З Б О Р Н И К
МАТИЦЕ СРПСКЕ
ЗА ФИЛОЛОГИЈУ И ЛИНГВИСТИКУ
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Изворни научни рад

Orsat Ligorio

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN 'TURN' AND 'SNAKE'*

Skt. *nāgá-* 'snake' and PGm. **snakk-* 'snake' are compared to PIE *(*s*-)*neh*$_1$- 'turn; snake' on the premise that PIE **gC* (= **ʔgC*), like **dC*, udergoes a development to PIE **ʔC* (= **h*$_1$*C*).
Key words: Proto-Indo-European, Sanskrit, Proto-Germanic, etymology, glottal theory.

Скр. *nāgá-* 'змија' и пгерм. **snakk-* 'змија' пореде се са пие. *(*s*-)*neh*$_1$- 'окретати (се); змија' под претпоставком да пие. **gC* (= **ʔgC*), попут **dC*, даје пие. **ʔC* (= **h*$_1$*C*).
Кључне ријечи: праиндоевропски, санскрит, прагермански, етимологија, глотална теорија.

1. Introduction

1.1. It is established that PIE **dC*(= **ʔdC*) under specific conditions develops into PIE **ʔC* which is reflected on the surface as **h*$_1$*C*; see e.g. Kortlandt 1983 or Lubotsky 2013.

1.1.1. PIE **dC* develops into PIE **ʔC*: 1. where **C* is PIE **ḱ*, cf. Skt. *dāśvā́ṃs-* 'devout, pious' < PIE pt pf act **de-*^{ʔ}*(d)ḱ-u̯os-* (Klingenschmitt 1982: 129), G τριᾰ́κοντα (Ion. τριήκοντα) 'thirty'< PIE num card **tri-h*$_2$*-*^{ʔ}*(d)ḱomt-h*$_2$, G πεντήκοντα 'fifty' < PIE num card **penkʷe-*^{ʔ}*(d)ḱomt-h*$_2$, G ἑκατόν 'hundred' < PIE num card **ˀ*^{ʔ}*(d)ḱm̥t-om* (Kortlandt 1983: 97) (= 2010: 105); 2. where **C* is PIE **u̯* and the following syllable starts with a dental, cf. G ἔϊκοσι 'twenty' (ep. ἐείκοσι /ἐ(ϝ)ΐκοσι/, Dor. Boeot. ϝῑκατι) < PIE num card **ˀ*^{ʔ}*(d)u̯-i-*^{ʔ}*(d)ḱm̥t-i-(h*$_1$*)* (Kortlandt 1983: 97) (= 2010: 100), Skt. *ávidhat* 'to allot, apportion' (scanned long, *ā́vidhat*) < PIE 3sg ind aor act **h*$_1$*e-*^{ʔ}*(d)u̯i+d*^{h}*h*$_1$*-e-t-ø* (Lubotsky 1994), OCS *vĭtorŭ* 'second(ary)'< PIE nom msg **ʔ(d)u̯i-tor-o-s* (Derksen 2008: 532), Skt. adv *vitarám* 'further', Av. adv *vītarəm* 'further' < PIE acc nsg **ʔ(d)u̯i-ter-o-m*, OPhr. *vitaran* 'second' (?) < PIE acc fsg **ʔ(d)u̯i-ter-eh*$_2$*-m*; 3. where **C* is PIE **r*, cf. CLuw. *u̯a-a-ar* 'water', Skt. *vār-* id. < PIE **u̯o*^{ʔ}*(d)-r-* (Lubotsky 2013).

1.1.2. Also, PIE **dC* develops into PIE **ʔC* where *C is an obstruent (most likely PIE **t*) in a number or verbal roots which appear to show *…*d*- ~ *…*h*$_1$- variation, cf. 1. PIE **h*$_2$*ed-* (Hitt. *ḫāt-*^{i}*/ ḫat* 'dry up, become parched', G ἄζω 'dry up') (LIV^2 255) ~ PIE **h*$_2$*eh*$_1$- (Pal. *ḫāri*, *hānta* 'be hot', Av. *āt(ə)r-* 'fire') (LIV^2 257), 2. PIE **meh*$_1$- (Skt. *mā-* 'measure; measure out, assign', L *mētior* 'measure', etc.) (LIV^2 424) ~ PIE **med-* (OIr. *midithir* 'to measure; judge', YAv. *vī-mad-* 'healer; physician', G μέδω 'rule', Go. *mitan*, *miton* 'measure; consider', etc.) (LIV^2 423), 3. PIE (*s*)*pend-* (L *pendō* 'weigh; pay', Lith.

