

*Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme*. Band 1: *Einleitung, Terminologie, Lautgesetze, Adverbialendungen, Nominalsuffixe, Anhänge und Indices*. Band 2: *Lexikon*. By George E. Dunkel. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2014. Pp. 338; 861.

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In this massive, and truly monumental, two-volume work that was years in the making, author George Dunkel (henceforth D) draws on the extensive research, and the literally dozens of articles, that he has done throughout his distinguished career as an Indo-Europeanist, investigating the uninflected bits and pieces – the ἄπτωτα (áptota), the *indeclinabilia*<sup>1</sup> – of the Indo-European lexicon that are so indispensable to the phrasal and sentential syntax and to discourse and text structure in all the family's languages. These are the adverbials, the connectives, the discourse markers – in short, the *particles* noted in the work's title.

For several reasons, these are elements that have not gotten the attention they deserve from scholars over the years, certainly so when they are compared with the extreme interest from the very start of the discipline of Indo-European studies in the nominal and verbal systems of the various languages and of the proto-language. Despite their importance for Indo-European discourse and syntax, these ἄπτωτα have never appeared to be primary – that is, nominal and verbal – material and thus were generally set aside by scholars in favor of more overtly contentful items. Also, unlike nouns and verbs, which fit into clear systems of derivation and inflection,<sup>2</sup> any sort of systematic nature for the particles has not been at all obvious. In giving a clear picture of this neglected area of Indo-European grammar, D states that the work under review “ist ein Lexikon ‘for the rest of us’”, specifically contrasting what he produced with what has been done on the nouns, adjectives and verbs of Indo-European.<sup>3</sup>

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1. ‘Un-case-marked’ (and therefore ‘undeclined’ or ‘uninflected’) and ‘indeclinable’, in Greek and Latin, respectively; note that, starting in print at least as early as Dunkel 2007, D calls himself an *aptotologist*.
  2. This is not to say that there is no debate as to the details of those systems, but the fact of their systematicity has never been called into question.
  3. And apparently channeling the Costanza family from the TV show *Seinfeld*, with its December holiday of Festivus, an alternative to Christmas said to be “for the rest of us”.

D makes a good case for taking particles seriously, in much the same way that nouns and verbs have been treated. He notes (p. 16), for instance, that there are parallel patterns of ablaut found among nouns, verbs and suffixes, the elements recognized as showing ablaut variants from the earliest days of Indo-European studies; one such pattern is the *e*-grade/zero-grade ablaut, as in Table 1:

**Table 1.** Ablaut patterns across different morpheme types

Noun	Verb	Suffix	Particle
*dyéw-/diw- ' "sky"	*H <sub>1</sub> és-/ *H <sub>1</sub> s- ' "be"	*-ént-/ -nt- ' (present participle)	*épi/*pi "on, toward"
*H <sub>2</sub> nér-/H <sub>2</sub> nr ' "man"	*H <sub>1</sub> éy-/ *H <sub>1</sub> i- ' "go"	*-né-/ * -n- ' (present stem infix)	*én/*n̄ "in, into"

Moreover, D notes that 19 of the 20 most frequent individual forms in the Rigveda are particles and pronouns, a fact which gives evidence of their textual importance. But the strongest argument for not dismissing the particles is that they actually do have their own structural patterns for formation and are not just random scraps of material pressed into discourse-related service.

In his many writings on the matter over the years, D has discerned a system in the formation of particles, and he lays out this system of derivation in its fullest glory in this work. He identifies a set of basic, i.e., underived, particles (*Grundpartikeln*, P) and a set of derived particles. He gives the following generalizations about the internal structure of derived particles, saying they can be derivatives of the basic particles (< P), sequences of particles (P+P) or particles with adverbial endings (P+E<sub>adv</sub>). Moreover, the particulars of the system are such as to encompass pronominal stems as well, so that many pronominal elements are made up of sequences of the same or related pieces that make up particles (e.g., with adverbial endings), hence the inclusion of pronouns in the title and in the content of the work. There are also what D calls "root adverbs" (*Wurzeladverb*), which consist of a previously unrecognized category of adverbial roots plus an adverbial ending.

In D's system, there are 47 basic particles – e.g., \*ad "in Richtung, zu – hin; bei",<sup>4</sup> which figures in the thematic ablative ending \*-o-ad (Sanskrit *-ād*) and gives the Latin preposition *ad*, or \*per "durch, darüber hinaus, über", which is the source of the Gothic preverb *fair-* (Old High German *fir-*, Old English *fyr-*) and the

4. Given how difficult it can be to give precise definitions for elements such as these, I give D's German definitions rather than attempt English translations.

