

Tavet Tat Satyam



Israel S. Klein

Tavet Tat Satyam

Studies in Honor of

Jared S. Klein

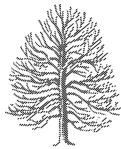
on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday

edited by

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Preface

TAVET TAT SATYAM



It is with great pleasure that we present this volume in honor of Jared Klein and his contributions to the field of Indo-European linguistics (with a special emphasis on Vedic stylistics). Our contributors range from those who have known him since his graduate-school days at Yale in the late 1960s and early 1970s to some of his students who have known him a far shorter time. All have felt his influence in their own scholarly endeavors and were delighted to contribute an article in homage to their good friend and colleague. As all of the editors of this volume can testify, those of us whom he has taught in the classroom know that his intense interest in historical-comparative linguistics is contagious. To all his friends and colleagues, his guileless goodwill and his boundless curiosity have ever been inviting. To those who know the kindness and guidance our esteemed colleague habitually provides, a couple of somewhat misleading first impressions from one of his eventual students may be entertaining.

My first impression was awe and disbelief—impressions worthy of a mythical giant. I first heard of Jared while I was a naive youth. He was not named, but was simply the unseen father of one of my classmates. At the time, I had never heard of a linguist, so when I was informed that his father knew “like a dozen languages,” I was incredulous. I was just an ordinary monolingual American child who thought it took extraordinary circumstances to lead to bilingualism, to say nothing of such multilingualism. It seemed preposterous at the time, but little did I know that I would come to study no less than six languages with this particular preposterous polyglot.

A few years later I happened to enter the home of my classmate while his father was working. My first impression on seeing Jared was intimidation tinged with fear—a laughable reaction to such a gentle man, though perhaps fitting for the same mythical giant I had heard of before. It was probably more the warning of Jared’s wife Rusti not to distract him that caused me to have this reaction, but intimidated I was. He was not smiling, and the tall man did not look very friendly to a short fifteen-year-old. In retrospect he was simply working intently over a desk, likely completely absorbed in his linguistic investigations. Surely he would not have appreciated a distraction, but it is now hard to imagine that there could have been any reason to fear a wrathful response from such a kind individual. The worst I have seen from Jared is a resigned exasperation accompanied by a shake of the head and the question “What can you do?” when something fails to work out as he would prefer.

When I finally did begin to study under this particular giant in the realm of Vedic stylistics, I found him truly inspiring with his obvious knowledge of and enthusiasm for the field

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of Indo-European linguistics, but the only thing to fear from Jared was the red pencil he uses for grading. Always looking for a teachable moment, he even goes so far as to correct library books so future readers of the volume will not be misinformed. His eye for detail is astounding (as a look at any of his reviews will demonstrate), and it gives me pause as one of the editors to know that if we let anything substantive slip past our eyes, he will find it and pencil in a correction or comment. Should this happen, however, this volume will be in good company along with many other volumes on Indo-European linguistics in the University of Georgia library that his pencil corrections grace.

As Jared’s students, we editors have been particularly shaped by his instruction and guidance, and it is a sign of this influence and the esteem with which we hold his judgment that we chose to title this volume *Távét tát satyám* from the first hymn of the Rigveda (with special thanks to Caley Smith for this suggestion). With the repetition and polyptoton of the name Agni in this hymn and the verbal gapping within this line, this title hints at some significant facets of Jared’s scholarship on Vedic stylistics over the years. In the context of the hymn, the anaphoric *tát* refers to the preceding clause; the line is often translated, “Through you, this (comes) true.” Isolated from its context, however, and should we presume that *tát* refers to Jared’s word or instruction, it could be, “Of you, this (word is) true.” Indeed when it comes to a question concerning Indo-European linguistics, the word of Jared is held as the final truth for many of his students. It is also our hope that Jared finds this volume of his to contain the truth as well, or that “this (volume) of yours (is) true.” May this volume be a meager return for the aid and dedication he has given to all of his students and colleagues throughout the years.

Mark Wenthe
March, 2016

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Aḫḫijawa und kein Ende: The Battle over Mycenaeans in Anatolia*

GARY BECKMAN



Over the past century and a half cuneiform studies have experienced a number of bitter disputes, for example, the early debate over the essential character of the Sumerian language,¹ the Peters-Hilprecht controversy concerning the alleged “temple library” uncovered at Nippur,² the schism within the Italian Ebla team brought about by differences regarding the cultural affiliations of the civilization revealed at that Syrian site,³ and the argument between the Marburg and Munich schools of Hittitology about the proper use of paleography in dating Hittite tablets.⁴ But no problem in ancient Near Eastern research has given rise to more heated and lengthier debate than has that of the identity of the country Aḫḫiya/Aḫḫiyawa mentioned in a couple of dozen texts and fragments from the archives of the Hittite Great Kings at Boğazköy/Ḫattuša.⁵

Of course, what is at issue here is whether Aḫḫiyawa should be recognized as the realm of the Homeric Achaeans, that is, as the culture and polity (or polities) now known to scholarship as Mycenaean. The identification of a number of other geographic and personal names associated with Aḫḫiyawa in the Hittite sources with places and individuals from ancient Greek tradition has also been hotly disputed. And, in a closely related matter, renewed work at the site of Hisarlık on the Dardenelles has recently sparked a resumption of the argument as to whether the archaeological remains excavated there indicate the likely historicity of the Trojan War. I do not pretend that I will put to rest any of these problems here. I wish only to recount a colorful dispute from the early years of Hittitology in the hope that my friend from student days, Jared Klein, will find it amusing.

The Aḫḫiyawa question first came to the attention of a wider public with a lecture delivered by the Assyriologist Emil Forrer to the Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft in Berlin on January 3, 1924, a presentation soon followed by papers in two scholarly journals (Forrer 1924a and 1924b). In one of these, Forrer relates the personal background to his

* A good summary of the Aḫḫiyawa question through the early 1960s is given by Steiner 1964. For further references, consult Souček and Siegelová 1996:§75.6 and the annotated bibliography in Fischer 2010.

CTH = entries in Laroche 1971; HW² = Friedrich and Kammenhuber 1975–.

¹ See Budge 1925:210–2 and Jones 1969:24–47.

² See Kuklick 1996:127–40.

³ Cf. Dahood 1981:271–321 and Archi 1979.

⁴ On the one side see e.g. Otten 1969 and Carruba 1971; on the other Kammenhuber 1969.

⁵ For a list of these attestations, see del Monte and Tischler 1978:1–2. These texts have all been edited and commented upon in Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011.

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researches: he had begun his scholarly career with an interest in the peoples of early Europe, and had therefore greeted the discovery of the Hittite epigraphic material with great enthusiasm. When in 1917 Otto Weber, Director of the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Royal Prussian Museum, had offered him the opportunity to study the tablets and fragments from the Hittite capital Boğazköy/Hattuša belonging to the collections of that institution or on loan there from the Ottoman authorities, it was his

greatest hope that these most westerly of cuneiform texts would illuminate the ethnology of the Near East and thereby also that of Europe, building a bridge from Babylonian culture to European prehistory, the scholarly field of my father.⁶ . . . It is very doubtful whether I would have had the perseverance to read through all of these 11,000 tablets had I not been driven by the quiet hope of hearing something new about Troy and Priam.⁷

Forrer’s main points concerning Ahhiyawa may be summarized as follows:

1. There are significant phonetic correspondences between a number of Hittite and Greek proper names. Compare cuneiform Ahhiyawa to Greek Ἀχαιῶα (Achaeans); Ayawala to Aeolian; Lazpa to Lesbos; Taruiša to Troy; Tawagalawa to Eteokles; Antarawa to Andreus; Attariššiya to Atreus. It should be noted that Forrer did *not* equate Hittite Wiluša with Homeric (W)ilios, but rather with the obscure town of Elaiusa in Cilicia; nor did he identify Alakšandu with Alexandros.⁸ These latter claims were first made by Paul Kretschmer (1924), and by the American D. D. Luckenbill, already in 1911(!), respectively. Finally, Forrer did not connect Milawa(n)ta to Miletus⁹ or Apaša to Ephesus.¹⁰

2. Ahhiyawa was a major power at the end of the second millennium BCE, as demonstrated by the facts that in the Hittite documents its king is once tentatively listed along with the rulers of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria among the equals of the Hittite monarch,¹¹ and that he could be addressed by the latter as “My Brother,” that is, on terms of parity.¹²

3. As demonstrated by its recorded interactions with the Hittites, Ahhiyawa held possessions in Anatolia—Forrer locates these in Pamphylia—as well as on the offshore islands (particularly Lesbos), but the kingdom was too important to have been restricted to such insignificant territories. On two occasions, ships or sea travel are mentioned in connection

⁶The reference here is to Robert Forrer, eminent prehistorian and founder of the Museum of Roman and Prehistoric Antiquities in Strasbourg. See Schnitzler 1999.

⁷“[W]ar es meine größte Hoffnung, daß diese am weitesten nach Westen vorgeschobenen Keilschrifttexte die Ethnologie Vorderasiens und damit auch die Europas erhellen und die Brücke bilden würden, die von der babylonischen Kultur hinüber zur Vorgeschichte Europas, dem Arbeitsgebiet meines Vaters, führt. . . . Es ist sehr zu bezweifeln, ob ich die Ausdauer gehabt hätte, alle diese 11 000 Tafeln durchzulesen, wenn mich nicht die stille Hoffnung getrieben hätte, von Troja und Priamus einmal Näheres zu hören” (Forrer 1924a:1–2). Translations throughout are my own.

⁸See Heinhold-Krahmer 2004.

⁹Rather with Milyas. The identification with Miletus goes back to Hrozný 1929:329.

¹⁰Rather with Tarsus. For the identification with Ephesus, see Garstang and Gurney 1959:88.

¹¹Treaty between Tudḫaliya IV of Hatti and Šaušga-muwa of Amurru (CTH 105); see my translation, Beckman 1999:106 §11; and Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:60–1 §13’ (AhT 2). The scribe of the tablet later incompletely erased the reference to Ahhiyawa.

¹²As in the “Tawagalawa Letter” (CTH 181), edited in Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:101–22 (AhT 4). On this context, see Bryce 2003:65–8.

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with Aḫḫiyawa.¹³ Therefore its primary center should be sought overseas—undoubtedly in mainland Greece and on the Aegean islands.

In these first publications on Aḫḫiyawa, Forrer proceeds to elaborate a scenario linking personages and events in the history of the Hittite Empire with elements of Greek traditions concerning early times. Today, this part of his exposition detailing *l'histoire événementielle* may be dismissed in large part, since Forrer, like all scholars writing before the recognition of paleographic criteria for dating Hittite manuscripts,¹⁴ incorrectly conflated sources from the first half of the fourteenth with those of the thirteenth century.¹⁵ Furthermore, the recognition that *ayawalla-* is an adjective denoting high rank¹⁶ rather than a gentilic, “Aeolian,”¹⁷ has vitiated one of the underpinnings of Forrer’s historical reconstruction.

First reaction to Forrer’s presentation was positive,¹⁸ although it must be borne in mind that at the time of his initial claims, most of the relevant cuneiform sources remained unpublished and perhaps only Bedřich Hrozný had enjoyed comparable access to the Hittite tablets themselves. The general public was enthusiastic. The Greek philologist Paul Kretschmer (1924), although dissenting on some particulars, largely endorsed Forrer’s position. Other writers, such as Hrozný (1929), S. Przeworski (1924–5), and P. Dhorme (1924) were also in basic agreement. Forrer himself presented a more detailed discussion of his views in his self-published *Forschungen* (1926b, 1929b).

But within a short time, a negative reaction had set in. Most importantly, in his contributions to the series *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*¹⁹ Albrecht Götze made available hand copies of a good number of the Aḫḫiyawa texts, thus allowing other scholars to consult Forrer’s primary material. Prominent among the skeptics were the senior Indo-Europeanist Ferdinand Sommer, who had taught himself cuneiform in order to be able to participate in the new field of Hittitology,²⁰ and the Hittite specialists Johannes Friedrich and Götze.

Indeed, a sizable portion of the first fascicle of the new journal, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* (I/1, 1927), founded by Sommer and Hans Ehelolf, curator of the Vorderasiatische Abteilung, was devoted to the refutation of Forrer’s positions. In his contribution, Friedrich (1927) criticizes Forrer’s use of comparative linguistics, concluding,

I therefore consider Forrer’s hypothesis concerning the Greeks to be for the most part erroneous. Forrer himself provides us with the means to understand this false approach. In the introduction to his article in *MDOG* 63 (p. 2), he says that in working through the Hittite texts he “was driven by the quiet hope of hearing something new about Troy and Priam.” Thus from the beginning he began his investigation with certain preconceptions, and under the influence of

¹³Ten-Year Annals of Muṣili II (*CTH* 61.I); see the translation by R. Beal in Hallo and Younger 2000:86. Treaty of Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti and Šaušga-muwa of Amurru (*CTH* 105); see my translation (Beckman 1999:106 §13; and Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:62–3 §15’ [AhT 2]). I am not convinced by the efforts of Steiner (1989) to eliminate this attestation of Aḫḫiyawa.

¹⁴For a summary of this development, see Heinhold-Krahmer et al. 1979.

¹⁵See Houwink ten Cate 1970.

¹⁶Or perhaps the noun “son”: see Melchert 1980.

¹⁷*HW²* 1.48; see already Götze *apud* Friedrich 1927:98 n. 4.

¹⁸See the short note by Schachermeyr (1931) in a semi-popular periodical.

¹⁹Volumes 14 (1926), 21 (1928a), 23 (1928b), and 26 (1933).

²⁰See Kronasser 1963.

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these ideas his fantasy sometimes lured him into unsustainable conclusions. And the agreement of the Hittite texts with our previous knowledge of Greek pre-history, which was seemingly so close, is to be explained by the fact that Forrer unconsciously read into the Hittite records things that we already knew.²¹

For his part, Götze presents three articles negatively assessing Forrer’s reconstructions of Hittite geography (1927a) and chronology (1927b), and then, for good measure, his general philological competence (1927c). Götze ends the last piece with the remark:

This long list [of corrections], which in general only notes repeated offenses at their first occurrence, will demonstrate to everyone how careful one must be with Forrer’s translations. In closing it must be stressed—which in any case cannot be made clear enough—that remarkably often Forrer misconstrues the syntactic linkage of sentences.²²

Forrer was stung by the criticism of his colleagues, and published a rejoinder, directed primarily at Friedrich, in the second fascicle of *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*.²³ Maintaining (p. 253) that the primary evidence in his original argumentation had been historical rather than philological (that is, points 2 and 3 in my précis given earlier), Forrer nonetheless goes on to defend most of the comparisons of proper names that he had adduced. He then effectively cuts the ground out from under Friedrich by demonstrating that one cannot expect regular sound laws to operate across language boundaries in the process of borrowing (pp. 268–72). Indeed, he points out that by the reasoning displayed in his critique, Friedrich would have had to reject Grotefend’s original decipherment of Old Persian cuneiform, which had been based upon the recognition of the names of the Achaemenid monarchs.

A few years later, in his major contribution to the subject—the still essential *Die Abhijavā-Urkunden*²⁴—Sommer compares his own work to that of Forrer, at the same time condescending to the public that had warmly welcomed the latter’s efforts:

By the very nature of things, only a few will be able to evaluate the purely Hittitological side of my investigations. How far beyond that I may be able to have any effect, time will tell. I present a straightforward interpretation of texts

²¹“Ich halte also Forrer’s Griechenhypothese in der Hauptsache für einen Irrweg. Diesen Irrweg zu verstehen, gibt uns Forrer selbst die Mittel an die Hand. In der Einleitung des Artikels MDOG 63, S. 2 sagt er, bei der Durcharbeitung der hethitischen Texte habe ihn ‘die stille Hoffnung getrieben, von Troja und Priamus einmal Näheres zu hören.’ Er ist also von vornherein mit bestimmten Tendenzen an die Untersuchung gegangen, und im Banne dieser Ideen hat ihn seine Phantasie gelegentlich an unhaltbaren Folgerungen verlockt. Und die scheinbar so gute Übereinstimmung der hethitischen Texte mit unserem bisherigen Wissen von der griechischen Vorgeschichte erklärt sich so, daß Forrer unbewußt Dinge, die wir schon wußten, in die hethitischen Urkunden hineingelesen hat” (Friedrich 1927:107).

²²“Die lange Liste—die übrigens wiederkehrende Verstöße im allgemeinen nur an der jeweils ersten Stelle nennt—wird jedem zeigen, wie vorsichtig man Forrers Übersetzungen gegenüber sein muß. Zum Schlusse sei noch betont—was sonst nicht deutlich genug sein könnte—daß F. auffällig häufig die syntaktische Verbindung von Sätzen nicht richtig erfaßt” (Götze 1927c:136).

²³Forrer 1929a. Notes at the beginning of the text inform us that the manuscript had been submitted in September 1927, that is, soon after the appearance of the critical essays just discussed, and that Forrer had threatened to withdraw the piece should the editors (Sommer and Ehelolf) maintain their insistence that he abandon his particular system of transcription of Hittite vocabulary and proper names.

²⁴Sommer 1932. A new edition of this material (with some additions unavailable to Sommer) is to be found in Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011; an up-to-date German-language edition is in preparation by S. Heinhold-Krahmer.

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whose contents, in my opinion, are not on the whole particularly fascinating, to counter a very intriguing set of assertions directed in fact to a wider audience. Already at its initial publication this argumentation was launched in a slick and captivating form. It inevitably had a resonance, and no one not fully acquainted with the difficult and irksome methodology of Hittitology is to be blamed for embracing it. However, since in my opinion the methodological shortcomings could not be overlooked, I would have expected a rather greater reserve. Even now—and this is only human—there will be those who will find it hard to admit that they have been too quick to agree. But I indeed trust that only a few have so corrupted their stomachs on a tasty pastry that they cannot bear the dry—but I believe nevertheless carefully and well-baked—bread that I am able to offer, even if in comparison it does not taste particularly good. In the end, I will be satisfied if a thorough comparison of my edition with what has previously been offered leads to the realization that a fundamentally more complicated apparatus and a far more careful and meticulous procedure must be employed in the study of Hittite documents than has been the case in regard to the Greek question.²⁵

Of course, time would show that Emil Forrer was not the great philologist that Sommer was—few scholars were, nor was he the equal of Friedrich or Götze in this regard. And Forrer was indeed susceptible to enthusiasms that led him to stretch his evidence—witness his later writings in support of the hypothesis that there had been significant contacts between the Mediterranean and the New World in the pre-Christian era.²⁶ But Forrer nonetheless had rendered significant services to the infant science of Hittitology, such as his pioneering article on the languages of the Hittite archives (1919), and his *Boğazköi-Texten in Umschrift* (1922, 1926a), which included the first sign-list for the Boğazköy texts.

What then might account for the most uncollegial and dismissive manner in which, as we have seen, his work was evaluated? What was the root of the patronizing disparagement and sarcasm? On the basis of the extensive biographical sources presented by R. Oberheid,²⁷ we may speculate.

It seems that Hans Ehelolf may have played a crucial role in this matter. Upon his demo-

²⁵“Die rein hethitologische Seite meiner Untersuchungen können als solche—auch hier nach Lage der Dinge—nur wenige beurteilen. Wie weit ich darüber hinaus eine Wirkung auszuüben vermag, muß die Zukunft lehren: Ich stelle die schlichte Interpretation von Texten, deren Inhalt nach meiner Meinung fürs große Ganze nicht faszinierend ist, einer hochinteressanten, wirklich auch ‘weitere Kreise’ angehenden Behauptung gegenüber, einer Behauptung, die gleich und gerade bei ihrer ersten Veröffentlichung in geschickter und bestechender Form lanciert worden ist. Sie müßte Widerhall finden, und niemand von denen verdient Tadel, die sich ihr, mit der diffizilen und unbequemen Technik der Hethitologie nicht völlig vertraut, angeschlossen haben. Nur hätte ich, da die methodischen Mängel nach meinem Dafürhalten doch nicht übersehen werden konnten, eine etwas stärkere Reserve erwartet. Es wird auch jetzt noch, und das ist menschlich, den einen oder anderen geben, der sich schwer eingestehen kann, daß er zu schnell zugestimmt hat. Aber ich vertraue denn doch darauf, daß nur die wenigsten sich an einem schmackhaften Kuchen den Magen zu stark verdorben haben, um das trockne, aber wie ich glaube immerhin leidlich durchgebackene Brot, das ich darzubieten habe, nicht mehr vertragen zu können, mag es auch hinterher nicht besonders munden. Mir soll’s schließlich genügen, wenn ein eingehender Vergleich meiner Bearbeitung mit dem bisher Gebotenen die Erkenntnis zeitigt, daß zur Erschließung hethitischer Urkunden ein wesentlich komplizierter Apparat und eine weit mühe- und liebevollere Arbeitsart aufgewandt werden müssen, als es in der Griechenfrage geschehen ist” (Sommer 1932:xi–xii).

²⁶See Groddek 2004:26–7, and Forrer’s bibliography on pp. 41–8 of the same volume.

²⁷Oberheid 2003, 2007.

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bilization in 1918, Ehelolf took up a position in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung, eventually becoming its curator in 1927. Since his own scholarly training had been primarily in Akkadian, while his duties now included caring for many Hittite tablets and fragments as well, he prevailed upon Emil Forrer to introduce him to the study of the newly recovered language.²⁸ Forrer, it will be recalled, had been actively engaged for some time with the material from Boğazköy in the Museum, for, despite having been born in Prussian-ruled Alsace, he was a Swiss citizen and therefore not subject to conscription into the German military.²⁹

Eventually Ehelolf repaid Forrer’s kindness by evicting him from his work room in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung and restricting his access to the tablet holdings.³⁰ Whether resentment over Forrer’s spending the war years getting the jump on potential rivals in Hittite studies while he himself was ruining his health in the Kaiser’s service in the Near East³¹ was a motivating factor for Ehelolf in these actions is uncertain, but archaeologist Kurt Bittel later speculated that Ehelolf, “who did not count among the particular friends of Forrer,” was instrumental in preventing the latter from being entrusted with leadership of renewed excavations at Boğazköy in the early 1930s.³²

Forrer’s chief antagonist, Ferdinand Sommer, had become a close friend of Ehelolf,³³ co-authoring a volume with him³⁴ and jointly editing *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*. Perhaps this relationship motivated Sommer’s attacks on Forrer. On the other hand, O. Szemerényi (2004:92) attributes Sommer’s hostility to simple jealousy of the younger man. As for Götze and Friedrich,³⁵ they will have been dependent upon Ehelolf’s goodwill in facilitating their study of the materials in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung.

Be that as it may, the severity of this published criticism, particularly by the influential Sommer, as well as effective behind-the-scenes politicking by Ehelolf, essentially blocked Forrer’s advancement within the German academy.³⁶ After World War II, having failed in his efforts to insinuate himself once more in the Berlin Museums,³⁷ he emigrated to Central America, where he pursued pre-Columbian archaeology, wrote for the local press, and served as an advisor to the Foreign Ministry of El Salvador. He died in San Salvador on January 10, 1986.³⁸ Looking back over Forrer’s career, H. G. Güterbock concludes, “[T]here is no doubt that the criticism of his Ahhiyawa theory went too far. Even though his unyielding insistence provoked even more criticism, he did not deserve such harsh treatment” (2004:105).

Lest we be tempted to attribute all virtue in this dispute to one side, and all unpleasantness to the other, I should mention that there is evidence that an unsolicited evaluation of Ehelolf that Forrer submitted to the leader of the Berlin chapter of the Nazionalsozialisti-

²⁸On Ehelolf, see Güterbock 1987, 2004.

²⁹His service during the Great War consisted of a brief stint in the Swiss Border Police.

³⁰See Oberheid 2007:87–9.

³¹See Falkenstein 1940:2.

³²Bittel 1998:205.

³³See the dedication to Sommer 1932 and also p. xii of that work.

³⁴Sommer and Ehelolf 1924.

³⁵Cf. Oberheid 2007:137–42.

³⁶Szemerényi 2004:90–3.

³⁷In her diary, his wife Dorothea records that other members of the Museum staff had threatened to resign should he be appointed (Oberheid 2007:309).

³⁸See Groddek 2004:26–32.

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sches Dozentenbund was instrumental in the failure of Ehelolf to win appointment to the professorship of Assyriology in Berlin in 1939.³⁹

Besides Forrer, in the 1920s and 1930s the most prominent German proponent of the identification of Aḫḫiyawa with the Mycenaean Greeks was Paul Kretschmer (1924, 1933, 1935). His opinions also drew the critical attention of Sommer, who dedicated a book (1934) and a long article (1937) to their refutation. However, in sharp contrast to his attitude toward Forrer, Sommer was careful to express his respect for Kretschmer’s achievements in areas outside of what he called the “silly Greek hypothesis (leichtsinnige Griechenhypothese).”⁴⁰

The early debate over Aḫḫiyawa had a differential effect upon wider scholarly opinion. In general, through the 1960s authors writing in German were skeptical about equating Aḫḫiyawa with the Mycenaeans,⁴¹ while their Anglophone colleagues tended to take the identity of the two terms for granted.⁴² Perhaps this intellectual isogloss can be attributed to attitudes toward the person as well as the work of Ferdinand Sommer: German scholars could well have been swayed by his acknowledged *gravitas*, while foreigners may indeed have found his German style difficult to penetrate. As a student I certainly found it so.

The 1980s witnessed a renewed interest in the Aḫḫiyawa question, with two major conferences dedicated to the matter—held at Liverpool in 1981⁴³ and at Bryn Mawr in 1984.⁴⁴ Since then, the new excavations at Troy undertaken by the Tübingen–Cincinnati team have given rise to their own controversy, whose protagonists have been the late Manfred Korfmann, head of the excavation team,⁴⁵ on the one side, and Frank Kolb,⁴⁶ an ancient historian teaching at the same institution, on the other. Although this dispute, which has been in some ways as unseemly⁴⁷ as the earlier dustup involving Forrer and Sommer, has implications for the Aḫḫiyawa question, its primary focus is archaeological and need not distract us here.

How does the Aḫḫiyawa question look now after three-quarters of a century have passed? It seems to me that many of the contributions I have touched upon earlier approached the problem on the wrong level, namely that of linguistics, in particular by trying to justify—or to disprove—the equivalence of proper nouns attested in cuneiform Hittite on the one hand, and in the Greek language and script on the other. This is precisely the methodology recently employed by I. Hajnal (2003), and he has predictably reached an uncertain conclusion.

But we are dealing here with an historical investigation, and we should rather address

³⁹The text of this unpleasant document, which the Swiss citizen Forrer concluded with “Heil Hitler!” is reproduced in Oberheid 2007:239–45.

⁴⁰Sommer 1934:5; 1937:169.

⁴¹So Goetze 1957:183; and Schmökel 1957:131 n. 2; but cf. Schachermeyr 1935 and 1944:75–6.

⁴²E.g., Gurney 1954:46–58; Huxley 1960; Page 1959:1–40. French scholars also tended to accept the equation; see Dussaud 1953:74–6.

⁴³Proceedings: Fox and Davies 1984.

⁴⁴Proceedings: Mellink 1986.

⁴⁵The discussion came about in the wake of an exhibit of antiquities recovered at Hisarlık; see the catalogue, Theune-Großkopf et al. 2001. The “official” viewpoint is presented, for example, by Easton et al. (2002) and Jablonka and Rose (2004). See also the Projekt Troia website (<http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/troia/deu/>) and Latacz 2004.

⁴⁶See Kolb 2004, 2010, and Hertel and Kolb 2003.

⁴⁷See the charge of academic malfeasance leveled by F. Kolb against M. Korfmann (Kolb 2003:135).

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it as historians, not as linguists. After all, Forrer pointed out long ago that it is unrealistic to expect or demand that regular sound correspondences or sound laws prevail when words pass from one language into another. The well-known constraints that the syllabic cuneiform writing system imposes on the representation of phonological realities must also be recognized.

