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## Old Church Slavonic (j)utro, Vedic uṣár- ‘daybreak, morning’

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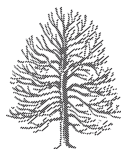
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# *Farnah*

Indo-Iranian and Indo-European Studies

in Honor of

**Sasha Lubotsky**



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# Old Church Slavonic (*j*)*utro*, Vedic *uśár-* 'daybreak, morning'\*

TIJ MEN PRONK



## 1 Old Church Slavonic (*j*)*utro* 'daybreak, morning'

A well-known problem of Slavic etymology concerns the word for 'daybreak, morning'. Most attestations of the word can be traced back to a Proto-Slavic form *\*(j)utro* (Derksen 2008:510, Matasović et al. 2016:411f.):

OCS *utro, jutro*, ORu. *utro*, Ru., Bulg., Mac. *útro*, Polab. *jautriü*, Pol., Slk., USorb. *jutro*, LSorb. *jutšo*, OCz. *jutro, utro*, Cz. *jítro*, Sln. *jútro*, dial. *vütro*, S., Cr. *jütro*.

The Old Church Slavonic word translates Greek *πρωία* 'early in the day' and *ῥοθροος* 'daybreak'. The accentuation of the Slavic forms points to an original paradigm with fixed acute accent on the initial syllable. Several Slavic languages preserve traces of a stem variant *\*(j)ustr-*: OCS (Ps. Sin.) *zaustra* (adv., once instead of normal *zautra*) 'early', Bulg. *zástra* (f.) 'morning', OPol. *justrzejszy* (adj.) 'morning-', probably also CS *riza ustra* 'vestis aestiva' (cf. Nieminen 1956:19f.).

The ultimate origin of Slavic *\*(j)utro* 'daybreak, morning' and its variant *\*(j)ustr-* is hardly disputed: they derive from the Proto-Indo-European root *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-* that is reflected in the *s*-stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-ōs* 'dawn' (Skt. *uśás-*, Lat. *aurōra*, Gk. *ἠώς*). The alternative connection of *\*(j)utro* (but not *\*(j)ustr-*) to the Slavic verbal root *\*jut-* 'to feel' (Schuster-Šewc 1978–96:7.469f.) has little to recommend it.

Although the etymology of the Slavic word is thus not in doubt, how a proto-form derived from the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-* could have produced (*j*)*utro* has remained unexplained. It has been suggested that *\*(j)utro* is the result of contamination of multiple different words, but which words other than the inherited word for 'dawn' would have been involved remains unclear (Meillet 1905:406: "il serait chimérique de vouloir reconstituer le détail"). This explanation is thus not satisfactory. In the following, I will try to offer an alternative explanation for the stem variants *\*(j)utr-* and *\*(j)ustr-*. In order to do so, we will first take a look at the outer-Slavic cognates.

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\*This article benefited from the comments on an earlier version made by Lucien van Beek, Anthony Jacob, Stephanie Jamison, and Frederik Kortlandt.

The nearest cognates of the Slavic word are found in East Baltic: Lith. *aušrà*, *auštrà*, *aušarà*, *úšra* (also *úšrà*, *úšras*), Latv. *āustra*, *aūstra* ‘dawn’. Other Indo-European forms with a suffix *-r-* are the following: Skt. *uṣár-* (f.) ‘morning, daybreak’ (on the meaning see below), *uṣar-būdāh-* ‘awakening at dawn’, Gk. *ἠέριος* ‘early’ (Kiparsky 1967:625), *αὔριον* ‘tomorrow’, built on a loc. sg. *\*ambri*, probably also OE *ēastre* ‘Spring goddess, Easter’, OHG *ōstara* ‘Easter’.<sup>1</sup> These forms reflect what appears to be a Proto-Indo-European derivative in *-r-* from the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-*. But the derivation of the Slavic words from the same Proto-Indo-European formation *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-r-* runs into four phonological problems:

1. The origin of the alternation between initial *u-* and *ju-* is debated.
2. The acute intonation of the root is unexpected.
3. The reflex of *\*-s-* is irregular in both variants of the root (see below).
4. The alternation between forms with and without *\*-s-* is unexpected.

