Morphological innovations shared by Germanic and other subgroups of IE.

1. Replacement of nonpast marker *-r in mediopassive endings by *-y (levelled in from active endings; e.g. active 3sg. *-t-i, mediopassive 3sg. *-t-o-r → active 3sg. *-t-i, mediopassive 3sg. *-t-o-y).

Sharing the innovation: Indo-Iranian, Greek, Germanic.

Not sharing the innovation: Anatolian, Tocharian, Celtic, Italic.

No clear evidence: Balto-Slavic (loss of mediopassive; but cf. Old Prussian waisei ‘you know’??), Armenian (syncrretism of active and mediopassive in the nonpast [!]), Albanian (mediopassive replaced with new formation).

Some contrastive examples:

Hittite kita (s)he is lying down’ < *kéytor, but Sanskrit śētē, Avestan saēte, Greek kéitai (Arkadian kéitoi) < *kéyto;

Tocharian B partār ‘it is being carried’, Latin fertur < *bhēretor, but Skt. bhāratē, Gk. phēretai (Ark. phēretoi). Gothic bairada < *bhēretyo;

Old Irish (conjunct) ·gainethar ‘(s)he is being born’ < *gēh₁yēt, but Skt. jāyatē < *gēh₁yētoy.

2. Construction of an optative suffix *-o-y for thematic stems (thematic vowel *-o-, zero-grade optative marker *-ih₁- with loss of tautosyllabic laryngeal in an o-grade syllable).

Sharing the innovation: Indo-Iranian, Greek, Germanic, Balto-Slavic (the Lithuanian “permissive” and the Slavic imperative).

Not sharing the innovation: Tocharian (optative marker with no thematic vowel), Italic (thematic optative in *-ā-), Celtic (probably like Italic, though there is no consensus).

No evidence: Anatolian (no optative), Armenian (clear reflex of the thematic optative not recognizable), Albanian (optative apparently lost).

Contrastive example (restricted to languages that still have an optative; note that in Italian and Germanic this has become the “subjunctive”, while in Celtic it has merged with the old subjunctive):

Skt. bhārēt ‘may (s)he carry’, Av. barōit, Gk. phēroī, Goth. bairai < *bhēroyd; Lat. ferat, OIr. (conj.) ·bera < *bhērd; Toch. B pari
< *bʰérih₁t (imperfect, because the Toch. optative is formed from
the subjunctive stem, which is suppletive for this verb; for a syn-
chronically optative example cf. Toch. B pāṣṣi ‘may (s)he keep’
with Lat. pāscat ‘may (s)he tend (flocks)’).

3. Construction of a superlative suffix *-is-to-.

Sharing the innovation: Indo-Iranian, Greek, Germanic.

Not sharing the innovation:Italic and Celtic (superlative in *-is-mö-).

No evidence: Anatolian and Tocharian (no comparative or superlative, probably
reflecting the PIE state); Armenian and Albanian (comparative and super-
lative apparently lost); Balto-Slavic (superlative lost).

Contrastive example: Goth. laggists, OE lengest ‘longest’ vs. Lat. longissimus;
cf. also Skt. vásiṣṭhas ‘best’, Av. rənjištō ‘swiftest’, Gk. mέ:kistos ‘long-
est’ on the one hand and Oir. senam, Welsh henhaf ‘oldest’ (*senismos)
on the other.