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From run to desire: Lat. auere 'desire, be eager, long (for)' and *h2eu1- 'run (to/for)', Lat. accersere 'go forth', 'fetch' and Toch. B ñäsk- 'desire', Ved. avis-yú 'greedy'

From *run* to *desire*: Lat. *auēre* 'desire, be eager, long (for)' and *$h_2eu̯H_1$- 'run (to/for)', Lat. *accersere* 'go forth', 'fetch' and Toch. B *ñāsk*- 'desire', Ved. *aviṣ-yú*- 'greedy'[*]

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1. Lat. *aueō, -ēre* 'be eager (for), long (for), desire', with the derivatives *auidus* 'eager', *auiditās* 'greed', *auārus* 'greedy, avaricious', *auāritia* 'greed of gain', which was felt within Latin itself as synonymous of *uelle, cupere*, also of *gaudēre*, remains an etymological problem. No interpretation has imposed itself and the scepticism of Ernout-Meillet («étymologie peu claire») is thus probably still valid.

Lat. *auēre* has been connected, on the one hand, with Lat. (*ad*)*iuuō,-āre* 'to help, assist' and Ved. *avⁱ / ū̆* : Av. *auu*- 'id.' (and OIr *con · oí* 'protects')[1], and, on the other hand, with Ved. *av²* 'eat', *aviṣyánt*- 'greedy (of food)'[2], which have ultimately been traced back to *$h_2eu̯$- 'to enjoy'[3], and more precisely to IE *$h_2eu̯$-eh_1-

[1] Cf. ThLL s.u.: «cf. c. hibern. con. *ōi* 'servat', ind. *ávati* 'iuvat delectat satiat favet' […] fortasse c. gr. ἄιον et c. *audire*» (also Bader 1994:196); Walde-Hofmann, s.u.; Pokorny, *IEW*, 77 (*au̯-, au̯ē, au̯ēi̯*- «'gern haben', daher … 'verlangen' … 'begünstigen'»); Vendryes 1916-18, p. 273 , *LEIA* s.u. *con·oí*; Thurneysen 1946, p. 125; *Aliter* Ernout-Meillet («le groupe de *ávati* … est loin pour le sens»), Mayrhofer, *EWAi, s.u. AVⁱ*.

[2] Bergaigne 1884: 475, 488.

[3] M. Kümmel, *LIV* ² *s.v.* ('genießen') as a different root from *$h_1eu̯H$- 'helfen, fordern' (which is surely wrong in view of Hitt. *ḫuu̯ai-/ḫui̯a*- 'to run', § 3.1); a similar view is found in Vendryès 1916-18, p. 273 («être favorisé, gratifié» d'où «prendre plaisir à» et avec un régime direct «tendre vers, desirer»).

'enjoy, consume'[4]. The diverse interpretations proposed so far differ in detail, but they all have in common that they operate basically with the formal comparanda, not with the semantics of the attested forms. In fact, the same applies to the invoked comparanda, especially Ved. av^i / $\bar{u}$, which is translated as 'help, favour' and as 'enjoy, become glad, get satisfied'[5], two senses which are at first sight hardly reconcilable.

Some time ago I tried to explain both *auēre* and *iuuāre* as diverging semantic specialisations of two different stems of one and the same IE root, namely *$h_2eu̯h_1$-, which underlies also OIr *con · oi* 'protects' and Ved. av^i / $\bar{u}$: Av. *auu-* 'help, assist': the comparison of the semantics and collocations of both Latin verbs with those of Vedic could be traced back to an original sense «dar preferencia, apreciar»[6], which shifted to 'take pleasure in, enjoy' whence 'desire', and to 'assist, help'. On this assumption, the sense and collocations of Lat. *auēre* 'desire' (§ 2) are immediately explainable from an intensive *$h_2ou̯h_1$-éi̯o/e- and matches OIr. *con·oí* 'protects' (§ 4). The formal equation being perfect, the meaning of the verbs would reflect the two diverging specialisations of an original sense 'to give the preference'.

In fact, the sense of *$h_2eu̯h_1$- turns out to be 'run (for/to)', as it is shown by the Anatolian evidence, namely the word families of Hitt. *ḫuu̯ai-* ⁻ᵇʰⁱ-, *ḫui̯a*ᵐⁱ-, CLuv. *ḫūi̯a-*ᵐⁱ : HLuv. *ḫuu̯i̯a-*ᵐⁱ (*ḫù-i̯a-*) 'run, flee', and Lyc. *xuu̯a-*ᵐⁱ 'assist' (§ 3.1), which have up till now not been taken into consideration as belonging to the same root as *auēre* and *iuuāre*. The semantic shift [RUN] → [ASSIST, HELP], which surely underlies Lat. *iūuare*, is widely supported by parallels with other lexemes (§ 3.2), has taken place in all other IE branches ('Restindogermanisch') and may be dated to the time after the separation of Anatolian, as I have recently tried to show[7].

The aim of the present contribution is to make the case for a parallel shift from *[RUN TO / FOR] / → [DESIRE] [LONG (FOR)] which is, as I now assume, preferable (and, in any case, previous to) *«dar la preferencia, apreciar». The old sense 'run for/to' of *$h_2eu̯h_1$- underlies both Lat. *auēre*, and, most probably, also Ved. av^2 'be greedy' (a secondary root synchronically different from av^i/$\bar{u}$ 'help, assist'): this explanation raises no phonetic or morphological difficulty (§ 4), and is supported by precise parallels in Latin itself (*accersere* 'search, seek', whence 'fetch', § 5), as well as in other languages (Toch. B *ñäsk-* 'desire', § 6). The semantic shift [RUN TO / FOR] / → [LONG (FOR)] [DESIRE] (through [GIVE THE PREFER-

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[4] PItal. *$aw\bar{e}$ (De Vaan 2008 *s.v.* aveō).
[5] Cf. the translations «verlängt, begünstigt, fördert» (Walde-Hofmann, Pokorny), «il se réjouit, il aide» (Ernout-Meillet), «zustreben, verlangen» (Specht 1938, p. 208).
[6] García Ramón 1996.
[7] García Ramón 2009.

ENCE] or not) finds support in some collocations common to *auēre* and *av^i/ ū* (§ 7). A similar path is possible for Ved. *av²*, although the details of the shift are not fully clear (§ 8).