We will discuss these problems one by one.

The alternation between initial *u-* and *ju-* is of recent origin. The allomorph with initial *ju-* must have been generalized from a sandhi variant with automatic *j-* after a word ending in a front vowel, as in OCS *javiti* next to *aviti* ‘to show’ < *\*(j)ā-* and ORu. *jedova* next to *odova* ‘hardly’ < *\*(j)a-* (cf. Nieminen 1956:26). Unlike Nieminen (l.c.), I see no reason to assume additional analogical influence from the word *juže* ‘already’.

The acute intonation of the root of Proto-Slavic *\*(j)utro* is also found in the Lithuanian cognate *úšra(s)* (from Juška’s 19th-century dictionary, which contains many West Aukštaitian words), and in Latvian dialectal *aūstra* (attested in Livonian dialects, see Mülenbachs and Endzelīns 1923–32:1.229), which is found next to the non-acute variant *āustra*. The acute intonation points to the prior presence of a laryngeal after the nucleus of the first syllable. Elsewhere (Pronk 2011), I have suggested that the acute intonation may have arisen in a form with an unattested zero grade of the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-*, which became *\*uH-* through what seems to have been a regular metathesis (Kortlandt 1977, Young 2006). This appears to be the only possible explanation for the accentual variation that we find in Balto-Slavic. The fact that both acute and non-acute reflexes of the root were preserved in Baltic would suggest that the ablaut alternation between a full-grade *\*Haus-* and a zero-grade *\*uHs-* was eliminated in Baltic and Slavic independently. This raises the questions of what the distribution of these variants used to be and whether we can reconstruct the Balto-Slavic paradigm in more detail. In order to answer these questions, we will now turn to the problematic reflexes of *\*s* in the Slavic forms.

The sibilant *\*s* is reflected in two ways in the Slavic words: it was lost completely in the noun *(j)utro*, but in some derived forms it was preserved as *\*s*. Both reflexes are problematic

<sup>1</sup>For the semantic shift ‘dawn’ > ‘Easter’ cf. USorb. *jutry* ‘Easter’ alongside LSorb. *jutšo* ‘morning, East’, if the Upper Sorbian word is not a calque from German. I am not convinced by Udolph’s (1999) alternative etymology for *Easter*, viz. as a derivative from PGM. *\*ausan-* ‘to scoop, pour’, cf. the review by Green (2001). It is unclear whether Lat. *auster* (m.) ‘south (wind)’ can also be analyzed as a derivative in *\*-r-* from the word for ‘dawn’. De Vaan (2008:64) reconstructs *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-tero-*, because *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-r-* would have produced *\*aubr-*. A parallel formation is found in ON *austr* ‘east’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-tero-*. For the Latin word one might also consider a reconstruction *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-Vs-tero-* or *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-er-o-* (cf. *caurus* ‘northwest wind’ < *\*kau-er-o-*), assuming that syncope took place before *\*s* was rhotacized as in *pōnō* ‘I put’ < *\*posinō* (but cf. *ornus* ‘ash tree’ < *\*osinos*, Weiss 2009:124) and that a new cluster *\*-sr-* that arose after syncope would receive an epenthetic *\*-t-*.

if we start from a proto-form *\*ausra* because the regular reflex of word-internal *\*-sr-* is *-zdr-* in Slavic, as is shown by the following two examples:

OCS *nozdrī* ‘nostrils’ < *\*nb<sub>2</sub>es-r-* (cf. Lith. *nasrāt* ‘snout’)

CS *mezdra* ‘upper skin’ < *\*mēms-r-* (cf. Lat. *membrum*)

