

SCHLEICHER'S FABLE

The first to compose a text in Proto-Indo-European was August Schleicher (1868). Emendations of his text were published by Hirt and Arntz (1939), Lehmann and Zgusta (1979), and others. Though these efforts must not be taken too seriously, they can serve as an illustration of the linguistic systems reconstructed by their authors. As my chief concern has always been the relative chronology of linguistic developments, it may be appropriate to present my version of Schleicher's fable for a number of successive reconstructed systems, viz. Proto-Indo-European, non-Anatolian Indo-European, Classic Indo-European (excluding Tocharian), Central Indo-European (excluding Italo-Celtic), *satəm* Indo-European (excluding Greek and Germanic), Balto-Slavic, East Baltic, and modern Lithuanian. As I have stuck as much as possible to Schleicher's and Hirt's versions, many of the choices made in the following are far from compelling. It must be emphasized that the purpose of this exercise is purely to illustrate the consequences of a systematic approach and to exemplify the cohesive nature of the reconstructions.

For the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European I refer to my outline (K272 = 2010). The absence of lengthening in Vedic *áviḥ* 'sheep' shows that the coloring of **e* to **o* after **ʃw* was more recent than Brugmann's law in Indo-Iranian (cf. Lubotsky 1990). Since the distinction between the three laryngeals was preserved in Greek (Central IE) and Armenian (*satəm* IE), it was not lost before Balto-Slavic times, when they merged with the glottalic feature of the PIE "unaspirated voiced" stops into a glottal stop (Winter's law, cf. K263 = 2009: 44f.). The rise of the semivowels /j/ and /w/ resulted from the loss of the laryngeals in initial position. The relative pronoun **io-* cannot be reconstructed for Anatolian and Tocharian, where the uninflected form **i* may have survived at an early stage (cf. K263 = 2009: 145). The word for 'wool' is a *ʃ*-stem in Latin (Classic IE) and other languages, perhaps a collective of a *?n*-derivative, cf. Arm. *gełmn*, which appears as Hittite *huliya-* beside *hulana-*, pointing to an original form **ʃueli* (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 357f., Beekes 2010: 858). If the reconstruction of a zero grade root vowel in Old Irish *ní* 'is not', Slavic *ně* is correct (cf. K239 = 2007: 126), the vowel of the monosyllable **nełst* was regularly lengthened in Proto-Indo-European (cf. Wackernagel 1896: 66-68) and the following laryngeal was lost in the *satəm* languages (cf. K263 = 2009: 52-57). The final **-t* was lost after an obstruent in non-Anatolian Indo-European (cf. K272 = 2010: 40).

The PIE word for 'horse' is attested in Hittite *ekku-* < **?eķu-* (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 237-239), of which Greek *ἵππος* < **?iķuos* represents the original ergative case, with reduction of pretonic **e* to **i* before a consonant cluster (cf. Ko65 = 1987: 222 and Ko69 = 1985). The *u*-stem must have been preserved in Balto-Slavic times in view of Lith. *ašvà* because the cluster **ķw* was depalatalized before a back vowel in this branch of Indo-European (cf. K263 = 2009: 43). The acc.pl. ending **-ms* was preserved in Anatolian (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 929). The thematic aorist, e.g. Vedic *ávidat* 'found', probably represents an earlier root aorist, cf. *áraiķ* 'left' beside Greek *ἔλιπε*, Latin *-liquit*, with regular lengthening in the monosyllabic injunctive forms (cf. K188 = 2004: 14 and K239 = 2007: 155). The word-final fortis stop became glottalic in the non-Anatolian languages (cf. K272 = 2010: 40). There is evidence for the augment **?e* in Tocharian (cf. K149 = 1996) and for its partial replacement by the enclitic particle

**tu* in Balto-Slavic (cf. K263 = 2009: 285). The aorist suffix **-eʔ* became **-ē* word-finally in Balto-Slavic (cf. K239 = 2007: 84 and K263 = 2009: 187).