* My gratitude is due to Messrs Aleksandar Loma, Aljoša Milenković and Danilo Savić, who read the manuscript and offered useful advice.

spę́sti ‘set a trap’, OCS *pędĭ* ‘span’) (LIV^2 578) ~ PIE (*s*)*penh$_1$*- (G πένομαι ‘exert oneself, toil’, Lith. *pìnti* ‘twist’, OCS *pęti* ‘stretch’, Arm. *henum* ‘weave’, Go. *spinnan* ‘spin’, etc.) (LIV^2 578), 4. PIE **tend*- (L *tondeō* ‘cut hair, shear’, G τένδω ‘gnaw at’) (LIV^2 628) ~ PIE **temh$_1$*- (G ep. τάμνω ‘cut’, MIr. *tamnaid* ‘cut’, L *temnō* ‘scorn, despise’) (LIV^2 625); see Lubotsky 2013: 162f.

1.2. In this paper I propose to observe a similar development, **gC*(= **ʔgC*) > **ʔC* (= **h$_1$C*), in the prehistory of PIE *(*s*-)*nog*- ‘snake’, which I will try to compare with PIE *(*s*-)*neh$_1$*- ‘turn; snake’.

2. Proto-Indo-European ‘Turn’ and ‘Snake’[1]

2.1. The original meaning of PIE *(*s*-)*neh$_1$*- is ‘to turn’ in the active and ‘to turn oneself’ in the middle voice; see Kloekhorst – Lubotsky 2014: 135.

2.1.1. A variety of other meanings has developed metaphorically from the original meaning. In Anatolian [4–6] and Indo-Iranian [7–20], the original meaning ‘to turn’ came to mean ‘to lead (i.e. turn sbd or sth in a certain direction)’ and, in Balto-Slavic [21–24], the meaning ‘to lead’ in turn came to mean ‘to thread (i.e. lead thread through the ear of a needle)’ (whence the meaning ‘thread’, i.e. ‘that which is threaded through the ear of a needle’, was later developed in Balto-Slavic [25–28]). Similar developments are found in other language groups: in Greek [47–52, 60–61] and Italo-Celtic [53–54, 62], the meaning ‘to turn’ came to mean ‘to spin (i.e. turn wool, flax or the like to form a thread)’; in Germanic [55–56], the meaning ‘to turn’ came to mean ‘to sew (i.e. turn, twist, or wind a thread)’ (whence the meaning ‘needle’, i.e. ‘sewing instrument’, was developed in Germanic [57–59]); and, in Baltic [83–84], the meaning ‘to turn’ came to mean ‘to wind (i.e. turn coils of thread around sth)’. In the majority of Indo-European language groups the meaning ‘to turn’ came to mean ‘thread (i.e. that which is turned back and forth); later, the meaning ‘thread’ (which is preserved as such in Balto-Slavic [25–28] and Celtic [29–31]) came to mean ‘sinew; tendon’ in Tocharian [69], Indo-Iranian [68, 76], Greek [73], Italic [74], and Armenian [71], ‘string’ in Germanic [86–87] and ‘poem’ in Celtic [32–33].

2.2. The meaning ‘to turn’ came to mean ‘snake’ in Germanic [34–36, 63–65] and Italo-Celtic [37–42], where an agent noun, PIE *(*s*-)*n*(*e*)*h$_1$-tr*-, was formed from PIE *(*s*-)*neh$_1$*-. According to Kloekhorst – Lubotsky 2014: 135, it developed metaphorically from the idea of the ‘one turning (sc. back and forth)’ (which refers to the locomotion of snakes, who move by the flexing of their bodies to and fro, or creeping).

2.2.1. Similar semantics is found in other PIE terms for ‘snake’. L *serpens* ‘snake’, for instance, notably continues PIE **serp*- ‘creep’ (LIV^2 536); from PIE **serp*- derive Skt. *sarpá*- ‘snake’ and Alb. *gjarpër* ‘snake’ as well.