2. Let us shortly remember the essentials of Lat. *auēre* 'desire, be eager (for), long (for)' (Ennius +). The verb, which has only a present stem (no perfect, no supine, no passive participle), is scantily attested in Classical Latin (Cicero, Livius) and not attested at all in Plautus, Terence and Vergil nor in post- Classical authors[8]. It was felt as an archaic synonym of *uelle* 'wish', *cupere* 'desire', also of *gaudēre*[9] 'enjoy':

> Festus 13.19 *auere nihil aliud est quam cupere. Argumento esse <…> auidum et auiditatem, ex quibus praecipua cupiditas intellegitur, cum significet et gaudere*,
> Ptc. Gloss. *hauet : uult, cupit* , also *auet : cupit gaudet, auentes : cupientes uel gaudentes*.
> Gloss. ptc. *auens* 'willing, pleased' («pro *libēns*» Laev. *apud* Aul. Gell. 19.7.9).

The putative sense 'enjoy' (matching that of *gaudēre*, in fact a different verb)[10] need not necessarily be an invention of the grammarians to connect it with *aue*, as has been assumed[11]: it may also be old, as 'desire' may have originally been 'take pleasure at, be pleased with'[12]. The question is whether the etymology of *auēre* allows us to assume this sense to be original.

The basic sense(s) of the verb are actually reflected in the derivatives, all well attested since Plautus, *auidus* 'eager', *auiditās* 'greed', *auārus* 'greedy, avaricious' (Naev. +), *auāritia* 'greed of gain', which live on in the Romanic languages. They are also recognisable in some residual uses of *audēre* 'dare', which is synchronically a different verb, but historically a stative (**au̯id-ē-*)[13] to *auidus*, e.g. the formula *sōdēs* [: *si audes*] 'if you please' i.e. *'if you desire' or Pl. *Truc.* 425 *non audes aliquid mihi dare munusculum* 'don't you have pleasure to give me some small present?'.

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[8] The spellings *<hauere>, <habere>* (Mss.) allow to assume that it was ininteligible, or at least unclear, in Late Latin. E.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.16 *non postulo id quidem, aueo (habeo codd.) audire* (on this cf. Gratwick 1972).

[9] In fact *auēre* 'wish, desire' does not match *gaudēre* 'be glad' 'enjoy' *iam istuc gaudeo* 'I am delighted with this' (Pl. *Am.* 1100), *abs quiuis homine … beneficium accipere gaudeas* (Ter. *Adr*. 254), *omnes gaudent facere recte* (Acc. *Trg.* 31).

[10] In fact *auēre* 'wish, desire' does not match *gaudēre* 'be glad' 'enjoy', for instance, *omnes gaudent facere recte* (Acc. *Trg.* 31), *iam istuc gaudeo* (Pl. *Am.* 1100).

[11] Cf. Ernout-Meillet *s.v.* («ce sens de *gaudēre* a été inventé par les glossateurs pour expliquer *aue*, qu'ils assimilaient pour le sens au gr. χαῖρε»).

[12] Mignot 1968, p. 139.

[13] The shift to 'dare' was possible once the connection with *auidus* has been awaken, or lost, after the syncope which led to a *audē*. The paradigm of *audēre* relays on *audē* (pass. ptc. *ausus*) not on **au̯id-ē* (one would expect †*auīsus*, like **gāu̯id-ē* (previous to *gaud-ē*): *gauīsus, uid-ē : uīsus*).

Lat. *auērē* (always with an animate subject, also metaphorically of 'mind, eyes', 'river') occurs in three constructions: (1) with infinitive, also with AcI, (2) with accusative object, also a completive, (3) without any explicit object (especially ptc. *auens*). Some instances:

Ad (1) Cic. *Att*. 2,18,3 *non lubet fugere, aueo pugnare* (cf. the antithesis *non lubet : aueo*)[14].
Lucr. 2.216 *illud in his quoque te rebus cognoscere auemus*
'one further point … I desire you to understand'[15].
Ad Re (2) Cic. *Att*. 15.11 *aueo genus legationis ut, cum uelis, introire exire liceat*
'I prefer this type of deputations in which it is allowed to go into or get out when you will'
Lucr. 3.957 *quia semper aues quod abest, praesentia temnis*
'but because you always crave what you have not, and contemn what you have …'[16].

Cf. also Enn. *scen*. 47 … *ab ludis animus atque aures auent auide exspectantes nuntium* (*apud* Varr. *L.L*. 6).

Ad (3) Lucr. 6. 531 *et mora, quae fluuios passim refrenat auentes*
'that great hardener of the waters, that obstacle which everywhere curls back the eager rivers'

Cf. also 4.1203 *cum saepe canes, dicedere auentes/ diuersi cuppide … tendunt* 'when often dogs, desiring to part, pull hard in different directions …'.

Hor. *S*. 2.4.1 *non est mihi tempus aventi ponere signa novis praeceptis*
'I have no time to stop, so keen am I to make a record of some new rules'[17].

The syntagm *fluuios … auentes* matches a similar collocation with *avⁱ/ū*, namely *ávas-* 'joy, desire', in the Rig Veda (§ 7).

3. Let us shortly remember some points on which the present study relies:
1) IE *h_2euh_1- 'run (to)' is directly reflected, still with its original meaning in Anatolian Hitt. *ḫuu̯ai ᵇʰⁱ-, ḫui̯a-ᵐⁱ*,[18] CLuv. *ḫūi̯a-ᵐⁱ* : HLuv. *ḫuu̯ia-ᵐⁱ* (*ḫù-i̯a-*) 'to run,

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[14] Cf. *te imitari aueo* (Lucr. 3.6), *ualde aueo scire quid agas* (Cic. *Att*. 1.15.2).
[15] Also with inanimate subject: *iam mens praetrepidans auet uagari* (Cat. 46.7.)*, auet (ara) spargier agno* (Hor. *C*. 4.11.7), *auebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus* (Tac. 4.71).
[16] Cf. also *arma tubasque insatiatus auet* (Stat. *Theb*. 7.12), *dum abest quod auemus* (Lucr. 3.1082/3), *parto, quod auebas* (Hor. *S*. 1. 1. 94).
[17] Cf. *propiusque accedere auenti figere pectora* (Ov. *M*. 2.503), *talem dira sibi scelerisque dolique ministram Quaerit auens* (Val. Fl. 2.123).
[18] The verb is considered obscure etymologically («no good etymology […] available for *huwai*-» as per Jasanoff 2003, p. 95).

flee'[19], Lyc. *xuu̯a-*[mi] (: Gk. ἐγγύτατος εἶναι) 'assist' («'stand close to' (or similar)»[20] (→ as supervisor / attendant). In this acceptance the verb occurs with the preverb Hitt. *šer* 'over': Lyc. *hri* (Hitt. *šer ḫui̯anza eštu* («let (the commander) … (be) run(ning) above' is supervise», Lyc. *hri-xuu̯ama-* 'supervision, assistance'[21]. The verb 'run' is actually attested with indication of direction/goal (i.e. 'run to') in HLuv. *huu̯i̯a-*[22]. This point is of highest relevance for the assumption of a shift from 'run-to/for' to 'desire, seek', as it will be argued for in our attempt to trace back Lat. *auēre* and Ved. *av*[2] to *$h_2eu̯h_1$- 'run'.

