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Preface

With the present collection of 60 contributions to the fields of Indo-European, eskimological, etymological, comparative and general linguistic studies, we wish to honour Jens Elmegård Rasmussen on his 60th birthday.

As reflected by the many and various articles in the present volume, Jens is the all-round Indo-Europeanist: His research covers topics from all of the branches of Indo-European – not to mention investigations into the proto-language itself and its possible distant relatives. His approach is positivistic in the sense that he rarely lets problems remain simply unsolved. He has a firm conviction that greater and smaller mysteries in the structure of languages can be solved by examining their underlying structures, which will reveal traces of a distant past. More specifically, he has meticulously investigated the internal relations between phonological processes and seemingly irregular morphological structures in the proto-language.

More than anyone, Jens personifies the spirit and enthusiasm of the comparative linguist. Over several decades, Jens single-handedly kept the whole field of Indo-European studies alive in Copenhagen, without losing his creativeness as a scholar. It would be fair to say that we owe to Jens the very existence of our field in Denmark today. Thus, Jens has continued the proud tradition of Rasmus Rask, Hermann Møller, Karl Verner and Holger Pedersen, and he has landmarked this achievement by founding the promising series "Copenhagen Studies in Indo-European".

As a teacher, Jens invariably manages to convey his own heartfelt passion for the subject. In addition to the hard facts and textual commentary, the lessons are often bejewelled with truly inspired moments. While teaching Jens will sometimes stop mid-sentence, look up and declare the birth of a new discovery. In his face one can often catch a glimpse of the "Heureka" that sounds inside any comparative linguist finally having found a possible solution to a problem. Besides being an inspiring teacher, Jens also takes a personal interest in all of his students (whose numbers have increased dramatically over the years), and he is always willing to give extra lessons when needed (classes have been known to last for 10 straight hours) or to discuss a particularly intricate problem over a beer after class.

However, we have not been alone in the compilation process. The editors wish to thank first of all Oliver Simkin whose constant readiness has been of immense value for the work of proofreading. Moreover, we are much indebted to Jørgen Rischel for his kind help and professional advice. We owe James Clackson, George Dunkel and Brent Vine a debt of gratitude for valuable support in the first hesitant beginnings. We also want to express our humble thanks to Wolfgang Meid for having accepted the festschrift for publication as a volume in this highly regarded series. And we are grateful, to say the least, that Birgit Anette Olsen has helped and supported us throughout the whole course of compiling this tribute. Without her expert counsel we would have been lost. Finally, we wish to thank all of the contributors for their pleasant and faithful collaboration even when their patience was sometimes severely tried.

Tillykke med fødselsdagen, Jens!

Armenian *gišer* and the Indo-European Word for 'Evening'

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It is general knowledge that Lat. *uesper* and Gr. ἔσπερος point to **uesperos* and Lith. *vãkaras* and OCS *večerъ* to **uekʷeros*. On the Welsh form see below. The Armenian word has puzzled scholars a good deal, so much that it has even been denied that it continued the same word.

Of the two problems, that of the vocalism has been solved long ago. Before *š ǰ* there was a kind of *i*-epenthesis, yielding **e* > **ei*, which became Arm. *ē*; this, according to the general rule, was reduced to *i* before the stress; e.g. Godel 1975: 87. The rule was formulated by Pedersen 1905: 205 (= 1982: 67).