Archaeological evidence has continued to accumulate for the presence of Mycenaean settlements on the mainland of western Anatolia, as well as for (perhaps indirect) trading relations between Mycenaeans and Hatti. Material, albeit scanty, has been recovered at the Hittite capital⁴⁸ and in the provincial centers of Maşat Höyük/Tapikka⁴⁹ and Kuşaklı/Şarişsa.⁵⁰

In his 1984 review of the Ahhiyawa question, H. G. Güterbock made what in retrospect seems the obvious point that the Hittites must have known of the presence of the Mycenaeans to their west, and furthermore he asked: If the Mycenaeans did *not* constitute Ahhiyawa, then how *were* they designated in the Hittite texts? Conversely, if the land of Ahhiyawa did *not* correspond to the realm of the Mycenaeans, then just what *other* (quasi-)great power might this term have indicated?⁵¹ Most students of the ancient Near East have now recognized the wisdom of this approach,⁵² although Ahmet Ünal (1991) continues to disagree, while Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer (2003a, 2003b) maintains her usual cautious skepticism.

In sum, it seems to me that Emil Forrer was basically correct about Ahhiyawa after all, even if he was mistaken on numerous philological and historical details, while the more erudite, meticulous, and cautious Ferdinand Sommer erred in his conclusions regarding the historical identity and role of Ahhiyawa. I believe that he could not see the forest for the trees. Nevertheless, Sommer's *Ahhiyawa-Urkunden* remains a monument in Hittological studies, while I doubt that few other than myself have recently consulted Forrer's *Forschungen*.

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⁴⁸ Genz 2004:77–84 (LH IIIA2–LH 3B).

⁴⁹ Özgüç 1978:66 and Tf. D, 83–84 (LH IIIA2).

⁵⁰ Müller-Karpe et al. 2004:55–7 with Abb. 13 (LH IIIA2).

⁵¹ Güterbock 1986.

⁵² See most recently Taracha 2006 and de Martino 2011.

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Word Positioning in R̥gvedic Poetry

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I appreciate the opportunity to write for this volume in honor of Jared Klein, not only because he has been a friend for many years but also because it allows me to acknowledge his contributions to our understanding of Vedic syntax and stylistics. His studies have become essential for anyone trying to read and to interpret R̥gvedic poetry, and they demonstrate the importance of recognizing the details of R̥gvedic composition and poetic technique.

One poetic strategy that R̥gvedic poets have employed is to position words in significant locations in a line or verse or in significant relation to other words. This essay will look at one aspect of this strategy, namely center placement, the positioning of words between other words that govern or modify it. Among other effects, such central word placement produces an economy of expression, which is characteristic of R̥gvedic poetry (and for which see especially Gonda 1960), but here I want to explore how recognition of this technique can advance our interpretation of the poetry.

Let me begin with a few examples that illustrate center placement and the forms it can take. A poet may locate a noun between two genitives both of which modify that central word, as in 7.5.5d *vaiśvānarām uśāsāṃ ketúm āhnām* “... Vaiśvānara, the beacon of the dawns and of the days.”¹ The two genitives are sequenced time spans, which have the ritual fire between them as the sign first of the beginning of the day and then of the whole day. Conversely, a poet may place a genitive between two nouns, both of which the genitive modifies, as in 10.30.10 *āvārvṛtatīr ādha nū dvidhārā, goṣuyūdho ná niyavām cārantīḥ | iṣe jānitṛīr bhūvanasya pātnīr, apó vandasva savṛdhaḥ sāyonīḥ* “Now those swirling in double streams, roving like cattle-raiders in teams, / begetters and masters of the living world—o seer, extol the Waters grown strong in common, of common womb.”² Here two roles of the Waters in relation to the world are expressed by placing these on either side of *bhūvana*-‘living world’. The center placement of the “living world” between the Waters’ two roles thus continues the theme of the Waters’ duality expressed by the description of their “double streams,” by their two shared characteristics of strength and common origin, and on a phonological level, even by the reduplicating participle *āvārvṛtatīḥ* with its echoing *var-vṛ*

¹Translations from the R̥gveda follow Jamison and Brereton 2014, sometimes with modifications.

²Depending on the interpretation of *pātnī-*, there are two ways we could take this description: either the Waters are the mothers and wives of the living world, or they are mothers and masters of the living world. In the first, the Waters exercise two different roles of women as sources of the present and future generations; in the second, they assume the role of masters, normally associated with males, as well as the role of birth-givers. But in either interpretation, the syntactic construction unified by its single genitive betokens the unification of these functions in the Waters and the convergence of these functions on the living world.

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and *ta-tī*. A similar placement of the genitive appears in 10.170.2b *dhárman divó dharúne satyám árpitam* “The real (light) [= Sūrya] is fitted into the foundation of heaven, into the support of heaven.” Here the center placement emphatically affirms the place of the sun in the world. In this verse and in others that follow, I translate the center-positioned word twice in order to emphasize its connection with both words it modifies or governs.

Not only genitives but words in other cases can surround a central noun: 5.14.4ab *agnír jātó arocata, ghnán dāsyūñ jyótiṣā támaḥ* “Agni shone as soon as he was born, smashing Dasyus with his light and darkness with his light.” Likewise an adjective modifying two different nouns can be placed between them: 5.52.6ab *ā rukmaír ā yudhā nára, ṛṣvā ṛṣṭír asṛṣata* “Here with brilliants, here with battle, the lofty men [= the Maruts] have launched their lofty spears.” The phrasing crosses the pāda boundary, and that location serves to strengthen the double reference of *ṛṣvā*- ‘lofty’. On the one hand, the Maruts are also called *ṛṣvā*- in verse 13 of this hymn, which confirms that *ṛṣvā*- also describes them here in verse 6. On the other hand, the pāda break and the word’s sound push the adjective *ṛṣvā*- closer to *ṛṣṭír* ‘spears’. Thus the Maruts themselves and the spears that they throw are both “lofty.” The morphological sleight-of-hand in this example is particularly striking. The interpretation of the form *ṛṣvāḥ* as either feminine accusative plural or masculine nominative plural allows the dual usage that involves not only two distinct case forms but also two different genders.

A common object of coordinate verbs may also be placed between them: 6.18.10cd *gambhīráya ṛṣyāyá yó rurójá, -dhvānayad duritā dambhāyac ca* “He [= Indra] who shattered (the demonic power) with his (lance) both deep and lofty covered its obstructions with smoke and diminished them.” Similarly, a finite verb and a participle with a common object have their object between them in 10.5.5d *ichán vavrim avidat pūṣaṇāsya* “Seeking a covering, he found the covering of Pūṣan.” The placement of *vavri*- ‘covering’ between the participle and verb implies that the cover the poet was looking for is the very same cover he found. An elaborate center placement occurs in the chiasmic construction of 10.182.1c = 2c = 3c *kṣipād áśastim ápa durmatim han* “He tosses away slander and strikes away hostile thought.” Here the preverb *ápa* ‘away’ attaches to both injunctives *kṣipát* and *han* and governs both accusative objects *áśastim* ‘slander’ and *durmatim* ‘hostile thought’. The focus on *ápa* emphasizes that the god does away unequivocally with these evils.

Taking account of this technique can resolve questions about the construction of a verse. For example, 6.54.8c = 8.26.22b = 46.6c = 53.1d is the phrase *śśānam rāyá imahe*. Should *rāyāḥ* should be taken as genitive singular with *śśānam* or accusative plural with *imahe*? As already recognized by Geldner (note ad 6.54.8) and especially in view of its placement, *rāyāḥ* needs to be taken with both: “We beseech for wealth him holding sway over wealth.” Here again, the center positioning of “wealth” stresses that the wealth sought is the wealth the god controls.

A noteworthy though unsurprising application of center positioning connects a comparison with its frame by placing their common element between them. One example is 7.7.3bc *prīṇitē agnír īlitó ná hótā | ā mātārā viśvāvāre huvānāḥ* “Agni is pleased, invoked as a Hotar is invoked, / being summoned here to the two mothers, who fulfill all desires.” The position of *ná* requires that *īlitāḥ* be taken in the comparison, but *īlitāḥ* equally qualifies

Agni, as in the very first line of the R̥gveda: 1.1.1a *agnīm ilet puróhitam* “Agni I invoke—the one placed to the fore.” Another example of placement between comparison and frame is 9.96.7ab *prāṇvīpad vācā ūrmīm ná sindhur, gīraḥ sōmah pávamāno manīṣāḥ* “Like a river its wave, self-purifying Soma has sent the wave of speech pulsing forth—the hymns, the inspired thoughts.” In this verse *ūrmīm* ‘wave’ is placed between genitive singular *vācāḥ* ‘speech’, which modifies ‘wave’ in the frame, and before *ná* ‘like’, which places it in the comparison.³ And finally there is 4.21.2cd *yásya krátur vidathyà ná samrāt, sālvān tārutro abhy ásti kṛṣṭāḥ* “... [Indra], whose conquering and victorious will that makes ceremonial distributions overwhelms the separate peoples, like a sovereign king making ceremonial distributions.” It might be tempting to take *vidathyà-* ‘making ceremonial distributions’ only with *samrāt* ‘sovereign king’, since a king makes such distributions (e.g., 3.38.6ab). But as Thieme (1949:49) argues in his discussion of this passage, *vidathyà-* might also be construed with *krātu-*. There is no perfect parallel, but he cites two approximate ones, of which the more convincing is a dānastuti verse, 5.33.9ab *utá tyé mā mārutāsvasya sōnāḥ, krátvāmaghāso vidáthasya rātau* “And (let) these (convey) me—the ruddy (horses) of Mārutāsva, his will’s bounty at the giving of the ceremonial distribution.” It is not a large step from “will’s bounty at the giving of the ceremonial distribution” in 5.33.9 to “the will that makes ceremonial distributions” in 4.21.2. In that latter verse, therefore, the poet likely uses the placement of *vidathyà-* to establish its not quite expected association with *krātu-*.

Recognition of center positioning as a common poetic technique can thus be illuminating in a variety of ways. Particularly noteworthy are examples in which poets use center positioning to express principal themes in their hymns. That is, not only is center positioning part of the artful and economical style of Vedic poetry, but the poet can also use it to bring attention to his message or to express the theme of his hymn.

One hymn in which center positioning plays a significant role in carrying out a poet’s program is R̥gveda 10.8, a tightly composed, nine-verse hymn arranged in three triads. The first two triads address Agni (vv. 1–6) and the last Indra (vv. 7–9).⁴ In the first triad, the poet calls Agni “the sun’s undulating flood” (v. 2b *sūro árṇaḥ*) set upon earth as the sacrificial fire, and the second triad develops the image of Agni both as the fire kindled at dawn and as the rising sun. The first two verses of that second triad (vv. 4–5) are also formally marked by the introduction of the Ādityas by references to *mitrá-* ‘alliance’ (v. 4), to Varuṇa (v. 5), and to the *ṛtá*, the ‘truth’ (vv. 4, 5), the principle defining the world that is characteristically governed by the Ādityas. All these elements converge in verse 5. The opening lines of that verse are (ab) *bhúvas cákṣur mahá ṛtásya gopá, bhúvo varuṇo yád ṛtáya véṣi* “You become the eye and herdsman of the great truth. You become Varuṇa when you pursue your tasks for truth.” In 5a the genitive *mahá ṛtásya* is set between *cákṣuḥ* and *gopáḥ* and modifies both: Agni is the “eye of the great truth” and the “herdsman of the great truth.” The “eye” is Agni as the sun, which is the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa. This eye of the Ādityas is a visible form of the Ādityas, and representing them, it watches over the actions of all beings, as in 6.51.1acd

³This passage is cited also by Velankar (Moghe 1993:39–40) in a study of word economy in the R̥gveda, in which he discusses various examples in which a word in a simile is to be understood in the frame.

⁴The first two triads are each marked in their last verses by references to the head (*mūrdhān-*) of Agni (in 3a and 6c). The image of Agni’s head in turn anticipates Indra’s victory over the son of Tvaṣṭar whose three heads Indra twists off (v. 9). For further see the introduction to this hymn in Jamison and Brereton 2014:3.1376–78.

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úd u tyác cáksur máhi mitráyor ám éti . . . |ṛtásya śúci darsatám ánikam, rukmó ná divá údītā vy ádyaut “Up goes this great eye of Mitra and Varuṇa. / The blazing, sightly face of the truth has flashed on its rising forth like a brilliant of heaven.” The “herdsman of the truth” is Agni as the ritual fire, as in 1.1.8ab *rājantam adhvārānām, gopām ṛtásya dīdivim* “. . . [Agni] ruling over the rites, the shining herdsman of the truth.” However, the “herdsman of the truth” need not refer only to Agni. As we have seen, in 6.51.1 the poet describes the sun as the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa. In verse 3 of that hymn, he summons the Ādityas as herdsman of the truth: 6.51.3 *stuṣā u vo mahá ṛtásya gopām, áditim mitráṁ várūṇam sujātān | aryamānam bhāgam ádabdhadhītīn, áchā voce sadbhanyāḥ pāvakān*. I provisionally (and as explained below, perhaps improbably) translate this verse, “I will praise you, the herdsman of the great truth: Aditi, Mitra, Varuṇa, the well-born ones. / I call here Aryaman, Bhaga, those of undecivable inspired thoughts, the pure companions.” In invoking Agni as the “herdsman of the great truth” in 10.8.5, therefore, the poet applies to Agni language that is also appropriate for the Ādityas.

Beyond this parallel there is a stronger connection in 10.8.5 between Agni as the “herdsman of the truth” and the Ādityas, a connection that rests on morphological ambiguity. Although the context and syntax of 10.8.5 require that *gopāḥ* be nominative singular, the form can also be nominative plural—an unusual coincidence of these two cases. Thus the description of Agni as *gopāḥ*, a ‘herdsman’, can embed an implication that Agni encompasses the multiple Ādityas, who are also *gopāḥ*, ‘herdsman’. This second, suggested reading is supported by *mahāḥ* ‘great’, since formally this word can be genitive singular or nominative plural. That is, setting aside its context in 10.8.5 for the moment, the phrase *mahá ṛtásya gopāḥ* could be read either as the “herdsman of the great truth” or “the great herdsman of the truth.” In 6.51.3a the primary reading is more likely “the great herdsman of the truth” than “the herdsman of the great truth” as I translated it above. This is so since in the next verse, in line 4b, *mahāḥ* ‘great’ applies to the Ādityas, called there *mahó rājñāḥ* “great kings.” If they are great ones in verse 4, they are probably also great ones in verse 3. However, in this hymn too, the poet may well have both interpretations of the phrase in mind. In 6.49, a hymn attributed to the poet of 6.51, he refers to his patron in 15b as *mahá ṛtásya gopām* “the herdsman of the great truth,” where *mahāḥ* must modify *ṛtásya*.

Putting all this together, then, what does *cáksur mahá ṛtásya gopāḥ* signify in 10.8.5? The phrase is a verbal nest with *ṛtá-*, the ‘truth’, at the center. On one side of the truth is *cáksus-*, Agni as the sun, the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa. On the other side of the truth is *gopāḥ*, Agni as the ritual fire, but a word that can also describe the Ādityas. Therefore, in the sequence of the line, the Ādityas are present before the truth by means of the sun, and they are present after the truth by means of the connection between the Ādityas and the ritual fire that is created by *gopāḥ*. At least in part, the truth at the center is the truth that Agni makes the Ādityas visible and makes their power real by means of both the sun and the ritual fire.

Thus in condensing the various forms and functions of Agni in the phrase *cáksur mahá ṛtásya gopāḥ*, the poet has employed two devices: center placement of a genitive and a false *śleṣa*. The compact style of center placement expresses the multiple forms and roles concentrated in Agni. In the false *śleṣa*, a nominative plural interpretation of *mahāḥ . . . gopāḥ* is syntactically not possible but morphologically available and thematically appropriate. The

figure suggests the presence of the Ādityas without directly referring to them. Such complexity directs a hearer’s attention to the phrase, whose location in the central verse of the central triad is already marked.

Thematically linked to 10.8.5 are two other examples of center positioning. The first is 7.88.2 *ādāhā nv āsya samdīśam jagannvān, agnér ānīkam vāruṇasya māṃsi | svār yād āsmann adhipā u āndho, ’bhī mā vāpur dīśāye ninīyāt* “Now then, when I came into sight of him, I thought the face of Agni to be that of Varuṇa. / When the sun is in the rock and darkness is master, may he lead me to see his wondrous form.” Here *ānīka-* ‘face’ is center-positioned between the genitives *agnéḥ* and *vāruṇasya* and applies to both. Since the word itself is shared and centered between Varuṇa and Agni, it becomes an icon of the appearance of Varuṇa in the form of Agni. The use of center placement for similar effect also occurs in R̥gveda 5.3.4, a verse that I discuss in Brereton 2016. In this verse, the poet declares to Agni that all the gods are visible in him: 5.3.4a *tāva śrīyā sudīśo deva devāḥ* “By the splendor of you lovely to see, o god, the gods are lovely to see.” Here *sudīśaḥ* ‘lovely to see’ has double application, both genitive singular modifying Agni and nominative plural describing the gods. By referring to both Agni and the gods, *sudīśaḥ* functions as a verbal image of the simultaneity of Agni’s appearance and the gods’ manifestation.

In 5.3.4, although *sudīśaḥ* is center-positioned, the words with which it is construed do not border it but are placed at the beginning and end of the line. Another double reading suggested by distracted center placement appears in 7.65.4 *ā no mitrāvaruṇā havyājusṭim, ghyatāir gavyūtim ukṣatam ilābbih | prāti vām ātra vāram ā jānāya, prṇītām udnō diryāsya cāroḥ* “(Come) here to the enjoyment of our oblation, Mitra and Varuṇa! Sprinkle our pasture with ghee, with refreshments. / At your wish, in this place and for our people, fulfill our wish from the beloved heavenly water.”⁵ Renou (*EVP* 7.62–3) notes that there are two formulas that may be embedded in line c: *prāti vāram* “at (your) wish” and *vāram ā* “according to (our) wish.” Or, modifying Renou’s observation, we can see an overlap between *prāti vāram* and *vāram ā . . . prṇītām*.⁶ If this interpretation is correct, note the parallelism in the structure of 7.65.4. In line a the poet offers to the gods oblations, which would include ghee and other ritual refreshments, and in line b he asks from the gods ghee and refreshment in the form of rain. In line c, the poet first refers to the wish of the gods for oblations (*prāti vāram*) and then his own wish (*vāram ā . . . prṇītām*). That is to say, just as the poet trades one form of refreshment for another in lines ab, so also in cd, the placement of *vāra-* allows it to represent the conjoined wishes of both gods and mortals.

A sustained and thematically crucial employment of center positioning occurs in R̥gveda 4.37, a hymn to the R̥bhus. Verses 1–4 of this hymn are in triṣṭubh meter and verses 5–8 in anuṣṭubh.⁷ Not only does the hymn shift meter in the second half, but also its literary stat-

⁵Renou (*EVP* 5.89) and Geldner separate lines c and d. Renou, for example, translates 7.65.4cd “(Je) vous (appelle) ici à mon tour, (que vous veniez) à (votre) gré, pour (notre) groupe-humain. Emplissez(-nous) d’une eau céleste agréable!”

⁶For the latter expression, consider verses such as 10.106.11d *ā bhūtāṃsō aśvīnoḥ kāmam aprāḥ* “Bhūtāṃsā has fulfilled the desire of the Aśvins,” 8.64.6c *asmākaṃ kāmam ā prṇa* “Fulfill our desire!” and 7.62.3d *ā . . . kāmam pūpurantu* “Let them fulfill our desire.”

⁷Oldenberg (1888:198) suggests the possibility that this hymn was composed of two originally separate hymns of four verses each following this metrical division. As explained in the introduction to the hymn in Jamison and Brereton (2014:1.618), both sections of the hymn employ the image of the horse, so it remains unclear whether this hymn is two combined hymns with similar imagery or one complex hymn.

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egy changes. In the first half, center placement and *sleṣa* unify this section of the hymn, but these figures disappear in the second section. Our concern will be the triṣṭubh half and its use of center placement. Here is how the hymn opens: 4.37.1 *úpa no vājā adhvaram ṛbhukṣā, devā yātā pathibhir devayānau | yāthā yajñām mānuṣo vikṣv āsū, dadhidhvé ranvāḥ sudīneṣv ālmām* “Travel towards our rite, o Vājas, o master of the Ṛbhus and Ṛbhus, you gods, along the paths the gods travel, / just as you established the sacrifice of Manu for yourselves among these clans of Manu on a clear day of days, o you who bring joy.” This verse presents a straightforward example of central positioning, in which *mānuṣaḥ* modifies both the sacrifice (*yajñā-*) and the clans (*vīś-*), since both of them belong to Manu. In arguing for construing *mānuṣaḥ* with *yajñām*, Geldner justifiably cites Ṛgveda 4.34.3, which describes a sacrifice that the Ṛbhus have both received and, like Manu, have offered: 4.34.3ab *ayām vo yajñā ṛbhavo ’kāri, yām ā manuṣvāt pradīvo dadhidhvé* “Ṛbhus, this sacrifice now has been made for you, which you, like Manu, established for yourselves from of old.”⁸ But just as plausibly, *mānuṣaḥ* can modify *vikṣv*. So, for example, 5.8.3a *tvām agne mānuṣīr īlate vīśaḥ* and 7.5.2c *sā mānuṣīr abhi vīśo vī bhāti* refer to “the clans of the sons of Manu.” Nor is 4.37.1 the only instance of a center placement that invites a double reading of *mānuṣaḥ*. The same phrasing with the same effect also appears in 6.14.2cd *agnīm hótāram īlate, yajñēsu mānuṣo vīśaḥ* “Agni as Hotar do the clans of Manu reverently invoke at the sacrifices of Manu.”

Having established a reasonably clear instance of center positioning in verse 1, the poet continues with a more complicated construction in 4.37.2 *té vo hṛdé mánase santu yajñā, jūṣṭāso adyā ghyātānirṇijo guḥ | prā vaḥ sutāso harayanta pūrṇāḥ, krátve dáksāya harṣayanta pītāḥ* “Let the sacrifices be pleasing to your heart and mind; pleasing sacrifices today will go clothed in ghee. / The full pressings will give you joy, and when drunk, they will inspire you to will and skill.” Here the phrase *yajñā jūṣṭāsaḥ* “the pleasing sacrifices” straddles the pāda boundary and should be construed with both *hṛdé mánase santu* in line a and *adyā ghyātānirṇijo guḥ* in line b. Without comment Renou (EVP 15.95) takes *jūṣṭāsaḥ* with line b and the dative phrase *hṛdé mánase* with √as: “Que ces sacrifices-ci vous soient à coeur (et covenant) à votre pensée que, bien agréés, ils viennent aujourd’hui, revêtus de beurre-fondu!”⁹ This translation is grammatically possible, but since the poet uses center positioning with a double reading in the first verse, a better solution is to take the whole phrase *yajñā jūṣṭāsaḥ* twice. The pāda break does not argue against doing so, since we have seen another example of center positioning across the pāda boundary in 5.52.6. Moreover, the construction of the datives with *jūṣṭa-* is confirmed by 1.73.10ab *etā te agna ucāthāni vedho, jūṣṭāni santu mánase hṛdé ca* “Let these solemn recitations be pleasing to you, o Agni, ritual expert—to your mind and heart.” Here in this verse are the same dative phrase and the same imperative as in 4.37.2, and here also the dative phrase complements *jūṣṭa-*.

The poet continues in verse 3 *tryudāyām devāhitam yāthā va, stómo vājā ṛbhukṣaṇo dadé vaḥ | juhvé manuṣvād úparāsu vikṣv, yuṣmé sácā bṛhāddiveṣu sómam*. We can translate this

⁸Other references to present offerings that replicate the ancient offerings of Manu include 2.2.6, in which Agni is invoked to turn the two world-halves to sacrifice: *agne haryā mānuṣo deva vītāye* “to seek out the oblations of Manu . . .” Or again in 1.175.3, Indra is asked to “impel the chariot of Manu” (*codāyo mānuṣo rātham*) where as often, the chariot is figuratively the sacrifice (as noted already by Geldner; see his comments on this verse and on 1.129.1).

⁹Similarly Geldner: “Diese Opfer sollen euch nach dem Herzen und Sinn sein, angenehm sollen die schmalzbekleideten (euch) heute kommen.”

verse straightforwardly as “Since the thrice ascending¹⁰ (soma-pressing) has been established by the gods for you and the praise-song has been given to you, o Vājas, o master of the R̥bhus and R̥bhus, / among the clans below I, like Manu, offer the soma to you along with those dwelling in lofty heaven.” In this translation, I take *yusmé* as dative and *sácā* as a preposition governing the locative *br̥háddivesu*.

But there is a second possibility. The *úparāsu vikṣú*, the “clans below,” are humans; the *br̥háddivesu*, “those dwelling in lofty heaven,” are gods. Both expressions are locative and stand in obvious contrast to one another. These considerations could lead a hearer to construe them as parallel. The idea and construction would be similar to that of 1.135.2cd *távāyám bhāgá āyúsu, sómo devésu hūyate* “For you [= Vāyu] is this portion poured among the Āyus, is the soma poured among the gods.” That is to say, the offering is made among humans performing the sacrifice and the offering is received among the gods. In 4.37.3, since *sácā* can be either a preposition or a postposition, it can govern *yusmé*, which can be locative as well as dative. Understanding *úparāsu vikṣú* to be parallel to *br̥háddivesu* and assuming a postpositional phrase *yusmé sácā* mean that *yusmé sácā* is centered between the two locative phrases. Because of this centered placement, the phrase might be construed with either locative phrase.¹¹ Interpreting *yusmé sácā* with the first locative phrase yields this translation: “. . . among the clans below along with you I . . . offer the soma among those dwelling in lofty heaven.” In this interpretation the R̥bhus are located among the earthly sacrificers. The centering of *yusmé* between the two locative phrases, the positioning of *sácā* between *yusmé* and *br̥háddivesu*, and the center placements and double readings in verses 1 and 2 suggest that the poet intends his hearers to interpret the verse according to both of the above interpretations: the R̥bhus are among the divine recipients of the sacrifice and they are among the human sacrificers.¹² To clarify matters, if not to simplify them, we might translate 3cd twice in two different ways: “. . . among the clans below I, like Manu, offer the soma to you (*yusmé*) along with those dwelling in lofty heaven (*sácā br̥háddivesu*), and among the clans below along with you (*yusmé sácā*), I, like Manu, offer the soma among those dwelling in lofty heaven (*br̥háddivesu*).”

Such a double location is appropriate for the R̥bhus, who were once human themselves but who have become gods and who even as gods are both sacrificers and recipients of the sacrifice. This dual role of the R̥bhus as sacrificers and as former humans on the one hand and as recipients of the sacrifice and as gods on the other is a theme toward which the other examples of center positioning in this hymn point. In verse 1 the center placement of *mānuṣaḥ* gives the double reading “the sacrifice of Manu” and “the clans of Manu.” The sacrifice is directed to the R̥bhus, who are to receive it as gods, but the R̥bhus also estab-

¹⁰The word *tryudāyám* is a hapax. Geldner omits it, but Renou, again without comment, has “(le pressurage) à trois avancées.” Gotō (in Witzel, Gotō, and Scarlata 2013:180) suggests “das mit dreifachem Aufgang versohene . . . (Dichterwort).” In his note on the verse (508), he says that the meaning of *tryudāyá-* remains unclear, but suggests it might refer to the joint appearance of the three R̥bhus or three levels of recitation. He supplies “Dichterwort” on the basis of 5.42.2.

¹¹If *yusmé sácā* is understood with the second locative phrase, then line d would be translated, “among those dwelling in lofty heaven along with you.” This translation leaves the status of the R̥bhus unclear. They might or might not also be in the lofty heaven.

¹²Grassmann (1996:1448) offers still another interpretation, one which also involves center positioning. He takes *sácā* simultaneously with both *yusmé* (interpreted as a locative) and *br̥háddivesu*.