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN	NON-ANATOLIAN INDO-EUROPEAN
<p>ʃ^weuis i ʃueli nēʔst ʔek:ums uēit:, t:o k^wrʃeum uoʔkom uʔent:m, t:o mk'eʃm porom, t:o tʔmenm ʔoʔk:u prent:m. uēuk:t ʃ^weuis ʔiʔk:uos, ʃetko ʔme k:ērt: ʃnerm uit'ent:i ʔek:ums ʃk'ent:m. ueuk:nt: ʔiʔk:ues, k:luti ʃ^wue, ʃetko nsme k:ērt: uit'ent:i, ʃnēr p:ot:is ʃ^wuiom ʃueli sue k^wermom uesti k^w:rneut:i, ʃ^wuēi k^w:e ʃueli neʔsti. t:o k:ek:luis ʃ^weuis pleʃnom pēuk't.</p>	<p>ʃ^weuis i ʃuelʔn nēʔs ʔek:uns ʔe uēit', t:om k^wrʃeum uoʔkom ueʔont:m, t:om mk'eʃm porom, t:om tʔmenm ʔoʔk:u peront:m. ʔe uēuk: ʃ^weuis ʔek:umus, ʃetko ʔme k:ērt' ʃnerm uit'ent:i ʔek:uns ʃek'ont:m. ʔe ueuk:nt' ʔiʔk:ues, k:luti ʃ^wuei, ʃetko nsme k:ērt' uit'ent:i, ʃnēr p:ot:is ʃ^wuiom ʃulʔenm sue k^wermom uesti k^w:rneut:i, ʃ^wuimus k^w:e ʃuelʔn neʔsti. t:ot' k:ek:luis ʃ^weuis pleʃnom ʔe pēuk'.</p>

CLASSIC INDO-EUROPEAN	CENTRAL INDO-EUROPEAN
<p>ʃ^weuis ioi ʃulʔneʃ nēʔs ʔekuns ʔe uēi'd, tom ʔg^wrʃeum uoʔgom ueʔontm, tom m'ʔeʃm borom, tom dʔmenm ʔoʔku berontm. ʔe uēuk ʃ^weuis ʔekumus, ʃedʔo ʔmoi kēr'd ʃnerm ui'denti ʔekuns ʃe'ʔontm. ʔe ueukn'd ʔiʔkues, kʔudi ʃ^wuei, ʃedʔo nsmi kēr'd ui'denti, ʃnēr potis ʃ^wuiom ʃulʔneʃm subi g^wermom uesti k^w:rneuti, ʃ^wuimus k^w:e ʃulʔneʃ neʔsti. to'd kēkʔluis ʃ^weuis pleʃnom ʔe bēu'g.</p>	<p>ʃ^weuis ioi ʃulʔneʃ nēʔs ʔekuns ʔe uēi'd, tom ʔg^wrʃum uoʔgom ueʔontm, tom m'ʔām borom, tom ʔmenm ʔoʔku berontm. ʔe uēuk ʃ^weuis ʔekumus, ʃedʔoi ʔmoi kēr'd ʃnerm ui'denti ʔekuns ʃe'ʔontm. ʔe ueukn'd ʔiʔkues, kʔudi ʃ^wuei, ʃedʔoi nsmi kēr'd ui'denti, ʃnēr potis ʃ^wuiom ʃulʔnām sube g^wermom uesti k^w:rneuti, ʃ^wuimus k^w:e ʃulʔneʃ neʔsti. to'd kēkʔluis ʃ^weuis pleʃnom ʔe bēu'g.</p>

Pronominal **to*, like **i*, may have been uninflected at an early stage (cf. K272 = 2010: 41). The stem **in-* developed an acute in Balto-Slavic times (cf. Derksen 2003). Word-final **-om* became **-un* in Balto-Slavic (cf. K263 = 2009: 43f.). The ablaut in *u*-stem adjectives appears to have been preserved in Italo-Celtic and lost in Central Indo-European. The thematic *nt*-participle was an innovation of the non-Anatolian languages. Word-final **-eʃm* was probably preserved in Italo-Celtic and became **-ām* in Central Indo-European (cf. K263 = 2009: 23 and 132f.), e.g. Greek ἄγᾶν '(too) much'. Clusters of dental plus velar stops lost their initial element before a consonant in Central Indo-European or earlier (cf. K268 = 2010: 363). Greek ἄρκυς 'fast' may be related to the word for 'horse'.

The Vedic 3rd sg. subjunctive *vócati* beside *vócāti* 'speak' points to an original athematic reduplicated aorist injunctive with a long vowel in the monosyllabic 3rd sg. form (cf. K188 = 2004: 9f.). For Balto-Slavic I reconstruct **tēr*, cf. Hittite *ter-*, Lith. *taĩti*, Prussian acc.sg. *tārin* 'voice' (=Latin *vōcem*). The dat.pl. ending **-mus* is an innovation of the non-Anatolian languages, where it replaced the general oblique plural ending **-os* which is still found in Anatolian (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 214). For

Greek *ἄχνομαι* ‘grieve’, *ἄχθομαι* ‘be grieved’, Hittite *hatk-* ‘tighten’ I reconstruct an original stative ‘be tight’ with reduction of the cluster **d^hg^h* before the nasal suffix in Greek. If Old Irish *-ágathar* ‘fears’ is related, which seems probable, the conditioned reduction of the cluster can be dated to the Classic Indo-European period. The primary ending **-oi* dates from the Central Indo-European period (cf. Ko44 = 1981). The oblique case forms **?me* ‘me’, **tue* ‘thee’, **nsme* ‘us’, **usme* ‘you’ may have been uninflected before they adopted the dat.loc. ending **-i* in Classic Indo-European times (cf. K223 = 2005 and K272 = 2010: 42). The word for ‘heart’ had a long vowel in the monosyllabic nom.acc. form, where the final stop is preserved in Armenian *sirt* and lost in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Prussian *seyr*. The participial dat.loc. form in **-enti* is coreferential with the oblique pronoun and developed into the Lithuanian gerund.