The problem of the *š* is more difficult. According to the handbooks *š* can only derive from **ḱu̯*, which does not seem to fit in here. However, the words *šert* 'chip' and *šeł* 'wry, slanting, oblique' were derived by Bugge from **sḱed-ri-* (Gr. σκεδά-σαι) and **sḱel-* (Gr. σκολιός, OHG *scëlah*) respectively. (The first etymology was accepted by Kortlandt 1975: 45.) This means that *š* can go back to **sḱ*, which is mostly reflected as *cʿ*. Pedersen l.c. accepted this, but reconstructed **sḱhed-* and assumed that the **s-* was irrelevant here, so that it was **ḱh* that became *š*. He was convinced that **ḱh* normally gave *kʿ*. The development to *š* would have occurred before front vowels. This is how I understand his remarks, which I find very difficult to interpret: "Falls eine palatalisierung der velaren tenuis aspirata vorkommt, so erwartet man (nach dem muster des nichtpalatalisierten *qh* arm. *x*), dass sie als *š* auftreten muss." Perhaps Pedersen was influenced by *sxalem* 'to err', where the *s-* did not change the development to *x*. In any case Pedersen concluded that the *š* reflected **ḱh* (in spite of the etymologies of the two words with **sḱ(h)-*) and reconstructed **uekheros*, which found its way to the handbooks. However, there is no basis for **ḱh* in **sḱed-* (LIV 497 posits **sḱedh₂-*), nor is there any evidence for an aspirate in **sḱel-* (IEW 928). It is a pity that Pedersen here missed the point, but we should rather reproach later scholars for neither following up his ideas nor correcting them. Note that *both* problems of the Armenian form were in principle solved by Pedersen. At present, of course, we know that there were no tenues aspiratae. Thus we have **sḱ* > *š*. Thus Olsen 1987: 72, 74 (who does not mention Pedersen). She also tends to believe that *š* is the palatalised reflex (before front

vowel) of **sḱ*, which otherwise becomes *c*ʿ. She gives a summary in 1999: 813f, adding *šertem* 'scratch' < **skerd-* (Lith. *skérdžiu*) and *šil* 'cockeyed' < **skēlo-* (OHG *scëlah*). She limits the development to the beginning of the word, but she does not discuss *gišer*.

Thus the Armenian word may represent **ueskʷeros*. This is much closer to the other forms, but *-sḱ-* seems contradicted by *-sp-*. This reminds us that not only **sḱ* became *c*ʿ, but also **ḱs*. We may therefore expect that **ḱs* yielded *š* under the same conditions as **sḱ*. Cf. *vec*ʿ < **sueks*, where *veštasan* confirms that in certain conditions we find *š*. This means that we may also reconstruct **uekseros*. – At this point Kortlandt and H. Martirosjan point out to me that this representation of *ḱs* will be due to some form of the *ruki* rule. This means that we do not have to establish the exact conditions of the development of *sḱ*; we cannot here go into the question of the *ruki* development in Armenian.

It must be noted that Hamp reached the same conclusion in 1966: 13ff, where he pointed to *vec*ʿ beside *veštasan* and reconstructed **ḱs* (he did not involve the *ruki* rule). However, he did not stress the importance of this discovery, and spoiled his credit for it because he stuck to **ue/oi-* for Armenian, assuming a first element **ueik-* 'change, unit of time'. Olsen 1999: 179 n. 332 mentions Hamp's article without comment; she also fails to mention the solution of the Arm. *-i-*, and the same goes for Hamp.

The form **uekseros* is very important, because it can be easily combined with the other forms, **ḱ* and **sp*: it shows that the **ḱ* stood before the **s*. This gives **uekʷsperos*. Note that we have reconstructed this form on the basis of the attested forms only. The actual forms can be explained from *-kʷsp-*: Armenian lost the last consonant, Greek and Latin skipped the first; in Balto-Slavic the *-s-* may have been 'squeezed out', after which *-ḱp-* was reduced to *-ḱ-*.[1]

Here Welsh *ucher* may be recalled. Schrijver 1995: 159f argued that **ue-* could become **ui-*, which regularly becomes *u-*. The *-ch-* can represent *sḱ, ḱs(p), sp, ps*. The clusters *ḱs(p)* and *sp* fit in nicely.