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lished the sacrifice among human clans. Verse 2 depicts the Ṛbhus primarily as sacrificers and priests. True, they drink the soma as either gods or priests might do, but they drink it to excite their “will and skill.” These are priestly qualities: *dákṣa-* is often the skill to perform the ritual and *krātu-* the intention to sacrifice. That the Ṛbhus are thought of as priests is confirmed by 1.111.2, in which the Ṛbhus are asked to make the sacrifice a powerful and effective rite through their “will and skill”: 1.111.2ab *ā no yajñāya takṣata ṛbhumād váyah, krátve dāksāya suprajāvatīm ísam* “For our sacrifice fashion a Ṛbhu-like vigor; for will and skill, (fashion) refreshment along with good offspring.” Also in 1.73.10b, a passage quoted above that closely resembles 2a, Agni is invoked as a *vedhás-*, a ‘ritual expert’, that is, a priest or sacrificer. In 1.73.10 as well as in 4.37.2, the “mind and heart” of a god as priest are pleased by the sacrifice. Thus in the double reading of 4.37.2 that results from the center positioning of *yajñā jústāsaḥ*, the sacrifices are first “pleasing” to the “mind and heart” of the Ṛbhus as priests, but second, these pleasing sacrifices “go clothed in ghee.” That is, they travel to the gods, among whom are also the Ṛbhus.

This section of the hymn concludes with 4.37.4 *pṛvoaśvāḥ śucádrathā hí bhūtá, -yahṣiprā vājinaḥ suniṣkáḥ | indrasya sūno śavaso napātó, ’nu vaś cety agriyám mādāya* “Be those with horses of fat and blazing chariots, with lips of bronze and fine neck-ornaments, o you prizewinners. / O son of Indra and children of strength, the first (of the soma) has been assigned to you for your exhilaration.” In this verse too there is an example of center positioning, but it is a center positioning of a different sort. The vocative *sūno* has to be construed with genitive *indrasya*, “o son of Indra,” and *śavasaḥ* is genitive with vocative *napātāḥ*, “o children of strength.” But the sequence *sūno śavasaḥ* echoes the frequent vocative phrase *sūno sahasaḥ* (1.58.8; 3.1.8, 25.5; 4.2.2; 6.1.10, 4.1, 5.5, 11.6, 13.4, 5, 6, 15.3, 18.11, 20.1, 21.11, 50.9; 7.1.21, 22, 3.8, 7.7, 8.7, 16.4; 8.19.7), and in the same maṇḍala, in 4.24.1, *śavasaḥ sūmá-* “son of strength” describes Indra. These parallels suggest that this verse is not only an invocation to the “son of Indra”—perhaps, as Geldner suggests, Ṛbhukṣan, the “master of the Ṛbhus”—and to “the children of strength,” that is, to the Ṛbhus, but that it also contains an embedded invocation to Indra. That is to say, we might interpret the line as if it read *indrasya sūno sūno śavasaḥ śavaso napātāḥ* “O son of Indra, o son of strength [=Indra], o children of strength.” The invocation to Indra would be appropriate since the third soma offering, for which this hymn was likely composed, is given to Indra and the Ṛbhus (cf. Brereton 2012). If the second half of 4.37 belongs with the first despite its shift in meter and literary strategy, the address to Indra would make a good transition to it, since Indra is repeatedly invoked along with the Ṛbhus in the anuṣṭubh portion of the hymn (in vv. 5, 6, and 8).

In 4.37.1–4, therefore, the poet presents us with diverse and increasingly complex applications of center placement. He begins with an instance in verse 1 that involves no particular difficulty: a genitive stands between two nouns it modifies. In verse 2, a two-word phrase that crosses a pāda boundary should be construed with both the pāda before it and the pāda following it. In verse 3, a double reading results from construing the same word either as a preposition with the word after it and as a postposition with the word before it. And finally in verse 4, in the most subtle case, a four-word sequence of two two-word phrases generates a third phrase by taking the two center-positioned words together and separately.

Central word placement and many other poetic techniques of the Ṛgveda regularly defeat attempts to represent them directly in translation, and for that reason can leave translators in some despair. But such techniques are important to observe both as illustrations of the artistry of the Ṛgvedic poets and also as instruments the poets employed to convey meaning. In particular, central word placement can function as a way of expressing the dual roles of the gods. In the examples above, we have seen it used to describe dual roles of Agni, who is the ritual fire and the sun or who is the ritual fire and the visible form of the gods. Or again, as in 4.37, it can signify the dual role of the Ṛbhus as both priests, who create the sacrifice, and gods receiving it. It can draw attention to a particular theme or concept, or by creating a moment of unusual complexity, it can give prominence to a particular verse. In such cases, we interpreters need to take note of the technique and of the effect that it might have had on the hearers of the hymn.

Abbreviations

EVP = Renou, Louis. 1955–69. *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*. 17 vols. Paris: de Boccard.
Geldner = Geldner, Karl Friedrich. 1951–7. *Der Rig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen*. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

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A Second Look at First- and Second-person Deictic Suffixes in Modern Eastern Armenian

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I Introduction

The Armenian language is remarkable from an Indo-European perspective because of its deixis. While it lacks grammatical gender even in its pronouns, it has developed a complicated deictic system built on distinctions of distance and person. There are three levels of reference: the proximal or first-person stem is built on a formant in *s*, the distal or second-person stem on one in *d*, and the neutral, narrative, or third-person stem on one in *n*. The most in-depth account of this system is Jared Klein’s 1996 monograph, in which he surveyed and analyzed all deictic forms in the text of the Classical Armenian Gospels.

The present discussion is a thorough reworking of certain aspects of my 2008 master’s thesis written under the direction of Jared Klein, wherein I examined the system of personal demonstrative suffixes in Modern Eastern Armenian. In 2008, I surveyed all three markers (*-s*, *-d*, and *-n*) in the text of the Gospel of Matthew from the perspective of both syntactically and semantically necessary deixis. In the corpus, I found more than 1,500 examples of third-person deixis, affording a sufficient sample size to discuss both the syntactic and semantic aspects of the suffix. The sample size of first- and second-person demonstrative suffixes in the Gospel of Matthew was far smaller, however, consisting of only 28 examples of *-d* and eight of *-s*. Therefore, it seems appropriate to revisit first- and second-person deixis in Modern Eastern Armenian with both an expanded corpus and a narrowed focus, summarized in the following table:

	2008 Corpus	Current Corpus
<i>-d</i> forms	28	88
<i>-s</i> forms	8	52

In this study, my corpus is composed of the four Gospels in Modern Eastern Armenian, with reference to the Grabar and Koinē versions. I have again used the Etchmiadzin translation, which is based upon the Classical Armenian version, rather than a retranslation of the Koinē. The decision to use the Gospels as a corpus was made partially on the basis of the availability of translations in both Classical and Modern Armenian to facilitate comparing the two stages of the language, and partially on the basis of the earlier study by Klein on this

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matter in the Classical language. The Gospels, clearly, are not native Armenian literature. However, the fact that these texts represent translations of another language should not be a matter of concern:

... the fact that the three-way Classical Armenian and two-way Hellenistic Greek systems of deixis do not match up is helpful in allowing us to perceive independent features of Armenian usage. These can be stated with the greatest degree of confidence in the case of the Armenian *d*-forms, which are without precise systematic counterparts in Greek, but sufficient deviations exist in the case of *s*- and *n*-forms and their Greek counterparts to provide insight into the workings of the Classical Armenian system. (Klein 1996:2–3)

The same justification can be made in favor of the Modern Armenian translations, not only in comparison with Greek sources, but also with those of the classical language. As I hope to demonstrate below, enough change has occurred throughout the system that usage in the modern texts is completely independent of that found in the classical version. The focus of this inquiry will not be on translation techniques from Greek to Armenian, or even from Classical to Modern Armenian, but on the independent forms and systems of usage in each period of Armenian.

1.1 The principle of deictic consistency

The most important change between the classical and modern periods of the language can be found in the restricted application of what Klein calls the Principle of Deictic Consistency; in the Grabar, “once [an *s*-, *d*-, or *n*-form] is brought into play for whatever reason, subsequent anaphoric references must agree with it in deixis, so long as they are part of the same discourse without change of perspective” (Klein 1996:57). This principle increases the quantity of *s*- and *d*-stems within a single narrative episode, as well as introduces a tendency towards multiple marking of a syntagm with *s*- or *d*-deixis.

By the modern period, however, this principle no longer holds within syntagms.¹ In fact, in the extended corpus of all four gospels, there are no examples of the first-person demonstrative adjective *ays* with a head noun suffixed in *-s*. There are only two examples of the second person *ayd* co-occurring with a noun marked with the *-d* suffix:

Mark 7:29

Ew na asac' nran, “Ayd xōsk'id hamar gná, dewə k'o aljkanic' durs elaw.”

And he said to them, “For **that** speech, go; the devil has left your girl.”

John 18:11

Yisus Petrosin asac', “Ayd surd noric' ir pateani mēj dir; ayn bažaka, or Hayrn ē inj tuel, č'piti xmem?”

Jesus said to Peter, “Put **that** sword in its sheath. That cup which my father gave to me, should I not drink it?”

¹While it is certainly true that the text of the Gospels and the grammar of Standard Eastern Armenian do not generally allow for multiple marking of first- or second-person deixis within a syntagm, according to Dum-Tragut 2009:113 double marking is quite frequent in colloquial Armenian.

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The vast majority of syntagms involving the demonstratives *ays* and *ayd* do not conform to the Principle of Deictic Consistency; instead, the personal deixis is marked on only the first word of the syntagm and all following deictic markers show the default person, i.e. *n*-deixis.² This tendency to fully specify only the first deictic element is similar to the kinds of “conjunction reduction” effects identified by Kiparsky (1968) for other Indo-European languages, whereby instances of the same category become less marked in repetition. Because of this reduction, there are fewer examples of *-s* and *-d* deixis in the modern version than in Klein’s classical corpus. The unusual multiple marking of the syntagm in Mark 7:29 may indicate emphasis (i.e. “that very speech of yours”), while John 18:11 perhaps exhibits pejorative connotations (“that damn sword of yours”) since this phrase is used in the context of an exasperated Jesus rebuking Peter.

In Luke 7:46, the Principle of Deictic Consistency is violated in a remarkable way:

Luke 7:46

Du iwłov im gluxa č’ōcec’ir; sa anuś iwłov otk’ers ōcec’.

“You did not anoint my head with oil, but this one anointed **my feet** with sweet oil.”

Immediately after having introduced *s*-deixis to refer to the girl anointing Jesus’s feet, the *-s* suffix marks possession. According to Classical Armenian grammar, the feet in question could belong to the same person indicated by *sa* in order to maintain consistent deixis, but the Modern Armenian text does not require this uniformity, and therefore the referent is unambiguously identified with the speaker, Jesus.

2 Syntactically necessary deixis

	<i>-d</i> forms	<i>-s</i> forms
With pronouns	11	13
With quantifiers	12	1
With nonfinite verb forms	1	1

As I found in 2008, most syntactically necessary deixis in the extended corpus also occurs with the neutral deictic suffix *-n*, and is thus outside the scope of the present study. What remains include instances of the pronouns *ink’d* ‘yourself,’ *ink’s* ‘myself,’ and *iwrak’anč’iwrd* ‘yourself,’ all of which merely provide personal reference to the pronoun. Similarly, quantifiers such as *bolord* ‘you all’ are quite common when a speaker addresses a large group. The only syntactically obligatory deixis that is remarkable in this extended corpus is the usage of the deictic suffix to indicate the agent of a non-finite verb,³ a usage I did not discuss in the 2008 study:

Luke 7:45

Du inj mi hamboyr ēl č’tuir; sakayn sa aha tun mtneluc’s i ver č’i dadarum otk’ers ham-

²For examples of *ays* and *ayd* with *-n* see DeLisi 2008:20ff.

³For a discussion of deictic suffixes with non-finite verbal forms in Standard Eastern Armenian, see Dum-Tragut 2009:112 and 508ff.

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bureluc.

“You did not give me a kiss, whereas this one from **my entering** the house has not stopped kissing my feet.”

Mark 1:44

“Zgôyṣ elir, oc̣ oḳ i ban č̣ases, ayl gná, ḳez ḳ’ahanayin gôyc̣ tur ew maḳ’ruelud hamar ancay tur ayn, inč̣ hramayel ēr Morsēsà, nranc̣ hamar ibrew vkayuṭ’ivn.”

“Take care that you do not say a word to anyone, but go, show yourself to your priest and give your offering, that Moses commanded on account of **your cleansing** to their testimony.”

In both Luke 7:45 and Mark 1:44, the deictic suffix is used to indicate an agentive reading of the participle, i.e. “the entering that was done by me” and “the cleansing that you did.” Since this agentive reading is only available for the first- and second-person suffixes (Dum-Tragut 2009:112), which themselves are quite rare in the modern text, it is perhaps not surprising I did not find an instance in the 2008 corpus.

3 Semantically necessary deixis

	-d forms	-s forms
Possession	28	34
Vocative	12	2
Pejorative	31	0
Emotional Solidarity	0	3

3.1 Possession

In the modern language, as was also the case in the classical language, there are two options for indicating possession: either a possessive adjective may be employed or, because of their metaphorical association with the first and second person, a noun may be marked with the -s or -d suffixes. When a noun is governed by a possessive adjective, the -n suffix is used rather than the deictic suffix which would agree with the possessive adjective in person: i.e. where the classical language would have *z-azg-s mer* “our people” (Luke 23:1), the modern language has *mer azgeri-n*, another instance of the avoidance of multiple marking as discussed above in §1.1. The two possessive constructions do not seem to be functionally or semantically distinct; in fact, there are a few instances in which both possessive formations are found side-by-side for the same noun within a single sentence:

Luke 7:44

Ew dārnalov knoj̣ kolmà Simonin asac̣, “Tesnum es ays knoj̣? mtay ḳ’o tuna, otḳ’eris hamar juṛ č̣tuir, isk sa ir artasuḳ’nerov ṭ’rjec̣ im otḳ’eṛ ew ir mazerov srbec̣.”

And turning to the side of the woman, to Simon he says, “Do you see this woman? I came to your house, you did not wash **my feet**; truly she wet **my feet** with her tears and wiped [them] with her hair.

Luke 6:45

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Ew kam, inč'pēs karot es elbōrd asel, elbāyr, t'ol or k'o ač'k'ic' ayd šiwłə hanem, isk du k'o ač'k'i miji geranə č'es tesnum. Kelawór, nax k'o ač'k'ic' geranə hanir ew apa law kə tesneš, k'o elbōr ač'k'ic' šiwłə hanelu hamar."

Or how can you say to **your brother**, “Brother, let me take that splinter from your eye,” but you cannot see the stake in your eye? O hypocrite, first remove the stake from your eye so that you can see well for taking the splinter from **your brother's** eye.

Note that in both Luke 7:44 and 6:45 deictic suffixes co-occur with possessive adjective constructions. Each time both constructions are found in a single sentence within the corpus, it is always the noun with deictic suffix that comes first; perhaps this order indicates that the deictic suffix is the more marked of the two possessive markers, and the possessive adjective construction is used second due to deictic conjunction reduction.

In discussions of the usage of *-s* and *-d* as possessive markers in Standard Modern Eastern Armenian, I have never seen any mention of constraints on the types of nouns these markers can be employed with. In fact, the Paradebeispiel found in most textbooks, including Dum-Tragut 2009:112, is *girk'-s* ‘my book’ or *girk'-d* ‘your book’. However, the text of the Gospels shows a much more highly constrained pattern. Possessives marked with deictic suffixes almost exclusively fall within established categories of inalienable possession, cf. Lichtenberk, Vaid, and Chen 2011:663:

	<i>-d</i> forms	<i>-s</i> forms
Total: Alienable Possession	2	0
Total: Inalienable Possession	27	33
Relationships	8	13
Body parts	7	9
Comes from the body	1	0
Worn on a body	2	0
Mind/mental processes	1	4
Personal attributes	3	0
Obvious possessions	3	7

(a) Kinship and other social relationships:

Luke 12:13

Žolovrdi mijic' mēkə nran asac', "Vardapēt, asa elbōrs, or žarāngut'wnə inj het bažani."
One among the crowd said to them, “O Teacher, tell **my brother**, that he should divide the inheritance with me.”

Luke 19:43

orovhetew ōrer piti gan vrad, erb t'snaminerd k'o šurjə patnēš piti kangnen ew piti pašaren k'ez, piti nelen k'ez bolor kolmeric'

For days will come upon you, when **your enemies** will lift up the barricade and surround you, and they will attack you from all sides.

(b) Body parts:

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Luke 7:46

Du iwłov im gluxə č'ōcec'ir, sa anuś iwłov otk'ers ōcec'.

“You did not anoint my head with oil, but this one anoints **my feet** with sweet oil.”

John 7:24

Ač'k'nerid erewac'aci pēs mī datēk', ayl uhl' datastan arēk'.

Do not judge as **your eyes** see, but make righteous judgment.

(c) The possessed comes from the possessor's body:

Mark 1:25

Yīsus sastec' nran u asac', “Jaynd ktrír ew dúrs el dranic'.”

Jesus scolded him and said, “Stop **your voice** and come out of that one.”

(d) The possessed is worn by the possessor:

Luke 6:32

Ov xp'um ē k'o cnōtin, nran mīwsn ēl mōtec'ru, ew ov or k'eznic' k'o bačkona brni ē verc'num, nran mī argelir, or verc'ni šapikd ēl.

Who strikes your chin, bring the other near him. And whoever takes your coat from you by force, do not forbid him from taking **your shirt**.

(e) The mind and mental processes:

Matthew 27:19

Ew minč' na atean ēr nstum, ir kina nran lur ularkec' u asac', “K'o ew ayd ardari mijew oč'inč' č'kay, orovhetew aysōr erazums nra patčarōv glxovs šat baner anc'an.”

And while he was sitting in court, his wife sent a message to him and said, “There is nothing between you and this righteous man, for today I suffered with my head many things on account of him in a **dream**.”

Luke 12:20

Astuač nran asac', “Anmūt, hēnc' ays gišer bogid k'eznic' pahanjelu en, isk inč' or patrastel es, umn ē linelu?”

God said to him, “O fool! This very night **your soul** is demanded from you. But whose will it be, that which you have prepared?”

(f) Personal attributes:

Luke 8:30

Yīsus harc'rec' nran ew asac', “Anund inč' ē?” Ew na asac', “Legēon,” orovhetew nra mēj šat dewer ēin mtel.

Jesus asked him and said, “What is **your name**?” And he said “Legion,” because many demons had entered him.

The majority of the marked possessions that do not fall into these categories are more directly associated with specific types of people in comparison to the general population, e.g. paralytic's bed, farmer's crop, master's slave, and the worker's employment:

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Mark 2:9

Orn ē aweli diwrin, andamaloycin asel, k'o melk'era k'ez neruac en, t'ē asel, vér kac', dr mabičd ew gna k'o tuna?

What is easier, to say to a paralytic, “Your sins are forgiven,” or to say, “Get up, take **your bed**, and go out of your house?”

Luke 12:17

Ew na xorbec' ir mtk'um u asac', “Tēs nem inč' karol em anel, k'ani or berk's kutakelu tel č'kay.

And he thought to himself in his mind and said, “I shall see what I can do, for I don't have a store for **my** gathered **crops**.”

There are only two examples of marked possession in the text of the Gospels that do not seem obviously inalienable:

Mark 10:21

Ew Yisus nran nayelov, sirec' nran ew asac', “K'ez mék ban ē pakasum. et'ē kamenum es katareal linel, gna vačarir inč' or unes u alk'atnerin tur ew erknk'um ganjer k'unenas. ew verc'ru xac'd ew ar' im yetewic'.”

And Jesus seeing him, he loved him and said, “One thing is wanting. If you want to be perfect, go sell whatever you have and give it to the poor and you will have treasures in Heaven. And raise up the **cross** and follow after me.”

John 18:11

Yisus Petrosin asac', “Ayd surd noric' ir pateani mēj dir; ayn bažakə, or Hayrn ē inj tuel, č'piti xmem?”

Jesus said to Peter, “Put **that sword** in its sheath. That cup which my father gave to me, should I not drink it?”

It could be argued that these particular deictic suffixes are not intended to be read as possessive markers, and therefore the category of inalienable possession is perfect for this text. Perhaps Mark 10:21 should be interpreted as “that cross (near you)” and John 18:11 is “that sword (near you).” I also proposed in §1.1 above that John 18:11 may be an example of pejorative usage of the *-d* suffix. Mark Wenthe has suggested to me (p.c.) that the deixis in Mark 10:21 may have theological significance; i.e., the inalienable possession that each Christian has of his or her own cross to bear. If these two examples remain, however, then the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession must be reduced to only a strong tendency in the text and not an inviolable rule. Whether rule or tendency, the distinction is a peculiarity of this text, and not a general phenomenon in Standard Eastern Armenian.

3.2 The vocative

	<i>-d</i> forms	<i>-s</i> forms
Vocatives	9	2

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In 2008 I claimed that *-d* deixis was grammaticalized as a marker of the vocative.⁴ Unfortunately, under closer examination I have found that most examples I found are in fact not vocatives at all, but rather datives with second-person reference. It would be much more appropriate to call them pejorative marking (discussed in §3.3 below). A more careful reading admits only nine actual *-d* suffixed vocatives in the entirety of the Gospels, of which two occur in a single sentence:

John 12:15

*“Mí vaxec’ir, óv **dustrd** Sioni, aba k’o t’agaworā galis ē, nstac mi ēši k’uraki vray.”*

“Do not fear, O **daughter** of Zion, lo your king is coming seated on the foal of a donkey.”

Luke 1:3

*es ēl, or skzbič’ stugut’eamb hetamut ēi elēl amēn bani, kamec’ay kargov k’ez greł, óv **ger-azanc’ d** T’ēop’ilē,*

I, who from the beginning with certainty pursued everything, wanted to write the series for you, O **excellent** Theophilus . . .

Matthew 11:28

*Ekēk’ inj mōt, bolor **yognacnerd u beṛnaworuacnerd**, ew es jez kə hangstac’nem.*

Come to me, all (you) **laborers** and (you) **bearers of burdens**, and I will give you rest.

The deictic suffix on the two nouns in Matthew 11:28 may be attributable more to the presence of the quantifier (see DeLisi 2008:22–3) than to the vocative. Note that in both John 12:15 and Luke 1:3, the vocative is preceded by the vocative particle *óv* ‘O,’ making any further marking of the vocative redundant.

The more normal way to indicate the vocative is via intonation alone,⁵ where a *shesht* (transliterated here as an acute accent) is marked above the tonic vowel, as in Luke 12:13, which was previously discussed in §3.1 above:

Luke 12:13

*Žolovrdi miĵič’ mēkə nran asac’, “**Vardapét**, asa elbōrs, or žarāngut’iwma inj het bažani.”*

One among the crowd said to them, “O **Teacher**, tell my brother, that he should divide the inheritance with me.”

Here the vocative *vardapét* lacks the *-d* suffix; instead, the vocative is indicated purely via the *shesht*. I have not counted all instances of the vocative in the text of the Gospels, but it may suffice to say that if only eleven of the total number of vocatives are marked with a deictic suffix at all, the unmarked vocative must be far more common.

A final reason that the vocative must be divorced from *d*-deixis in the Modern Eastern Armenian version of the Gospels can be seen in Mark 10:24 and John 13:33:

Mark 10:24

Ew ašakertnerə zarmac’ac ēin nra xōšk’eri vray; isk Yisus darjeal patasxanec’ nranč ew

⁴See DeLisi 2008:43ff. where I discussed the 20 examples of marked vocatives I found.

⁵For a discussion of the intonational patterns associated with the vocative in spoken Eastern Armenian, see Dum-Tragut 2009:58–9.

First- and Second-person Deictic Suffixes in Modern Eastern Armenian

asac, “**Zawaknérs**, *inč’k’án džuar ē Astcu ark’ayut’iwn mtneł nranc’ hamar, or irenc’ yoysə drel en harstut’ean vray!*

And the disciples were astonished by his words, but Jesus again answered them and said, “**O children**, how hard is it to enter the kingdom of God for those, who put their hope in riches.”

John 13:33

Ordeaknérs, mi k’ič’ žamanak der jez het em; inj piti p’ntřek’, ew inč’pēs asac’i breanerin, ur es em gnum, duk’ č’ek’ karol gal, — ayžm ayd jez ēl em asum.

My sons, I am among you for a short time yet. You will seek me, and as I said to the Jews, where I am going, you cannot go, — now I say that to you.

In both passages, the vocatives are marked with *s-* rather than the expected *d-* deixis. The semantics of the suffixes will be discussed below in §3.4. Combined with the uncounted legions of unmarked vocatives, these two forms present damning counterevidence against the *-d* suffix as a grammaticalized vocative marker.

3.3 Pejorative usage

	<i>-d</i> forms	<i>-s</i> forms
Pejorative without vocative	26	0
Pejorative with vocative	5	0

In 2008, I was only able to find one secure example of pejorative deixis in the text of Matthew. By expanding the corpus to include the rest of the Gospels, I can now point to 31 examples. Beyond the small size of the corpus, the other reason for the paucity of evidence for this usage is that 21 examples of pejorative deixis were originally misclassified merely as vocatives:⁶

Matthew 23:13

Váy jez kelcawornerid, ōrēnsgētnerid ew p’ariseč’inerid, or erknk’i ark’ayut’iwnə p’akum ek’ mardkanc’ araj. duk’ č’ek’ mtnum ew mtnohnerin ēl t’oył č’ek’ talis, or mtnen.

Woe to you **hypocrites**, **scribes**, and **Pharisees**, who shut the Kingdom of Heaven before mankind. You will not enter and you will allow those who would enter to enter.

In this phrase, which is repeated six more times in Matthew 23, *kelcawornerid*, *ōrēnsgētnerid*, and *p’ariseč’inerid* are morphologically marked as datives in apposition to the pronoun *jez* rather than vocatives. The pejorative context should be clear from the phrase *váy jez* “woe to you . . .” Four more examples contain the same *vay jez* language seen in Matthew 23, and therefore can be securely categorized as pejorative. Of the remaining six, all but one are both pejorative and vocative:

Luke 11:37

Tērə nran asac’, “Ayžm duk’, p’ariseč’inerd, bažkaki ew pnaki artak’inn ek’ mak’rum,

⁶See DeLisi 2008:43 for the original discussion of this passage as containing vocatives.

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isk jer nerk'inə li ē yap'štakut'eamb ew č'arut'eamb.

The lord said to him, “Now you, **O Pharisees**, you are cleaning the exterior of a cup and plate, but your interior is full of spoil and wickedness.”

Mark 15:18

ew sksec'in nran oljōyn tal u asel, “Oljōyn k'ez, hreanerī t'agawórd!”

And they began to salute him and say, “Hail to you, **O King** of the Jews!”

Luke 13:27

Ew tantērə k'asi, “Asum em, jez č'gitem, t'ē ortelic' ēk'. be'rac'ēk' injnic' duk', bolor aniraw mšaknerd.”

And the landlord will say, “I say to you I do not know where you are from. Go away from me, all you **evildoers**.”

Mark 9:18

Na patasxanec' nranc' ew asac', “Ōv anhawāt serund, minč'ew erb jez het piti linem? minč'ew erb jez piti handuržem? berēk' nran inj mōt.”

He asked them and said, “**O unbelieving generation**, how long will I be with you? How long will I suffer you? Take him to me.”

Mark 14:65

*Ew omank' sksec'in t'k'el nra eresin, šorov gluxə cackel, brunc'k'ov xp'el u asel, “Margarēacr mez, **K'ristós**d, ayn ov ē, or k'ez xp'ec'?” Ew spawornērə aptakum ēin nran.*

And some people began to spit at him and confront him, to cover his head with clothing, to beat him with fists and to say, “Prophecy to us, **O Christ**, who is it, that struck you?” And the guards struck him.

The final example does not include *vay jez* or a vocative:

Mark 7:6

Na patasxanec' ew asac' nranc', “Esayin law margarēac'aw jer, kelcawornērīd masin, aselov, ‘Ays žolovurdə inj šrt'neróv ē mecarum, bayc' nranc' srterə injnic' be'ru en.’”

He replied and said to them, “Isaiah prophesied well about you **hypocrites**, saying, ‘This multitude venerates me with their lips, but their hearts are far away from me.’”

Like the *vay jez* examples above, this one also involves an overt second-person pronoun. It could be argued that Mark 7:6 and Matthew 23 have been marked with *-d* deixis because of their overt second-person contexts, and the many examples of vocatives because of their implicit second-person context; however, the fact that each involves either Jesus railing against groups he believes to have angered God, or Jesus being mocked by the Roman soldiers and Pharisees, would remain remarkable and unexplained. Therefore, it seems to me that the pejorative reading is more likely than mere second-person reference alone.