2.3. For ‘snake’, Sanskrit has *nāgá*- and Proto-Germanic **snakk*-; unless **gC*> **ʔC* is assumed, the Sanskrit and the Proto-Germanic terms for ‘snake’ cannot be compared with PIE *(*s*-)*neh$_1$*- ‘turn; snake’.

2.4. For this reason they are typically derived from other, formally more readily comparable roots – even if these are tentative at best in terms of semantics.

[1] Numbers in square brackets refer to lines in the Appendix.

2.4.1. Indeed, Skt. *nāgá-* and PGm. **snakk-* are compared by Mayrhofer 1963: 150 but, in Mayrhofer 1996 II 33, Skt. *nāgá-* is rather derived from PIE **nog^{u}-o-* 'nude, naked' (cf. Lith. *núogas* id., OCS *nagŭ* id.) and, in Kroonen 2013: 460f., PGm. **snakk-* 'snake' is rather derived from PGm. *snakan-* 'to crouch' (cf. OHG *snahhan* id., ON *snaka* 'to rummage, snuff about'). According to Buck 1949: 194f. and Mallory – Adams 1997: 529f., the semantics of major IE terms for 'snake' is not based on either 'being nude, naked' or 'crouching' whereas at least two separate cases can be made for 'creeping' coming to mean 'snake'; cf. PIE **serp-* 'creep' > L *serpens* 'snake' etc. (see sec. 2.2.1 above) and PIE **slenk-* 'creep' (LIV^2 567) > PGm. **slinkan-* ~ **slingan-* 'creep' (Kroonen 2013: 455) ⇒ PGm. **slangan-* 'snake' (Germ. *Schlange* id., Du. *slang* id.) (op. cit. 453).

2.5. However, it seems plausible to assume **gC* > **ʔC* in the case of some other PIE roots too.

2.6. Compare:

a) PIE **h$_1$reug-* (G ἐρεύγομαι 'to belch out; to vomit', Arm. *orcam* 'to vomit', L *ē-rūgō* 'to belch out', Lith. *ráugėti* 'to belch out', Ru. *rygát'* 'to belch out') (LIV^2 632) ~ PIE **reuH-* (= **h$_1$reuh$_1$-*) (ToB *ru-* 'pull out with violence (from under a surface)', ON *rýja* 'tear out', OCS *ryti* 'dig, tear up', SCr. *rìti* 'dig', Ru. *rvat'* 'tear out; vomit', Lith. *ráuti* 'tear out') (LIV^2 632), and:

b) PIE **ter$^{(}$ǵ$^{)}$-* (L *terg(e)ō* 'to rub clean, polish') (LIV^2 632) ~ PIE **terh$_1$-* (G τείρω 'to wear out, distress, weaken', G τέρετρον 'drill', L *terō* 'rub', Lith. *tìrti*, OCS *trŭti* 'rub') (LIV^2 632).

2.6.1. In PIE **h$_1$reug-* ~ **h$_1$reuh$_1$-*, the original meaning 'to tear, throw out' came to mean 'to belch out; to vomit'; cf. e.g. E *throw up* 'vomit' or Germ. *auswerfen* 'vomit' (lit. 'throw out') (Buck 1949: 256).

2.6.2. In PIE **ter$^{(}$ǵ$^{)}$-* ~ **terh$_1$-*, the original meaning 'to rub' came to mean 'to rub clean, polish'; cf. e.g. Skt. *mr̥j-* 'to rub; to rub clean, polish' < 'to rub' (Buck 1949: 568).

2.6.3. Lubotsky 2013: 163 prefers to derive PIE **terh$_1$-* from PIE **terd-*, not **ter$^{(}$ǵ$^{)}$*; cf. Skt. *tard-* 'split, pierce, open', Lith. *tréndu* 'be eaten by moths or worms' (LIV^2 631).

2.6.4. For my part, I am inclined to think that PIE **terd-* is a backformation from PIE **terh$_1$-* since **dC* > **ʔC* is clearly a more prevalent phenomenon than **gC* > **ʔC*.

2.7. Therefore, it is possible to derive both Skt. *nāgá-* 'snake' and PGm. **snakk-* 'snake' from PIE *(*s*-)*neg-* 'turn; snake' and PIE *(*s*-)*neh$_1$-* 'turn; snake' from PIE *(*s*-)*neg-* 'turn; snake'.