The sibilant was first voiced by the following *-r-*, after which an epenthetic *-d-* was inserted into the cluster. There is one possible counterexample to this development, viz. the word for ‘sister’, which will be discussed below. Epenthesis remained productive until after Proto-Slavic broke up, e.g. OCS *bezdrazuma* < *bez razuma*, also in late or post-Proto-Slavic loanwords, e.g. OCS *Izdraiilb* ‘Israel’ (Vaillant 1950:77). In older formations, it is found in the cluster *-str-* < *\*-śr-* < *\*-ĥr-*, e.g. in *ostrb* ‘sharp’ < PIE *\*b<sub>2</sub>ekro-*. The fact that the latter did not undergo voicing may indicate that the (phonetic stage of the) voicing of *\*-s-* before *-r-* took place when the reflex of *\*ĥ* was still an occlusive or affricate. If the Slavic word for ‘day-break, morning’ reflected an older *\*ausraH*, as in Lith. *aušrà*, its expected outcome would be *\*\*uzdra*. If we now turn to Lithuanian, we see that two ablaut variants of the word for ‘dawn’ exist: next to *aušrà* we find a southeastern dialectal form *aušarà*. These variants point to an original ablauting paradigm with the stem allomorphs *\*ausa/er-* and *ausr-* (Nieminen 1956:21f.). Such an ablauting paradigm provides an explanation for the attested Slavic forms.

Let us first discuss the form without *\*s*. Nieminen (1956:23), following Mikkola (1942:179), argued that *\*s* was lost due to distant dissimilation in constructions like *\*za ustra*, *\*s<sub>b</sub> ustra* ‘early’ and *\*ustro se* ‘this morning’. This is an *ad hoc* solution, which is weakened by the fact that it is precisely OCS *zaustra* in which the *-s-* is preserved. The only way the *\*-s-* could have been lost regularly is if the preform of *\*utro* was *\*uxtro*, with *\*x* < *\*ś* < *\*s* after *-u-* according to the *RUKI*-rule (thus already von der Osten-Sacken 1914): Proto-Slavic *\*x* was regularly lost before a consonant, e.g. OCS *luna* ‘moon’ < *\*luxna* < PIE *\*louksneh<sub>2</sub>*, *črēnb* ‘black’ < *\*kirxno-* < PIE *\*krsno-*. However, the *RUKI*-rule was reversed if *\*s* was followed by a dental or velar occlusive in Slavic (Vaillant 1950:29), cf. OCS 1pl. aor. *byx-om<sub>b</sub>* but 2pl. *bys-te* ‘were’, *m<sub>b</sub>zda* ‘payment’ < *\*mišd-* and the adjectival suffix *-bšk-* < *\*-išk-*. OCS *zaustra* shows that this assimilation of *\*ś* to a following occlusive occurred after the insertion of epenthetic *-t-* in the cluster *\*-sr-*. The reflex *\*-x-* therefore cannot be original in *\*uxtro*, as was observed already by Mikkola (1942:179). Mikkola concluded that *\*(j)utro* cannot not derive from earlier *\*uxtro*. It seems to me that Mikkola’s objection can be overcome if we assume that *\*x* was introduced from a cognate form in which older *\*s* was not adjacent to the following *\*r*. The existence of such a form is supported by the Lithuanian dialectal form *aušarà* mentioned above. In Slavic, the cognate of the Lithuanian form would be pre-Proto-Slavic *\*ausa/er-*. From this form, *\*x* could be introduced analogically into the zero-grade form *\*auxtr-* to produce *\*utro*.

The variant *\*ustr-* with *-s-* can also be understood if we start from a Proto-Slavic ablauting paradigm. After the regular voicing of *\*-sr-* to *\*-zr-*, the *-s-*, phonetically [ʃ], must have been restored in *\*ausr-*, again from the full-grade *\*ausar-* or *\*auser-*. The complete course of events from Proto-Balto-Slavic to Slavic was then as follows:

1. ablauting Proto-Balto-Slavic *\*(a)use/ar-*, *ausr-* >
2. pre-Proto-Slavic *\*auše/ar-*, *auzr-* >>



3. \*auṣe/ar-, auṣr- >
4. \*auxe/ar-, auṣr- >
5. \*auxe/ar-, austr- >>
6. Proto-Slavic \*auxtr-, in some constructions or derivatives also \*austr- >
7. Common Slavic \*utr-, \*ustr-.

