matrer*, SPic (cippus of Castignano) dat. sg. *matereíh* (Eichner 1993, 60), 'NPic' *materešo* (Poultney 1979, 58) ‖ Gaul (Larzac) nom. sg. *matir* < **°ēr*, acc. sg. *materem*, (Istres) gen. pl. ματρον, (Glanum, Saint-Rémy) dat. pl. ματρεβο < **mātrĭbo* < *°tr̥bʰo* (Lambert 1994, 61, 86), cf. the river-name *Mātrŏna*, today "Marne"; OIr *máthir* "mother"; cf. also OBret *motrep*, Welsh *modryb* "Mutterschwester" (**mātr̥kʷā*) and *modrydaf* "Bienenstock" consiting of "mother" & *bydaf* "Nest wilder Bienen", besides the godess-name *Modron* < **Mātrŏna* ‖ OIc *mōðir*, OEng *mōdor*, OHG *muoter* "mother"; cf. also OEng *mōdrige*, OFris *mōdire*, MLG *mödder* "Mutters Schwester" < **mōðruu̯i̯ōn-* ‖ 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. *mātär* < **°ter, °tr̥* "mother" (Adams 1999, 447).

**pₐ₂ter-* "father"

OI *pitár-*: nom. sg. *pitā́*, 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) *pᵃtarə̄m*, (late) *pitarəm*, dat. sg. (Gatha) *fδrōi & piθrē*, (late) *piθre*, nom. pl. (late) *pᵃtarō* etc., OPers nom. sg. *pitā*, gen. sg. *piça* < **piθrah* (Hoffmann & Forssman 1996, 151), Khwar *pic*, Khot *pātar-*: nom. sg. *päte*, 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* < **pitáram*, Sarikoli *pit*, Šugni *ped*, Osset *fyd* / *fidæ* (Abaev 1958, 488; Bailey 1979, 237; EWAI II, 128–29) ‖ Arm *hair*, gen. *haur* < **°tēr*, *°tros* ‖ late Phryg πατερης "Eltern", lit. pl. of **pater-* (Haas 1966, 112); cf. also 'Mysian' (Üyücek) *patriyi̯o̯i̯š* adj. extension in **-i̯o-* (correctly Phryg, see Neumann 1988, 7; cf. also Katičić 1976, 150, fn. 259 with reference to G. Neumann) ‖ Gr πατήρ, gen. πατρός, cf. εὐ-πάτωρ "ein guter Vater", already in Myc *pa-te* = *patḗ(r)* (Chantraine II, 863–85; Aura Jorro 1993, 89) ‖ ? Illyr Δει-πάτυρος· θεὸς παρὰ (σ)Τυμφαίοις (Hesych.; Krahe 1955, 44, 54) ‖ Venetic *pater* "father" (Lejeune 1974, §110) ‖ Lat *pater*, gen. *patris*; Osc dat. sg. *patereí*, SPic (cippus of Castignano) dat. sg. *patereíh* (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" < **°tēr*, *°tros*; maybe also MWelsh *edrydd* m. "Wohnstätte", if originaly meant "väterlicher Besitz" (**(p)atri̯om* ?), cf. OIr *aithre* f. "väterliche Sippe", Gr πάτρη & Lat *patria* ‖ Goth *fadar*, OIc *faðir*, OEng *fæder*, OHG *fater* "father" ‖ Toch A *pācar*, B *pācer*, acc. *pātär* < **°ter*, *°tr̩* (Adams 1999, 365). In Slavic, this etymon probably continues (1) in the derivative **pₐ₂truu̯i̯o-* > **ptrŭvjo-* > **strūjo-* > Serb-ChSl, OR *stryjь* etc. "father's brother", cf. OI *pítr̩vya-*, Av *tūiriia-* "Vaterbruder", Pašto *trə*, Arm *yauray*, Gr πατρυιός "Stiefvater", Lat *patruus* "Vaterbruder", OHG *fatureo* id.; (2) in the OR compound *Stribogъ* "a god of winds" (*Povest' vremennyx let*, AD 980) < **pₐ₂tri̯-bʰagos* "father-god" (M. Vey, *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1958/3, 96), formally corresponding to the common IE idiom **di̯ēu̯s-pₐ₂tēr* "heaven-god" (Pokorny 1959, 829, 184). Szemerényi (1977, 7) proposes a tempting etymology for Lith *tévas* "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" & **au̯os* "ancestor" (otherwise Hamp 1978, 7, 3 who assumes the substitution **pₐ₂tr-(o)Hu-* → **(a)t-(o)Hu-* for Baltic and **pₐ₂-tr-oHu-* → **(a)t-tr-(o)Hu-* > **stry°* for Slavic).

Both the parents terms, **māter-* & **pₐ₂ter-*, were probably transformed from *Lallwörter* of the type *mama* & *papa*. The difference in quantity between **māter-* and **pₐ₂ter-* could have been explained by identification of the latter with the formation **pₐ₂-ter-* "breadwinner", the regular nomen agentis from **pā-* : **pₐ₂-* "to nourish" (Pokorny 1959, 787).

Sihler & Cowgill are undoubtedly right separating the derivational marker **-ₐ₂ter* here. It remains to determine its function. A promising solution might be found in the Hittite suffix *-ătar* forming the abstract nouns of both the

denominal and deverbal origin: *anniyatar* "motherhood" : *anna-*, Luw *ānna/i-* "mother", *antuhsătar* "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 denominatives from adjectives in °*a-* or °*(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 $*-áH\text{-}tar <$ $*°t\underset{o}{r}$, 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 -ə₂*ter* 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 ἦτορ "heart", Carruba reconstructs *$*H_lter$ (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.

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