2.8. PIE *(*s*-)*neg-* is an *e*-grade; in *o*-grade, PIE *(*s*-)*nog-*, it forms an *o*-stem noun *(*s*-)*nog-ó-* whence Skt. *nāgá-* [78–79] derives regularly (with PIE **o* yielding Skt. *ā* by Brugmann's Law).

2.8.1. Being a deverbal oxytone, PIE *(*s*-)*nog-ó-* is an agent noun in terms of semantics (as opposed to an action noun, which would be a barytone); cf. e.g. Skt. *várá-* (oxytone) 'suitor' vs. *vára-* (barytone) 'choice' or G τομός (oxytone) 'cutting, sharp' vs. τόμος (barytone) 'slice', etc. See Lubotsky 1988: 60ff. PIE *(*s*-)*nog-ó-* 'snake' is, therefore, the 'one turning (sc. back and forth)'; cf. PIE *(*s*-)*n*(*e*)*h$_1$-tr-* in sec. 2.2 above (likewise an agent noun).

2.9. In *o*-grade, PIE *(*s*-)*neg-* forms an *n*-stem noun as well, PIE *(*s*-)*nog-n-*, whence PGm. **snakk-* [80–81] derives regularly (with PIE **gn* yielding PGm. **kk* by Kluge's Law).

2.9.1. Compare OE *snaca* ‘snake’, E *snake*, MLG *snake*.

2.9.2. By backformation, PGm. **snakk-* produced PGm. **snēg-*; cf. PGm. **hēg-* and PGm. **hakk-* (Kroonen 2011: 144). One stem, PGm.**snēg-*, was used to derive the PGm. nominative singular, **snēgō,* and the other, PGm. **snakk-*, to derive the PGm. genitive singular, **snakkaz*. The paradigm **snēg-* : **snakk-* was then leveled to **snēkk-* : **snakk-* by replacing **snēg-* with **snēkk-*; in Proto-Germanic, **snēkk-* produced **snēk-* by the shortening of overlong syllables. See Kroonen 2013: xl. (PGm. **snēg-* : **snakk-* :: **snēk-* is paralleled by PGm. **krēb-* : **krapp-* :: **krēp-*; cf. PGm. **krēp-* > OHG *chrāf(f)o*. See Kroonen 2011: 330.) Finally, a secondary *o*-stem, **snēkaz*, was formed from PGm. **snēk-*; it is reflected in ON *snákr* ‘snake’, Icel. *snákur* ‘snake; viper’, Far. *snákur* ‘snake’, Nw. dial. *snák* ‘viper’.

2.9.3. PGm. **snakk-* was likely borrowed into Slavic as PSl. **smokŭ* ‘snake; dragon’; see Fasmer 1987[2]: 589.

3. Conclusion

3.1. I expect two allomorphs were formed from PIE *(*s*-)*neg-* in the early history of the Indo-European proto-language: one conditioned, PIE *(*s*-)*neh*$_1$- [3–42, 44–76, 82–89], and one unconditioned, PIE *(*s*-)*neg-* [1–2, 43, 77–81].

3.2. The conditioning was likely due to the athematic verb forms, such as the 3sg ind praes act *(*s*-)*neg-t-i*, the 3sg ind ipf act **h*$_1$*e-*(*s*-)*neg-t-ø* or the pt *(*s*-)*ng-t-*, etc. where PIE *(*s*-)*neg-* is found in front of an obstruent and where – arguably – PIE **gC*(= **ʔgC*) was consequently conditioned to develop into **ʔC* (= **h*$_1$*C*) thus producing PIE *(*s*-)*neh*$_1$- from PIE *(*s*-)*neg-*, as e.g. in L *net* [54] < PIE *(*s*-)*neh*$_1$*-t-i* < pre-PIE *(*s*-)*neg-t-i*, G Aeol. ἔννη [48] < PIE **h*$_1$*e-*(*s*-)*neh*$_1$*-t-ø* < pre-PIE **h*$_1$*e-*(*s*-)*neg-t-ø* or OIr. *snáth* [31] < PIE *(*s*-)*nh*$_1$*-t-* < pre-PIE *(*s*-)*ng-t-*.