Parallel analogical restoration of \*s (stage 3) is found in the word for ‘sister’. This word is reflected as an *r*-stem in Lithuanian, *sesuō*, gen. sg. *sesė̃s*, but has become an *ā*-stem in Slavic and Old Prussian: OCS *sestra*, OPr. *swestro*.<sup>2</sup> A parallel substitution of an *ā*-stem for a Balto-Slavic *r*-stem is found in Lith. *dukrà* ‘daughter’ from *dukter-* (Snoj *apud* Bezlej 1976–2007:3.230). OCS *sestra* cannot continue an older \**sesa* < \**sesō* (pace Vondrák 1906:491, Vaillant 1958:259), because the nom. sg. ending of the amphidynamic *r*-stems was *-y* < \**-ō(r)*, as is shown by *četyre* ‘four’ < \**k<sup>w</sup>et-uōr* + \**-es*, cf. Goth. *fidwor*, Lat. *quattuor*, and *pastyr’v* ‘shepherd’ < \**peh<sub>2</sub>s-tōr* + \**-jo-*, cf. Lat. *pāstor*. The raising of the long vowel in these two examples is identical to that in *mati* ‘mother’ < \**meh<sub>2</sub>-tē(r)* and *kamy* ‘stone’ < \**b<sub>2</sub>ek-mō(n)*. The sequence *-str-* of *sestra* is not analogical to *bratr-* ‘brother’, as was suggested by Thieme (1963:241). Instead, it resulted from restoration of the cluster *-sr-* in the original *r*-stem paradigm before the word became an *ā*-stem:

1. Proto-Balto-Slavic \**sesō(r)*, acc. sg. \**seserin*, gen. sg. \**sesres* (cf. Skt. ins. sg. *svāsrā*, Arm. gen. sg. *k’er* < \**suesr-*) >
2. pre-Proto-Slavic \**sesū*, acc. sg. \**seserin*, gen. sg. \**sezres* >>
3. \**sesū*, acc. sg. \**seserin*, gen. sg. \**sesres* >>
4. \**sesraH* >
5. OCS *sestra*, with the already familiar epenthesis of \**t*.

We have seen above that the root syllable and the suffix of the word for ‘dawn’ must have shown ablaut in Proto-Balto-Slavic. We can reconstruct a Proto-Balto-Slavic ablauting *r*-stem \*(*H*)*ausr-*, \**uHse/ar-*. The latter form has left its traces in the intonation of the root of Slavic \**ūturo* and Latv. *āustra*, the root of Lith. *úšra(s)*, the suffix of Lith. *aušarà* and the consonant clusters of OCS *utro* and *zaustra*.

## 2 Vedic uṣár- ‘daybreak, (early) morning’

The Balto-Slavic *r*-stem can be compared with the Vedic feminine *r*-stem *uṣár-*. The *ā*-stem that we find in Baltic (Lith. *aušrà*) superficially resembles Vedic *uṣrā-* ‘dawn’ (cf. also Lat. *aurōra*), but the Vedic word is usually thought to be a substantivized form of the adjective *uṣrā-* ‘red, matutinal’ (Mayrhofer 1986–2001:1.239). The *ro*-adjective itself is attested in Vedic only and may well be an Indo-Aryan or Indo-Iranian innovation (Lundquist 2014:98).

Nussbaum (1986:236f.) argued that the only form to go back to Proto-Indo-European was a locative \**b<sub>2</sub>us-er*, attested in Vedic *uṣar-búdh-* ‘awaking with the morning light’. If this is correct, the individual branches all innovated. In Vedic, the original locative was replaced

<sup>2</sup>The initial *sw-* of the Prussian word is usually considered to be a spelling error under the influence of Low German *swester* (Mažiulis 1988–97:4.173). It has also been suggested that the Old Prussian word is a borrowing from Slavic, but this seems less likely, even if in Grunau’s vocabulary the word for ‘sister’ is given as *schostro*, which is clearly from Polish *siostra*.

by *\*h<sub>2</sub>usrí* and at least a gen. sg. and acc. pl. form *usráḥ* were back-formed to the locative. No other *r*-stem forms are attested in Vedic, which could indicate that *usráḥ* was formed within Vedic to replace the gen. sg., acc. pl. form *uṣáḥ* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>us-s-e/os*, which contained no clearly identifiable suffix after the degemination of *\*-ss-*. Greek replaced the locative *\*h<sub>2</sub>user* with a new locative *\*h<sub>2</sub>éusri*, from which *αὔριον* ‘tomorrow’ was derived. Balto-Slavic replaced the *s*-suffix with the *-r-* from the locative and Germanic also reshuffled the paradigm to create a stem *\*ausr-*.