SATĀM INDO-EUROPEAN	BALTO-SLAVIC
<p>ʃ^weuiʃ ioi ʃulʃneʃ nēs ʃekuns ʃe uēiʃd, tom ʃ^wrʃum uoġom ueġontm, tom meʃġām borom, tom ġmenm ʃoʃku berontm. ʃe uēuk ʃ^weuiʃ ʃekumuʃ, ʃedġoi ʃmoi kērʃd ʃnerm uiʃdenti ʃekuns ʃeʃġontm. ʃe ueuknʃd ʃekues, kludi ʃ^weuei, ʃedġoi nsmi kērʃd uiʃdenti, ʃnēr potiʃ ʃ^weuiom ʃulʃnām subi g^wermom uesti k^wrneuti, ʃ^weuimuʃ k^we ʃulʃneʃ neʃsti. toʃd kekluuʃ ʃ^weuiʃ pleʃnom ʃe bēuʃg.</p>	<p>ʃowiʃ joi wiʃlnaʃ nēs ʃecuns wiʃdē, iʃnun tingun woʃun welkontin, iʃnun welin krowun, iʃnun žmōnin burʃu neʃontin. tēr tu ʃowiʃ ʃecumuʃ, bolei mini cēr wiʃrun wiʃdenti ʃecuns genontin. tren tu ʃecues, cludi ʃowei, bolei iʃnmuʃ cēr wiʃdenti, wiʃros potiʃ iʃʃowiun wiʃlnās subi teplān drōbin kurneuti, ʃā ʃowimuʃ wiʃlnaʃ neʃsti. to cluʃuʃ ʃowiʃ plaʃnun beʃgaʃ.</p>

EAST BALTIC	LITHUANIAN
<p>avis kuriʃ neturi viʃlnās rēgē žiʃrgoʃs, vēʃnā smāguʃs rātoʃs vēlkantj, vēʃnā didi krāvā, vēʃnā žmōnį grėtai nēsantj.</p> <p>avis sākē žiʃrgāmus, māni sáʃpā síʃrdis rēginti víʃrā ġenantj žiʃrgoʃs. žiʃrgai sākē, klāusiʃ avė, mūmus sáʃpā síʃrdis rēginti, víʃras patis iz avės viʃlnās sēvi dārā šiltā drōbį, ā avies viʃlnās neturi.</p> <p>giʃrdusiʃ tā avis bėgā į lígumą.</p>	<p>avis kuri neturi vilnos pamātė árklis, viėnā sunkiūs ratūs tráukiantj, viėnā didelį króvinį, viėnā žmōgu greitai nėsantj.</p> <p>avis pasākė arkliáms, mán širdį skaūda mātant vyrā ġenantj árklis. arkliá pasākė, klausyk aviė, mūms širdį skaūda mātant, vyras viėšpats iš aviės vilnos sáu dāro šiltā drabūžį, ō avys vilnos neturi.</p> <p>išgiʃrdusi taĩ avis pabėgo į lýgumą.</p>

The original nom.pl. ending of the consonant stems was **-es* (cf. K272 = 2010: 40). The vocative was marked by apocope before the particle **e* and later restoration of the suffix in the consonant stems (cf. Beekes 1985: 99-108), e.g. Lith. *aviė* < **owe-i*. The gen.pl. form in **-om* developed from an uninflected predicative nominal (cf. Ko30 = 1978 and K272 = 2010: 40). The creation of the reflexive dat.sg. form **sub^{hi}* beside the general oblique case form **sue* can be dated to the Classic Indo-European period. The PIE locative form in **-ēi* may have been used for both singular and plural

referents before the creation of separate case endings in the non-Anatolian languages (cf. K272 = 2010: 42). For Greek ἔφυγε ‘fled’, Latin *fūgit* I again reconstruct a root aorist (cf. K239 = 2007: 155).

Translation of the text (cf. Lehmann & Zgusta 1979: 456, 462): “A sheep that had no wool saw horses, one pulling a heavy cart, one carrying a big load, and one quickly carrying a man. The sheep said to the horses: My heart pains me seeing a man driving horses. The horses said: Listen sheep, our hearts pain us when we see that a man, the master, makes the wool of sheep into a warm garment for himself, and the sheep have no wool. Having heard this, the sheep fled into the plain.”

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