2) The semantic shift [$_{(ADVERB)}$ RUN / RUSH] → [HELP], which is incipiently attested with *$h_2eu̯h_1$- in Anatolian as shown by Lyc. *xuu̯a-*[mi] (cf. 3.1), is supported by parallels with other IE lexemes:

- IE *$pet(h_2)$- 'fly' : Hitt. *piddai* - / *pittii̯a-* 'run'[23], also 'flee' (and 'fly'), but Lat. *suppetias īre/uenīre* (*alicui*) 'go / come to help'[24], *suppetias ferre* (*alicui*), *suppetiae esse* (*alicui*), also *suppetō* 'turn out as support'[25], e.g. Pl. *Men*. 1020 *tibi suppetias temperi adueni modo*[26].
- IE *kers- 'run' (Lat. *currō* 'id.') : Lat. *sub-currō* 'help', originally *'run to help' (Caes. *Gal*. 5.44.9 *succurrit … illi Vorenus et laboranti subuenit*), later without any trace of movement, e.g. Verg. *Aen*. 1.630 *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco*)[27], also with *accurrō* (Cic. *Verr*. 5.106 *nauarchos uocari iubet .. statim accurrunt*). The pattern is also reflected in Greek, Hom. ἐπίκουρος (*°*kors-ó-*), ἐπικουρέω.
- IE *$d^heu̯$- 'run, haste' (Ved. *dhā́v-a-*[te] 'runs, hastes, flows'): βοηθόος (°θοός) 'helper', with denominatives βοηθέω, βοηδρομέω.
- IE *ret- 'roll, run' (OIr. *reithim* 'I run'): OIr. *fo·reith* «*succurrit*», Wel. *guōretit* 'id.' (cf. Lat. *rota*, Ved. *rathá-*), *do · reith* «*accurrit*».
- IE *tek^u- 'run, haste' (Ved. *tak-*[ti] 'id.', OIr. *tech* , Lith. *tekéti* 'run, flow', OCS *tešti* 'id.'): Goth. *þiu-magus* 'servant' («παῖς») from PGm. *$þe(g)u̯a$- in Goth. *þiu-magus* 'servant' (: Skr. *takvá-* 'quick, speedy')[28].

[19] The sense 'help' is secondary and limited to the construction with *peran* 'to run ahead' (the god runs in front of the army).

[20] *Aliter* Melchert 2004, p. 86 («*cannot* be equated with Hitt. *huwa(i)-*»).

[21] I owe this indication to C. Melchert (*per litteras*).

[22] Cf. Rieken 2004, p. 178 f. (I owe this reference to H. Craig Melchert). With reflexive particle *-si*, e.g. YALBURT 4, § 2: *zi/a-tá-zi/a-pa-wa/i* REGIO*-ní-zi/a* MAGNUS.REX*-zi/a* HATTI(REGIO) *a-mi-zi/a* TÁ.AVUS*-zi/a* NEG*-a* REL*-i(a)-sa-ha* hwi/a-i(a)-tá 'And to these countries the Great Kings of Hatti, my fathers (and) grandfathers, no one had run' (Hawkins, SÜDBURG, p. 68 f.).

[23] Also with indication of direction: KUB 17.1 Vs. ii 12 *na-aš-kán pa-ra-a a-aš-ki píd-da-a-it* 'he ran out to the door'.

[24] Watkins 1975, p. 97 (: *Sel. Writ.* 197).

[25] Besides his basic meaning 'to give backing (to)'.

[26] Cf. also *memento … suppetias mihi … ferre* (Pl. *Epid*. 659), *quid ego male feci, auxilia mi et suppetiae sunt domi* (*Epid*. 677) *omini omnes suppetunt res prosperae* (*Epid*. 677).

[27] The basic sense remains of course 'run/move quickly under' (cf. *cur … tempore eodem aliud nequeat succurrere lunae /corpus uel uel supra solis perlabier orbem …* Lucr. 5.765).

[28] Eichner 1983, p. 59 with reference to Karl Brugmann.

A semantic path [_ADVERB_ GO,COME] → [HELP] is also recognizable in Lat. *subuenīō*, cf. Plaut., *Cas.* 337 *quis mihi subueniet tergo aut capiti aut cruribus* 'who will help me, my back, my head, my legs?'.

3) Latin *iuuō, -āre* and Ved. *avi / ū* 'help', also 'be glad with, enjoy' belong to IE *h_2euH-, actually *h_2euh_1-. The pres. (°)*iuu-ā* (*iou-, cf. subj. *IOUENT* CIL I² 364)²⁹ may be traced back to (a) a reduplicated pres. *h_2i-h_2uh_1-o/e- of the type *bibit*³⁰: beside them. *$h_2éuh_1$-o/e- (Ved. *áv⁽ⁱ⁾-a-ᵗⁱ* : Av. *auu-a-ᵗⁱ*)³¹ or to (b) * h_2i-$h_2e/ouₔ$-ti > *iou-a-*, with *Entgleisung* into the 1. conjugationì³². The comparison of Vedic and Latin allows to state a set of equations and *aequabilia*³³:

Perf.	Ved. *áv-* (*h_2e-h_2ouₔ)	: → Lat. *$ou(a)$+u-ai > (°)i+$ūuī$?
Ppp.	Ved. *ūtá-* (*h_2uH-$tó$-)	: → Lat. (°)i+$ūto$- > (°)*iūtus*.
'Sup.'	Ved. dat. *ávitave* (*$h_2éuₔ_1$-tu-)	: → (°)i+$ūtu$- > > (°)*iūtum*.