3.4 Emotional solidarity

	<i>-d</i> forms	<i>-s</i> forms
Emotional Solidarity	0	4

First- and Second-person Deictic Suffixes in Modern Eastern Armenian

In 2008 I was only able to find two examples of the *-s* suffix used to convey emotional solidarity. By extending the corpus to the entirety of the Gospels I can now adduce two more:

Mark 10:24

Ew ašakertnerə zarmac'ac ēin nra xōsk'eri vray; isk Yisus darjeal patasxanec' nranec' ew asac, “Zawaknérs, inč'k'án džuar ē Astcu ark'ayut'iwn mtneł nranec' hamar, or irenc' yoysa drel en harstut'ean vray!

And the disciples were astonished by his words, but Jesus again answered them and said, “**O children**, how hard it is to enter the kingdom of God for those who put their hope in riches.”

John 13:33

Ordeaknérs, mi k'ič' žamanak der jez het em; inj piti p'ntřek', ew inč'pēs asac'i hreanerin, ur es em gnum, duk' č'ek' karol gal, — ayžm ayd jez el em asum.

My sons, I am among you for a short time yet. You will seek me, and as I said to the Jews, where I am going, you cannot go, —now I say that to you.

What is most remarkable about these two passages, as noted in §3.1 above, is that both *zawaknérs* ‘children’ and *ordeaknérs* ‘sons’ are vocatives, yet they are marked with first-person deixis. In both passages, Jesus makes an emotional connection to his disciples by calling them his children, although they are not his literal offspring. This figurative usage of the first-person possessive suffix is so important to his message that it trumps the general second-person context of the vocative.

4 Conclusion

The most important changes in the usage and distribution of the demonstrative suffixes *-s*, *-d*, and *-n* from the classical to the modern period stem from the abandonment of the Principle of Deictic Consistency in favor of conjunction reduction of deixis under repetition. This reduction is seen in the pairing of demonstratives *ays/ayd* and the possessive adjectives like *mer* ‘our’ and *k'o* ‘your’ with the neutral deictic *-n*, as well as in the pairing of the suffixed nouns and the possessive adjective plus noun constructions within a single sentence. Perhaps the rarity of *-s* and *-d*, originally driven by the loss of the Principle of Deictic Consistency, has been increasing the markedness of these suffixes, further feeding conjunction reduction.

The *-s* vocatives in Mark 10:24 and John 13:33 raise an interesting question for further study: Is there a hierarchy for deictic markers? Since more than one suffix cannot be used on a single word, when multiple markers are applicable, how do speakers decide which one to use? In the present case, the emotional connotations of the first person trumped the second-person context of the vocative. It may, with careful study, be possible to rank the usages according to how robust or weak they are.

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On Pragmatic Information Structuring at Séraucourt à Bourges (Cher) and Related Matters

JOSEPH F. ESKA



I Preliminaries

I.1. The Transalpine Celtic inscription of Séraucourt à Bourges (RIG L-79) was engraved after firing around the neck of a vase discovered in 1848. It is dated to the third century CE on paleographic grounds. The vase is 16.5 cm. in height, 4.2 cm. broad at its base, 6.0 cm. at its opening, and maximally 11.5 cm. across its body.¹ Its interpretation is entirely straightforward:²

- (1) BVSCILLA SOSIO LEGASIT IN ALIXIE MAGALV
B.NOM.SG PROX.ACC.SG acquire.3.SG.PRET in A.LOC.SG M.DAT.SG
“B. acquired this (vase) for M. in A.”

I.2. The surface clausal configuration of the inscription, however, has not received a satisfying analysis to date. The unmarked surface configuration of the clause in Transalpine Celtic appears to be Subject–Verb–Indirect Object–Direct Object–Adjunct (so Eska 2007), e.g.:

- (2) a. RIG G-27
ονηβρουμαρος | δεδε ταρανοου | βρατου δεκαντεμ
V.NOM.SG offer.3.SG.PRET T.DAT.SG in-gratitude tithe.ACC.SG
“V. offered T. a tithe in gratitude.”

- b. RIG L-9

¹An excellent photograph and facsimile of the inscription are provided by Lambert (2002:206).

²The verb had previously been interpreted as connected to the root **legʰ-* ‘lie’ (so, e.g., Isaac 2001 and Eska 2003, though with different analyses of the entire form), but Dupraz (forthcoming) has now convincingly argued that the root is **legʰ-* ‘collect’.

Grammatical abbreviations: ACC = accusative; C = complementizer; DAT = dative; DP = determiner phrase; Foc(P) = focus (phrase); LOC = locative; neut. = neuter; NOM = nominative; NP = noun phrase; PL = plural; PP = prepositional phrase; PRES = present; PRET = preterite; PROX = proximate; REL = relative; SG = singular; Spec = specifier; t = trace; Top(P) = topic (phrase); T(P) = tense (phrase); v(P) = little verb (phrase); V(P) = verb (phrase).

Epigraphic symbols: Square brackets [] indicate characters which are restored or can no longer be read; round brackets () indicate characters left out by the engraver; the tie-bar — indicates characters engraved as a ligature; the underdot . indicates characters which are damaged and/or no longer clearly legible; the pipe | indicates line breaks.

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ICCAVOSÔP|PIANICNOS IEV|RV BRIGINDONĒ | CANTALON
I.O.NOM.SG dedicate.3.SG.PRET B.DAT.SG *cantalo-*.ACC.SG

“I. O. dedicated the *cantalo-* to B.”

c. RIG L-13

GOBEDBI DVGIIONTIIO | VÇVETIN | IN ALISIĬA
smith.DAT.PL serve.3.PL.PRES.REL U.ACC.SG in A.LOC.SG

“... to the smiths who serve U. in A.”

Sims-Williams (1998:374) simply asserts that the inscription bears unmarked Subject–Direct Object–Verb configuration, which, in the face of the rest of the Transalpine Celtic corpus and the inscription’s third century CE date, is highly unlikely. Eska (2003:8–10) proposes that SOSIO is weakly stressed to account for its occurrence in second position in the clause, but, were it so unstressed that movement would have been motivated, one would, likewise, expect the verb to have been induced to move into clause-initial position via Vendryes’ Restriction (Vendryes 1911), as with unstressed clitics that move into clause-second position, e.g.:

(3) a. GLG 14.20–1 = RIG L-31³

sioxt= i_i albanos | panna_i extra tud(du) ccc
add.3.SG.PRET 3.ACC.PL A.NOM.SG vessel.ACC.PL beyond allotment.DAT.SG 300

“A. added vessels beyond the allotment (in the amount of) 300.”

b. Rezé (Loire-Atlantique) A3⁴

sei rinot= ii | secundo | dinariju | xxxu
PROX sell.3.SG.PRES 3.SG/PL S.NOM.SG denarius.ACC.PL 35

“This/these (things), S. sells it/them for 35 denarii.”⁵

SOSIO < neut. nom.-acc. sg. **sosiod* (Schrijver 1997:24), then, is very likely fully stressed, like neut. nom.-acc. sg. *σοςιν* (RIG G-153) and SOSIN (RIG L-13), both of which are separated from their complement NPs, *νεμητων* and CELICNON, respectively, by a line break.

1.3. The presence of the adverb *βρατον* in (2a), which must be adjoined to vP, makes it clear that, in Transalpine Celtic, the subject DP raises to SpecTP and the verb to T, as commonly found in many Subject–Verb–Direct Object languages:⁶

³N.B. that this inscription contains a token of clitic doubling.

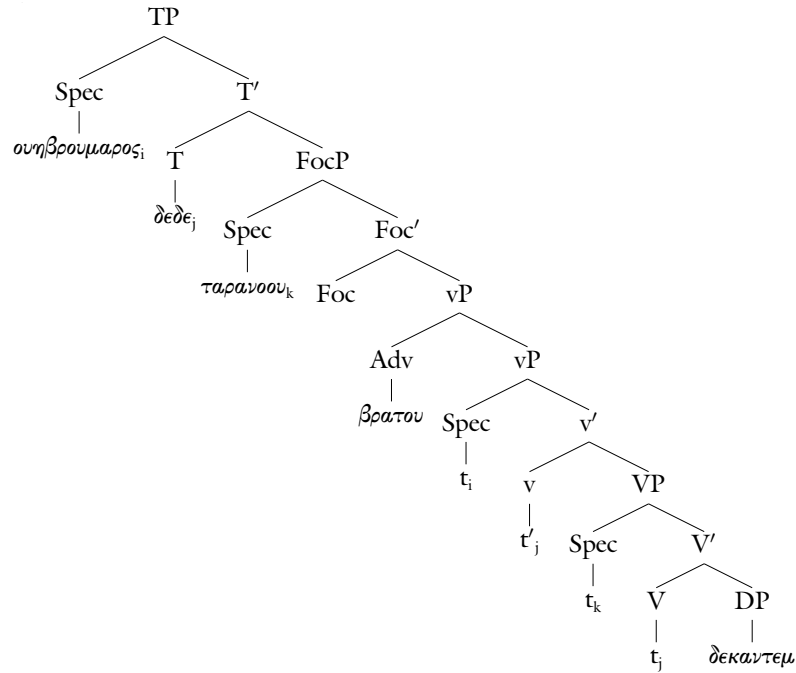
⁴The initial treatment of the Rezé tablet is that of Lambert and Stifter 2012. The analysis presented here is after Eska 2015:59–61. N.B. that this inscription contains a token of hanging topic left dislocation.

⁵N.B. that *se* often seems to be uninflected in Transalpine Celtic. It is attested construed with the nominative or accusative singular in *se dagisamo* (RIG L-93), the genitive plural in, e.g., *se bnanom* (RIG L-98 1^a1), and the genitive singular, if Stifter (2010–2:220) is correct that that is the proper analysis of the sequence *se coui* (RIG L-100). The clitic pronoun *-i* continues either neut. nom.-acc. sg. */i/* < **id* or neut. nom.-acc. pl. */i:/* < **ih*₂.

⁶In this inscription, the Indirect Object *παρὰ σου* also moves out of VP into an internal FocP that encodes a [+informational] reading, i.e., it indicates that information is novel to the discourse. See Ndayiragije (1998), Jayaseelan (2001), Belletti (2001, 2004, and 2015), and Petrova and Hinterhölzl (2010), *inter alios*, on the existence of TopP and FocP at the left periphery of vP parallel to their existence at the left periphery of TP. Drubig (2007) argues that such a parallel structure is universal in human language.

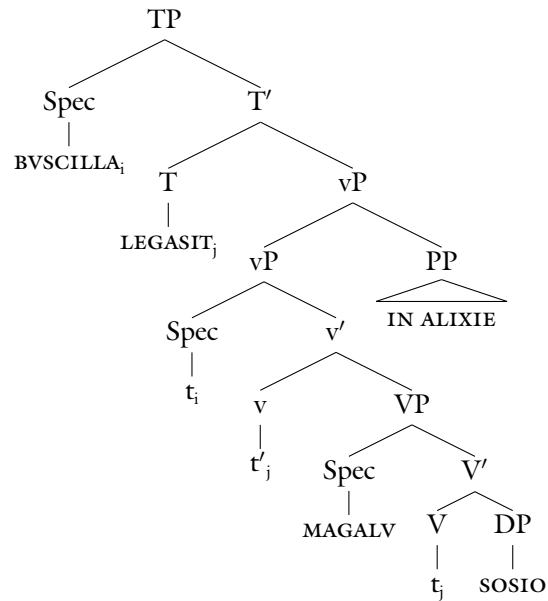
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(4)



1.4. In the Séraucourt inscription, then, we need to assume that the subject DP and the verb also moved into TP during the course of its derivation, viz.:

(5)



But how are we to account for the placement of the Direct Object *sosio* in second position in the surface configuration?

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2 The cartography of the clause

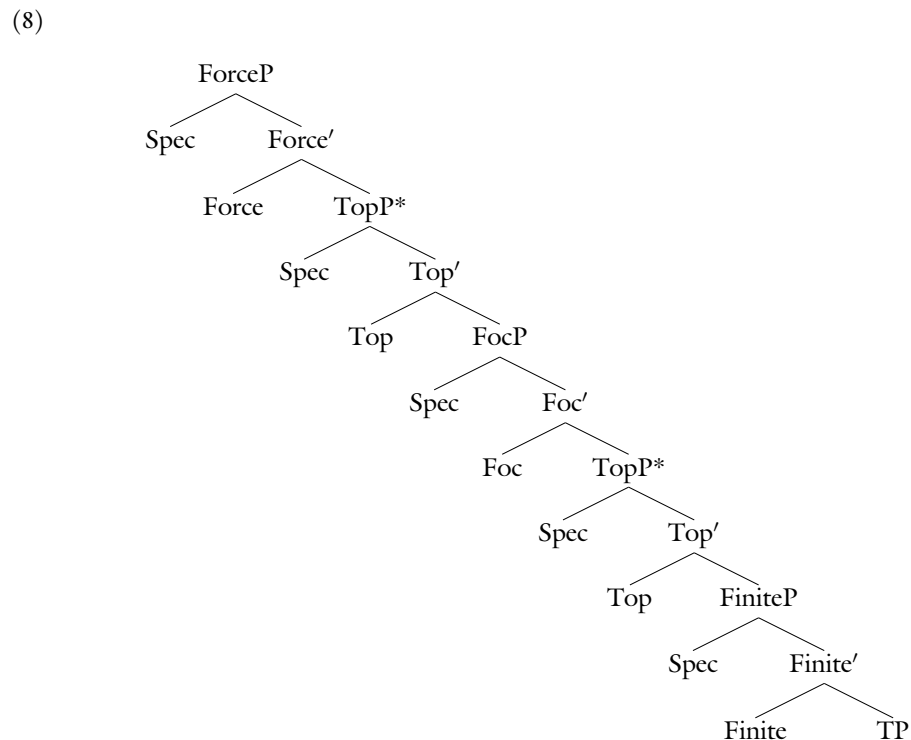
2.1. Rizzi (1997), adopting a cartographic approach to clausal structure, has argued that there are not one, but multiple positions to the left of TP in Italian, e.g.:

- (6)
- | | | | |
|---------------------|---------|---------|-------------------------|
| C | Topic | Focus | Topic |
| | | | |
| Credo che a Gianni, | questo, | domani, | gli [TP dovremmo dire]. |
- "I believe that to Gianni, this, tomorrow we should say."

He proposes that there can be only a single Focus position in a clause, but that there can be multiple Topic positions before and after the Focus position, as illustrated by:

- (7)
- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| Topic | Topic | Focus |
| | | |
| a. Credo che domani, | a Gianni, | questo gli dovremmo dire. |
-
- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| Focus | Topic | Topic |
| | | |
| b. Credo che questo, | a Gianni, | domani, gli dovremmo dire. |

This leads Rizzi to set up the following articulated structure for the left periphery of the clause (* indicates a node in which recursion is permitted):

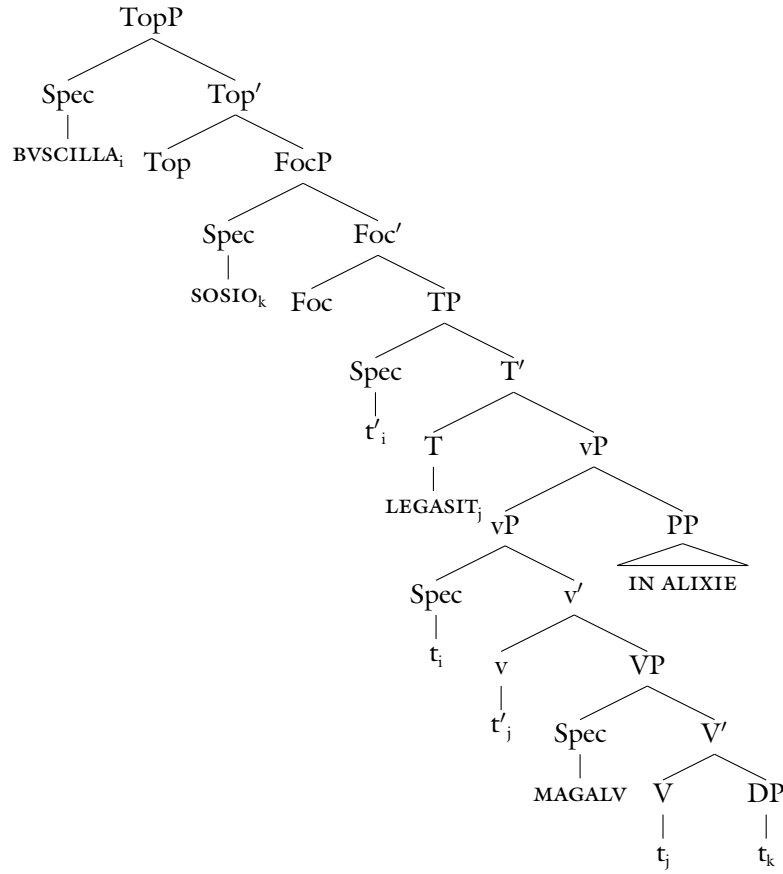


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Subsequent research has modified Rizzi’s initial conclusion (e.g., Benincà 2001, Benincà and Poletto 2004, Ermisch 2007, and Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007), but there is agreement that there are a TopP that encodes a [+aboutness] reading and a FocP that encodes a [+contrastive] reading in that order in the left periphery of the clause.

2.2. It makes excellent sense to treat the Subject BVSCILLA and the Direct Object SOSIO as having moved into these syntactic positions, respectively. The TopP encodes that Buscilla is the performer of the action and the FocP encodes that we are concerned with ‘this (vase)’ as opposed to any other.⁷ At a stage in the derivation of the Séraucourt inscription subsequent to that illustrated in (5), we thus have the following:

(9)



2.3. This analysis is confirmed by the Transalpine Celtic inscription from Collias (Gard), in which the subject DP, $\epsilon\kappa\iota\lambda\iota\sigma\ \rho[\acute{\iota}]ο\upsilon\mu\alpha\nu[\iota]ο\varsigma$, has moved into the TopP and the indirect object DP, the $\alpha\nu\delta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\nu\iota\alpha\beta\omicron$ (dat. pl.), a group of female divinities,⁸ has moved into the FocP, viz.:

⁷It is worth noting that it is not possible to diagnose whether the subject DP in clauses such as (4) has moved out of SpecTP into SpecTopP.

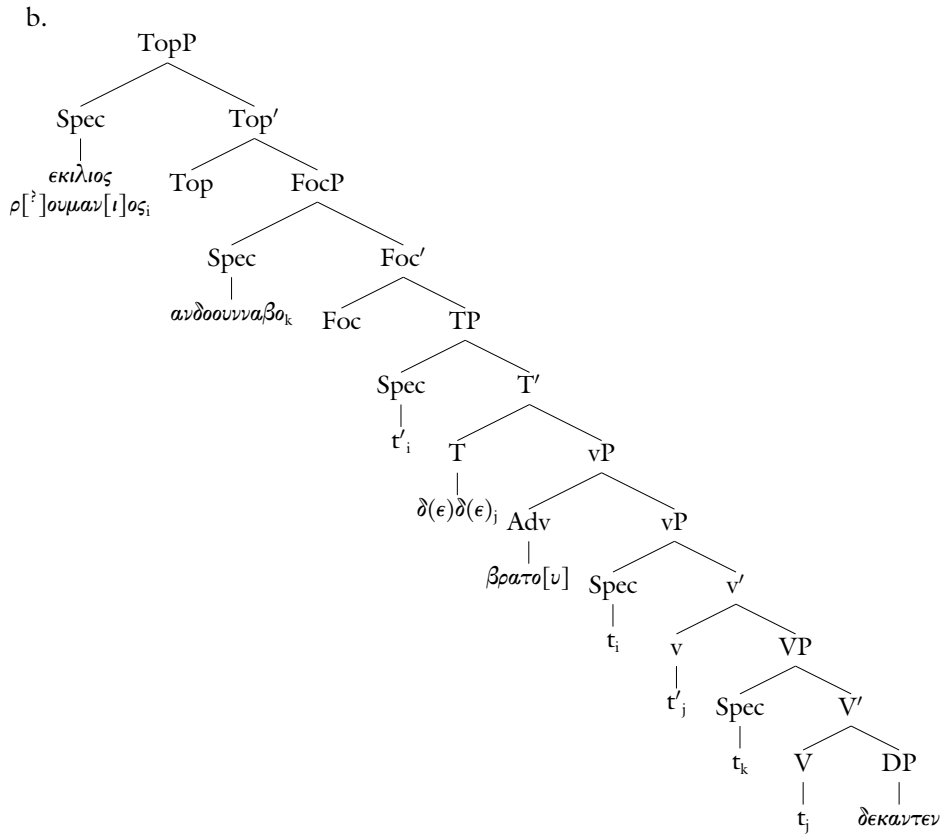
⁸De Bernardo Stempel (1989) argues that the Transalpine Celtic form is cognate with MW *Anmwfñ*, the name for the otherworld. Eska (1992) refines her linguistic analysis.

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(10) RIG G-183

- a. $\epsilon\kappa\iota\lambda\iota\sigma\mid\varsigma\ \rho[\text{?}]\mid\sigma\mu\alpha\nu[\iota]\mid\sigma\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\mid\delta\sigma\sigma\upsilon\nu\mid\gamma\alpha\beta\sigma\ \delta\mid(\epsilon)\delta(\epsilon)\quad\beta\rho\alpha\tau\sigma\mid[\upsilon]\quad\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\nu\mid\tau\epsilon\nu$
 E. R.NOM.SG A.DAT.PL offer.3.SG.PRET in-gratitude tithe.ACC.SG

“E. R. offered the A. a tithe in gratitude.”

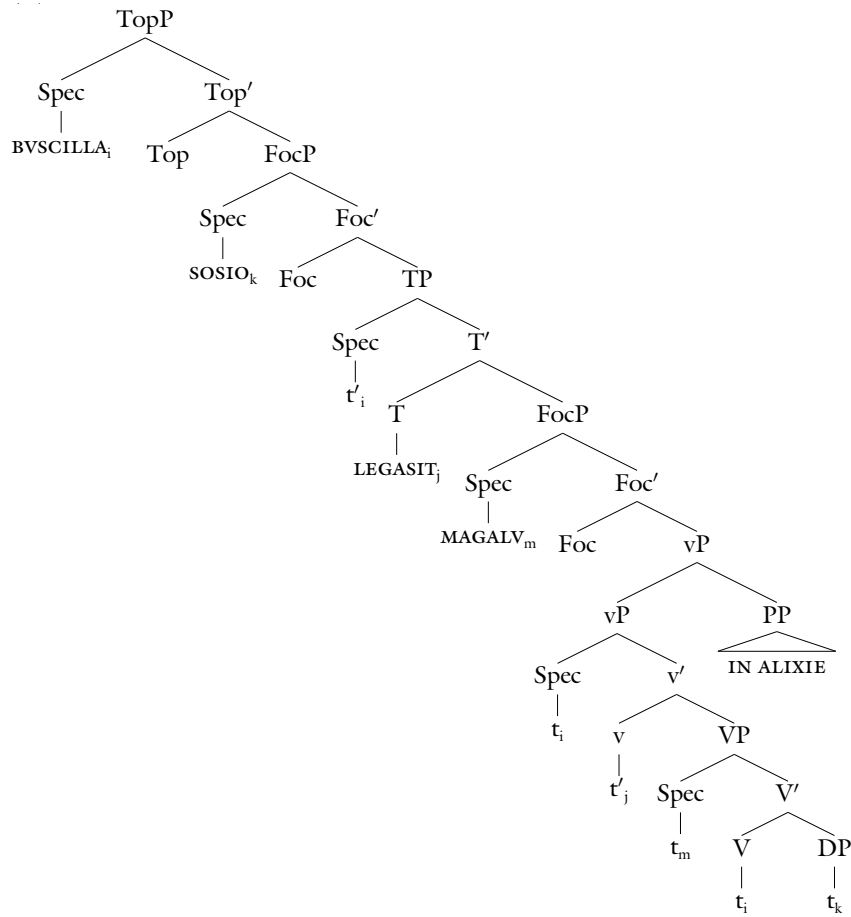


2.4. We now need only to account for the relative ordering of the Indirect Object MAG-ALV and the locative adjunct PP IN ALIXIE. It is well known that final position in the clause can be a focus position that encodes a [+informational] reading, i.e., it indicates that information is novel to the discourse, but under current theoretical assumptions following Kayne 1994, all trees are right branching and rightward movement is, in principle, not possible.

We can address this by recalling that there are a TopP and a FocP in the left periphery of vP (see n. 6). Let us say, then, that the Indirect Object MAGALV moves into SpecFocP, just as the Indirect Object *παρανοου* does in (4):

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(11)

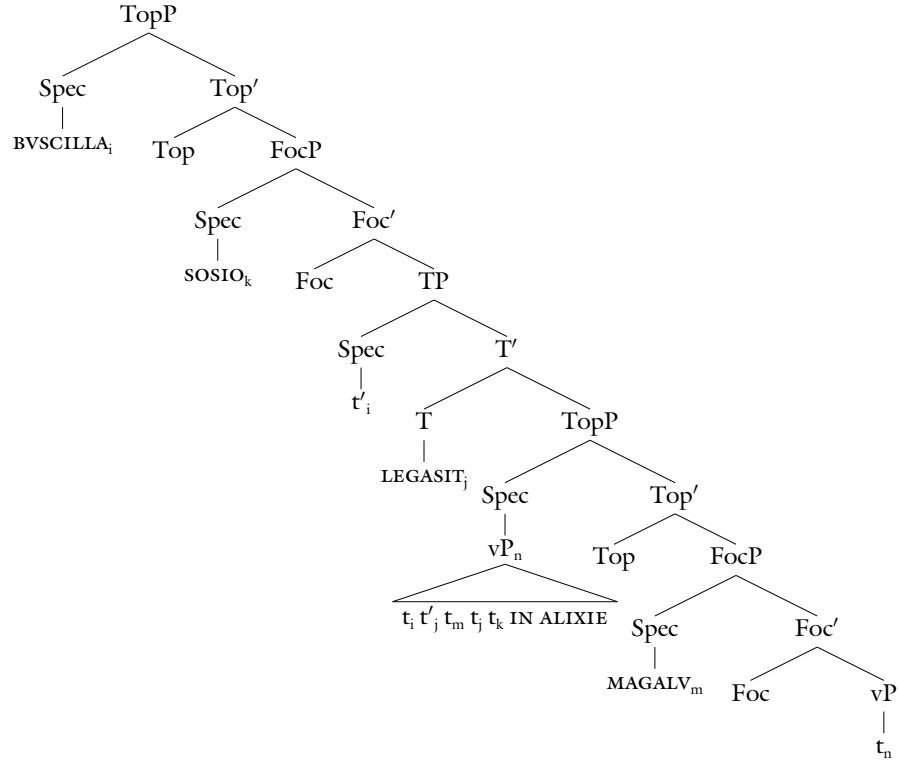


This focalization is then followed by an operation that may be termed ‘remnant vP preposing’, which occurs in languages in which final position in the clause is a focus position (Kayne 1998 and Jayaseelan 2008).⁹ In the Séraucourt inscription, the remnant vP, whose only phonological content is now the PP *IN ALIXIE*, moves to the TopP above the focalised DP *MAGALV*, thus:

⁹Kayne and Jayaseelan seem to think that ‘remnant vP preposing’ is mandatory in languages in which final position in the clause can be a focus position, but clauses such as (4) demonstrate that it, in fact, is not.

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(12)



This type of “snowballing” effect (cf. Aboh 2004:185–7) has also been demonstrated to exist, *inter alia*, in Old French by Salvesen (2011), Old Italian by Poletto (2006, 2014), and Old Saxon by Walkden (2014).