3.3. Skt. *nāgá-* [78–79] and PGm. *snakk-* [80–81] were derived from PIE (*s*-)*neg-* before it developed into (*s*-)*neh*$_1$-; as such they must be fossilized remains of a time before **gC* > **ʔC* took place.

APPENDIX

PIE root*(***s***-)***ng***-[2] 'to turn'[3] [1]
:: *ø*-grade *(***s***-)***ng***- id. [2]
·· *ø*-grade allomorph *(*s*-)*nh*$_1$- id. [3]
⇒ *i*-present stem **nh*$_1$-*i*- 'lead' (< 'turn (sc. sbd or sth in a certain direction')) [4]
→ 3pl ind praes act **nh*$_1$-*i*-*enti* id. [5]
> Hitt. *nēanzi* id., 'send'[4] [6]
⇒ *t*-participle **nh*$_1$-*i*-*t*- 'led' [7]
⇒ *o*-stem **nh*$_1$-*i*-*t*-*o*- id. [8]
> Skt. *nītá*- id., 'guided; conducted, directed'[5] [9]
:: full *e*-grade *i*-present stem **nh*$_1$-*ei*- id. [10]
⇒ them praes stem **nh*$_1$-*ei*-*e*- id. [11]
→ them 3sg ind praes act **nh*$_1$-*ei*-*e*-*t*-*i* 'leads' [12]
> Skt. *náyati* id., 'guides; conducts, directs'[4] [13]
> YAv. *naiieiti* id.[6] [14]
→ them 3sg ind ipf act **h*$_1$*e*-*nh*$_1$-*ei*-*e*-*t*-*ø* 'leaded' [15]
> OP *anaya* id.[5] [16]
:: full *o*-grade *i*-present stem **nh*$_1$-*oi*- id. [17]
⇒ perfect stem **ne*-*nh*$_1$-*oi*- [18]
→ athem 3sg ind pf act **ne*-*nh*$_1$-*oi*-*e* 'he leaded' [19]
>> Skt. *ninā́ya* id., 'guided; conducted, directed'[4] [20]
> PBSl **ni*- 'to thread' (< 'to lead (sc. thread through the ear of a needle)') [21]
⇒ *ti*-stem verbal noun **nh*$_1$-*i*-*ti*- 'threading' [22]
→ loc sg **nh*$_1$-*i*-*tei*-*ø* id. [23]
> Latv. inf *nīt* 'to thread'[7] [24]
⇒ *ti*-stem deverbal noun **nh*$_1$-*i*-*ti*-[8] 'thread' [25]
> PBSl. **níʔti*- id. [26]
> Lith. *nýtis* f. id., Latv. *nīts* f. id.[9] [27]
> PSl. **nitĭ* id. (Ru. *nit'* f. id., Cz. *niť* f. id., Slk. *niť* f. id., Pl. *nić* f. id., SCr. *nȉt* f. id., Sln. *nìt* f. id.)[10] [28]
⇒ *t*-participle *(*s*-)*nh*$_1$-*t*- 'thread' (< 'that which is turned (sc. back and forth)') [29]
⇒ *o*-stem noun (substantivized) **s*-*nh*$_1$-*t*-*o*- id. [30]
> PCelt. **snāto*- id. (OIr. *snáth* m. / n. id., 'yarn; line', OBret. *notenn* 'a filo' (gloss), MBret. *neut*, MoBret. coll. *neud*)[11] [31]
⇒ *u*-stem noun (substantivized) **nh*$_1$-*t*-*u*- 'poem' (< 'thread') [32]

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[2] IEW 973, LIV[2] 571.
[3] Kloekhorst – Lubotsky 2014: 135f.
[4] Kloekhorst 2008: 598; Kloekhorst – Lubotsky 2014: 126–133.
[5] Mayrhofer 1996: 19; Kloekhorst – Lubotsky 2014: 133f.
[6] Cheung 2007: 278.
[7] Derksen 2015: 544.
[8] PIE **nh*$_1$*iti*- > **nih*$_1$*ti*-; cf. PBSl. **níʔtis*. (= Laryngeal metathesis; see Lubotsky 2011 for the discussion of this phenomenon.)
[9] Derksen 2015: 335.
[10] Derksen 2008: 353.
[11] Matasović 2009: 348. (Or, more likely, from **s*-*noh*$_1$-*t*-*o*-; see Matasović 2012; Zair 2012: 111.)