Among nominal formations the following may be stated:

Ved. *avitár-* 'helper'	(*$h_2euₔ$-$tér$-)	: → *ad-i+ūtor* (Plaut. +)
Ved. *avitrī́-* 'id.'(fem.)	(*$h_2euₔ$-tr-$íh_2$-)	: → *ad-i+ūtrīx* (Plaut. +)
Ved. *omán-* 'protection'	(*$h_2éu(H)$-men-)	: → *ad-i+ūmentum* (Plaut. +)

Further comparanda outside Latin allow for the reconstruction of *$h_2éuH$-es-, namely Ved. *ávas-* 'help, favour, assistence' (: Av. *auuah-*) : Gk. *$áuo/es$- (Hom. ἐνηής *[°ᾱ̆ues-] 'friendly, ready to help' [*scil.* ἑταῖρος]), beside ἀίτας 'friend' (Theocr.)³⁴. The vocalism speaks in favor of *h_2euh_1-³⁵.

To this dossier may now be added a set of Hesychian glosses (οὔνη· δεῦρο. δράμε. Ἀρκάδες, οὖνον· [ὑγιές.] Κύπριοι δρόμον, οὔνιος, οὔνης· δρομεύς. κλέπτης), which E. Langella has convincingly explained as relying on οὖνος* (*h_2ouh_1-no- 'course', with denominative Arc. οὔνημι*), actually the second member of ἐρι-ούνιος, ἐρι-ούνης, epithet of Hermes. As shown by E. Langella, the compound matches two characteristics of Hermes: he 'runs speedily' (οἷόν θ᾽ Ἑρμείην ἐριούνιον ... θοὸς ἄγγελός ἐστι *HPan* 28/9), εὖτέ μοι ʻἙρμῆς ἦ[λθ]ʼ ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκὺς *HDem.* 407), and 'helps' (Διὸς δ᾽ ἐριούνιος υἱὸς /... / σύμβολον ἤδη μοι μέγ᾽ ὀνήσιμον *HHerm.* 28, also 34 ὄφελός τί μοι ἔσσῃ / σὺ δέ με πρώτιστον ὀνήσεις). The dossier of comparanda of *h_2euh_1- may thus be enlarged as follows:

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²⁹ On this cf. Vine 2006, p. 226.
³⁰ So Specht 1938, p. 207 ff., 1944, p. 53 ff.
³¹ Like *mi-mn-e- (μίμνω 'stand, resist', Hitt. *mimm(a)-ʰʰⁱ* 'refuse') beside *$mén$-o/e- (μένω).
³² García Ramón 1996, p. 41; Garnier 2010, p. 379 ff.
³³ García Ramón 1996, p. 38 f.
³⁴ PGk.*au-$í$-$tā$- ::*$áuo/es$- fits into the pattern of θερσίτης : θέρσος (García Ramón 1996, p. 42).
³⁵ On this line, Gk. ἄεθλον has been explained as *h_2euh_1-$dʰlo$- «objet de préférence, de valeur», «ce par quoi se réalise la valeur» by Pinault 2006, p. 397 f.

*h₂éu̯(h₁)-es-   Ved. *ávas-* , Hom. ἐν-ηής*, ἀίτας

h₂óu̯(h₁)-no-   cf. Hom. ἐρι-ούνιος, ἐρι-ούνης, denom. Arc. οὔνημι

*h₂ou̯h₁-éi̯o/e-   Lat. *au-ēre* : OIr. *con·ói*

4. On the assumption of the existence of an IE lexeme *h₂eu̯h₁- 'run', the open question remains whether Lat. *auēre* does belong to it and, if this is the case, how the semantic shift may be accounted for. The same applies also to Ved. *av²* 'be greedy' and/or 'eat'.

It must be stressed from the outset that there is no problem as to explain *auēre* as going back to an intensive *h₂ou̯h₁-éi̯o/e- (*h₂eu̯h₁-)[36]. In a purely formal perspective, Lat. *auēre* 'desire, long for' may be traced back to

a) a stative presens with -*ē* of the type *CC-eh₁- (: *h₂u̯[h₁]-eh₁-);

b) a non-causative present of the structure *CC-éi̯o/e- of the type *viēre, cēnsēre*[37] (: *h₂u̯[h₁]-éi̯o/e-);

c) an intensive or causative present *CoC-éi̯o/e- of the type intens. *sorbēre*, caus. *monēre* (: *h₂ou̯[h₁]-éi̯o/e-).

Both (a) and (b) are phonetically impossible and must be ruled out: *h₂u̯[h₁]-eh₁- as well as *h₂u̯[h₁]-éi̯o/e- should have given †*uēre*,[38] cf. *uergere* 'sloap down, sink' (*h₂u̯erg- 'turn', cf. Hitt. *ḫurki* 'wheel'), *uentus* 'wind' (*h₂u̯eh₁nto-, cf. Hitt. *ḫūu̯ant-*). It is only in terms of (c) that *auēre* is immediately explainable, namely from *ou̯ére (*h₂ou̯h₁-éi̯o/e-[39], with*ou̯é- > au̯ē by means of Thurneysen-Havet's rule)[40]. For IE *h₂ou̯h₁-éi̯o/e- both a causative *'make run' and an intensive-iterative *'run fastly/ repeatedly' are possible, but the intensive function is certainly to be preferred. The intensive reading of 'help, assist' is reflected in Celtic (OIr. *con·oí* 'preserve', MW *ry-m-awyr* 'may protect me')[41], whereas that of 'run (to/for)' lives on in Lat. *auēre* 'desire' and in Celtic, namely W. *ewyllys* «voluntas» (*au̯e/i-li-), Corn. *awell* 'id.', OBret. *aiul* (*au̯e/i-sli-)[42].

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[36] A protoform *h₂ou-éi̯o/e- of *h₂eu̯- is also possible, but there is no need to assume a different root without final laryngeal if *h₂eu̯h₁- 'run' makes no difficulty for the semantic point of view.

[37] From IE *u̯ih₁-éi̯o/e- (Ved. *vyáya-ᵗⁱ), *k̂n̥s-éi̯o/e- (García Ramón 1993a, esp. p. 118).

[38] On *H̥u̯V- > lat. *u̯V-, cf. Schrijver 1991, p. 75 f.

[39] García Ramón 1996, p. 45 f., Vine 2006, p. 226 f. An *ultima laryngalis* other than *-h₁- is excluded: *h₂ou̯h₂-éi̯o/e- and *h₂ou̯h₃-éi̯o/e- would have yielded Lat. † *auāre* (cf. *domāre* from *domh₂-éi̯o/e- as per Isebaert 1988) and † *auō-re* respectively.