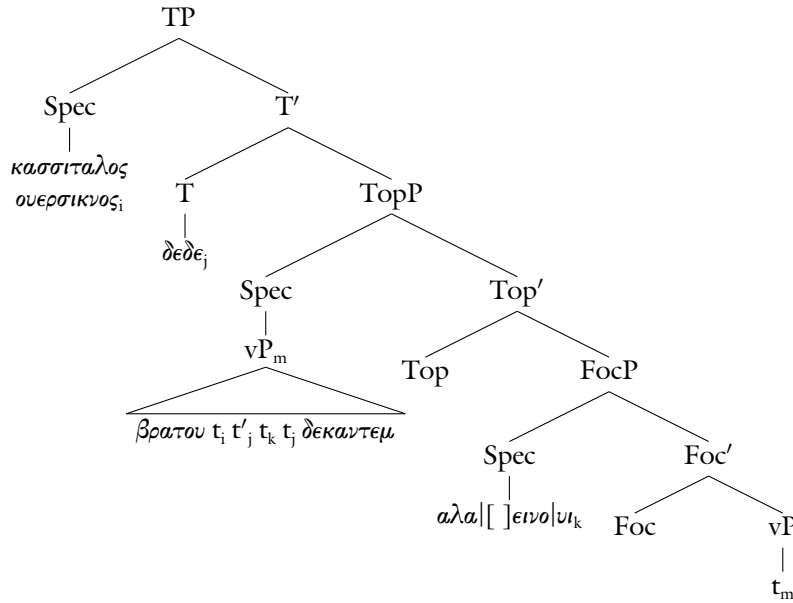
2.5. I note that another token of final position in the clause serving as a focus position, in this instance for the Indirect Object divinity *αλα|*[]*εινο|υι* (dat. sg.), occurs in the Transalpine Celtic corpus in an inscription from Nîmes (Gard), viz.:

(13) RIG G-206

- a. *κασσι|ταλος ουερσι|κνος* *δ|εδε* *βρ|ατου* *δ|εκαντ.εν* *αλα|*[]*εινο|υι*
 K. V.NOM.SG offer.3.SG.PRET in-gratitude tithe.ACC.SG A.DAT.SG
 “K. V. offered A. a tithe in gratitude.”

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b.



3 Conclusion

The surface clausal configuration of the Séraucourt à Bourges inscription, thus, is fully explained by syntactic mechanisms that are common cross-linguistically. Attention to the informational status of the DPs in the clause, at the same time, provides us with a window into the specific semantic intent of the composer of the text, an approach that will undoubtedly prove fruitful in the analysis of both fragmentarily- and better attested languages of the ancient and medieval world.

Abbreviations

GLG = Marichal, Robert. 1988. *Les graffites de La Graufesenque*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
 RIG G = Lejeune 1985
 RIG L-1-16 = Lejeune 1988
 RIG L-18-*139 = Lambert 2002

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Griechisch βούλομαι ἢ und προβέβουλα

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Im Altindoarischen (= Ai.) können an das ererbte Verbum *var* / *vr̥* ‚wählen, wünschen‘ (Präs. *vr̥ṇīte*) zwei nominale Glieder angeschlossen sein, eines im Akkusativ und eines im Ablativ. Das Akk.-Objekt bezeichnet dann, wie erwartet, dasjenige, was der Agens wählt bzw. wünscht; das ablative Glied bezeichnet dasjenige, was der Agens im Vergleich zum Gewählten bzw. Gewünschten zurückstehen läßt.¹ Im Deutschen entsprechen somit Verben wie ‚vorziehen‘ oder ‚bevorzugen‘ oder ein Gefüge wie ‚den Vorzug geben‘. Die ältesten ai. Belege liefert der Rigveda.

- (1) RV VII 33,2cd

páśadyumnasya vāyatásya sómāt
sutād indro ṛṇīṭā vasiṣṭhān /

„Dem ausgepreßten Soma (Abl.) des Páśadyumna Vāyata zog Indra die Vasiṣṭhas (Akk.) vor.“

- (2) RV III 39,7a (von Indra)

jyótir vr̥ṇīta támaso vijānānn

„Das Licht (Akk.) zog er dem Dunkel (Abl.) vor, sie unterscheidend“ (nach Geldner 1951–7:I 382).²

Belege aus dem jüngeren Ai.:

- (3) AB VII 17,3 (Śunaḥśepa beklagt sich bei seinem Vater Ajīgarta)

gavāṃ trīṇi śatāni tram aṇīṭhā mad aṇigira iti /

„Drei Hunderte (Akk.) von Rindern zogst du mir (Abl.) vor, o Aṇgiras.“

- (4) Kaṭhop. 2,2; hier mit *abhi-var*:

śreyo hi dhīro ṇbhi preyaso vr̥ṇīte /
preyo mando yogakṣemād vr̥ṇīte /

„Das Bessere (Akk.) zieht der Weise dem Angenehmeren (Abl.) vor; das Angenehmere (Akk.) zieht der Träge dem tätigen Leben („Fahren und Wohnen“, Abl.) vor.“

¹Delbrück 1888:III.

²Jamison–Brereton (2014:334) verbinden *támaso* (Abl.) dagegen mit *vijānānn*: „He should choose light, distinguishing it from darkness“; ähnlich bereits Graßmann 1873:500–1. Diese Verwendung des Partizips *vi-jānānt-* wäre jedoch ungewöhnlich. Das Partizip (-)jānānt- steht öfters allein, wie an unserer Stelle. Die Deutung ist daher wohl weniger wahrscheinlich.

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- (5) Mbh. V 33,2 Crit. ed. (5,990 C.)

kāmād artham vṛṇāta yaḥ sa vai paṇḍita ucyate /

„Wer dem Liebesgenuß (Abl.) die Beschäftigung (Akk.) vorzieht, der kann wahrlich klug genannt werden.“

Im Altavestischen (= Aav.) zeigt das entsprechende Verbum *var* die nämliche Konstruktion:³

- (6) Y 32,12c

yāiš. grāhmā. ašāt. varatā. karapā. xšaθrəmcā. īšanaṃ. drujaṃ.

„(…) mit welchen zusammen, o Grāhma, der Ritualist gegenüber der Ordnung (Abl.) die Herrschaft (Akk.) und den angezettelten Trug (Akk.) vorzieht.“

Manches ist hier zweifelhaft; über *varatā* und die daran angeschlossenen Kasus scheint aber jetzt Einigkeit zu bestehen.

Folglich konnte offenbar schon im Urarischen das Verbum **uar* ‚wählen, wünschen‘, der Vorläufer von ai. *var* und aav. *var*, in der beschriebenen Weise verwendet werden. Doch dürfte die Konstruktion noch älter sein. Denn der auffällige Ablativ bei **uar* ist inhaltlich demjenigen wesensverwandt, der mit dem Komparativ verbunden wurde, und zwar bereits im Uridg., wie aus einer ganzen Reihe von Fortsetzern hervorgeht, z.B. im vedischen Ai.:

- (7) RV IX 86,1e *viśvasmād indra úttaraḥ* „höher als alles (Abl.) ist Indra“;

im Aav.:

- (8) Y 51,6b *akāt. ašiiō*. „Schlechteres als Schlechtes (Abl.)“;

im Griech.:

- (9) Hom. A 249 *μέλιτος γλυκίων (αὐδῆ)* „(Rede,) süßer als Honig (Gen. < Abl.)“;

und im Lat.:

- (10) Rhet. Her. 4,33,44 *sermo melle dulcior* „Rede, süßer als Honig (Abl. < Lok.)“.

Nach Brugmanns Formulierung „trat in den Ablativ der Gegenstand, von dem aus ein Verhältnis beurteilt wird, mit dem also verglichen wird.“⁴ Das gilt beim Komparativ: Die Süße der Rede (9, 10) wird vom Honig aus (Abl.) beurteilt und höher eingeschätzt (Komparativ). Das gilt ebenso beim Verbum urar. **uar* ‚wählen‘: Ajīgarta beurteilt die 300 Rinder nach seinem Sohn (Abl.) und schätzt sie höher ein (*var*; (3)).

Wenn nun der Abl. bei urar. **uar* ‚wählen‘ < uridg. **uel* tatsächlich ererbt ist, wie man aus der Analogie des Abl. beim Komparativ erschließen kann, dann sollte auch diese Konstruktion in anderen idg. Sprachen Spuren hinterlassen haben. In Frage kommt das Griechische. Ob **uel* sich in griech. *λῆν* ‚wollen‘ formal fortsetzt, ist noch nicht geklärt; die Frage führt hier jedenfalls wohl nicht weiter. Beachtenswert ist hingegen das Verbum *βουλ- (βούλομαι)* ‚wollen, wünschen‘. Eine etymologische Verknüpfung mit **uel* ist kaum herstellbar,

³Humbach 1959:36.

⁴Brugmann 1911:501.

sofern man nicht mit außergewöhnlichen Entwicklungen rechnen will.⁵ Doch in semantischer Hinsicht entspricht βουλ- teilweise auffällig dem ai. und av. Verbum *var*.⁶ βουλ- wird sehr häufig von der abstufenden (komparativen) Konjunktion ἢ ‚als‘ (homerisch ἢ / ἢέ) gefolgt; die Fügung bedeutet ‚X lieber als Y wollen‘, ‚X dem Y vorziehen‘. ἢ ‚als‘ schließt vor allem Infinitive an, wie es im Bedeutungsbereich von ‚wollen‘ naheliegt:

(11) Hom. ρ 404

αὐτὸς γὰρ φαγέμεν πολὺ βούλειαι ἢ δόμεν ἄλλω

„Du bevorzugst es ja bei weitem, selbst zu essen, statt einem anderen abzugeben.“

Der erste Infinitiv φαγέμεν bezeichnet das Bevorzugte, Gewählte (X). Durch ἢ ‚als‘ wird das dahinter Zurückstehende, das Nicht-Bevorzugte, Nicht-Gewählte angeschlossen, es liegt im zweiten Infinitiv δόμεν (Y). Inhaltlich und in gewisser Weise auch syntaktisch erinnert die Konstruktion somit an **uar* mit Akk. und Abl. (1–6): φαγέμεν steht für das Akk.-Objekt, ἢ plus δόμεν für das Vergleichene im Abl.

Dasselbe abstufende ἢ ‚als‘ wird nun auch mit dem Komparativ verbunden:

(12) Hom. A 260–1

ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείοσιν ἢέ περ ὑμῖν /

ἀνδράσιν ὠμίλησα

„ich hatte Umgang mit noch besseren Männern als euch“;

(13) Hom. B 453

τοῖσι δ’ ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένετ’ ἢέ νέεσθαι

„Für sie war alsbald der Kampf angenehmer als das Heimkehren.“

ἢ stellt hier eine Neuerung dar;⁷ seine ältere Bedeutung ist ‚oder‘. Das abstufende ἢ beim Komparativ ist neben die ererbte ablativische Konstruktion getreten, die daneben erhalten blieb (9); die neue Konstruktion mit ἢ ‚als‘ bot weitaus mehr Anwendungsmöglichkeiten, z.B. den Anschluß eines Inf. (13).⁸

Die Vermutung liegt nahe, daß sich ähnliches bei βουλ- vollzogen hat. Dann wäre auch bei βουλ- die Konstruktion mit abstufendem ἢ ‚als‘ zunächst neben eine ältere getreten, die einen ablativischen Gen. sowie einen Obj.-Akk. enthielt, entsprechend der Konstruktion von urar. **uar* (1–6). Da βουλ- jedoch aufgrund seiner Bedeutung ‚wollen‘ vorzugsweise mit angeschlossenem Inf. verwendet wurde (11), mußte die Konstruktion mit dem Gen. hier stärker in den Hintergrund treten; und wenn sie ganz verschwunden wäre, so wäre das nicht verwunderlich.

Eine vereinzelte Homerstelle ganz besonderen Zuschnitts enthält indessen einen mit βουλ- verbundenen Gen.:

⁵Der auffällige Formenbestand samt den Dialektvarianten ist hier nicht zu erörtern; man vergleiche die etymologischen Wörterbücher, neuerdings Beekes 2010:231 (mit Lit.).

⁶Die Gebrauchsweisen von βουλ- ersieht man bei Matthiessen (bei Snell [u.a., ed.] 1991:84–5, hier der Befund des frühgriechischen Epos) und in der dort angegebenen Literatur.

⁷Vergleichbar ist das Aufkommen und die Entfaltung von *quam* ‚als‘ (ursprünglich ‚wie‘) beim Komparativ im Lateinischen.

⁸Zur Verwendung von ἢ siehe Kühner–Gerth 1904:301–16.

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(14a) Hom. A 113–4

καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα /
κουριδῆς ἀλόχου

Der kurze Teilsatz steht innerhalb einer Scheltrede Agamemnons gegen den ihm unbequemen Seher Kalchas. Der Teil der Rede, in den das Stück (14a) eingebettet ist, lautet so,

(14b) Hom. A 109–15:

109 καὶ νῦν ἐν Δαναοῖσι θεοπροπέων ἀγορεύεις,
110 ὥς δὴ τοῦδ' ἐνεκά σφιν ἐκηβόλος ἄλγεα τεύχει,
111 οὔνεκ' ἐγὼ κούρης Χρυσσηίδος ἀγλά' ἄποινα
112 οὐκ ἔθελον δέξασθαι, ἐπεὶ πολὺ βούλομαι αὐτὴν
113 οἴκοι ἔχειν,

(14a) καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα

114 κουριδῆς ἀλόχου, ἐπεὶ οὐ ἔθεν ἔστι χερεῖων,
115 οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν, οὔτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτε τι ἔργα

„Auch jetzt verkündest du vor den Danaern als Götterzeichen-Deuter, daß ihnen der Fern-Treffer gerade deswegen Schmerzen bereitet, weil ich mich weigerte, die prächtige Entschädigung für das Mädchen Chryseis anzunehmen, da ich es bei weitem vorziehe, sie selbst im Haus zu behalten. **Denn ich habe ihr sogar vor Klytaimnestra deutlich den Vorzug zuerkannt**, vor meiner rechtmäßigen Gattin, da sie ja nicht geringer ist als diese, im Körperbau nicht und im Wuchs nicht, auch weder im Verstand noch in irgendeiner Fertigkeit.“

Der Gen. Κλυταιμνήστρης bezeichnet im Anschluß an das Verbum προβέβουλα (1. Sing. Ind. Perf. Akt.) das Zurückstehende, Nicht-Bevorzugte, Nicht-Gewählte. Der Obj.-Akk., der das Bevorzugte zu bezeichnen hat, ist ebenfalls vorhanden, aber nur latent: <ἐ> ‚sie‘, Akk. Sing. Fem., inhaltlich festgelegt durch vorausgehendes Χρυσσηίδος 111, das durch pronominales αὐτήν 112 wieder aufgenommen wird. Solche Ersparung eines Personalpronomens ist bei Homer geläufig.⁹

Doch ist damit nicht alles geklärt. προβέβουλα, von dem die Kasus Akk. und Gen. abhängen, ist ungewöhnlich. Diese Form muß jetzt überprüft, insbesondere muß sie mit der Kasuskonstruktion in Einklang gebracht werden.

Zunächst zur Verbalform selbst. Das aktivisch flektierte Perf. von βουλ- ist im älteren Epos und im übrigen vorklassischen Griech. nur an dieser einen Stelle bezeugt. Die nächstjüngere Belegstelle findet sich beim Lyriker Ion (5. Jh. v. Chr.):

(15) Ion 746 PMG

θάνατον δ' ὃ γε δουλοσύνας προβέβουλε

„den Tod (Akk.) zieht dieser der Knechtschaft (Gen.) vor“;

Gemeint ist ein Kampfhahn. Mit Homer (14a) stimmt hier überein: der Perf.-Stamm βε-βουλ-, dessen aktivische Flexion, das Präverb προ- und die Kasuskonstruktion. Etliche weitere

⁹Bechert 1966:87–102 (Lit.). — Bentley hat das ersparte Pronomen anstelle von ῥα in seinen Text gesetzt: καὶ γάρ πε Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα).

Belege von aktivischem βεβουλ-, ebenfalls stets mit προ-, aber zum Teil mit abweichenden Konstruktionen, liefert die späte Dichtung aus der Zeit nach Christi Geburt. Offenbar gehen alle Belege ab Ion (15) auf die berühmte Homerstelle (14a) zurück; falls das zutrifft, ist das aktivische Perf. προ-βεβουλ- nach Homer keine lebendige Form gewesen.¹⁰ Für die Deutung der Homerstelle sind die jüngeren Stellen dann nur mit Vorsicht zu gebrauchen.

Die Funktion des Perf. προ-βεβούλα bei Homer (14a) ist fraglich; es kann den gegenwärtigen Zustand allein oder den Zustand mit Einschluß seiner Erreichung bezeichnen. In den Übersetzungen der Stelle verspürt man beide Auffassungen. Da ein Präs. βούλομαι mit Gegenwartsbedeutung unmittelbar vorausgeht (14b, Vers 112), könnte der Dichter mit der Wahl des Perf. βέβουλα (Vers 113) eine deutliche Abweichung beabsichtigt haben. Vielleicht wird man also dem Perfekt des erreichten Zustandes den Vorzug geben.¹¹

Nun zur Kasuskonstruktion, und damit zum Präverb προ-. Bei einer Reihe von Verben drückt προ- den ‚Vorrang‘ bei der Einschätzung aus; vgl. die Zusammenstellungen bei Kühner–Gerth 1898:393, Schwyzer–Debrunner 101.505–6. Mit Akk. und Gen. — also wie προ-βέβουλα — können die Verben für ‚vorziehen‘ προ-αιρείσθαι, προ-κρίνειν, προ-τιθέναι, προ-τιμᾶν erscheinen; entsprechende intransitive Verben mit πρό und mit Bedeutungen wie ‚voranstehen‘ (= ‚übertreffen‘) sind im Griech. προ-έχειν, προ-φέρειν, mit Gen. konstruiert. Bei Homer kommen nur zwei Verben aus diesen Gruppen in Betracht, προ-βαίνειν und προ-βάλλεσθαι, beide sind dann intransitiv:

- (16) Hom. Ψ 890–1
 ὅσον προβέβηκας ἀπάντων / σὺ θάρσει
 „wie weit du durch deinen Mut allen (Gen.) voranstehst“; ähnlich Z 125;
- (17) Hom. T 218
 σείῳ νοήματι προβαλοίμην
 „ich mag mich dir wohl an Einsicht voranstellen“ (= ‚dich übertreffen‘).

βαίνειν und βάλλειν sind typische Bewegungsverben, also Verben mit einer räumlichen Dimension; die räumliche Vorstellung ist in den übertragenen Bedeutungen von προ-βέβηκας plus Gen. (16) und προ-βαλοίμην plus Gen. (17) noch deutlich zu verspüren: ‚sich vor einen anderen (Gen.) stellen‘, entsprechend der Präposition πρό plus Gen.;¹² ähnliches gilt für das später bezeugte transitive προ-τιθέναι ‚voranstellen, vorziehen‘. προ-βέβουλα mit seiner geistigen Bedeutung steht dagegen eher in einer Reihe mit den ebenfalls erst nach Homer bezeugten Verben προ-κρίνειν, προ-τιμᾶν;¹³ προκρίνειν findet man immerhin bereits bei Xenophanes (6.–5. Jh. v. Chr.):

- (18) Xenophan. 2,19
 προκρίνειν ῥώμην τῆς ἀγαθῆς σοφίης
 „die Stärke (Akk.) der tüchtigen Fähigkeit (Gen.) vorzuziehen.“

¹⁰ Ohne Zusammenhang damit ist das mediale βεβούλημαι bei Demosthenes 18,2.

¹¹ Ion allerdings verwendet προβέβουλε offenbar mit Gegenwartsbedeutung (15).

¹² Richtungsangaben mit der Präposition πρό plus Gen. finden sich bei Homer an den Stellen E 789 und I 708; die Auffassungen über die zweite Stelle gehen allerdings auseinander.

¹³ In antiken Lexika wird Homers προβέβουλα mit προκέκρικα, προτετίμηκα wiedergegeben.

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Dieser Typ dürfte eine Neuerung sein, könnte aber vielleicht trotzdem in frühere Zeiten zurückreichen. Dann könnte man Homers *προ-βουλ-* hier anzuschließen versuchen. Diese Möglichkeit ist wohl nicht ganz in Abrede zu stellen. Doch ist zu beachten, daß *προ-κρίνειν* und *προ-τιμᾶν* sich von *προ-βουλ-* durch die Bedeutung der Grundverben unterscheiden. *κρίνειν* ‚beurteilen‘ ist hinsichtlich der Wertung semantisch neutral, folglich kommt hier die Bedeutung ‚vorziehen‘ erst durch das Präverb *προ-* zustande; und auch bei *προ-τιμᾶν* ‚vorziehen‘ liegt offensichtlich die neutrale Bedeutung ‚einschätzen‘—und nicht wertendes ‚ehren‘—zugrunde. Anders ist es bei *βούλεσθαι*, das auch ohne Präverb in seiner Bedeutung den Begriff der Bevorzugung enthält.

Sollte der Typ *προ-κρίνειν* also vielleicht doch fernzuhalten sein, so ist der Versuch zu machen, das *προ-* von *προ-βουλ-* anders zu erklären. Zu beachten ist dabei nochmals das vorausgehende Präs. *βούλομαι* ohne Präverb ((14a), Vers 112). Mit dieser Verbalform drückt Agamemnon aus, daß er das Mädchen Chryseis gegenüber dem Lösegeld bevorzugt, und zwar ‚bei weitem‘ (*πολύ* wie beim Komparativ, daher typisch für *βουλ-* in der Bedeutung ‚bevorzugen‘; vgl. (11)).¹⁴ Diese Aussage steigert er sogleich drastisch, indem er das Mädchen sogar über seine rechtmäßige Ehefrau stellt:

(14a) καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα /
κουριδίης ἀλόχου.

Die Steigerung geschieht offensichtlich am Verbum, indem *προ-βουλ-* für einfaches *βουλ-* eintritt. Also könnte das *προ-* von *προ-βέβουλα* steigernd, verstärkend sein.¹⁵ *προ-βουλ-* bedeutete dann ‚in herausragender Weise vorziehen‘, ‚deutlich den Vorzug geben‘. Zu vergleichen ist bei Homer ein fast ebenso vereinzelter, bedeutungsnahe *προ-λεγειν-* ‚vorrangig auswählen‘:

(19) Hom. N 689
(οἱ μὲν) Ἀθηναίων προλελεγμένοι
„(einerseits) die Auserlesenen (‚die vorrangig Ausgewählten‘) der Athener.“¹⁶

Im Attischen des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. wurde ein anscheinend ähnlich verstärktes *προ-αιρεῖσθαι* ‚auslesen‘ zu einem lebendigen Verb.

Sollte nun aber das *προ-* von *προ-βέβουλα* (und vielleicht ebenso das von *προ-λελεγμένοι*) tatsächlich modifizierend, das heißt verstärkend sein, dann steht es wohl nicht gleichzeitig auch in präpositionaler Beziehung mit *Κλυταιμνήστρης*. Dieser Gen. kann dann eigentlich nur vom Verbum *βουλ-* selbst abhängig sein, als Fortsetzer des *Ablativus comparationis*, wie er bei ai. *var* und aav. *var* sicher nachgewiesen ist. Dann würde das vereinzeltere altattische Perf. *-βέβουλα* in einer vereinzelteren altattischen Konstruktion *βούλομαι* *τινά* (*τί*) *τινός* stehen, die das auffällige griech. *βούλομαι* plus *ἤ* mit der ererbten Konstruktion von ai. aav. *var* plus Ablativ (1–6) vermittelt. Altattisch wäre dann auch der Obj.-Akk. *⟨ἐ⟩*. Bei Homer wird an *βούλεσθαι* nur noch selten ein Akk.-Obj. angeschlossen; bezeugt sind bei ihm nur das Pron. *τό* ‚dies‘ als Einleitung eines Inf. (Γ 41, λ 358, υ 316) und als einziges Subst. *νίκη*

¹⁴Kühner–Gerth 1904:303.

¹⁵Latacz u.a. 2000:68: „wohl zur Steigerung von *βούλομαι* in 112 gebildet.“

¹⁶Diese beiden homerischen Verbformen mit *προ-* werden ausdrücklich exklusiv als Paar zusammengestellt von Chantraine 1953:130.

Griechisch βούλομαι ἥ und προβέβουλα

„Sieg“ (H 21, Θ 204, N 347, Π 121, P 331, Ψ 682); beide wirken formelhaft. Das persönliche <ἐ> „sie“ (14a) findet in älterer Zeit wohl nur bei Theognis (6. Jh. v. Chr.) eine Parallele:

(20) Thgn. 188

ἀφνεὸν βούλεται ἀντ’ ἀγαθοῦ

„sie zieht einen Reichen einem Guten vor“

βουλ- hat also auch hier die Bedeutung ‚vorziehen‘; statt ἥ folgt ἀντί. Andere frühe Belege mit Substantiven in der Rolle des Akk.-Obj. nach βούλεσθαι: Anacr. 361,2 PMG κέρας ‚Horn‘; Hy. Ap. 531 μελεδῶνας ‚Sorgen‘. Außerhalb des Griech. kann man die Substantive in (1) und (3) vergleichen; sie sprechen für eine ererbte Erscheinung.

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Anthroponymica Mycenaea 9: Compound Names in °*me-de*, °*me-ta* and Pylian *me-ti-ja-no**

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1. A series of Mycenaean compounded personal names have the second members °*me-de* /°*mēdēs*/ and °*me-ta* /°*mētās*/, which match Alphabetic Greek °*μήδεα* (cf. Hom. *μήδεα* ‘plans, plots’, *μήδομαι*) and °*μήτις* (cf. Hom. *μήτις* ‘thought’, also ‘plan, counsel’) respectively. Some of them fully match names of the first millennium, and in some cases they reflect phraseological collocations. Less clear is the interpretation of the MN *me-ti-ja-no*: its second member is obviously /°*ānōr*/ (: °*άνωρ*), but *me-ti*° may *a priori* conceal /*Mēsti*°/ (: *μήδομαι*) or /*Mēti*°/ (: *μέδομαι*) or /*Mēti*°/ (: *μήτις*)¹ and, consequently, the sense of the compound remains problematic. A choice between the different possibilities may be attempted on the basis of the Alphabetic Greek comparanda, and of the meaning and collocations of the forms which may be concealed by *me-ti*°, namely Hom. *μήδομαι* ‘be minded, plan, plot’ (and *μέδομαι* ‘provide for, be mindful of, rule’) and *μήτις* ‘thought, plan, counsel’ (with denominative *μητιάω* ‘plan, devise’). Etymology is actually of no major help at this point: the word families of *μήδεα*, *μήδομαι*, *μέδομαι*, and *μήτις* are currently traced back to two different roots, with different meanings (the interpretations differ in the detail). At least in Homeric “synchrony,” the terms are practically used as synonyms, as a series of minimal pairs clearly shows (§4).

**Anthroponymica Mycenaea*: “1. Mykenisch *o-ki-ro*, alph.gr. *ὀρχίλος*. 2. Mykenisch *da-te-wa* /*Dāitēwās*/ und *e-u-da-ita*, alph.gr. *Δαίτας*, *Παδαίτης*,” *Minos* 35 (2000–1):431–42; “3. Mykenisch *to-wa-no* /*T^howānōr*/, homerisch *Πρόβος* und *Προβόηνωρ*,” *ŽAnt* 50 (2000):205–12; “4. Mic. *pe-ra-ko* /*P^herakos*/, gr.alf. *Φέρακος* y el topos *ἄκος* *φέρειν*, *ἀκεσφόρος*,” *De Cyrène à Catherine: Trois mille ans de Libyennes. Études grecques et latines offertes à Catherine Dobias-Lalou*, ed. Fabrice Poli (Nancy: ADRA), 101–10; “5. *a-wi-to-do-to* /*Awisto-dotos*/ und die unsichtbaren Götter im Alph.-Griechischen. 6. *we-re-na-ko* /*Wrēn-ākos*/ oder /*Wrēn-ākos*/ und Myk. **/wrēn/* : alph.-gr. *ῥρην*-, *ῥρήν*,” *ŽAnt* 55 (2005):85–97; “7. Los nombres con primer elemento *e-ri*°, *ēri*° (: *Ἐρι*°) y *a-ri*° (: *Ἀρι*°),” *Actas del Simposio Internacional: 55 Años de Micenología (1952–2007)*, ed. Carlos Varias García (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions, 2012), 107–25; “8. Micénico *qe-re-ma-o* /*K^wēlema^ho*/ ‘que busca desde lejos’, *τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος*... ἄγραν (Píndaro),” *AION Linguística* 1 (2012):149–64.

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For Mycenaean forms, reference is made to Aura Jorro 1985–93. For Greek forms cf. *lemmata* GEW, DELG, EDGr, and *LfgreE*, and for personal names HPNG and LGPN.