> PCelt. **natu-* ‘poem’ (OIr. *nath* m. / n. / f. id., ‘eulogy’, W *nad* m. / f. id., ‘clamor; cry’, Gaul. *-nato-* / -νατα- in PNs)[12] [33]
⇒ *tr*-agent noun **(s-)nh$_1$-tr-* ‘snake’ (< ‘one turning (sc. back and forth)’) [34]
⇒ *o*-stem noun **nh$_1$-tr-o-* id. [35]
> PGm. **nadra-* id. (Go. †*nadrs* m. id., ON *naðr* m. id.)[13] [36]
⇒ *ih$_2$*-stem noun **(s-)nh$_1$-tr-ih$_2$-* id. [37]
> W *neidr* f. id., ‘adder’, MW *neidyr* f. id., Co. *nader* ‘vipera; serpens; anguis’ (gloss), OBret. *natrolion* ‘regulosis; pithis’ (gloss), MBret. *(n)azr*, *aezr*, Bret. *nàer* f. id., ‘viper’)[14] [38]
⇒ *k*-stem noun **(s-)nh$_1$-tr-ih$_2$-k-* id. [39]
> PICelt. **(s)natrik-* id. [40]
> PIt. **(s)natrik-* id. (L *natrix* f. ‘water-snake’)[15] [41]
> PCelt. **natrik-* id. (OIr. *nathir* f. id., gen sg *nathrach*)[13] [42]
:: *e*-grade ****(s-)neg-*** id. [43]
·· *e*-grade allomorph **(s-)neh$_1$-* id. [44]
→ athem 3pl praes med **neh$_1$-nt-o* ‘lead’ [45]
> Hitt. *neānda* id., ‘send’[3] [46]
→ athem 3sg ind ipf act **h$_1$e-s-neh$_1$-t-ø* ‘spinned’ (< ‘turned (sc. wool, flax so as to form a thread)’) [47]
> G Aeol. ἔννη id.[16] [48]
→ athem 2sg ipv act **s-neh$_1$-d^{h}i* ‘spin!’ (< ‘turn! wool, flax etc.’) [49]
⇒ present stem (by reanalysis) **s-neh$_1$-d^h-* ‘spin’ [50]
→ 1sg ind praes act **(s-)neh$_1$-d^h-o-h$_2$* id. [51]
> G νήθω id.[15] [52]
> PICelt. **(s)nē-* ‘spin’ (< ‘turn wool, flax etc.)[17] [53]
> PIt. **(s)nē-* id. (L *neō* id.,‘weave’)[18] [54]
⇒ them root present stem **neh$_1$-e/o-* ‘to sew’ (< ‘to turn, twist, wind (sc. a thread)’) [55]
> PGm. **nēan-* id. (MDu. *naeyen* id., Du. *naaien* id., OHG *nāan* / *nājan* / *nāwan* id., Germ. *nähen* id.)[19] [56]
⇒ *tl*-instrument noun **neh$_1$-tl-* ‘needle’ (< ‘sewing instrument’) [57]
⇒ *o*-stem noun **neh$_1$-tl-eh$_2$-* id. [58]
> PGm. **nēþlō-* id. (Go. *neþla* f. id., ON *nál* f. id., Far. *nál* f. id., Elfd. *nå l* f. id., OE *nǣþl* / *nǣdl* f. id., E *needle*, OFri. *nēdle* / *nēlde* id., OS *nāthla* / *nādla* f. id., MDu. *naelde* f. id., Du. *naald* c. id., OHG *nādala* / *nālda* f. id., Germ. *Nadel* f. id.)[20] [59]
⇒ them *i*-present stem **(s-)neh$_1$-i-e/o-* ‘turn; spin’ (< ‘turn wool, flax etc.) [60]

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[12] Matasović 2009: 284; Zair 2012: 65.
[13] Kroonen 2013: 381.
[14] Schrijver 1991: 149; Matasović 2009: 284; Zair 2012: 65.
[15] Schrijver 1991: 149; de Vaan 2008: 402.
[16] Chantraine 1974: 749; Beekes 2010: 1013.
[17] Schrijver 1991: 403.
[18] de Vaan 2008: 405.
[19] Kroonen 2013: 385.
[20] Kroonen 2013: 388.