[40] Cf. for instance *cauēre* 'observe' (*cou̯ére : Gk. κοέω), *fauēre* (*fou̯ére, cf. OLat. *FOVE*, U. *fons* «fauēns», cf. Sommer 1913, p. 109, García Ramón 1993b, p. 138 f.). The validity of the rule may be assumed beyond any doubt (cf. the overview by Vine 2006) in spite of some strictures (Leumann 1977, p. 49).

[41] Schrijver 1991, p. 47.

[42] All of them are formations with expected -*e*- grade of the root, i.e. *h₂eu̯h₁-. The initial *e*- of W. *ewyllys* is due to «Umlaut» *a-i > e-i.

It must be stressed that Lat. *auēre*, being originally intensive, not stative, was synchronically reinterpreted as stative within Latin. The pair *auēre* : *auidus* 'desirous' fits into the productive word-formation pattern of the type *calēre*: *calidus*, *frigēre* : *frigidus*, *ualēre* : *ualidus*, also *tim-ēre*: *tim-idus*, which relies originally on stative verbs. Accordingly *auidus* 'desirous' must be considered as created secondarily on *au-ē-*, once the sense of the verb was felt as stative.

5. To trace a sense 'desire, seek for' (and intensive 'desire ardently', or the like) back to *'run to/run for' (and intensive 'run greedily') raises no problem from the semantic point of view. Semantic parallels for [RUN FOR] → [DESIRE] are found in Colloquial English, cf. *run for one's life, … for cover*. Let us remember at this point a parallel case in Latin and another parallel of the pattern [COME TO] → [SEEK FOR] in Tocharian.

Lat. *accersō* , *-ere* (secondarily rearranged as *arcessō,* both Plaut. +)[43], actually the outcome of **ad-kers-o/e-* 'run to' (or of **ad-kers-s-o/e-*, the desiderative of *currō*, *-ere* from **kr̥s-o/e-*, cf. MHG *hurren* 'to move quickly'), has a wide range of readings, which do not exactly match its original meaning 'summon, call, invite', 'cause anyone to come, send for'[44]. It is only the senses (1) 'seek, search' and, in part, (2) 'fetch', which may ultimately be traced back to *'run to/for'[45].

(1) The sense 'seek', 'search for someone' (not neccesarily 'cause him to come'), is recognisable in some cases, e.g.

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[43] Both *accersere* and *arcessere* occur already in free variation in earliest texts (Plaut. mss. *arcessi Capt.* 949 *vs. accersere As.* 910). Of the two forms, *accersere* may be understood as *forma difficilior*, and is likely the original one, which has been progressively replaced by *arcessere* (for **ad-cesso/e-* : *accedo/e-* like *incesso/e-* : *incedo/e*). A verb in °*cesso/e-* meaning 'go to get' is supported by (and fits into the pattern of) the verbs in-*esso/e-*, e.g. *in-cesso/e-* 'go after, attack' from **ked-d-o/e-* (perf. °*cessī*) some of which are quasi-synonymous, for instance *capesso/e-* 'take hold of' (Enn.+), (*ex*)*petesso/e-* 'to seek earnestly' (Plaut. +), as Alan J. Nussbaum (*per litteras electronicas*) kindly observes: he assumes that Lat. *accerso/e-* actually reflects a *-so/e-* desiderative stem *(°)kers-so/e-* 'to run at, go for' from **kers-*, with zero-grade agentive **kr̥s-só-* 'eager runner'(PGmc. **hurssa-* : OE *hors* and [metathesized] OHG *hros* 'steed'). Phonologically, °*cerso/e-* should have given ⁺°*cerro/e-* (cf. *ferre* from **bʰer-s-i*) or, as Nussbaum 2007 observes, ⁺°*cesso/e-* (cf. *dorsum* 'back' Pl. +), whence *dossum* (Varr. +) , or ⁺°*cerro/e* (cf. *currō*).

[44] The sense 'bring, take' and 'send for', mostly with the variant *arcessere,* are obviously secondary and do not let recognize the basic notion of 'run to'. For instance *creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere – sudoris minimum …comedia* 'given that it takes the argument from real life…' (Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1, 168), *et iam aetatis est ususque nostri a capite quod velimus arcessere* (Cic. *de Or.* 2.117.10), *senatus … consulem Plautium ad triumphum arcessit* (Liv. 8.20.7).

[45] Other interpretations critically reported by De Vaan 2008 s.v. *arcessō* , *accersō* .

> Pl. *Mil.Gl.* 975 *Quin tu illam iube abs te abire quo lubet: sicut soror*
> *eius huc gemina uenit Ephesum et mater, accersuntque eam.*
> 'Why do you not tell her to go away from you, wherever she wants: moreover her twin
> sister came to Ephesos, and her mother, and are avidously seeking her.'
> *Mil.Gl.* 1296 *nam ego hanc accerso Philocomasium. sed fores*
> *pultabo. heus, ecquis hic est? – Adulescens, quid est?*
> *quid uis? quid pultas? – Philocomasium quaerito.*
> *a matre illius uenio.*
> 'I am seeking Philocomasius --- 'Young man, what happens? What do you want? Why
> are you knocking at the door? – I am seeking Philocomasius, I come from her mother'.

(2) The well attested sense 'fetch' implies 'run to someone' plus 'cause to come'. The latter is evident when *accersere* follows a verb meaning 'run', e.g.

> Pl. *As.* 910 *ecquis currit pollinctorem accersere*
> 'and is there one running to fetch the gravedigger'.
> Also with inanimate object: Pseud. 330 … *i, accerse agnos. Audin quid ait Iuppiter* ?
> / – *Iam hic ero* ; *uerum extra portam mi etiam currendumst prius* / – *Quid eo* ? – *Lanios inde accersam duo cum tintinnabulis.*

The sense 'cause to come' (as a constitutive element of the lexeme) is made evident in some cases:

(a) when there is an explicit mention in the context e.g. Pl. *Am.* 951 *Euocate huc Sosiam; gubernatorem … / Blepharonem arcessat, qui nobiscum prandeat* 'call Sosias here, that he make come here the pilot Blepharon … who should eat with us', *Most.* 509 *uiuom me accersunt Acheruntem mortui* 'the dead want to make me descend alive into the Acheron'[46].