It has been suggested that the word, given its complicated cluster, may be a compound, the second element of which was in the zero grade, which caused the sequence of consonants. Already Pott *Etym. Forsch.* I[2]: 594) and Brugmann 1902/03: 159) suggested that the first element **ue-* was the short variant of the Latin privative particle *uē-* in *uēsānus* 'insane'. Also a word for 'night' was surmised. Petersson 1921: 232f seems to have been the first. He – wrongly – identified **uesp-* as **gʷesep-*, which he supposed to be the pre-form of Skt. *kṣap-*

[1] Kortlandt, however, expects *-ḱst-* in Baltic, and *-st-* in Slavic. He suggests *ḱsp* > *psḱ* > *pḱ* > *ḱ* in BSl.

'night'. Then, in 1934: 60 the zero grade of *ḱṣap-* was identified in Hittite *i-spant-* 'night' by Goetze and Pedersen. In 1951: 475 Goetze made the connection with 'evening' (merely noting "*ḱṣap-*...; perhaps ... Lat. *ue-sper*"). Hamp adopted this suggestion in the article cited above (1966). The form we have now reconstructed has the sequence **ḱʷ-s-p*, found in Skt. *ḱṣap-* 'night'. This cannot be a coincidence, and the connection can now be considered definitively proven. This interpretation was considered possible by Schindler 1969: 166f, who combined **ue-* and **-ḱʷsp-* 'night'.

I am not enthusiastic about **ue*. Perhaps the first element was something else. For the possible meaning cf. Welsh *min nos* 'brink of the night' (Buck 1949: 997). I have considered **h₂ueg-* 'grow' (which has the problem of the laryngeal), but it is not very convincing. Perhaps **ue-*, which is not attested, is not so bad. Latin *uē-* is clearly related to **au* (**h₂eu*). Ernout-Meillet compare *ā-* (< *abs*) in *ā-mēns* and *dē-* in *dē-mēns*. Its use is exactly like that of *au-* in Baltic (Latv. *au-manis* 'insane') and Slavic *u-* (*u-bogъ* 'poor' : *bogatъ* 'rich'). The pejorative meaning of the Latin element follows from the 'strong' expression '(far) away from'. (On the meaning of Latin *uē-* see Niedermann 1899: 247ff.) This connection with **au* would give **h₂ue-*, which would give a problem in Greek. But the laryngeal may have disappeared in compounds. Also the Latin element has a long *ē*, but this may be due to lengthening; cf. Lat. *-ue* 'or' beside Skt. *vá*. Further compare Latin *dē*, and *mē, tē, sē*. For the form one may compare **h₂épo* : **h₂pó*. For the structure one may compare **h₁me* 'me'. For the notion 'evening' expressed in a way like this there are several parallels: Goth. *anda-nahti* 'the period extending toward the night'; Av. *a-xšafni* (read *ā-*) 'Abenddunkel' from "was bis zur Nacht hin reicht"; Av. *upa-naxtar-* 'bordering on the night', i.e. 'in the morning and/or the evening'. However, I wonder whether 'what is away from the night' would not rather get the meaning 'morning'. Now, Pokorny (IEW 72) states that Indo-Iranian *ava* "indem mehr das Ziel als der Ausgangspunkt der Bewegung zum Bewustsein kam" also means 'worauf zu, heran'; in Avestan *ava* simply means 'hin zu'. If this notion was also present in Proto-Indo-European, the word might mean 'what stretches till the night', just like the Gothic and (the first) Avestan words just cited. This aspect may need more clarification.

The element *-er-* has been recognized as occurring in time indications like Av. *xšapar*, Av. *upa-naxtar-*, Gr. νυκτερός etc. The word was probably an adjective (Schindler, pointing to the Armenian *o-* and *ā*-stem; Latin has the substantives *uesper* and *uespera*, and an adjective *uesper, -a, -um*), Gr. ἑσπέρᾱ (Pi.; ἕσπερος Od.) seems younger, after ἡμέρᾱ).

Anyhow, the reconstruction with 'night' can no longer be denied. (My recourse to a substratum word proves unnecessary, 1996: 232 n. 10.)

The often assumed connection with the Germanic words for 'west' must be given up.

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