Abbreviations: MN = man’s name, WN = woman’s name.

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¹So in the recent recompilation by Waanders (2008:19).

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2. Let us turn to the names with $^{\circ}\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ in Mycenaean (: $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ ‘thoughts, purposes’, synonyms of $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}$, $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$), and eventually $^{\circ}\mu\epsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$ (also $^{\circ}\mu\epsilon\delta\alpha$, fem. $\Lambda\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\delta\alpha/\eta$, $\Lambda\lambda\kappa\iota\mu\epsilon\delta\eta$, $\text{Ε}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\upsilon\mu\epsilon\delta\eta$; see below), with reference to their phraseological background, as far as they are attested in poetry.

2.1. $^{\circ}\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ with a noun or adverb as its first member is attested in the following names:

a-no-me-de /*Anormēdēs*/ or /*Anḡmēdēs*/² (PY Jn 706.5): $\Lambda\acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\omicron\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ as well as $\Lambda\acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$ (cf. B 340 $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ $\pi\upsilon\rho\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\tau\omicron$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ τ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omega\acute{\nu}$ “into the fire let us cast all counsels and plans of men”). Cf. also the MN $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$, $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$, a semantic parallel with $\lambda\epsilon\omega^{\circ}$, $\delta\alpha\mu\omicron^{\circ}$.

a-pi-me-de /*Amp^himēdēs*/ (KN B [5] 801.6, PY Eb 473.1, Ep 539.14), gen. *a-pi-me-de-o* /*ḡmēde^hos*/ KN C [4] 911.10, PY Cn 655.5 *et al.*): $\Lambda\mu\phi\iota\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$.

e-u-me-de /*E^humēdēs*/ (PY Ea 773, 812, 820), dat. *e-u-me-de-i* (PY Fr 1184.2): $\text{Ε}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$. The name reflects Homeric word sequences and collocations, cf. B 360 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\chi$, $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ τ' $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ $\mu\epsilon\delta\epsilon\omicron$ $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\omicron$ τ' $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ “but you, King, take good counsel yourself, and listen to another,” λ 445 $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ $\phi\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon$. Cf. the semantic parallels $\Lambda\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$, $\Lambda\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$, also MN $\text{Ε}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\delta\omega\nu$ ($^{\circ}\mu\epsilon\delta\omega\nu$, cf. $\mu\epsilon\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$).

pe-ri-me-de /*Perimēdēs*/ (PY An 656.12), gen. *pe-ri-me-de-o* (Aq 64.7), with “short form” *pe-ri-mo* /*Perimos*/ (KN Dv 5841, PY Ag 64.6): $\text{Π}\epsilon\rho\iota\text{-}\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ (cf. σ 67 $\zeta\omega\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$, Hsd. *Th.* 559 . . . $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\varsigma$).

me-de-i-jo (KN B[5] 800.4) /*Mēde^hios*/ : $\text{Μ}\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\text{Μ}\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ may be a “short” form of $^{\circ}/\text{Mēd}(i)^{\circ}/$ or a derivative of $\mu\eta\delta\omicron\varsigma$, $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$.

Other compounds with $^{\circ}\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ (and $^{\circ}\mu\epsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$) in Alphabetic Greek conceal phraseological patterns as well:

$\Lambda\rho\tau\iota\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ (Dion.Hal. 19.2.1), $\Lambda\rho\tau\upsilon\text{-}\mu\eta\delta\alpha$, cf. Pind. *Ol.* 6.94 $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\iota\alpha$ $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

$\text{Ἐ}\pi\iota\text{-}\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ (brother of Heracles) cf. O 467 . . . $\tilde{\eta}$ $\delta\eta$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\upsilon$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota$ / $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$ $\tilde{\eta}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\varsigma$ “a god is utterly bringing to nothing the plans of our battle” (also I 120 glossed by Hesychius as $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\varsigma$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\omicron\acute{\iota}$, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota$, $\tilde{\eta}$ $\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota$).

$\Theta\epsilon\omicron\text{-}\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$, cf. ζ 12 $\Lambda\lambda\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\sigma\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\tau'$ $\tilde{\eta}\rho\chi\epsilon$, $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\varsigma$ (on synonymous $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\mu\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ cf. §4.2).

$\text{Κ}\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\text{-}\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ (- $\epsilon\alpha$ Ψ 364) cf. *HHom.* 4.456 $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\kappa\lambda\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$, cf. also $\text{Κ}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\text{-}\mu\epsilon\delta\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (Thessaly). On synonymous $\kappa\lambda\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\mu\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ (divine epithet) cf. §4.2.

$\Phi\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\text{-}\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$, cf. τ 353 $\gamma\rho\eta\acute{\nu}\varsigma$ $\pi\upsilon\kappa\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\phi\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$,³ also Ψ 176 $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\phi\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\tau\omicron$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$.

2.2. $^{\circ}\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$ with verbal first member is attested in two names:

e-ke-me-de /*(^h)Ek^he-mēdēs*/ (KN Dd 659.B, U 4478.18; PY An 657.6, Jo 438.8, maybe also Un 853 v.1) : $\text{Ἐ}\chi\epsilon\mu\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$, WN $\text{Ἐ}\chi\epsilon\mu\eta\delta\alpha$ (also $\text{Ἰ}\sigma\chi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\sigma\varsigma$, with $\text{Ἰ}\sigma\chi\omega$ and $^{\circ}\nu\omicron\sigma\varsigma$). The compound

²It is very possible, even if not demonstrable, that syllabic $^{\circ}\tilde{\eta}$ was still around in Mycenaean (Heubeck 1972), at least in some contexts, and that it should be noted approximately, given that there is no sign for / $\tilde{\eta}$ / in Linear B. The transliteration of $a\text{-}\nu\omicron^{\circ}$ in *a-no-me-de* as /*Ano^o*/ would imply a sharp contrast between Mycenaean and Alphabetic Greek, which has $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omicron^{\circ}$, $\Lambda\acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\omicron^{\circ}$, whereas transliterating as /*Anḡmēdēs*/ makes no difficulty for the evolution to $\Lambda\acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\omicron\text{-}\omicron^{\circ}$ and finds support in the scansion of the Homeric formulas $\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma'$ $\acute{\alpha}\delta\rho\omicron\tau\tilde{\eta}\tau\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tilde{\eta}\beta\eta$ # (Π 857, X 363), which implies [anḡtēta] (scanned / $\sim\sim\sim$ /), and $\text{Ἐ}\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\eta$ # (B 651+), i.e. [anḡ^{wh}ontāi] (/ $\sim\sim\sim$ /), which speak for the survival of syllabic [ḡ] (Heubeck 1972:74ff.). All of this would fit into the pattern of the conservation of [ḡ] in Mycenaean times in some contexts. The assumption of a first member /*Ano^o*/ (Waanders 2008:50) has nothing in its favor.

³Cf. also λ 445 $\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ $\pi\iota\nu\upsilon\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ $\phi\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon$, Hsd. fr. 276.2–3 $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\text{ἴ}\sigma\alpha$ $\phi\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ $\text{ἴ}\delta\mu\epsilon\nu$ / $\theta\eta\nu\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$.

reflects the collocation attested in ν 89 ἄνδρα φέρουσα θεοῖσ' ἐναλίγκα μῆδε' ἔχοντα with the specific sense of ἔχω 'have (in his own power)', which has been developed within Greek.⁴

e-ti-me-de-i (dat.) /*Erti-mēde^{hi}i*/ (PY Fn 324.1) of /*Erti-mēdēs*/* (: **Ἐρτι-μῆδης*). Under the assumption that /*Erti*^o/ is a formal variant of **Ὀρσι*^o, Myc. /*Erti-mēdēs*/* may reflect ὀρнуσι / ὠρσε μῆδεα "raises/raised (his/their) thought(s)" and mean "who puts his thoughts in motion."⁵ This view is supported by α 346–7 μῆτερ ἐμή, τί τ' ἄρα φθονέεις ἐρήρον ἀοιδόν / τέρπειν ὅππῃ οἱ νόος ὀρνυται⁶ "my mother, why do you begrudge the good minstrel to give pleasure in whatever way his heart is moved?" The interpretation as /*Erti-mēdēs*/ has a parallel in the MN *e-ti-ra-wo* /*Erti-lāwos*/ (PY Cn 655.9, 131.10) and, with inversion, Λαέρτης, beside **Ὀρσί-λαος* (cf. O 475 ... ἄλλους ὀρнуθι λαούς).

To sum up: The compounds with **μῆδης*, **μῆδεια* match pl. *μῆδεα*. Those in **μέδης*, **μέδεια*, **μέδα/η* (type Ἀνδρομέδης!) may ultimately go back to an inherited form **med-es*- (cf. Umbr. *meṛs*, *mers*, Osc. *med-dīss* "iudex"), but some instances of **μεδ*- may be due to metrical constraints within Greek itself.

3. The MN *e-u-me-ta* /*E^{hi}u-mētās*/ (KN Dv 1338.B),⁷ which obviously matches Εὐμήτης,⁸ has as its second member Hom. *μητις* 'plan, cleverness', also in a bad sense 'plot' and is synonymous with *εὐμητις* 'who has good plans, clever' (Opp. 5.97),⁹ also MN *Εὐμητις* (and *Εὐμητίων* in Megara). The synonymity with *e-u-me-de* : *Εὐμήδης* and, in spite of the difference of compound type, with *Εὐμέδων* (§2) is evident.

Other compounds of the very same type in Alphabetic Greek are transparent: on the one hand, ἀγκυλομήτης (of Cronos), ποικιλομήτης (of Odysseus), δολόμητις (of Zeus), on the other hand, κλυτόμητις 'having famous skills' (of Hephaestus, *HHom.* 20.1+), as well as the MN *Θεόμητις* (Delos) and MN *Θεομήδης*, *Καλλιμήτις* (Astypalaea, also *Καλλιμητίδης*) and *Δάμητις** (from **Δαμό-μητις*) which underlies the ethnic (pl.) *Δαματίδαι* (Camiros).

4. It must be stressed at this point that the etymology of *μῆδομαι*, *μέδομαι* and of *μητις*, though currently traced back to two separate roots **med*- and **meh*₁-, respectively, is not crucial for the interpretation of the Mycenaean names we are dealing with. The assumption of two different IE roots is of course right: in terms of traditional reconstruction, **med*-/**mod*- cannot match **meh*₁-.¹⁰ We have on the one hand **med*- 'to take appropriate measures' in Gk.

⁴The inherited meaning of **seǵh*- (Ved. *sāhate* 'overcomes', Goth. *sigis* "νίκος") is continued by the MN *Νικο-μῆδης* (Meier-Brügger 1977; García Ramón 2005:127 for Ved. *saḥ nṛ̥n*: RV 5.7.10ce *ād agne ar̥ṇatō 'trih sāsaḥ yād dāsyūn iṣāḥ sāsaḥ yām nṛ̥n* "Then, o Agni, Atri should overpower the Dasyus, who never give; Iṣa should overpower men" [Jamison–Brereton], *nṛ̥-sāḥ*- 'who overpowers men', *nṛ̥-sāḥya*- 'victorious might over men', and Myc. *e-ka-no* /^(b)*Ek^hānōr*/ : *Νικάνωρ*).

⁵A first member /*Erti*^o-/ (Waanders 2008:26) or /*Enti*^o-/ would be theoretically possible according to the spelling rules, but lacks any support in the phraseology.

⁶As to the semantics, cf. the parallel with *αἶρω* 'to lift up': Hom. Ἀρσί-νοος, Ἀερσί-νοος (Ion.), Ἀερσίφρων (Nonn.).

⁷The MN *u-me-ta* PY Ea 259.a could conceal /^h*U-mētās*/ with /^h*u*^o/ as a zero-grade variant of /^h*e^hu*^o/ (Leukart 1994:98), or even /^h*u*^o/ or /*u*^o/, as the equivalent of *ἐπὶ* (cf. Cyp. *u-ke-ro-ne* /^(b)*u-khēnō(-ne)*/ (gen.) 'reward'). In this case *u-me-ta* would semantically match an (unattested, but well conceivable) **Ἐπιμήτας*.

⁸The interpretation as /*Ehu-mēs-tās*/ or /*Ehu-mes-tās*/ (sic Waanders 2008:40) has no support in the onomastics of Alphabetic Greek.

⁹Cf. also in the glosses *ἀρχιμήτας ταύρος*, *ταρχιμήτης*, *ἀρτιμήτας*, *νέους* (Hsch.).

¹⁰An attempt to connect both roots is only possible on the double assumption of a root **meh*₁*d*- 'measure' (perhaps as a contamination of **meh*₁- and **med*-) and of the validity of Lubotsky-de Lamberterie's rule (Lubotsky 1981 or de

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μήδομαι (also μέδομαι), μήδεα (also **mēd-* in Arm. *mit* 'thought', pl. *mitk*°, OHG *māz* "Mass"), Lat. *medeor*, -*ērī* 'cure, heal', *meditor*, -*ārī*, *modus*, Osc. *meddiss*, *meddix* "iudex", Umbr. *mešs*, *mers*, adj. *mersto*- 'iustus', OIr. *midíur* 'I judge', *mess* 'judgement' (**med-tu-*), Goth. *mitan* "μετρέιν", OHG *mezzan* "messen",¹¹ also Av. *mad* 'measure', *vi-mad-* 'medical man'; and on the other hand, **meh₁-* 'measure' in Gk. *μητις*, Ved. °*māti-* 'wisdom, skill'¹² (ppp. *mitá-*), OE *mep* 'part, portion' (**mēti-*) and Lat. denom. *mētior*, -*īrī*, Ved. *mātar-* 'measurer', also verbal Ved. Av. *mā* 'measure' (ppp. Ved. *mitá-* 'measured', but YAv. *māta-* 'built' : OP *fra-māta-* 'ordered'), cf. also **mēh₁-nes-* 'moon, month' (Ved. *mās-*, OAv. *mā* [maHah-], Gk. *μήν*, *μείς*). Furthermore, a semantic difference between both roots was postulated by Émile Benveniste: **med-* expressed an authoritative measuring (like Lat. *modus*) as against **mē-* (**meh₁-*) as the expression of a "measure de dimension, qualité fixe et comme passive, dont l'emblème sera la lune mesurant le mois."¹³

But this distinction no longer applies to Greek: *μήδεα* 'counsels, plans' and *μητις* originally 'measure, skill' were used as synonyms in Homeric "synchrony." This is shown by a set of minimal pairs involving both terms, where they both mean 'plan, device' in Homer and in post-Homeric poetry and onomastics. The same may be said for *μήδομαι* (*μέδομαι*) and *μητιάω*, -*άομαι*.

4.1. Phraseological pairs:

(a) *μήδεα/μητιν ὑφαίνω* 'weave' cf. Γ 212 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μύθους καὶ μήδεα πᾶσιν ὑφαίνον "but when they began to weave the web of words and of devices" :: Ψ 422 πάντας δὲ δόλους καὶ μητιν ὑφαίνον.¹⁴

(b) *μήδεα/μητιν φράζομαι* 'devise, think out', cf. I 423 ὄφρ' ἄλλην φράζονται ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μητιν ἀμείνω "so that they were devising some other plan in their minds better than this" (also P 634, 712) :: Ap.Rh. 3.826 ἵνα φράζοιντο νόον καὶ μήδεα κούρης.

(c) *μήδεα πυκνά/μητιδι πυκνή* cf. Γ 202 εἰδὼς παινοίους τε δόλους καὶ μήδεα πυκνά "knowing all manner of tricks and cunning counsels" :: Hdt. 7.141 (oracle) Παλλὰς . . . / λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μητιδι πυκνή.

(d) *θεοὶς ἐναλίγκια μήδεα / Διὶ μητιν ἀτάλαντον*, cf. ν 89 θεοῖς ἐναλίγκια μήδεα ἔχοντα "a man

Lamberterie 1999), according to which **eHG.R* would yield **eGR* (without coloring of the vowel -e-) as against **eHG.C* and **eHGV* would yield **eGR* (e.g. **peh₂-* 'stick, fix in' > **peh₂-ró-* (Ved. *pajrá-*), **peh₂-nó-* (Lat. *pignus* 'pledge', frente a **peh₂-to-* (Lat. *pactus* 'fixed, made fast'), **peh₂-sa-* (Gr. *πηζα-*), **peh₂-ē-nt-* (Gr. *παγείς*). Under these assumptions **med-* could be an outcome of **meh₁d-* before resonant (**meh₁d-R*° > **med-R*°, extended to other phonetic contexts (whence **med-* : Lat. *medeor*, *modus*, Goth. *mitan*, Hom. *μέδων*, *μέδομαι*, etc.). *Non liquet*. Other problems may be left aside at this point, *inter alia* the form underlying Gk. *μέτρον*, which semantically matches Ved. *mātrā-*: **meh₁-tro-* by the "Wetter"-Rule: *uVHTR/WV-* > *VTR/WV-* (**h₂meh₁-d^hro-*; Peters 1999:447 with reference to Weiss 1993) or **medt.ro* (through **met.ró-*, like OHG *sedal* from **sedt.lo-* (Jochem Schindler *apud* Mayrhofer 1986:112f.).

¹¹Also -*ā-* derivative Goth. *miton* "^(ο) (δια)λογίζεσθαι, φρονεῖν, βουλευέσθαι", (ga)mitons* "ἐνθύμησις, (δια)λογισμός", OHG (gi)mezzan 'to moderate, plan', "λογισμός" ga- "διάνοια", OE (ge)metian 'id.' (Casaretto 2004:361, 180f.). Cf. also *mats* "βρώσις, βρώμα, ἐπιτισμός, nahla-mats "δείπνον", *daurmī* "ἄριστον" : **mat-i-* (IE **mod-i-*) : OIc *matr*, OE *mete* 'id.' from **apportion, allot* (Casaretto *ibid.*).

¹²Cf. *ā-sa-māti-* 'who has not the measure of another', i.e. 'with whom nobody is identical', *ā-sa-māty-ojas-* 'having a strength beyond any comparison'.

¹³Cf. Benveniste 1969:2, 123ff.: **med-* should refer to "une mesure imposée aux choses" (p. 127), "decision souveraine," "mesure active," "pas une mesure de *mensuration*, mais de *modération*," "une mesure de limitation ou de contrainte"; "supposant réflexion, préméditation, et qui est appliquée à une situation desordonnée."

¹⁴The formula is fairly frequent: H 324 τοῖς ἐ γέρον πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἤρχετο μητιν (= I 93), δ 678 οἱ δ' ἔνδοθι μητιν ὑφαίνον, δ 739 κείνος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μητιν ὑφίνας (Hsd. fr. 195.28 ἄλλην μητιν ὑφαίνει μετὰ φρεσίν), Ψ 422 πάντας δὲ δόλους καὶ μητιν ὑφαίνον; Bacch. *Dith.* 16.22 δαίμων / Δαιμονίειρα πολυδάκρυον ὑφα[νε] / μητιν ἐπίφρονα.

with a mind like the gods for counsel” :: Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον “equal of Zeus in counsel” (a frequent formula: B 169 +). Cf. the semantic parallel γ 110 Πάτροκλος, θεοφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος “one who was like the gods for counsel.”

4.2. Compounds with °μῆδης (and °μέδων, of different structure, cf. Hom. μέδων ‘ruling over’) and °μητις (a difference of sense is hardly conceivable):

Ἄρτι-μῆδης (Dion.Hal. 19.2.1), Ἄρτυ-μῆδα (Thera, cf. Pind. *Ol.* 6.94 ἄρτια μῆδόμενος), ἀρ-τιμήτας· νέους (Hsch.).

δολο-μῆδης :: δολό-μητις, δολο-μῆτα ‘guileful, treacherous’¹⁵ (cf. Simon. fr. 70.1.4–5 σχέτλιε παῖ δολομήδεος Ἀφροδίτας, / τὸν Ἄρην †δολομηχάνῳ τέκεν) :: γ 249–50 τίνα δ’ αὐτῷ μῆσατ’ ὄλεθρον / Αἴγισθος δολόμητις :: A 540 τίς δ’ αἶ τοι δολομῆτα θεῶν συμφράσσατο βουλᾶς;

Εὐ-μῆδης (: *e-u-me-de* /*E^hu-mēdēs*/) :: Εὐ-μητις, *e-u-me-ta* /*E^hu-mētās*/: Εὐμήτης, cf. εὖ-μητις ‘who has good plans, clever’ (Opp. 5.97, εὖμητις· φρόνιμος, καλόβουλος Hsch.).

Θεο-μῆδης :: (Θεο-μῆστωρ) :: Θεο-μέδων :: θεό-μητις (θεόμητιν... φωνήν Nonn. 8.121),¹⁶ cf. θεοὶ κακὰ μῆτιόωντες (a 234).¹⁷

Θρασυ-μῆδης (a name in Homer) :: θρασύ-μητις ‘daring, resolute’, i.e. *‘having bold thoughts/plans’ (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.143, Bacch.15.15).

Κλυτο-μῆδης, Κλυτο-μῆδεα :: κλυτό-μητις, ‘having famous skills’ (of Hephaestus, *HHom.* 20.1, also of Apollo and Asclepius in Late Poetry).

Πολυ-μῆδης (cf. MN Πολυμῆστωρ Eur.) :: πολύ-μητις ‘of many counsels, resourceful’ (A 311 πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς),¹⁸ also πολυ-μῆτα (Opp. 5.6), cf. πολυ-μῆτης· πολύβουλος, πολύφρων (Hsch.).

4.3. As to Hom. μῆδομαι, μέδομαι and μῆτιάω (-άομαι) cf. the following minimal pairs:

(a) K 52 τόσα γὰρ κακὰ μῆσατ’ Ἀχαιοῖς “so many evils has he devised for the Achaeans” :: Δ 21 (= Θ 458) κακὰ δὲ Τρῶεσσι μεδέσθην “and planned/devised evils for the Trojans” :: a 234 νῦν δ’ ἐτέρως ἐβόλοντο θεοὶ κακὰ μῆτιόωντες “but now the gods have willed otherwise in their evil devising.”¹⁹

(b) B 38 νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὰ ἥδη ἅ ῥα Ζεὺς μῆδετο ἔργα “fool, who did not know the deed(s) that Zeus devised” :: K 207–8 ἢ... πύθοιτο, / ἄσσά τε μῆτιόωσι μετὰ σφίσιν “or... he might overhear what they devise among themselves” (cf. also Υ 153–4 καθήατο μῆτιόωντες / βουλᾶς).

(c) λ 110 τὰς εἰ μὲν κ’ ἀσινέας ἐάας νόστον τε μέδῃαι “if you leave these unharmed and keep your mind on homecoming/devise your return homeward” :: ζ 14 νόστον Ὀδυσσῆϊ μεγαλήτορι μῆτιόωσα (= θ 9) “(Athena) who devises the return of great-hearted Odysseus.”

We can therefore conclude that the etymology of μῆδομαι (and μέδομαι) and of μῆτις is not decisive for the interpretation of *me-ti*^o in the MN *me-ti-ja-no*, which certainly remains a major difficulty.

5. The MN *me-ti-ja-no* (PY Ub 1318.3), gen. *me-ti-ja-no-ro* (Vn 1191.1) has a transparent second member /°*āpnōr*/ (: °*ánōr*). The crucial question remains what Myc. *me-ti*^o conceals, once it is accepted that /*Mēd-ti*^o/ (: μῆδομαι) or /*Mēd-ti*^o/ (: μέδομαι) and /*Mēti*^o/ (: Hom. μῆτις)

¹⁵ Cf. the glosses δολομῆτα· δολιόβουλε, κακότεχνε· μῆτις γὰρ ἡ βουλή (ad A 540), δολομήτωρ· δόλια βουλευομένου (Hsch.).

¹⁶ θεόμητι· θεόφρονι, θεοβούλῳ (Suid.).

¹⁷ Cf. also H 45 βουλῇ, ἢ ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐφῆρδανε μῆτιόωσι “their plan that had found pleasure among the gods in council.”

¹⁸ Cf. also φ 274 δολοφρονέων μετέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς, also of gods (πολυμήτιος Ἡφαίστιο Φ 355, *HH* 28.2 of Athena).

¹⁹ Σ 312 Ἐκτορι μὲν γὰρ ἐπήνησαν κακὰ μῆτιόωντι “they gave their applause to Hector in his counsel of evil.”

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are possible. If the first member is */Mēd-ti°/* or */Med-ti°/* the name would be a compound of the type *βωτιάνειρα*: in both cases */°ānōr/* matches one of the rectional cases of the verbal lexeme (either *μῆδομαι* or *μέδομαι*). If *me-ti°* conceals */Mēti°/* (: Hom. *μῆτις*), the putative */Mēti-ānōr/* could be interpreted as the inversion of a possessive compound **/Anṛ-mēti-/* (: *ἀνδρός μῆτις*) of the type *Ἀνδρομήδης* : Myc. *a-no-me-de* (§2.1).

It seems clear that any attempt to interpret the MN *me-ti-ja-no* implies taking into account the semantics and constructions *μῆδομαι*, *μέδομαι* with human (animate) and of the referents of *μῆτις* (*in Graeco ipso*).

6. Let us recall the essentials for the three lexemes involved and their combinatory possibilities with HUMAN (*ἄνθρωπος*, also *λαός*, *δῆμος*).

Hom. *μῆδομαι* ‘to be minded, intend, resolve, plan/plot something (acc.) for/against someone (acc. dat.)’, with a human or a god as the subject,²⁰ may have human beings as object in the accusative (e.g. K 52 *τόσα γὰρ κακὰ μῆσατ’ Ἀχαιοὺς* ‘so many evils has he devised against the Achaeans’) or as indirect object in the dative (Hsd. fr. 204 M.-W. 123 *πα]τρὸς . . . μεγάλ’ ἀνδράσι μηδομένοιο*).

Hom. *μέδομαι* ‘command, be king of, rule over’, also ‘provide for, be mindful of’, ptc. *μέδων*, *μεδέων* ‘ruling over’,²¹ with genitive, e.g. B 79 *ὦ φίλοι Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἥδ’ ἐμὲδοντες* ‘leaders of the Argives and their rulers.’²² The construction with genitive of a place or of a thing or abstract are not relevant for our purpose: Γ 276 *Ζεὺ πάτερ Ἰδῆθεν μεδέων κύδιστε μέγιστε* ‘Zeus . . . (you) who rule from Ida,’ Bacch. *Dith.* 18.234 *Δωδώνης μεδέων*, Δ 418 *ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶϊ μεδώμεθα θούριδος ἀλκῆς* (cf. *Ἀλκιμέδων* [Hom.], also *Ἀλκιμέδης*, *Ἀλκιμέδης*).

Hom. *μῆτις* ‘wisdom, skill; counsel, plan’ (of a god or person, also in bad sense), cf. the formula *Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον* # ‘the peer of Zeus in counsel’ (B 169 *et al.*), *σοφῶν μητίεσσι* (Pind. *Isth.* 4.47), *βροτείῃ μῆτις* (Emp. 2.9)²³ or the compounded names *Θεό-μητις*, **Δαμό-μητις* (ethn. *Δαματίδαι*, cf. §3). The same applies to the denominative *μητιάω*, *-άομαι* ‘meditate, deliberate’, also ‘plan, devise’ (with accusative), cf. K 208 *ἄσσα τε μητιόωσι μετὰ σφίσιν* ‘and what they (*scil.* men) devise among themselves,’ Ψ 153 *καθήατο μητιόωντες βουλὰς*.

7. Let us now turn to the three possible interpretations of the MN *me-ti-ja-no* mentioned above (§5). A remark on the formal structure of the compound names and their variants is in order at this point. Both */Mēsti-ānōr/* (**/mēd-ti°/*) and */Mesti-ānōr/* (**/med-ti°/*), being compounds of the type *βωτιάνειρα*, *Καστιάνειρα* relying on a verbal root, can be represented conventionally as (a) */CVC-ti-X/*. They may theoretically coexist with (b) a variant of the type *τερψίμβροτος* (*/CVC-si-X/*), with an agent noun in (c) */-tor-/* (: *-τωρ*), i.e. */CVC-tor-/*

²⁰The Hesychian glosses are explicit: *μηδόμενος· ποιῶν. βουλευόμενος, μησαμένη· βουλευσαμένη, μῆσατο· εἰργάσατο, ἐτεχνάσατο.*

²¹Cf. the glosses *μέδονται· ἐπιμελοῦνται, ἄρχουσι, βασιλεύουσι, μεδώμεθα· φροντίζωμεν, ἐντρεπώμεθα, and μέδοντες· ἄρχοντες δύο* (Hsch.).