(b) when the verb occurs in a passive 'be summoned' (e.g. a midwife, a witness), e.g. Ter. *Ad.* 299 *sed quor tu abis ab illa? – obstetricem accerso. – propera. atque audin?* 'but why are you leaving the house? – I am on the way/ run to the midwife – and hear?', *ibidem* 355 *propera tu, mea Canthara,/ curre*, *obstetricem accerse*, … 517 *missast ancilla ilico/ obstetricem accersitum ad eam et puerum ut adferret simul* 'hurry up, run, fetch the midwife … a servant has been sent there, to fetch the midwife to her, and that she brings the child as well'[47].

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[46] Cf. also Pl. *Bacch.* 354 *senex in Ephesum ibit aurum arcessere*, Pl. *Men.* 734 *Ne istuc mecastor – iam patrem accersam meum / … / 736 ei, Deceo, quaere meum patrem tecum simul/ut ueniat ad me* […] 'I'll send already for my father […] Go, Deceion, look for my father – that he comes to me with you […]', 764 *nec, quid id sit, mihi certius facit, quid /velit, quid me accersat* 'she does not make clearer to me, what this could be, what she wants, why she summons me?' …, 770 *nec pol filia umquam patrem accersit ad se* 'by Iove, a daughter never summons his father to herself'.

[47] Also in Prosa: *placere patrem arcessiri* (Liv. 3. 45) *aliquem ab Epidauro Romam arcessendum* (10.47).

(c) when there is a precise indication of direction or of origin, e.g. Pl. *Men.* 776 […] *saluen aduenio? saluen accersi iubes?* 'is all well if I come? is all well that you make me come?'

Ter. *Eun.* 510 *iam tum quom primum iussit me ad se accersier* (Bentl., v.l. *arcessier*) '…from the moment she first sent me word to call her', Ter. *Hec.* 466 *heri Philumenam ad se accersi hic iussit*[48].

We can therefore assume that Lat. *accersere* originally meant 'run, go for' (something, someone)', whence 'seek, search for' and secondarily 'fetch'. The current acceptances 'to summon, to cause anyone to come', 'send for', 'to call, invite' represent the last step of its semantic development.

6. IE **nes-* 'get in contact (with the desired goal)'[49] is attested in different languages, among others (Ved. *nas*) with pres. *nás-a-ᵗᵉ* 'come close, approach' (also sexually), which matches Hom. νέομαι 'come (back)', and aor. (*sám*) *nasīmahi* 'should we get united':

RV IV 58.8cd   *ghṛtásya dhắraḥ samídho nasanta   tắ juṣāṇó haryati jātávedāḥ*
                «Die Ströme des Butterschmalzes nahen sich den Brennhölzern. Diese genießend freut sich der Jātavedas» (Hoffmann 1967, p. 130)
RV II 16.8cd   *sakṛ́t sú te sumatíbhiḥ śatakrato   sám pátnībhir ná vṛ́ṣaṇo nasīmahi*
                'At once we would come together with your good will, O you of a hundred determinations, like the bulls with their females…'

In IV 58.8 the present stem *nasanta* 'come closer' expresses the «Verlaufsschau», the duration of the getting in contact whereas in II 16.8 opt. *nasīmahi* is punctual and telic (as the lexeme itself), where the component 'seeking' is explicitly mentioned[50].

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[48] Cf. also Pl. *Capt.* 949 *Edepol, Hegio,/ facis benigne. sed quaeso, hominem ut iubeas arcessi,* Ter. *Ad.* 546 *si in remst utrique ut fiant, accersi iube*. Cf. also *ex continenti alios (fabros) accersi iubet* (Caes. *B. G.* 5.11)*, cunctos senatorii ordinis accersiri iubet* (Sall. *J.* 62.4). Frequently with *arcessere* cf. *Agrippam ad se arcessi iussit* (Nep. *Att.* 21.4), *Pisonem arcessi iubet* (Tac. *H.* 1.14).

[49] Possible translations: «zum gewünschten, guten Ziel kommen» (García Ramón 2004, p. 34 ff.), «to approach/ get near in joyful anticipation» (Malzahn 2007, p. 238), «move toward or seek out a good state or position» (Adams 1999, p. 267 f.), «davonkommen, unbeschadet heimkehren» (M.J. Kümmel in *LIV²*, 454). On the semantics and paradigm of Ved. *nas* and of IE **nes-* cf. García Ramón 2004 (root aorist **ns̥-to*). *Aliter* Malzahn 2007 (aor. **nes-to* of Narten-type, like pres. **nés-ti* as per Jasanoff 2003, p. 225, cf. also PToch. **nes-sk̑o/e-*: B *ñäsk-* 'desire'). Gothic *nasjan* «σῶσαι» (OE *nerian* 'id.') reflects causative **nos-éi̯o/e-*, Goth. (perfective) *ganisan* 'recover', 'be saved' reflects actually the perf. **(ne)nos-*, **(ne)ns̥-* 'is (there)' (*after having come where I desired*). Other (de-reduplicated) reflexes of the perfect are Gk. ναίω 'habitate', 'lay there' (of islands) (**nas-i̯o/e- < *ns̥-i̯o/e-* García Ramón 2004, p. 36 ff.) and Toch.B *nes* 'be' and perf. ptc. *nā́ṁtsu* 'been' (Jasanoff 2003, p. 225).

[50] The reduplicated stem *níṁs(a)-ᵗⁱ* is actually iterative ('touches repeatedly'), cf. RV X 74.2ab *háva*

IE **nes-* is reflected in Tocharian as 'desire': B *ñäsk-* 'demand, require', med. 'desire, seek' (PTch. **ñäsk-* as the outcome of **nes-sk̂e/o-*)[51] with extension of -*sk̂-* throughout the paradigm[52]. Toch. *ñäsk-* occurs basically in two constructions which are in fact coincident with those of Lat. *auēre*[53]:

(1) with infinitive: B 23a6/7 *śrāddhe şek ñaşträ kre(ntäm) l(k)ātsi*
    'a believer always seeks to see good [ones]'

(2) with accusative object: B 100al *mapi c[a](mpät) [c(e)ₐ] pito rīntsī kₐce ñiś ñäskau-cmem* 'thou canst not indeed renounce the price that I require from thee', also with abstract noun as object, B 30a7 *aṅkaiṃ ytārasa* [lege: *ytārisa] mo[kş] cai ñäskenträ* 'they sought extinction/deliverance by a false path'. Cf. also *pelaikneşşe śaul śpālmeṃ cauk twe ñyāssa ñäşşitar* 'thou seekest this excellent righteous life with desire' (B 231 b1).