> G νέω id.[15] [61]
> PCelt. **sni-i̯-e/o-* id. (OIr. *sniid* / *-sní* 'twist; bind, tie', MW *nyddu* / *nyddaf* id., Co. *nedha*, MBret. *nezaff*, MoBret. *nezañ*)[21] [62]
⇒ *tr*-agent noun **neh$_1$-tr-* 'snake' (< 'one turning (sc. back and forth)') [63]
⇒ *n*-stem noun **neh$_1$-tr-on-* 'viper' (< 'snake') [64]
> PGm. **nēdran-* id. (OE *nāddre* / *næddre* f. id., E *adder*, WFri. *njirre* c. id., EFri. *needer* f. id., OS *nādra* / *nādara* f. id., MDu. *nadre* / *addre* / *adder* f. id., Du. *adder* c. id., OHG *nātra* / *nātara* id., Germ. *Natter* f. id.)[22] [65]
⇒ *ur/n*-stem heteroclitic noun **(s-)neh$_1$-ur/n-* 'sinew' (< 'thread') [66]
⇒ *ur*-stem noun (generalized) **(s-)neh$_1$-ur-* id. [67]
> Av. *snāuuarə°* id. (in *snāuuarə.bāzura* 'having sinews as arms')[23] [68]
> ToB *ṣñor* id.[24] [69]
⇒ **s-neh$_1$-ur-t-* id. [70]
> Arm. *neard* id.[25] [71]
⇒ *o*-stem noun **(s-)neh$_1$-ur-o-* id. [72]
> G νεῦρον n. id., 'string of a bow'[26] [73]
> L *nervus* m. id., 'muscle; nerve'[27] [74]
⇒ *un*-stem noun (generalized) **s-neh$_1$-un-* id. [75]
> Skt. *snāvn-* n. id., 'band'[28] [76]
:: *o*-grade ****(s-)nog-*** id. [77]
⇒ *o*-stem agent noun **nog-ó-* 'snake' (< 'one turning (sc. back and forth)') [78]
> Skt. *nāgá-* m. id., 'elephant'[29] [79]
⇒ *n*-stem noun **s-nog-n-* 'snake' (< 'one turning (sc. back and forth)') [80]
> PGm. **snakk-* id. (OE *snaca* m. id., E *snake*, MLG *snake* m. / f. id.)[30] [31] [81]
·· *o*-grade allomorph **(s-)noh$_1$-* id. [82]
⇒ them root present stem **(s-)noh$_1$-e/o-* 'wind' (< 'turn') [83]
> Latv. *snāju* id.,'braid, throw around one's shoulders' (< 'turn')[32] [84]
⇒ *t*-participle **(s-)noh$_1$-t-* 'thread' (< 'that which is turned')[33] [85]
⇒ *eh$_2$*-noun (substantivized) **(s-)noh$_1$-t-eh$_2$-* 'string' (< 'thread') [86]
> PGm. **snōdō-* id. (OSw. *snoð* id., 'cord', OE *snód* f. 'snood', E *snood*) [87]
⇒ *tr*-noun(?) **(s-)noh$_1$-tr-* 'cover' (< 'one turning back and forth') [88]
> Latv. *snāte* id. [89]

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[21] Matasović 2009: 350.
[22] Kroonen 2013: 386.
[23] Bartholomae 1904: 1629.
[24] Adams 2013: 729.
[25] Olsen 1999: 156; Martirosyan 2010: 502.
[26] Beekes 2010: 1011.
[27] Schrijver 1991: 269; de Vaan 2008: 407.
[28] Kloekhorst – Lubotsky 2014: 135.
[29] Mayrhofer 1996: 33. (Pace op. cit. the meaning 'elephant' is secondary; *snake* is a metaphor for the elephant's trunk; cf. L *anguimanus* 'elephant' (*anguis* 'snake' + *manus* 'hand') and Skt. *nāgá-* 'elephant' (< 'snake') and *hastín-* 'elephant' (⇐ *hásta-* 'hand').
[30] Kroonen 2013: 461.
[31] PSl. **smokŭ* 'snake; dragon' (< 'snake') is likely a loanword from PGm. **snakk-* 'snake' (Fasmer 1987[2]: 589); cf. OCS *smokŭ* 'dragon', Ru. *smok* 'snake; dragon', Pl. *smok* 'dragon', etc.
[32] Derksen 2015: 551.
[33] See fn. 11 as well.

