

**PIE**  $*=k^w e$ : other semantic values.

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Most of the western IE languages as well as the Indo-Iranian branch attest the enclitic particle  $*=k^w e$  as a relational-connective morpheme. This particle is also present in Anatolian, although the functions it fulfils in this language family are not as straightforward as in the rest of the IE languages. The objective of this paper is to reanalyse other semantic values different from the connective-copulative one traditionally attributed to PIE  $*=k^w e$ . This analysis will be based on Ancient Greek, Indo-Iranian and Anatolian material.

With a closer look at the Mycenaean and Hittite data, it seems evident that other semantic values are being expressed by this enclitic. For instance, the grammaticalization of the negative marker and the enclitic particle (NEG= $k^w e$ ) in Myc. *o-u-qe*, presenting an inconsistent usage with Gr. *oúte*, and the uses of Myc. *=qe* in the Pylos tablets (cf. Homer epic *=te*) may reflect non-connective values. Hitt. *nekku*, only used in rhetorical questions (cf. interrogative Lat. *ne*), could also point to non-connective value. The Myc. and Hitt. data might point to the fact that the connective values of particle the  $*=k^w e$  was not yet fully developed at this stage of the language. Also after pronouns and adverbs,  $*=k^w e$  has a generalizing meaning as in Ved. *ká ca* (cf. Lat. *quisque* or *quoque*). Moreover, the particle  $*=k^w e$  presents some conditional values in Hitt. *=kku* (in its responsive use), Hitt. *takku*, Ved. *(sá) ca, céd* “if” (cf. Lat. *absque* “if” and Goth. *nih* “if not”). Interestingly, this conditional value has been suggested for the Ancient Greek modal particles *ke*, *ken* and *kā*.

Hence, in this paper we aim to offer a systematic description of non-connective values of PIE  $*=k^w e$  that could possibly be remnants of an original function of the particle in non-assertive contexts such as interrogation, conditional and negation. In so doing, we will propose a more accurate mapping of the semantic distribution of this allegedly multifunctional particle and its levels of grammaticalization.

(References can be provided, if so requested)