The same meaning is recognisible in the derivatives[54]: B *ñ(y)as* 'desire, demand'[55], *neske* (n.) 'tribute'[56] (cf. the *figura etymologica* in *neske ram no ñaştä̆(r su srukalñe) onolmeṃ* 'death seeks beings as tribute' B45b4), *ñāsso*, obl. *ñāssa* 'share' (translation of Skr. *aṃśa-*) and the verbal adjective *ñaşalle*.

7. Once it has been stated that a shift [RUN TO] → [SEEK FOR] (Lat. *accersere* § 5) and also [COME TO] → [BE EAGER, DESIRE] (Toch. *ñäsk-* § 6) is possible, and supported by parallels in modern languages (Engl. *run for X*), let us turn back to the Vedic reflexes of IE **h₂eu̯h₁-* 'run (to/for)' and, more precisely, to some instances of Ved. *avⁱ* / *ū* which allow a reading 'give the preference to, enjoy (in advance)' (with acc.)[57] to be traced back ultimately to **'run'.

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eşām ásuro nakşata dyā́ṃ / *śravasyatā mánasā niṃsata kşā́m* 'at their call the Asura reaches the heaven (and) touches the earth with fame-seeking mind' (Gotō 1987, p. 200 f.; Kulikov 2005, p. 444). For Hom. νίσ(σ)ομαι no «Aktionsart» is recognizable.

[51] With full grade root 'Narten'-type (Malzahn 2007, p. 238 f.; 2010, p. 63f. with reference to Ved. *nasīmahi*). The paradigm in Tocharian B includes, among others, pres. II (thematic) / *ñäsk-*/ 3.sg. *ñaskeṃ* (A *ñaskau*, 3.sg. *ñaşşäṃ*) med.-pass. 1.sg. *ñäskemar*; with subj. II (= pres., thematic), and pret. I (-*ā*) /*ñəşşā*/ (A *ñaşşa*) (med.-pass. *ñaştär ñäskenträr*); ptc. act. *ñäşşeñca*, med.-pass. *ñäskemane*, grdv. *ñişşalle* 'ready to seek' (Malzahn 2010, p. 63 f.).

[52] Cf. the parallels *nāsk-* 'bathe, swim', *pask-* 'guard', *tresk-* 'chew' *et sim*.

[53] Data from Adams 1999 *s.v.* **näsk-**.

[54] The alleged °*ñäşşe* (adj.) in *nervaṃ-ñäşşe* 'nirvana-seeking?' (I40b2) is actually a ghost-word (Malzahn 2007, p. 245 f.).

[55] Cf. also A *ñās* as a borrowing from eastern Tocharian B (PToch. **nās(ä)-*, IE **nōs-u̯-*, **nēs-u̯-*), also B *ñyasassu* 'desirous' (Malzahn 2007, p. 239 f.): B **nas(ä)-* (PToch. **nōs°*) changed to **ñäs(ä)-*, *ñ(y)as* under the influence of *ñäsk-* («a more prestigious variant»).

[56] B *neske* stands to *ñäsk-* like *wetke* 'separation' to *wätk-* 'differ' (IE **u̯i-dʰh₁-sk̂-*, cf. Ved. *vidh*, Lat. *divide* : ** i-dʰ-o/e-*).

[57] Cf. the readings 6) «etwas [A.] gern haben, lieben…», 7) «gern annehmen, sich wohl gefallen lassen…» of Grassmann.

In fact, some collocations (all attested in Rig Veda) match those of Lat. *auēre*. This is the case of divinities, who 'enjoy/give the preference' to and/ or 'seek' objects like *bráhman-* 'word' (VII 61.2c) or *śáṃsa-* 'song of praise' (I 116.13a)[58]:

VII 61.2c *yásya bráhmāṇi sukratū ávātha*
'the words of whom ye might, benevolent (*scil.* Mitra and Varuna), prefer/enjoy gladly'.

Cf. also I 166.13a *purú yac cháṃsam amŕ̥tāsa vā́ta* '… that you, immortals, prefer/enjoy the praise' («… daß ihr Unsterbliche oftmals das Preislied bevorzugtet» G.)[59].

Especially interesting are three constructions, which match syntagms with the reflexes of *$h_2eu̯h_1$-* 'run (to/for)' as predicate in other languages:

(1) the collocation with *háva-*, *hávana-* 'invocation, call', which reflects an IE phraseological pattern [RUN TO- CALL (FOR HELP)] Gk. βοηθεῖν, Lat. *accurrere* vs. *aduocāre*, cf.

X 70.10d   *ávatāṃ dyā́vāpr̥thivī́ hávam me*
'could both heaven and earth be pleased/desire my invocation' («Himmel und Erde mögen meinen Ruf bevorzugen!» G.).
VIII 54.4ab   *pūṣā́ víṣṇur hávanam me sárasvaty ávantu saptá síndhavaḥ*
'Pūṣan, Viṣṇu Sarasvatī, the seven streams should be pleased/desire my invocation' («… die sieben Ströme sollen meinen Ruf bevorzugen» G.).

(2) the mention of the *ávas-* 'favour, joy' (not 'help') of the waters for (flowing to) the Ocean

VIII 16.2ac   *yásminn ukthā́ni ráṇyanti   víśvāni ca śravasyà̀   apā́m ávo ná samudré*
'… with whom (scil. *Indra*) the songs of praise are pleased, as well as the famous deeds, like the favour of the waters with the ocean' («auf den die Loblieder und alle Ruhmestaten sich freuen wie die Gunst der Gewässer auf den Ozean» G.)[60].

In spite of the obscurity of the text the metaphor expressed by *apā́m ávas* is fairly clear: good human deeds are pleased (desire) to reach Indra in the same way as waters are *pleased to reach* (and *desire*) the ocean. Human deeds and waters are both personified and put at the same level: accordingly, given that the waters actually flow (: run) to the ocean, one may safely assume that good deeds are

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[58] Also with *dhī* 'pious thought' (IV 50.11, VII 64.5, 97.9, VII 41.3) and with *yajñá-* 'sacrifice' as the object: it is difficult to decide whether *av^i/ū* means 'favour' or 'desire' (from *'run to'), cf. III 8.8c *sajóṣaso yajñám avantu devā́ḥ* 'might (the gods) unanimous favour/ enjoy/ desire the sacrifice' (also IV 33.3d).
[59] *Aliter* «… daß ihr Unsterbliche viel öffentliche Rede fördertet» (Witzel-Gotō).
[60] «Ihn, an dem sich alle Sprüche weiden und die reichen gaben, wie am Meere die Gewässer» (Grassmann).

also conceived as *running* to Indra, and that in both cases the sense 'run to/for' has shifted to 'enjoy' 'desire'. This strongly matches the *fluuios auentes* of Lucretius (§ 2.3).