²²Cf. also B 79 *ὦ φίλοι Ἀργείων ἡγήτορας ἥδ’ ἐμὲδοντας*, H 136 *εὖρε δὲ Φαιήκων ἡγήτορας ἥδ’ ἐμὲδοντας*, K 301 *ὅσσοι ἔσαν Τρώων ἡγήτορες ἥδ’ ἐμὲδοντες*, Bacch. *Dith.* 17.66 (*Κρόνιος*) *ὁ πάντων με]θ[έω]ν et al.*

²³Cf. also ψ 124–5 *σὴν (scil. Odysseus) γὰρ ἀρίστην / μῆτιν ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους*, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.260 *ὀρθόβουλον μῆτιν ἐφευρόμενος* (the founders of Cyrene), *μῆτιν ἐρέσσων* (Soph. *Ant.* 158); with *μητιάω*.

and/or an agent noun in (d) /-tā-/ (: -της) i.e. /°CVC-tā-/;²⁴ although (b), (c), (d) are not always attested for every verbal root.

This microsystem may be posited in Mycenaean and Alphabetic Greek for (1) *κέκασμαι* ‘excel’, (2) IE **kēns-* ‘speak authoritatively’, (3) *νέομαι* ‘go (home)’, (4) *ἡδομαι* ‘be glad, enjoy’ (unattested forms are noted as –):

	(a) /CVC-ti-X/	(b) /CVC-si-X/	(c) /CVC-tor-/	(d) /CVC-tā-/
(1)	Καστι-άνειρα	Κασσάνδρα, /Kassānōr/	Κάστωρ, /Kastōr/	/Ptolī-kastāi/ (masc.)
(2)	/Ke(n)sti-los/	/Kessandros/, /Kessandrā/	/Ke(n)stōr/	/Lāwo-ke(n)stās/
(3)	/Nesti-ānōr/	Νέσσανδρος	Νέστωρ	/P ^h ilo-nestās/
(4)	/Wāsti-k ^h oros/	Ἡσίδωρος, Ἡσανδρος	–	–

The available evidence for the different lexical items may be briefly summarized as follows.

(1) *κέκασμαι* ‘excel’ (perf. ‘be visible’: IE *(s)*kēnd-*, cf. Ved. *chand*, Av. *sand*, OPers. *θand* ‘become visible’):²⁵ (a) *Καστι-άνειρα* (Hom.); (b) *Κασσάνδρα*, *ka-sa-no* /Kassānōr/ (KN V [6] 831.5) ‘who excels among men’, remodeled as *Κάσσανδρος*, whence the “Motionsform” *Κασσάνδρα*;²⁶ (c) *ka-to* /Kastōr/ (KN DV 1169.B): *Κάστωρ*, gen. *-to-ro* /-toros/ (Do 1054.b); (d) MN *po-to-ri-ka-ta* (dat.) /Ptolī-kastāi/ (KN Uf 983).²⁷

(2) IE **kēns-* ‘speak authoritatively, give an estimation’ (Ved. *śams*, Av. *sayh*, Lat. *censeō*, -ēre): (a) Myc. *ke-ti-ro* /Ke(n)sti-los/ (PY Tn 415.3, KN Da 1323.B *et al.*), “short” form for */Ke(n)sti-lāwos/ ‘who speaks to the army’;²⁸ (b) *ke-sa-do-ro* /Kess-andros/ (PY Vn 130.1, KN As 1520.5 *et al.*) as the outcome of **kēnstiandro-* ‘who speaks to the men authoritatively’;²⁹ WN /Kessandrā/ (<ΚΕΣΑΝΔΡΑ> on Corinthian vases), later associated to (and absorbed by) *Κασσάνδρα*;³⁰ (c) *ke-to* /Ke(n)s-tōr/ (PY Cn 436.1, KN Da 1134.b), gen. *ke-to-ro* (KN Da 1134.b); (d) *ra-wo-ke-ta* /Lāwo-ke(n)s-tās/³¹ (PY Jn 478.3),]*ra-wo-ke-ta* (KN As 605.1).

(3) *νέομαι* ‘go (home)’ (IE **nes-* ‘come wherever one will’: Ved. *násate* ‘joins’, Goth. *nasjan* “σώσαι” [causat. **nos-ēio/e-*] beside *ga-nisan* “σώζεσθαι”):³² (a) *ne-ti-ja-no* /Nesti-ānōr/ (PY An

²⁴Cf. for instance MN Ἀξι-λεως :: *ra-wa-ke-ta* /lāw-āgetās/ (: λᾱγέτας Pind.), and “short” form MN Λᾱγος.

²⁵García Ramón 1988–90 [1992]: perf. **ke-knd-*, cf. Hom. *κεκάσμεθα* : Ved. *śásadmahe*, *κεκασμένος* : *śásadānā-*, cf. Δ 339 *κακοῖσι δόλοισι κεκασμένη* : RV 1.123.10 *kanyēna tamvā śásadānāhī éṣi devī* “like a young woman, who excels by her figure, thou go, o goddess”).

²⁶This matches the image of Cassandra in Homer, as the most beautiful of the daughters of Priam (N 365–6 *Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην / Κασσάνδρην*).

²⁷Other forms: *ka-ta-no* /Kastānōr/? (PY Eb 890.1, Ep 705.2), *ka-te-u* /Kastēus/ (KN Da 1451, DK[2]1072.B).

²⁸Continued by the MN *Αἰνησιλᾶς*, *Αἰνησιλεως*, also *Αἰνη/εσιδαμος* in Alphabetic Greek (García Ramón 1992:249f., 2005:132ff.).

²⁹Cf. Ved. *śāhī sā nārjā-* (RV I 185.9+), YAv. *naiiriū.sayha-*, also Ved. *narām śāmsa-* ‘praise of men’, *narāśāmsa-* (epithet of Agni and Pūṣan).

³⁰Continued by the WN *Αἰνησιμβρότα* (Alcm. *Parth.* 1.73) in Alphabetic Greek. The meaning of the name matches the post-Homeric figure of Cassandra as prophetess (Pind. *Pyth.* 11.32 *μάντις κόρα*): the generalization of the *a*-vocalism is due to the convergence with *Κασσ-* of *κέκασμαι*, which has survived as a living term in Homer and poetry.

³¹García Ramón 1992:240.

³²The aorist stem *νοστησα-* is suppletive (but *νάσθη* Ξ 119 ‘came and settled’), cf. also aor. ptc. Hom. *ἄσμενος* ‘saved’

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106.1, Cn 599.1), dat. *ne-ti-ja-no-re* (Cn 40.1); (b) Νέσσανδρος (Thessaly, also Νέσσυλος); (c) Νέστωρ; (d) *pi-ro-ne-ta* /*P^hilo-nestās*/ (PY In 658.3).

(4) ἡδομαι (**seh₂d-*: Ved. *svād*, *svad*), aor. Hom. ἡσατο 'was pleased' (ι 553): (a) *wa-ti-ko-ro* /*Wāsti-k^horos*/³³ (PY An 725.8), perhaps *wa-ti-ro* /*Wāstilos*/ (PY In 431.24), cf. *Φαστίας* (SEG 22:419 Thebes *et al.*), *Βαστίας* (Sparta, 5th c.); (b) *wa-si-ro* /*Wāsilos*/ (KN V 159.4) as the "short" form of */*Wāsi-lāwo-*/, Ἡσανδρος ('*Ἀσανδρος*), (F) *Ἀσίδαμος*, Ἡσίδωρος *passim* and "short" forms Ἀσίας, (F) *Ἀσίας et sim.*³⁴

For *μήδομαι* :: aor. *μησα-* and for *μέδομαι* (ptc. *μέδων*) one would expect, in purely formal terms, a similar system, namely

(a) /CVC-ti-X/	(b) /CVC-si-X/	(c) /CVC-tor-/	(d) /CVC-tā-/
* <i>mēd-ti</i> ^o	* <i>mēd-s(i)</i> ^o	* <i>mēd-tor-</i>	* ^o <i>mēd-tā-</i>

and

* <i>med-ti</i> ^o	* <i>med-s(i)</i> ^o	* <i>mēd-tor-</i>	* ^o <i>med-tā-</i>
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Some of the expected forms are actually attested, namely (b) and (c) for *μήδομαι*, (c) for *μέδομαι*, as we shall see in detail (§§8–9):

(a) * <i>mēd-ti</i> ^o	(b) * <i>mēd-s(i)</i> ^o	(c) * <i>mēd-tor-</i>	(d) * ^o <i>mēd-tā-</i>
/Mēs-ti-ānōr/?	Μησι ^o	(^o)μήστωρ Κλυταιμήστρα	—

and

(a) * <i>med-ti</i> ^o	(b) * <i>med-s(i)</i>	(c) * <i>mēd-tor-</i>	(d) * ^o <i>med-tā-</i>
/Mes-ti-ānōr/?	—	Μέστωρ	—

This speaks in favor of the interpretation of *me-ti-ja-no* as /*Mēsti-ānōr*/ (§8) or as /*Mesti-ānōr*/ (§9).

8. The interpretation of /*Mēsti-ānōr*/, with a first member */*mēd-ti*^o/ (Hom. *μήδομαι*), as suggested by A. Heubeck³⁵ ("die Männer klug beratend"), seems the most satisfactory one. The assumed /*Mēsti*^o/ fits into the pattern of the system: (b) *Μησι*^o (*Μησίεργος*) and (c) *μήστωρ* (also as a name), ^o*μήστωρ* are also attested. There is no evidence for (d) *^o*mēd-tā-* (**Ἀνδρο-μήστας* or the like) so far.

As to (b) cf. MN *Μησί-εργος* (Mykonos), which clearly reflects K 289 *μάλα μέρμερα μήσατο ἔργα* "he (sc. Tydeus) was minded to grim deeds"³⁶ or *Μησιαρεύς* (Epidauros), which may be understood as synonymous with a putative **μησιμάχας* 'who intends battle' reflecting

(**hs-meno-*), aor. causat. ἀπονάσσωσι (Π 86–7 ἀτάρ οἱ περικαλλέα κούρην / ἂψ ἀπονάσσωσιν "they send back that beautiful girl"; García Ramón 2004:38f., 40ff.).

³³The form is not even mentioned by Waanders (2008).

³⁴Cf. also *wa-do-me-no* /*Wadomeno-*/ (PY Vn 130.5).

³⁵Heubeck 1957:476 (= *Kl. Schr.* 476); Waanders 2008:19 ("e.g. /*Mesti-*/ ..., /*Mēsti-*/ ... or /*Mēti*/").

³⁶Cf. also ω 426 ἡ μέγα ἔργον ὅδε μήσατ' Ἀχαιοὺς "this man (Odysseus) contrived a great evil against the Achaeans," λ 474 τίπτ' ἔτι μείζον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μήσσει ἔργον (Odysseus).

*μήσατο μάχην, which can hardly be kept apart from μάχης . . . μήδεα (with a god as the agent) in O 467 ἥ δὲ πάγχυ μάχης ἐπὶ μήδεα κείρει / δαίμων ἡμετέρης “how hard the divinity cuts across the intention in all our battle.”³⁷

As to (c) cf. Hom. μῆστωρ ‘counselor, adviser’, of a human (γ 110 Πάτροκλος, θεοφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος “a counselor of the same quality as the gods,”³⁸ glossed as Hsch. μῆστωρ θεοῖς ἴσος ἐν τῷ βουλευέσθαι,³⁹ also of a god (Ζῆν’ ὑπατον μῆστωρα Θ 22, P 339). The term occurs also in poetic compounds, namely θεομῆστωρ (Aesch.,⁴⁰ also name of the tyrant of Samos, Hdt. 8.85), παμμῆστωρ ‘all-inventive’ (ὁ παμμῆστωρ Ἀρης *Trag. adesp.* 129.9, Diod. Sic. 37.30.2; μοῖρα βροτῶν Lycophr. 490), ἐντεσι-μῆστωρ, ἐντεο-μῆστωρ ὅπλων ἔμπειρος (Hsch.).

The MN Λεω-μῆστωρ (Smyrna, Abydos), to be understood as ‘counselor of the people’, is of major importance for *me-ti-ja-no*. In fact, Λεω-μῆστωρ (with *lāwō) lets one assume the existence of a *Μηστί-λεως or a *Λεω-μῆστᾱς, which are not attested so far, but may easily be conceived of beside well-attested Μῆστωρ, μῆστωρ. Regarding the very frequent synonyms Λεωμέδων, Λαομέδων, Λᾱμέδων cf. *infra*. The feminine form ὀμῆστρη is attested from Hesiod on (Hsd. fr. 23a.27 Κλυτ)αιμῆστρη κυα[νῶπις (also 176.5), Pind. *Pyth.* 11.17, Aesch., Soph.).⁴¹

Other names with ὀμῆστωρ: MN Ἀγαμῆστωρ (Magnesia), Ἀντιμῆστωρ (Olbia), Πολυμῆστωρ (king of Thrace, also in Miletus), Σωμῆστωρ (Corinth), also Εὐρυμῆστοριδαί (Teos).

All of this speaks in favor of the assumption that the MN *me-ti-ja-no* /*Mēsti-ānōr*/ (with /*Mēsti*°/ from */*mēd-ti*°/) would stand beside unattested *Μησ-άνωρ (*Μῆσ-ανδρος) in the same relation as Καστι-άνειρα beside Κασσάνδρα. On the strength of the sense and constructions of μῆδομαι with animates as object or indirect object and of Hom. μῆστωρ ‘adviser’, *me-ti-ja-no* /*Mēsti-ānōr*/ may be understood in two ways:

(a) ‘adviser of men’ (: μῆστωρ ‘adviser’). A nice parallel for this is the MN Λεω-μῆστωρ.

(b) ‘who is minded/plots against men’, cf. K 52 τόσα γὰρ κακὰ μῆσατ’ Ἀχαιοὺς “so many evils has he devised against the Achaeans” (with double accusative)⁴² or Hsd. fr. 204.123 πα]τρὸς . . . μεγάλ’ ἀνδράσι μῆδομένοιο. This possibility does not seem preferable to (a).

9. Myc. *me-ti-ja-no* may also conceal /*Mēsti-ānōr*/ from */*mēd-ti*°/. The alternative possibility relies on the assumption that Hom. μέδομαι ‘take care’ (μέδονται ἐπιμελοῦνται, ἄρχουσι, βασιλεύουσι, μεδόμεθα· φροντίζωμεν, ἐντρεπώμεθα Hsch.), μέδων ‘who rules over’ (gen.) (μέδοντες· ἄρχοντες δύο Hsch.) reflect semantic specializations of the same root as **mēd*-. Compounds with ὀμέδων are fairly frequent (e.g. ποντο-μέδων ‘lord of the sea’, an epithet of Poseidon, Pind. *Ol.* 6.103 *et al.*), MN Ἴππομέδων ‘horse-ruler’ and their first member reflects the object of ὀμέδων ‘ruling’ (with gen.). Accordingly /*Mēsti-ānōr*/, the existence of which is supported by the type (c) MN Μέστωρ (Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2), may be understood in two ways:

³⁷The same verse occurs in Π 120–1 Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης. As to the sense cf. the gloss μάχης ἐπὶ μήδεα κείρει τὰ περὶ τῆς μάχης βουλευήματα (Hsch.).

³⁸Also of Neleus (γ 409) and of Peirithoos (Ξ 318).

³⁹Also with inanimates, e.g. Δ 328 Ἀθηναῖοι μῆστωρες αὐτῆς “masters of the war.”

⁴⁰Aesch. *Pers.* 654–6 θεομῆστωρ δ’ ἐκικλήσκειτο Πέρσας, / θεομῆστωρ δ’ / ἔσκεν, ἐπεὶ στρατὸν εὖ ποδοῦχει. Cf. the explanation by the scholiast (*schol. rec.*): θεομῆστωρ δὲ ἐκικλήσκειτο θεομῆστωρ δὲ καὶ τὰ θεῖα βουλευόμενος ἐκαλεῖτο τοῖς Πέρσας, οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεομῆστωρ ὑπῆρχεν, ἐπεὶ εὖ καὶ καλῶς ἐποδῶκει καὶ ἴθυνε καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πόδα ἡγιάκει τὸν στρατὸν.

⁴¹The form Κλυταιμῆστρη (Κλυταιμῆστρη δολόμητις Λ 422+) may well be secondary as the result of contamination with μνάσμαι.

⁴²Cf. also ω 426 ἥ μέγα ἔργον ὅδε μῆσατ’ Ἀχαιοὺς “truly a monstrous deed has this man contrived against the Achaeans,” Ξ 395 καὶ Ἐκτορα δῖον ἀεικέα μῆδετο ἔργα (= Ψ 24).

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(a) 'who takes care of men'. This is hardly compelling, as the verb requires abstract concepts or concrete objects as its object, e.g. Δ 418 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶϊ / μεδῶμεθα θούριδος ἀλκῆς (MN Ἀλκι-μέδῃ, Ἀλκι-μέδων) "nay, come, let us take thought of furious valor."⁴³

(b) 'who rules men', cf. B 79 Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες "leaders and rulers of the Achaeans" *et sim.*⁴⁴ This interpretation is supported by the semantic parallel of the MN Λαομέδων (E 269), Λαομέδων, which reflects the type Ἀργείων...μέδοντες, and Ἀστομέδων (Pherae), Ἀστυμέδων (Lindos).

10. A compounded name /*Mēti-ānōr*/ (: Μητι°) 'thought of men' ("der (personifizierte) kluge Rat der Männer" in Alfred Heubeck's alternative formulation),⁴⁵ of the type Κλέανδρος, Τίμανδρος is possible from the purely formal point of view.

/*Mēti-ānōr*/ (: Μητίανωρ) would reflect the inversion of a possessive compound */*Anṛ-mēti-*/, 'having μῆτις of man', like Ἀνδρο-κλῆς, Ἀνδρό-τιμος *et sim.* The problem is that this type of compound with a *-ti-* abstract as the first member is not attested. It has apparently no parallel either in Alphabetic Greek or in Mycenaean. On the one hand, Μητι-γενής (Attica), Μητι-κλῆς (Andros, "short" form Μήτικλος in Chios), the second member of which belongs to a different word-class, actually make no coherent sense. On the other hand, there is Μητί-οχος, a rectional compound with verbal second member, i.e. 'having thought, having a view (onto)'. None of these compound names⁴⁶ has the structure of a putative *Μητι-άνωρ.

It is, in any case, a fact that compounds of the structure [Abstract + MAN] are attested in Classical Greek, e.g. Αἰγλάνωρ, Θέρσ-ανδρος and Θερσ-ᾶ/ήνωρ, Θύμανδρος (: αἴγλη 'bright', θέρσος 'courage', θυμός 'spirit'). These compounds are actually restricted to onomastics and, although they do not fit into the pattern of regular composition, they do, in fact, allow one to recognize a meaning: the bearer of the name is referred to as (the personified) 'brightness of man',⁴⁷ 'courage of man', 'spirit of man', respectively, or as 'having brightness/courage/spirit of man'. The fact that they do not occur as lexical compounds strongly suggests that they result from the inversion of the members of a possessive compound of the structure [MAN's + X_{Abstract}] 'having X of man', of the type Ved. *nṛ-mānas-*, Gk. Ἀνδρο-μένης, OIr. *Fergus* (PCelt. **μῖρο-γῡssu-*). This may be posited in some cases where the full system is actually attested:

βία 'force'	:	Βί-ανδρος, °άνωρ	:	(←) Ἀνδρό-βιος
κλέος 'glory'	:	Κλέ-ανδρος, °άνωρ	:	(←) Ἀνδρο-κλῆς
κῦδος 'glory'	:	Κυδ-άνωρ	:	(←) Ἀνδρο-κύδης
νίκη 'victory'	:	Νίκ-ανδρος, °ᾶ/ήνωρ	:	(←) Ἀνδρό-νικος
τιμή 'honor'	:	Τίμ-ανδρος, °άνωρ	:	(←) Ἀνδρό-τιμος

⁴³Also with πολέμοιο (B 384), σίτου, δόρποιο (Ω 2), νόστου (λ 110, μ 137), but not with persons.

⁴⁴Cf. H 136 εὔρε δὲ Φαιήκων ἡγήτορας ἡδὲ μέδοντας, B 79 ὦ φίλοι Ἀργείων ἡγήτορας ἡδὲ μέδοντας (Τρώων K 301).

⁴⁵Heubeck 1957:31 (= *Kl. Schr.* 476).

⁴⁶The MN Μήτωρος (Miletus, 6th c.) probably does not belong here. Its second member °ωρος remains unclear: it may be analogical to Κύδ-ωρος, Πολύ-ωρος (of **μοι-ο-* as per *HPNG* 353), as the proper form one would expect would be *Μητί-ορος (**mēti-moro-*).

⁴⁷Cf. OIr. *lúan laith*, as the expression of the splendor of the warrior (Campanile 1998), also Hom. φῶς 'man, warrior' (**b^hóh₂-s*).

In the framework of this microsystem a putative MN *me-ti-ja-no* /*Mēti-ānōr*/ could be explained as the result of the inversion of a possessive */*Anṛ-mētis*/, like Ἀνδρο-μήδης (: Myc. *a-no-me-de* */*Anṛ-mēdēs*/), which would be parallel to *Δαμό-μητις, Θεό-μητις. Anyway, the interpretation of *me-ti-ja-no* as /*Mēti-ānōr*/ encounters two difficulties: the type Κλέανδρος is not attested in Mycenaean, and there is no attestation of a compounded name of this structure with Μητι° (+ Μήτ(ι)-ανδρος, + Μητί-δαμος, + Μητί-θεος) in Alphabetic Greek. For this reason, an interpretation as /*Mēti-ānōr*/ can hardly be preferred to the others discussed above.⁴⁸

11. To sum up: The MN *me-ti-ja-no* may conceal /*Mēsti-ānōr*/ or /*Mesti-ānōr*/. A name /*Mēsti-ānōr*/ (/*Mēsti*°/ from */*mēd-ti*°/: Hom. μῆδομαι ‘advise’), which has in its favor that the first member /*Mēsti*°/ fits into the pattern of the system with (°)μῆστωρ (and Μησ[ι]°), may be understood as ‘adviser of men’ (: Hom. μῆστωρ ‘adviser’), just as the MN Λεω-μῆστωρ means ‘adviser of the people’. An interpretation of /*Mēsti-ānōr*/ as ‘who is minded/plots against men’ (cf. K 52 τόσα γὰρ κακὰ μῆσατ’ Ἀχαιοῦς, Hsd. fr. 204 M.-W. 123 πα]τρὸς... μεγάλ’ ἀνδράσι μηδομένοιο) seems less plausible, but remains possible.

If the MN *me-ti-ja-no* does in fact conceal /*Mesti-ānōr*/ (from **med-ti*°: Hom. μέδομαι ‘take care’, ptc. μέδων ‘ruling over’), it would fit into the system at a lesser extent (cf. the MN Μέστωρ) and would mean ‘who rules men’ (cf. B 79 Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἦδὲ μέδοντες): its semantics would be parallel to the MN Λαομέδων (and variants) and Ἀστομέδων.

Abbreviations

DELG = Chantraine, Pierre. 1968–80. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots* Paris: Klincksieck.

EDGr = Beekes, R. S. P. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. Leiden: Brill.

GEW = Frisk, Hjalmar. 1960–72. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.

HPNG = Bechtel, Friedrich. 1917. *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*. Halle a. d. S.: Niemeyer.

Jamison–Brereton = Jamison, Stephanie W., and Joel P. Brereton. 2014. *The Rigveda: The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lfgre = Snell, Bruno (ed.). 1955–. *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

LGPn = Fraser, P. M., and E. Matthews (eds.). 1987–. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Oxford: Clarendon.

⁴⁸It could certainly be argued that the absence of compounded names of the type Κλέανωρ with Μητι° (and indeed with -τι-abstracts in general) is haphazard, or that some compounded names with -s(i)° (type περιψύμβροτος) could belong to the reversed/inverted type (with °C*e*-ti- originally). At any rate, it is impossible to decide between a former -ti-/ -si- abstract and an *s*-aorist: compound names as Ἀκέσ-ανδρος, Ἡγήσ-ανδρος, Κτήσ-ανδρος, Λύσ-ανδρος, Μνήσ-ανδρος, Ὀνήσ-ανδρος, Τελέσ-ανδρος are obviously no argument in favor of rectional compounds with ἄκεσις, ἡγήσις, κτήσις, λύσις, μνήσις, ὀνήσις, τέλεσις in the first member by inversion of a compound with *ἄκετις, *ἡγήητις, *κτηητις, *λυητις, *μνηητις, *ὀνηητις, *τέλεητις.

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Sobre indio antiguo *mṛgá-* ‘animal salvaje’ y el texto hitita KUB 43.60+ (‘El gran camino del alma’)

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1. El término indio antiguo (ia.) *mṛgá-* ‘animal salvaje, animal que vive en el bosque; antílope, gacela’ carece hasta el momento de una etimología satisfactoria, según se desprende de la lectura del diccionario etimológico de M. Mayrhofer:

mṛgá- m. ‘Wildtier, Wild, im Wald lebendes Tier; Antilope, u.a.’ (RV+) →
mārga- m. ‘Weg, Pfad, Fahrte, Methode’ (RV-Kh. +), wohl *‘Wildpfad’

iir., jav. *məṛṇa-* m., np. *murγ* usw. ‘Vogel’, waxi *merg* f. ‘female ibex’. Der Ursprung von iir. **mṛgá-* ‘(wildes) Tier’ ist unklar. Hierher der Dämonenname *mṛgayā-* (RV 4.16.13; 8.3.19; 10.49.5)?¹ Unklar RV 2.38.7 *mṛgayās-* (EWAia II 370 f.)²

Este último derivado de difícil interpretación (‘Unklar’), *mṛgayās-*, es traducido como ‘wild beasts’ por Stephanie W. Jamison (Jamison y Brereton 2014:457); Geldner (siguiendo a Bergaigne, que sigue a su vez a Sāyaṇa), en cambio, traduce ‘Wildjäger’ (‘cazador de animales salvajes’).

¹RV 4.16.13: *tvāṃ pīpruṃ mṛgayāṃ śūśuvāṃsam ṛjīśvane vaidathināya randhīḥ / pañcāsāt kṛṣṇā nī vapah sahasrātkam nā pūro jarimā vi daridhā* ‘You (, Indra,) subjugated Pipru *Mṛgaya*, swollen with power, to Ṛjīśvan, the son of Vidathin. / You scattered down the dark fifty thousand. You shredded their fortresses, like worn-out age a cloak’ (Jamison y Brereton 2014:581); *pīpru-* (m.) en relación con \sqrt{par} - ‘hinüberbringen’ (*pi-pr-u-*)? (EWAia II 133); RV 8.3.19: *nīr īndra bṛhatībhyo ṛṣṭrān dhanubhyo asphurāḥ / nīr ārbudasya mṛgayasya māyīno nūḥ pārvatasya gā ājah* ‘You kicked Ṛṣṭra out from the lofty steppes, Indra. / You drove (the cows) of Arbuda and the tricky *Mṛgaya* out, out the cows of Parvata’ (Jamison & Brereton 2014:1031); RV 10.49.5: *abāṃ randhayanī mṛgayāṃ śrutārvaṇe yaṇ mājibūta vayūnā canānuśāk / abāṃ veśāṃ namrām āyāve akaram abāṃ sāryāya pādgrbhīm arandhayan* ‘I made *Mṛgaya* subject to Śrutarvan, when he yielded to me when the ritual patterns were in due order. I made the vassal submissive for Āyu, and I made Paḍgrbhi subject to Savya’ (Jamison y Brereton 2014:1457).