The required amount of often not clearly motivated analogical restructuring weakens Nussbaum’s scenario and justifies consideration of an alternative one, viz. that the ablauting *r*-stem of Vedic and Balto-Slavic was inherited from Proto-Indo-European. If there was indeed a PIE noun *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-r-*, there must have been a semantic difference between it and the PIE *s*-stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-s-*. It seems to me that one can indeed be reconstructed based on the languages in which either or both nouns have been preserved. The *s*-stem clearly denotes the deity Dawn in Vedic, Greek, and Latin. The *r*-stem, on the other hand, does not denote the deity but only a part of the day in Balto-Slavic and Greek and, with one exception, in Vedic. As Lundquist (2014) observed, *uṣár-* never occurs in the Rigvedic hymns to Dawn except the suspicious-looking voc. sg. *uṣár* in RV 1.49.4, where its use appears to be due to word play. Lundquist sees this as an indication for the secondary nature of the *r*-stem, but I think that it rather points to a semantic difference between *uṣár-* and *uṣás-*. Let us have a look at the handful of other attestations of the *r*-stem in the Rigveda. In each case, I have provided the translations of Geldner (1951–7) and Jamison and Brereton (2014).

RV 1.69.9	<i>uṣó ná járó vibhāvósráḥ</i>
Geldner:	“Wie der Buhle der Morgenröte, der Erheller des Morgens”
Jamison and Brereton:	“Ruddy and far-radiant like the lover of Dawn”
Comment:	The hymn is dedicated to Agni. Jamison and Brereton translate ‘ruddy’, analyzing <i>usráḥ</i> here as belonging to <i>usrá-</i> ‘red’. In a few other passages, they also translate <i>uṣár-</i> as ‘ruddy, reddening’ (see below).
RV 3.58.4	<i>prá mitráso ná dadúr usró ágre</i>
Geldner:	“haben sie wie Freunde euch dargereicht vor Anbruch der Morgenröte” (i.e. priests have given honey to the Ásvins)
Jamison and Brereton:	“like allies they [= the priests] have given . . . to you at the beginning of the reddening (dawn).”
Comment:	Gonda (1981:79) argued for a translation of <i>usró ágre</i> as “in front of Dawn” instead of “vor Anbruch der Morgenröte,” because the Ásvins appear together with or just after, but not before dawn (ibid. 80). Jamison and Brereton’s translation would also work. A similar and more frequent construction of <i>ágra-</i> is with gen. pl. <i>uṣásām</i> instead of <i>usró</i> , e.g. in RV 4.13.1 and 7.9.3.
RV 5.49.3	<i>pūṣá bhágo áditir vásta usráḥ</i>
Geldner:	“Pusan, Bhaga, Aditi am Anbruch des Morgens”
Jamison and Brereton:	“—Pūṣan, Bhaga, Aditi— at the dawning of the ruddy (Dawn).”

Comment: Cf. the *ā*-stem form *usrás* in *vasta usráh* in RV 4.25.2, 6.3.6, 7.69.5, which, in view of the fact that the *ā*-stem is an innovation of Indo-Aryan, are probably, in Debrunner and Wackernagel’s words (1930:213): “jüngere Feminisierungen von *usráh*.” They appear to have replaced earlier *usrás*.

RV 5.53.14  
Geldner: *vṣtví sám yór āpa usrí bheṣajám*  
“Wenn es geregnet hat, sollen die Wasser in der Morgenfrühe Glück und Arznei sein.”

Jamison and Brereton: “When it rains, the waters are luck and lifetime; at dawn they are medicine.”

RV 6.12.4  
Geldner: *-usráh pitéva jārayāyi yajñāih*  
“wie der Vater der Usas zum Buhlen ward, so ward er durch die Opfer erweckt.”