(3) the syntagm *prábhartum āvad*, which fits into the pattern of a supine construction: this implies that *āvat* functions as a verb of motion 'went/ run gladly to offer'

> III 48.1ab *sadyó ha jātó vŕ̥ṣabháḥ kanī́naḥ   prábhartum āvad ándhasaḥ sutásya*
> 'just born the young bull/ run to preferred/desired to the offering/ presentation of pressed soma' («… zog der junge Bulle die Darbringung des… Soma vor» G.).

To sum up: some instances of Ved. *avⁱ/ū* allow for an interpretation as 'be glad, enjoy' in Rig Vedic synchrony, rather than for 'help, assist'[61], which may be traced back to a lexicalisation of the inherited sense 'run for': the subject (animate or conceived as such) *desires*, (**runs to*) the object, whence *is pleased with*. This actually matches the readings of Lat. *auēre* 'be greedy for, desire' (cf. the gloss *auet : cupit gaudet*, § 2).

8. It must remain open at this point whether the specific Vedic root **av²** '**eat**' actually belongs to **h₂euh₁-* 'run', too. The root has been recognized on the basis of (a) *ā́vayat* (RV 2x, AV 3x; Br., Sū.) 'ate', the suppletive imperfect of *ad*, also *ā́vaya-ᵗⁱ* 'eat', actually a denominative of **āva-* 'food' or **āviṣ-*, and synonymous of *avasá-* (n.) 'food' (also YAv. *auuaŋha-* 'provision')[62], and (b) the compounds *āva-yú-* 'greedy for food, gluttonous', *áviṣ-yant-* (of Agni), *aviṣ-yú-* 'greedy' and *aviṣ-yā́-* 'hunger' (of a bird of prey). The compound *aviṣ-yú-*[63], whether it presupposes a noun (*áviṣ-* *'Nahrung'), or not, means surely 'greedy' (e.g. ⁺*aviṣyávaḥ* (RV VIII 67.9), as suggested by M. Albino)[64].

> VIII 67.9 *mā́ no mr̥cā́ ripūṇā́m   vr̥jinā́nām ⁺aviṣjávaḥ   dévā abhí prá mr̥kṣata*
> 'nicht sollen Gierige uns [schädigen] mit der Schädigung ränkevoller Betrüger! Ihr Götter, packt zu!'[65].

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[61] Unclear is *udávantau vŕ̥kau* AV VII 95.2 'like to lurking wolves' (?), cf. the discussion by Gotō 1987, p. 107. All instances under Grassmann 6) and 7) may be understood as belonging to *avⁱ/ū* 'help'.

[62] Cf. Hoffmann 1982, p. 63 ff. (: *Aufsätze*, p. 769 ff.); Jamison 1983, p. 71; Mayrhofer, *EWAi* s.u. *avasá-*.

[63] Three attestations (of which one referred to *ripú-* 'deceiver', another to *mū́ra-* 'door', both conceived as persons).

[64] Albino 1999, p. 5 f. The form is usually understood as voc. *aviṣyavas* 'gerne helfend' (Grassmann; *contra* Albino 1999, p. 2 ff.).

[65] Cf. *mr̥cā́ ripūṇā́m* in .a, also I 189.5ab *aghā́yāviṣyáve* «dem gierigen Betrüger»): the introduction of the vocative form is probably due to the association of the epithet of Ādityas, reinterpreted as an -*u*-adjective to fut. *aviṣyati* (Brāhm.) with *avⁱ* (Albino 1999, p. 4 f.).

In these terms a connection with Lat. *auēre* is easily conceivable[66]. However, the fact is that the notion of avidity, eagerness does not *lie* in *ávasa-, ávis-* 'food, feeding'*,* but in *°yú-, °yā*, as the compounds with *avas°* 'help' clearly show: *avas-yánt-* 'seeking help' (dat. *avasyaté* I 116.23a), *avasyú-* 'id.' (IV 16. 11a), the second member of which is also recognisable with *śrávas°* 'glory', e.g. *śravas-yánt, śravas-yú-, śravas-yā̆-* 'seeking glory' (RV *passim*).

We can therefore assume that if *av²* has had originally the sense 'desire, be greedy', it may be a specialization of the same root as *avⁱ/ū* 'help', which ultimately also belongs to **h₂euh₁-* 'run'. It could have matched semantically Lat. *auēre* in a first phase, namely in the reading 'run to/for' → 'seek, desire'. Anyway, the shift to 'desire food' (cf. also *auidus* 'greedy' (often 'for food')), and finally to 'eat (greedily)' must have been specific to Vedic. The semantic development remains unclear in the details: it must have started, in any case, with nominal derivatives like *ávas-a-, ávis-* 'food'.

9. To sum up: Latin *auēre* 'desire, be eager, long (for)' is etymologically connected with Lat. (*ad*)*iuuāre* 'to help, assist', as well as with Hitt. *huu̯ai̯-* 'run' and its Anatolian cognates: both Latin verbs reflect the last stage of two semantic shifts, the starting point of which was the basic sense of IE **h₂euh₁-* 'run to / for'*,* whence possibly also 'give the preference', with two readings according to different formations, constructions and word-classes of the actants: On the one hand, 'help, assist, favour' (: *iuuāre*, Skr. *avⁱ/ū* : Av. *auu*), on the other 'desire, seek' (: *auēre*, probably also Skr. *av²* * 'be greedy', whence 'eat'), which have been lexicalized within the history of Latin as two fully different lexemes. Skr. *avⁱ/ū* allows to recognize both senses. Lat. *auēre* may be traced back to an intensive **h₂ou̯h₁-éi̯e-* with the reading 'desire', and formally matches OIr. *con·oí*, which reflects the reading 'help, favour'. The semantic shift [run for] → [desire] proposed for *auēre* has parallels in modern languages (Engl. *run for one's life, … for cover*), as well as in Latin (*accersō, -ere* 'run for' → 'fetch' from **ad-kers-o/e-* or desiderative **ad-kers-s-o/e-*) and, with a verb meaning 'come to', in TocharianB *ñäsk-* (**nes-sk̂o/e-* cf. IE **nes-* 'come (where one wants to)').

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[66] As observed by Bergaigne (1884, pp. 474, 488), also implicitly Grassmann s.u. *avisyát-* 2) 'begierig sein', *avisyú-* 2) "habgierig".

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