

GUARD, HERD, FOOD – LIVESTOCK, WEALTH

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| Hitt <i>pahhs</i> ‘protect’ | |
| Skr̥t <i>pāti</i> ‘guards’, <i>pāyú</i> ‘protector’, Avest <i>pāiti</i> ‘guards’ | Skr̥t <i>pāšu</i> , Avest <i>pasu</i> ‘cattle’ |
| Gk <i>πῶν</i> ‘flock of sheep’, <i>ποιμήν</i> ‘guardian, herder’ | |
| Lat <i>pāscō</i> ‘feed, lead to pasture, nourish’ | Lat <i>pecu</i> ‘cattle’, <i>pecūnia</i> ‘money’ |
| OHG <i>fuoter</i> , OEng <i>fōddor</i> , ONorse <i>fōðr</i> ‘fodder’ | Goth <i>faihu</i> ‘money, movable goods’, OHG <i>fihu</i> , OEng <i>feoh</i> , ONorse <i>fē</i> ‘livestock, property, money’ |
| Toch A <i>pās</i> , B <i>pāsk</i> ‘guard, protect, practice moral behavior’ | |
| Lith <i>piemuō</i> ‘herder’ | Lith <i>pėkus</i> ‘cattle’ |
| Arm <i>hawran</i> ‘herd’ | |
| OIr <i>aīnches</i> ‘beard basket’ Welsh <i>pawr</i> ‘meadow’ | |

These two nests (forms are taken from Mallory & Adams 1997) are very famous, but in different contexts. The nest GUARD, HERD, FOOD reconstructed as **peH₂-* is one of the most illustrative examples of the second laryngeal, its retention in Hittite and its coloring and lengthening effect on an adjacent vowel in all other IE languages. The nest LIVESTOCK, WEALTH reconstructed as **pėku* exemplifies a crossover between centum and satem languages. It is known that there are forms, mostly in Balto-Slavic, in which a velar is unpalatalized, although other satem languages, principally Old Indic and Avestan, unambiguously point to IE **k̑* or **g̑*. It is rather puzzling that a connection between these two nests has never been noticed. Meanwhile, the semantic fit is perfect. The parallel extension of meaning in the direction of “food” in one case and “wealth” in the other contributes to the perception of the underlying identity of the two nests. As in the case of our other example (see FUR-BEAR), in which Slav **šřstī* is seen against Hitt *hartagga*, *H₂* corresponds to **k̑*. It is possible that in the well-known example of Slav **kostī* ~ Hitt *hastai* ‘bone’, the velar in Slavic is also from a palatalized *k̑* stripped of its palatal component by the following non-front vowel.

A key to the interpretation of the connection between laryngeals and palatal velars can be derived from a close look at another famous set of lexical items: Skrt *aham* and Gk *εγώ*, Skrt *mahant-* and Gk *μέγας*, Skrt *duhitā* and Gk *θυγάτηρ*, Skrt *hanu-* and Gk *γένυς*. In all these cases, we would expect *χ* in Greek or *g* in Old Indic in order to reconstruct **gh*. The absence of the expected pattern led Kuryłowicz to announce: “It ain’t from **gh*, folks!” Ever since his seminal paper of 1927, it is *H₂* that is reconstructed here, e.g. IE **meġH-*, **dhuġHtēr*, etc. Cases like Lith *pėkus* ~ Skrt *pāšu*, Slav **swekūrŭ* ~ Skrt **švašura*, Slav **go, sī* ~ Skrt *hamṣa-* belong in the same category and warrant the reconstruction of a cluster *k + H₂* and *g + H₂* and not *k̑* or *g̑*. Note: the velar in *duhitā* is twice removed from the velar in *θυγάτηρ* (*g > gh > h*); the velar in *švašura* is also twice removed from the velar in *swekūrŭ*: *k > s > š*. In *švašura*, the first sibilant assimilated to *-š-*; in Sanskrit **dhuhitā* is impossible because of Grassmann’s law, but in Gk *θυγάτηρ* the onset consonant is aspirated. These parallels are striking.