Jamison and Brereton: “like a father he is to be woken dawn after dawn by sacrifices.”  
Comment: Jamison and Brereton take *usráh* to be an accusative plural, instead of the genitive singular reading of Geldner. If *uṣár*- did not refer to a personified Dawn, the accusative plural reading must be the correct one.

RV 7.15.8  
Geldner: *kṣápa usrás ca dīdihī*  
“Alle Nächte und Morgen leuchte!”  
Jamison and Brereton: “Shine throughout the nights and dawns”  
Comment: Cf. again the replacement of *usrás* by *usrás* in RV 6.52.15 (*kṣápa usrá varivasyantu deváh*). The nominalized feminine *usrá*- is attested with the meaning ‘daybreak, morning’ in a few other passages as well (acc. sg. *usrám* in RV 10.6.5, gen. sg. *usrás* in RV 1.71.2, acc. pl. *usrás* in RV 10.35.8).

RV 8.41.3  
Geldner: *ny ūsró māyāyā dadhe*  
“durch seine Zaubermacht hat er die Morgenröten eingesetzt”  
Jamison and Brereton: “by his magic art he deposited the ruddy (dawns)”  
Comment: *uṣár*- is contrasted with *kṣáp*- ‘night’ in the preceding hemistich. Later on in the same verse, Varuṇa’s *venīr* increase three dawns, expressed by *uṣás*. What is meant here remains unclear, so the passage sheds no light on the semantic difference between *uṣás*- and *uṣár*-.

These attestations of *uṣár*- can and in most cases must refer to a time at the beginning of the day, contrasting with *kṣáp*- ‘night’. The word does not appear to refer to either the reddening of the sky or the deity Dawn (with the exception of the probably artificial vocative *uṣar* in RV 1.49.4). *uṣás*-, on the other hand, is used in all three meanings. A translation ‘daybreak, (early) morning’, Geldner’s ‘Morgen, Morgenfrühe’ thus makes sense. The temporal meaning of *uṣár*-, also seen in *uṣar-būdlo*- ‘awakening at dawn’ matches that of OCS (j)utro ‘morning’ and Gk. ἠέριος ‘early’, αὔριον ‘tomorrow’ and therefore supports the reconstruction

of a PIE *r*-stem with this meaning. The *s*-stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-s-* would then originally have referred to the deity and sunrise before taking over the temporal meaning in some of the daughter languages, cf. Vedic *doṣā . . . uṣāsi* ‘in the evening . . . at dawn’ (RV, 4×).

The temporal, non-personified meaning of *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-r-* might also point to the origin of the *r*-suffix in this word. The suffix *\*(e)r-* was at some point productive in words denoting a time or period, e.g. Lat. *nocturnus*, *hibernus*, Gk. *νύκτωρ* (Lundquist 2014:93ff., Pronk 2015:347f.). This productivity was partly post-Proto-Indo-European, e.g. in Indo-Aryan locatives in *-ar* (Lundquist 2014) or Latin adjectives in *-rnus*. The model may have been *r/n*-stems with temporal meanings, e.g. the words for ‘day’ and ‘spring’ (thus Pronk l.c.) or other temporal-locative adverbs of the type PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>uper* (Lundquist 2014), cf. also the *-r* of Goth. *hvar*, Lith. *kuř*, Arm. *ur* ‘where?’ (see further Bauhaus forthcoming for a discussion of locatives and adverbs in *\*-r*).