ABBREVIATIONS

*	– reconstructed form	⇐	– is derived from
†	– inferred form	→	– forms
:	– is in ablaut with	←	– is formed from
::	– is in ablaut gradation with	>	– regularly yields
··	– is an allomorph of	<	– regularly derives from
⇒	– derives into	~	– alternates with

1, 2, 3	– tres verbi personae	ipv	– imperativus
acc	– accusativus	loc	– locativus
act	– activum	m	– masculinum
adv	– adverbium	med	– medium
athem	– athematicus	n	– neutrum
c	– commune	nom	– nominativus
card	– cardinalis	num	– numerale
f	– femininum	pf	– perfectum
ind	– indicativus	pl	– pluralis
inf	– infinitivus	praes	– praesens
int	– instrumentalis	sg	– singularis
ipf	– imperfectum	them	– thematicus

Aeol.	– Aeolic	MoBret.	– Modern Breton
Alb.	– Albanian	MW	– Middle Welsh
Arm.	– Armenian	NP	– New Persian
Av.	– Avestan	Nw.	– Norwegian
Boeot.	– Boeotian	OBret.	– Old Breton
Bret.	– Breton	OCS	– Old Church Slavonic
CLuw.	– Cuneiform Luwian	OE	– Old English
Co.	– Cornish	OFri.	– Old Frisian
Cz.	– Czech	OHG	– Old High German
Dan.	– Danish	OIr.	– Old Irish
dial.	– dialectally	ON	– Old Norse
Dor.	– Doric	OP	– Old Persian
Du.	– Dutch	OPhr.	– Old Phrygian
E	– English	OS	– Old Saxon
EFri.	– East Frisian	OSw.	– Old Swedish
Elfd.	– Elfdalian	Pal.	– Palaic
ep.	– epic	PBSl.	– Proto-Balto-Slavic
Far.	– Faroese	PCelt.	– Proto-Celtic
G	– Greek	PGm.	– Proto-Germanic
Gaul.	– Gaulish	PICelt.	– Proto-Italo-Celtic
Germ.	– German	PIE	– Proto-Indo-European
Goth.	– Gothic	PIt.	– Proto-Italic
Hitt.	– Hittite	Pl.	– Polish

Icel.	– Icelandic	Ru.	– Russian
IE	– Indo-European	SCr.	– Serbo-Croatian
Ion.	– Ionic	Skt.	– Sanskrit
L	– Latin	Slk.	– Slovak
Latv.	– Latvian	Sln.	– Slovenian
Lith.	– Lithuanian	Sw.	– Swedish
MBret.	– Middle Breton	ToB	– Tocharian B
MDu.	– Middle Dutch	W	– Welsh
MIr.	– Middle Irish	WFri.	– West Frisian
MLG	– Middle Low German	YAv.	– Young Avestan

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Орсат Лигорио

ПРАИНДОЕВРОПСКИ ‘ОКРЕТАТИ (СЕ)’ И ‘ЗМИЈА’

Сажетак

Два индоевропска назива за ‘змију’, скр. *nā́gá-* и прагерм. **snakk-* (> енг. *snake*), пореде се са пие. коријеном *(*s*-)*neh*$_1$- ‘окретати (се); змија’ (*(*s*-)*neh*$_1$- ‘окретати’ ⇒ **nh*$_1$-*ei-e-t-i* id. > скр. *náyati* ‘водити’, *(*s*-)*neh*$_1$- ‘окретати се’ ⇒ *(*s*-)*nh*$_1$-*tr*- ‘змија’ > лат. *natrix* id., итд.) што, у оквиру глоталне теорије, бива под претпоставком да пие. **gC* (= **ʔgC*) даје пие. **ʔC* (= **h*$_1$C); познато је, наиме, да под извјесним условима и у извјесним случајевима пие. **dC* (= **ʔdC*) даје пие. **ʔC* (= **h*$_1$C) а пие. **g* је, као и пие. **d*, глотализовани (тј. преглотализовани) оклузив, а то претпоставку **gC* > **ʔC* чини могућом.

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