Albanian preposition *për* – and 88 safely reconstructible derived particles – e.g., \*en-ter (P+E<sub>adv</sub>) “mittendrin; zwischen”, as in Old Irish *eter*, Vedic *antar*, or \*kinú(m) (P+P) “hier und jetzt, nun”, as in Hittite *kinun* (and, with an invertability that several pairs of particles show, Latin *nunc*). A key piece as well in D’s system, and a significant part of the entries, is that the particles can figure in nominal derivation – e.g., \*preti, a variant of \*proti (\*pro + -ti, that is, a P+E<sub>adv</sub> derivative) is the basis for Latin *pretium* “Gegenwert, Wert, Preis” (< \*preti-o- via the meaning “was gegenüber steht”) – and in composition, e.g., \*proti-H<sub>3</sub>k<sup>w</sup>-o- “Anlitz, Gesicht” (via the meaning \*das Entgegenschauende), formed with the root \*H<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>- “see”, is the preform for Vedic *prātīka-* “face”. It is noteworthy too that D’s ἄπτωτα figure also in the formation of verbal endings: 1PL \*-mes and its variant \*-men are built on \*mé “inmitten, einschliesslich; mit” with zero-grades of \*és “völlig, vollständig, ganz, total (bei Verben perfektivierend)” and \*én “in, drinnen, hinein”, respectively, thus both P+P but occurring post-verbally.

In these two volumes, D presents an exhaustive catalogue of these elements and all their combinatorics: with other particles, with adverbial suffixes, with nominal elements, with verbal roots, etc. Volume 1 contains a host of useful introductory material, including the structural system outlined above (presented in greater detail) and indices that are absolutely invaluable for navigating around this complex but highly informative work. Also to be found there are a list of sound changes relevant for the various branches, a glossary of terminology encountered in the entries, a catalogue of the 18 adverbial endings that D recognizes and an essential bibliography. Volume 2 contains the entries, organized by roots for particles or lexicalized formations (like \*enter, despite its P+E<sub>adv</sub> etymology), and in each entry there are sections on form, on function and meaning, and on etymology, along with relevant bibliography, and details on combinations with other elements and on participation in various types of derivation (adverbial, nominal, particle, etc.). There is extensive cross-referencing between entries, which makes it easier to get a sense of the inter-relationships among the elements under examination.

Hittite (and Anatolian more broadly, thus including a lot of Luvian), Vedic Sanskrit (and Indo-Iranian more generally, thus including a considerable amount of Avestan and even modern Iranian material), Greek and Latin (and Italic more widely) figure most prominently in the various lemmata, and they provide the raw material that D includes and analyzes. The prominence of these languages is not surprising because of the abundance of material available and the predilection these languages show for particles (cf. Denniston 1954 on Greek particles alone and Josephson 1972 on Hittite), as well as, perhaps, the fact that, as knowledgeable as he is in general about Indo-European, D is particularly expert in these branches. Still, there is material from languages across all the major branches of Indo-European, and forms from the minor, i.e., relatively poorly

attested, branches are to be found as well; for instance, Phrygian  $\mu\epsilon$  pops up, quite appropriately, in the presentation on \*mé “inmitten, einschliesslich; mit” (Vol. 2, p. 494) and Venetic *ego* is listed (Vol. 2, p. 201) in the entry for \*éǵ- “ich”, as of course it should be.

With a work of this scope, with so many forms treated from so many different languages, it is perhaps inevitable that specialists will find fault with some aspects or other of D’s analyses or reconstructions or decisions about what to include under what entry. I did some spot-checking of entries of personal interest,<sup>5</sup> specifically the negation elements \*ne and \*mē and the reflexive morpheme \*swe, and came away impressed at the range of material that D subsumes under each entry, the care with which each form is documented and the very useful cross-references that he provides to other entries in the lexicon.

Massive compendia are a staple in Indo-European studies, where such works as Pokorny 1959 and Rix & Kümmel 2001, not to mention all the important etymological dictionaries,<sup>6</sup> have been standard reference works for years and years. While some of the material in D’s own massive compendium can be found in these other works, it is scattered and is not given a systematic treatment. George Dunkel’s *Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme* can take its place alongside these classic works, as it is an indispensable source of interesting insights and information that will be consulted and discussed – and argued about – repeatedly by Indo-Europeanists for decades to come.

## Reference

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5. Due to work I have done in the past on these elements.

6. I note here only my two favorites, Chantraine 1968/1999 and Mayrhofer 1953–1980/1986–2001, out of the literally dozens of fine works that could be cited.

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