### 3 PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eusér* ‘daybreak, (early) morning’

The last question to be answered in this paper is whether we can reconstruct the exact PIE paradigm of *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-r-*. There is ample evidence for ablaut of both root and suffix. Root-ablaut is required to explain the intonations of the Balto-Slavic words and is confirmed by the fact that Greek, Latin, and Germanic continue a (stressed) full-grade allomorph of the root while Vedic preserves the zero grade of the root. The attested forms are in fact compatible with the PIE hysterodynamic *r*-stem paradigm that is reflected in Greek *ἀήρ* ‘mist, haze’. Kiparsky (1967:626) rather attractively proposed that *ἀήρ* as well as *αὔρα* ‘morning mist’ (in Od. 5.469), breeze, fresh air’ derive from *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-r-*. Kiparsky reconstructed an original meaning ‘dimness’, but it seems easier to start from a meaning ‘early morning mist, fresh morning air’, which could have developed from an earlier meaning ‘early morning’, cf. *ἠέριος* ‘early’, just like *χιών* ‘snow’ and Latin *hiems* ‘storm’ derive from an earlier meaning ‘winter’. Greek *ἀήρ* and *αὔρα* have been left out of the discussion above, but their etymology is strengthened by the other evidence for the existence of a PIE *r*-stem. Because the direct cases of the *r*-stem are unattested in Vedic, their reconstruction must be based on Greek *ἀήρ*. The Greek noun is feminine, but OCS *(j)utro* is neuter. Because no other neuter *r*-stems can be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European, Greek probably preserves the original gender. Our honorand has shown that the apparent neuter *r*-stem PIE *\*ueh<sub>1</sub>-r* ‘water’ reflected in Vedic *vān-* and Luvian *uān-* was rather the nom.-acc. sg. form to the oblique stem *\*ud-(e)n-* (Lubotsky 2013). The neuter gender of OCS *(j)utro* is therefore best explained as secondary, in spite of the fact that a clear source from which the neuter gender could have been introduced analogically is lacking. The only form that appears to contradict a PIE hysterodynamic paradigm is Lith. *aušarà*, which at first sight seems to continue an *o*-grade of the suffix. This form is, however, parallel to a number of cases in which East Baltic appears to reflect *o*-vocalism in the suffix of an *r*-stem that is not supported by *o*-grade forms in other branches of Indo-European:

Lith. *vėdaras* ‘sausage, intestines, stomach’, Latv. *vėdars* ‘belly’ < *\*ued-or-o-*, but Skt. *udāra-* ‘belly, womb’ < *\*ud-er-o-*, Lith. *vėderas* ‘sausage, stomach’, OPr. *weders*, Latv. *vėders* ‘belly’, *pavėdere* ‘lower part of the belly’ < *\*ued-er-*, OCS *vědro* ‘barrel’ < *\*ued-ro-*, Lith. *paúdrė* ‘underbelly of a sow’ < *\*ud-r-*.

- Lith. *vākaraš*, Latv. *vakars* ‘evening’ < \**uek<sup>w</sup>sp-or-o-*, but OCS *večerŏ*, Gk. ἔσπερος, Lat. *vesper*, W *ucher*, Arm. *gišer* < \**uek<sup>w</sup>sp-er-o-*.  
 Lith. *vāsara* ‘summer’, *pavāseris* ‘spring’ < \**uos-or-*, but dial. *pavāseris* ‘spring’, OLith. *vasera* < \**uos-er-*, Gk. ἔαρ ‘spring’, OCS *vesna* ‘spring’ < \**ues-r/n-*.

Suffixal *-a-* in these forms can be explained as due to a specific East Baltic umlaut of \**e* before resonant + *-a-* (cf. Endzelin 1922:48f.). The same is then also true for Lith. *aušarà*. I therefore reconstruct the following Proto-Indo-European paradigm based of the data from Balto-Slavic, Vedic and Greek:<sup>3</sup>

	‘daybreak, (early) morning’ (f.)
nom. sg.	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>eus-ér</i>
acc. sg.	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>eus-ér-m</i>
gen. sg.	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>us-r-és</i>
loc. sg.	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>us-ér(-i)</i>

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<sup>3</sup>This paradigm is not prototypically hysterodynamic because it has a full grade of the root in the direct cases, unlike e.g. *πατήρ* < \**ph<sub>2</sub>tēr*. It can be explained from an earlier, pre-PIE paradigm nom. \**h<sub>2</sub>éus-r*, acc. \**h<sub>2</sub>us-ér-m*, gen. \**h<sub>2</sub>us-r-és*, loc. \**h<sub>2</sub>us-ér(-i)* in which the full grades of the direct cases were leveled. A similar development probably gave rise to the PIE amphidynamic paradigm at an earlier stage (Kloekhorst 2013).

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