²Con posterioridad al EWAia de Mayrhofer han aparecido, por supuesto, diversas propuestas de conexión etimológica para el término, a nuestro parecer con escaso fundamento. Así, por ejemplo, la que pone en relación la palabra con el celta **marko-* ‘caballo’ (galo *márkan* [acusativo], irlandés antiguo *marc*, galés medio *march*) o el germánico **mārxa-*, **margá-* ‘caballo, yegua’ (alto alemán antiguo *marah-* ‘caballo’, *meriha* ‘yegua’), en principio *Wanderwörter* que se reflejarían también en sinítico **mā?*, tibetano-birmanio **māṅ* ‘caballo’ y caucásico **farnē* ‘caballo, yegua’; se trataría de formas sufijadas de una raíz presente también en altaico **mórV* ‘caballo’ (mongol **mori*, tungús **murin*, coreano **mār*) y en dravídico meridional **mar-ai* ‘a kind of deer’; cf. <http://vasco-caucasian.blogspot.com.es/2013/08/celtic-marko-horse.html>.

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1.1 Algunos de los compuestos formados con *mrgá-* son de difícil interpretación, pero precisamente por eso, creemos que—como trataremos de mostrar—pueden resultar muy ilustrativos de cuál puede haber sido el sentido, o alguno de los sentidos más antiguos de esta palabra: *mrga-jala-* n., “‘deer-water”, mirage”; *-tr̥ṣ-* (etc.) “‘deer-thirst”, mirage, vapor floating over sands or deserts, fancied appearance of water in deserts’ (*MW* 828 col. 2); esto es: el ‘espejismo’ o el fenómeno conocido como ‘Fata Morgana’ recibe literalmente la denominación de ‘agua del ciervo’ o ‘sed del ciervo’.

2. Como se desprende del título de la presente contribución, el propósito de la misma consiste en rastrear la prehistoria de *ia. mrgá-* a través de la comparación con la tradición anatólia. Es fundamental, por tanto, tener presentes algunos de los testimonios más antiguos del término.³ A primera vista, lo más llamativo es su amplio rango de aplicabilidad a diversos seres; una interpretación relativamente neutra como “animal salvaje” (*wild animal*) o “bestia salvaje” (*wild beast*) la encontraríamos, por ejemplo, en los siguientes pasajes:

- (1) RV 1.38.5
mā vo mrgó ná yāvase / jaritā bhūd ájos̥yah / pathā yamāsya gād úpa
 “Let your singer (, o Maruts,) not be displeasing to you, like a **wild animal** in a pasture, and let him not go along the path of Yama”
- (2) RV 1.105.7
ahám só asmi yāḥ purā / suté vādāmi káni cit / tám mā viyanti ādhīyo / r̥ko ná tr̥ṣṇājam mrgām / vittām me asyā rodasi
 “I am one who used (always) to speak some (speeches) at the pressing. But cares (now) pursue this same me, like a wolf a thirsting **wild beast**. —Take heed of this (speech) of mine, you two world-halves.”
- (3) RV 1.190.4
asyā slóko divíyate pṛthivryām / átyo ná yamsad yakṣabhr̥ṣṭá vícetāḥ / mrgānām ná betáyo yānti cemā / bṛhaspáter áhimāyāñ abhí dyūn
 “When his signal-call speeds in heaven and on earth like a steed, the discriminating one [= Bṛhaspati?], bringing wondrous apparitions, will control it, *like a steed— / as also when these missiles [= words] of Bṛhaspati, like the charges of **wild beasts**, go to the heavens that possess serpentine wiles.”
- (4) RV 7.87.6
áva sindhum várūṇo dyaúr iva sthād / drapsó na śvetó mrgás túviṣmān / gambhīrāsamso rájaso vimānah / supārāksatrah sató asyā rájā
 “Like heaven, Varuṇa has descended to the river—he, the powerful **wild animal**, like the bright drop; he of deep recitation, who takes the measure of the airy space; he the king of what is, whose lordship offers good passage.”

³Para el texto del R̥gveda adoptamos la restauración métrica de van Nooten y Holland 1994, según la transcripción *on line* de Karen Thomson y Jonathan Slocum, de la Universidad de Texas, disponible en: <http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/RV/index.html> (Enero de 2015). Las traducciones al inglés son de Jamison y Brereton 2014.

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- (5) RV 8.5.36
yuvám mṛgám jāgṛvāmsam / svádatho vā vṣaṇvasū / tā naḥ pṛiktam iṣā rayīm
 “You sweeten, (o Maruts,) as it were, the wakeful **wild animal** [= soma?], o you of
 bullish goods. / Infuse wealth with refreshment for us.”
- (6) RV 10.146.6
āñjanagandhiṃ surabhīm / balvannām ākṣīvalām / prābhām mṛgāṇām mātāram /
aranyānīm aśamsiṣam
 “Fragrant with ointments, sweet-smelling, providing much food though she does
 no plowing, / the Mother of **wild beasts**, the Lady of the Wilderness have I pro-
 claimed.”
- (7) RV 10.180.2ab
mṛgō nā bhīmāḥ kucaró giriṣṭhālḥ / parāvāta ā jaganthā páraśyālḥ
 “Like a fearsome **wild beast**, living in the mountains and roaming wherever it wants,
 you have come here from the farther distance.”
- 2.1.** En otro grupo de textos, la “bestia” aludida es la serpiente a la que vence Indra, Vṛtra
 (“obstáculo”):
- (8) RV 1.80.7c–e
yád dha tyám māyīnam mṛgám / tám u tvám māyáyāvadbīr / arcann ...
 “When (you [, Indra,] kept smashing) this **wild beast** of magic power, you slew him
 with your own magic power ...”
- (9) RV 5.29.4
ād ródasī vitarām ví śkabhāyat / saṃviryānás cid bhiyāse mṛgám kaḥ / jígartim índro
apajārgurāṇaḥ prāti śvasāntam āva dānavam han
 “After that he propped the two world-halves wide apart; even while enwrapped, he
 set the **wild beast** [= the serpent] to fearing. / Repeatedly taunting the gulper, Indra
 smashed the snorting Dānava back and down.”
- (10) RV 5.32.3
éyāsya cin mahatō nir mṛgāsya / vādhar jaghāna táviṣibhir índraḥ / yá éka id apratír
mānyamāna / ād asmād anyó ajanīṣṭa távyān
 “With his powers Indra smashed away the weapon of that very one, the great **wild**
beast, / who was thinking himself unopposable even on his own. But then there was
 born one more powerful than he.”
- (11) RV 5.34.2cd
yád īm mṛgāya hāntave mahāvadhah / sahásrabhṛṣṭim usānā vadhām yámat
 “when Uśanā, possessing the great weapon, held the thousand-spiked weapon (out
 to him), to smash the **wild beast**.”
- (12) RV 8.93.14
ví yád āher ādha tvīṣó / víśve devāso ákramuḥ / vidān mṛgāsya táññ āmaḥ
 “Then as all the gods strode away from the turbulent power of the serpent, the ons-
 laught of the **wild beast** found them.”

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2.2. En al menos dos pasajes del RV el término *mrgá-* alude con toda probabilidad a Agni, el Fuego divinizado:

- (13) RV 1.145.5ab
sá īm mrgó ápiyo vanargúr / upa tvací upamásyām ní dbāyi
 “This **wild beast** of the waters that roams in the woods (= Agni) has been installed upon the uppermost skin”
- (14) RV 5.75.4c–e
utá vām kakubó mrgáh / pṛkṣaḥ kṛṇoti vāpuśo / mādhrī máma śrutam hávam
 “and your **wild animal** of marvelous form [= the sacrificial fire?], your lead horse, creates nourishments. —O honey-rich ones, hear my summons.”

2.3. Otro de los sentidos de *mrgá-*, común a la mayoría de los testimonios iránicos (av. *mərəγa-*), es el de “pájaro” o “ave” (*wild bird*):

- (15) RV 1.182.7
kālḥ svīd vṛkṣó nīstḥito mādhye árṇaso / yām taugrīyo nādbhitāḥ paryāśasvajat / parṇā mrgásya patáror ivārābha / úd asvīnā ūbhatuḥ śrómatāya kām
 “What tree emerged in the midst of the flood to which the son of Tugra clung in this distress, / to grab hold of its leaves as if to the feathers of a **wild bird** in flight? You carried him up, o Ásvins, for (his story) to be heard.”
- (16) RV 9.32.4
ubhé somāvacākaśan / mrgó ná taktó arṣasi / sídann ṛtāsya yónim á
 “O Soma, looking down on both (worlds?), like a great **wild bird** launched in flight you rush, / settling down on the womb of truth.”
- (17) RV 10.136.6
apsarásām gandharvánām / mrgānām cāraṇe cāran / keśī kétasya vidván / sákhā svādúr madántamaḥ
 “Ranging in the range of the Apsarases and the Gandharvas, of the **wild birds**, / the long-haired one is their sweet, most exhilarating comrade, who knows their will.”

2.4. Finalmente, el término se aplica, en uso prácticamente adjetival, a otros animales salvajes, como el elefante y el mono:

- (18) RV 10.40.4ab
yuvām mrgéva vāranā mrganyávo / doṣā vāstor haviṣā ní hvayāmahe
 “Like hunters on the track of **wild** elephants, we call you (, Ásvins,) down in the evening and at dawn with our oblation.”
- (19) RV 10.86.3a
kīm ayám tvám vṛṣākapiś cakāra hárīto mrgáh
 [Indra:] “What has this tawny **beast** Vṛṣākapi done to you [...]?”

3. El rango de usos de *mrgá-* oscila, por tanto, entre el valor *neutro* de “bestia” o “animal salvaje” (1–7), incluyendo su uso calificativo para denotar a diversos animales como el elefante

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o el mono (18–9), y el más marcado de “pájaro” o “ave” (15–7), pasando por su referencia específica a la “serpiente” V_{tr}tra (8–12) y a Agni, el Fuego (13–4). Este amplio abanico de usos no tiene por qué llamar la atención en un texto poético de las características del R̥gveda, pero sin duda ha de tenerse en cuenta para fundamentar una propuesta etimológica. Como hemos adelantado arriba (§2), nuestra hipótesis se basa en la comparación con uno de los textos más fascinantes que nos ha llegado de la tradición hitita, concretamente KUB 43.60+ (perteneciente a CTH 457), llamado también “El gran camino del alma”. Una primera transcripción y traducción se debe a Watkins (1995:284–7), y ha recibido otro tratamiento más reciente por parte de A. Archi, cuya transcripción y traducción (Archi 2008:172–4) seguimos en lo esencial (resaltado nuestro):

- 1 [×-×-×-×-×-*a*]z **GUD-*uš* šu-up-pa-at-ta UDU-*uš***
[šu-up-pa-a]t-ta ne-pí-iš šu-up-pa-at-t[*a*]
 - 3 [KI-*aš*³ šu-up-pa-a]t-ta ul-la-a-pa ka-da-an-ki
[×-× *d*]a-an-du-ki-iš ZI-an-za
 - 5 [ku-*ua*-pí-i]it-še-pa ú-it-ta HUR.SAG-i-ku-*ua*-at-ša-an
[NI]M.LÁL-at ú-da¹-ú ša-an pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ù
 - 7 [ták-š]a-an-ni-ku¹-*ua*-<at>ša-an NIM.LÁL-at da-a-ù
[na-]at pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ù ku-i-ta
 - 9 [te-r]i-ip-pí-az-ma na-at NIM.LÁL^{MEŠ} ú-da-an-du
[na-]at pí-di-iš-ši ti-an-du NIM.LÁL te-ri-ia-aš UD-aš
 - 11 mi-i-ú-*ua*-<aš> UD-aš KASKAL-an pa-a-an-du na-pa i-ia-tar-mi-it
ú-da-an-du ták-ku a-ru-na-az-ma na-at la-*ha*-an-za
 - 13 ú-da-ú na-at-ša-an pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú
ták-ku ÍD-az-ma na-at *hu-ua*-la-aš ú-da-ú
 - 15 na-at-ša-an pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú
-
- ku-i-ta na-pí-ša-az-ma na-at ta-pa-ka-li-ia-<aš>
- 17 *ha-ra-aš*^{MUŠEN} kad¹-du-ud ú-da-ú i-la-li-an-za kad-du-uš-mi-it
ua-al-*ha*-an-za e-eš-du MÁŠ.GAL-ša-an ša-ap-pu-it
 - 19 ua-al-*ah*-du UDU.NITA-ša-an SI^{HIA}-an-da ua-al-*ah*-du
an-na-ša-an UDU-*uš* ti-it-ti-it-te-it ua-al-*ah*-du
 - 21 an-na-aš DINGIR^{LIM}-aš iš-*ha*-*ah*-ru-an-za na-aš iš-*ha*-*ah*-ru-it
ua-al-*ha*-an-za nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ku-e a-aš-šu-u
 - 23 9-an-da-aš *ha*-ap-pí-eš-na-aš še-cr *ha*-a-aš-ša-an ne
[ua-]al-*ha*-an-za e-eš-du ZI-an-za-ma i-ia-at-ni-ia-an-za
 - 25 [*ha*-ap-p]t-eš-ni-an-za nu-uš-ši-kán li-e a-ri-eš-kat-ta
-
- [Z]I-an-za-*ua*-kán u-ri-iš¹ ZI-an-za-*ua*-[k]án u-ri-iš
- 27 ku-el-*ua*-kán ZI-an-za u-ri-iš da-an-du-ki-eš-[n]a-aš-kán
ZI-an-za u-ri-iš nu ku-in KASKAL-an *har*-zi
 - 29 u-ra-an KASKAL-an *har*-zi mar-nu-*ua*-la-an KASKAL-an *har*-zi
ša-an-za-pa KASKAL-ši LÚ.KASKAL-la-aš *ha*-an-da-a-it

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- 31 *šú'-up-pí' ʰUTU-aš ZI-an-za DINGIR-na-an ZI-an-za*
da-an-du-ki-iš-na-aš ku-ua-at a-ru-ša-an pa-i-mi
33 *[d]a-a-ša-na-ta-an pa-a-mi ÍD-p[a mu]-u-ub-ḫi lu-li[-ia]*
mu-u-ub-ḫi te-na-ua-ša-an pa-i-m[i li-]e pa-i-[mi]
35 *te-e-na-ua-aš i-da-a-lu-uš ×-×[*
ú-el-lu-ua li-[
37 *ši-ú-ni-ia-[ab-*

- 1 "[...]. the **ox** is sleeping. The **sheep**
[is sleep]ing. Heaven is sleeping.
3 [Earth is sleep]ing ...
[...] the mortal soul (i.e. the soul of the mortal).
5 [Wher]e did it come for it? (If) it is on the mountain,
let the **bee** bring it and put it in its place.
7 (If) it is on the plain, let the bee bring it
and put it in its place. What is
9 from the ploughed field, let the bees bring it
and put it in its place. Let the bee(s) go a journey of three days,
11 of four days, and let them bring my plenty.
If it is from the sea, let the (migratory) *lahanza-duck*
13 bring it and put in its place.
But if it is from the river, let the **swan**(?) bring it
15 and put it in its place.

-
- But whatever is from the sky, let the hare-grabbing(?)
17 **eagle** bring in (his) offenses (i.e. talons). Let the desired one be
struck with their offenses (i.e. talons). Let the **he-goat** strike her
19 with his *sappu*-horns. Let the **ram** strike her with his horns.
Let the **mother-sheep** strike her with her nose.
21 The Mother-goddess is tearful. She is struck
with tears. Whatever good things
23 are opened over the nine body parts,
let her be struck (with regard to) them. The soul is thriving,
25 with (all) its parts. Let no oracle be taken for it!
-

- "The soul is great! The soul is great!"
27 "Whose soul is great?" "The mortal's
soul is great!" "What **road** does it have?"
29 "It has the **great road**. It has **the road that makes things disappear.**"
The man of the **road** (i.e. the psychopompos?) has got it ready for the **road**.
31 A holy thing of the Sun-goddess (of the Earth) is the soul. To the gods belongs the
soul.
"Why should I go to the perdition of the mortal?"

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- 33 Should I go to the *dāsanata*? I will fall into the river. I will fall
into the pool. Should I go to the *tenawa*? Let me not go!
35 The *tenawa* is evil ... [
to the meadow let [me] trav[el quickly
37 [Let me not (?) be] struck down by a god [...]"]

3.1. Como han hecho notar ya varios autores, el texto abunda en motivos típicamente hittitas como la búsqueda que se le encarga a la abeja (líneas 6–9) y al pato *lahhanza* (l. 12) —ave mencionada también en el ritual funerario real— y la mención del mar (en la misma l. 12). No cabe duda de su arcaísmo (cf. Watkins 1995:284: “The Hittite text is a late copy, but the language of the archetype is clearly Old Hittite, and evidently caused difficulty for the later scribe”), y su llamativo paralelismo con las fórmulas órficas (la *iepa ôdós* o “camino sagrado”) también ha sido puesto de relieve por Watkins. Los aspectos que nos interesa ahora poner de relieve con relación a la tradición india antigua son principalmente los siguientes: 1) La **función de los animales** mencionados en las ll. 17–20 (águila, macho cabrío, carnero y oveja madre) en el trance de abandonar el alma el mundo de los vivos; y 2) La definición del “camino del alma” como “**el camino que hace a las cosas desaparecer**” (*the road that makes things disappear*), hit. *mar-nu-ua-la-an* KASKAL-*an*. Sobre el primero de ellos (1) creemos que los comentarios de Archi (2008:174) en el sentido de “man’s ecosystem as exemplified by the goat, the ram and the mother sheep” o (Archi 2008:185) “[w]ith their strikes or hits, these animals, representing nature, want to force the soul to leave the land of the living to which it no longer belongs” pueden complementarse con otra perspectiva, a la que aludiremos seguidamente. Sobre (2), “el camino de la desaparición”: es muy probable que el epíteto *marnuuala-* aplicado al “gran camino” del alma sea un derivado del verbo *marnu-* / *mernu-* ‘hacer desaparecer’, causativo de *mer-* / *mar-* ‘desaparecer; perderse; morir’ (cf. lat. *morior* etc.).

4. Combinando estos elementos creemos que es posible proponer una etimología indoeuropea para ia. *mrgá-* ‘bestia salvaje’. Teniendo en cuenta la semántica más antigua reconstruible para la raíz **mer-* (“desaparecer”), podríamos hallarnos ante un antiguo compuesto radical (tematizado) **mṛ-gʷ(h₂)-ó-* ‘que camina en la oscuridad’ (‘one who goes through the obscurity’), que habría derivado a su vez de un hipotético **m(e)r-gʷ(e)h₂-* ‘el camino de la desaparición’, ‘where one goes to disappear, to the obscurity’ ← ‘disappearing way’, ‘black way’, **Wildpfad*’ (cf. *mārga-* ‘camino, senda, pista; método’). Por supuesto, no es fácil admitir la posibilidad de esta etimología, a no ser que tengamos presentes las concepciones chamánicas que también forman parte de la tradición védica, y que han sido puestas de relieve por parte de diversos autores en fechas relativamente recientes.⁴ Características chamánicas presentes en el veda serían, por ejemplo, el “journey to heaven or to the yonder world” y “the existence and appearance of assistant spirits (often theriomorphic), who appoint the shaman or accompany him on his journey and protect him” (Deeg 1993:96). La cosmología del *axis mundi*—una montaña, un árbol, una liana—que constituye el punto de contacto entre el Cielo y la Tierra una vez que se ha consumado su separación, sirve de base

⁴Por ejemplo, Deeg 1993 y Thompson 2003.

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a la concepción del chamán como “especialista del éxtasis”, como aquel hombre capaz de emprender viajes místicos en todas las regiones cósmicas, ejerciendo a la vez de curandero, psicopompo y visionario (Eliade 1991:59). El chamán invoca a los espíritus auxiliares, la mayoría de las veces animales, y dialoga con ellos en un *lenguaje secreto*. A este lenguaje se le denomina a veces el *lenguaje de los animales*. Mediante su intimidad con los animales logra el chamán el abandono de su cuerpo y puede emprender así su viaje místico al Cielo o a los Infernos. Su ascensión se realiza por medio de un árbol o de un poste que simbolizan el Árbol o el Pilar cósmicos. Esa ascensión celeste por medio de un árbol—un álamo blanco—se ilustra claramente en la ceremonia iniciática de los chamanes buriatos. El candidato trepa a un álamo blanco que se encuentra en el interior de una morada subterránea, alcanza la copa y sale por el agujero del humo. Esa abertura superior está asimilada al “agujero” que hace la Estrella Polar en la bóveda celeste: en algunos pueblos, el poste de la tienda es el *Pilar del Cielo* y se identifica con la Estrella Polar. El chamán, en su éxtasis, vuelve a conquistar la amistad con los animales, y mediante su *vuelo* o su ascensión, reúne la Tierra con el Cielo (Eliade 1991:65); esta función *liminar* o de “puente” que desempeñan los animales es la que puede estar presente en el texto hitita del “Gran camino del alma”: el águila, el macho cabrío y el carnero, animales “chamánicos” y “numinosos”. Pero ese Árbol Cósmico por el que trepa el chamán, que se encuentra en el centro del mundo y en cuyo extremo brilla la Estrella Polar, nos remite de nuevo al contexto zoomórfico precisamente porque la bóveda celeste se encuentra poblada de animales *numinosos*, resultado de la proyección de las figuras animales que poblaban las bóvedas de las cavernas en el paleolítico y el mesolítico (Bueno 1996:268). Este simbolismo del Árbol Cósmico asociado a los animales podría explicar por qué en la “invocación a los árboles” del *Ritual para la construcción de un nuevo palacio* (CTH 414, KUB 29.1 + i 28–31) se alude al león, al leopardo y al oso.⁵ La mención al oso, que trepa *sobre* los árboles, podría entenderse mejor como referencia a su plasmación estelar, la misma constelación boreal de los “osos” védicos o la “osa” griega, que remontan probablemente a una concepción común indoeuropea.⁶

5. Podemos ahora volver sobre los testimonios de *mrgá-* expuestos en §2 con una nueva mirada, no sin mencionar que también esta denominación zoológica se refleja en la bóveda celeste de la India clásica a través de diversos nombres de *nakṣatra* o constelaciones,⁷ apa-

⁵*ne-pí-ša-aš kat-ta-an ú-li-lí-iš-ki-id-du-ma-at* UR.MAH-aš<-ma-aš> / (29) *kat-ta-an še-eš-ki-it* PÌRIG.TUR-aš-ma-aš *kat-ta-an še-eš-ki-it har-tág-ga-aš-ma-aš-ma-aš* / *ša-ra-a ar-ki-iš-ki-it-ta nu-uš-ma-aš-za* ¹⁰*U ad-da-aš-mi-iš* / (31) *pa-ra-a i-da-a-lu zi-ik-ki-it* “¡Verdecé bajo el cielo! El león ha dormido bajo (vosotros), el leopardo ha dormido bajo vosotros, mas el oso ha trepado sobre vosotros. El dios de la Tempestad, mi padre, ha mantenido el mal lejos de vosotros.”

⁶“Die Bären: Unser Sternbild des Großen Bären muß der idg. Urzeit wegen der, freilich nur teilweisen, Übereinstimmung zwischen der ai. Bezeichnung *ṛkṣāḥ* m. pl. ‚die Bären‘, RV 1.24.10, Śat[apatha].Br[āhmaṇa]. 2.1.2.4, Taitt[īrīya].Ār[anyaka]. 1.11.2 und gr. ῥ ἄρκτος ‚die Bärin‘, seit Homer Σ (*Il.* 18) 487, ε (*Od.* 5) 273, in einer ähnlichen Vorstellung geläufig gewesen sein. Den Römern ist das Bild einer Bärin am Himmel erst durch die Griechen zugekommen: zuerst begegnete als Fremdwort *arctus* in der Aratea Ciceros, bei Ovid dann die Lehnübersetzung *ursa* [...]. Die Konstellation gemahnt zwar nicht besonders an einen Bären, aber auch nordamerikanische Jäger sehen in dem Sternbild dieses Tier [...]; das beweist, daß die Gedanken eines Jägervolkes, die auf den Bären als vornehmstes Jagdwild gerichtet sind, einen solchen darin finden können. Das idg. Bärensternbild wird also schon deshalb aus dem Norden mitgebracht worden sein, weil im Süden, besonders in Indien, der Bär als Jagdwild durchaus keine so bedeutende Rolle mehr spielen konnte, daß es verständlich wäre, warum das auffälligste Sternbild von der Phantasie gerade mit ihm in Verbindung gebracht wurde” (Scherer 1953:131).

⁷Scherer 1953:155: “Nakṣatra-Name: *mrga-śiras-* n. (A[tharva]V[eda] 19.7.2 +), *mrga-śiṣā-* n. (Taitt[īrīya].S[āṃhitā]

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reciendo así como resultado de una antigua consideración *numinosa*, al menos en la prehistoria. El caso es que muchas de estas menciones de *mrgá-* se nos presentan ahora como insertadas en un contexto *liminal*, con alusiones a su (¿chamánica?) condición de “puente” o de “elemento de transición” entre dos mundos. Así, el texto (1) menciona el “camino de Yama” (*pathā yamāsya*) junto al “animal salvaje”; en (2) se invoca a las dos “mitades del mundo” (*vittām me asyā rodasī*: “tomad en consideración esto [que os digo], vosotras las dos mitades del mundo”, que se repite a lo largo de todo el himno);⁸ en (3) también se alude a que la palabra de Brhaspati “se mueve veloz en el cielo y en la tierra” (*divīyate prthivīyām*) y sus misiles (palabras) “van a los cielos de artimañas serpentina” (*yānti ... āhimāyāñ abhī dyūn*); en (4) Varuṇa, en calidad de poderoso *mrgá-*, “toma la medida del espacio aéreo” (*rājaso vimānaḥ*) y “su soberanía ofrece un buen vado” (*supārākṣatraḥ*); en (7) es Indra el *mrgá-* que ha “llegado desde la más lejana distancia” (*parāvāta ā jaganthā pārasyaḥ*). No sorprende, por tanto, que el término pueda utilizarse sin problemas para calificar o denotar a Vṛtra (8–12) o a Agni (13–4), seres liminales ambos, ya sea en calidad de “obstáculo” para las aguas o de “mensajero” de los dioses y transportador de las ofrendas a la morada celeste. La etimología propuesta podría servir para armonizar también con facilidad el significado de “pájaro” o “ave”, típico animal chamánico cuya mención en (17), el “himno del melenudo” (10.136), no puede estar más justificada, pues se trata de una típica descripción del “vuelo chamánico” de quien “se mueve a la altura de las Apsaras, los Gandharvas y los pájaros” (*apsarāsām gandharvānām / mrgānām cāraṇe cāran*); en (15) puede haber una alusión indirecta al “árbol cósmico” al que Bhujyu, el hijo de Tugra, se asió “agarrándose a sus hojas como a las plumas de un pájaro salvaje en vuelo” (*parṇā mrgāsya patārora ivārābha*). Incluso el contexto final del extraño himno del mono Vṛṣākapi (19) remite a una situación de rito de paso hacia la muerte (10.86.21): [Indrāṇī] “Come here again, Vṛṣākapi. We two will arrange easy passages (for you), / who, as sleep-destroyer [/-attainer], go home again (to death) along the path.” / 10.86.22: “When, o Vṛṣākapi, o Indra, you (all) went upward toward home, where was this beast of many misdeeds, to whom did the effacer of men go?”

6. En conclusión, nos parece posible defender una etimología indoeuropea para *mrgá-* en el sentido de **mṛ-gʷ(h₂)-ó-* ‘que camina en la oscuridad’ o ‘que transita el camino oculto’⁹ (cf. §4), que por una parte puede dar cuenta sin demasiados problemas de todo el rango

4.4.10.1, Taitt[irīya].Br[āhmaṇa] 3.1.1.3, Śat[apatha].Br[āhmaṇa] 2.1.2.8, Bh[agavata]P[urāṇa] 5.23.6), *mrga-śira-* n. (Jyot[īṣa] 38), *-śirā-* f. und *-śiṣan-* n. (Lex.) ‘Haupt eines Wildes, Gazellenhaupt’, die Sterne λ φ φ² im Haupt Orions [...]. [A]uch *tārā-mrga-* M[ahā]bh[ārata], Rām[āyaṇa], *mrgottama-* Mbh 13.4257, *mrga-* m. (Var.).”

⁸Por cierto, al igual que el *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον* luvieta *ḫmaruḫai-* de KBo 6.29 ii 12: *nu-mu* ^DISTAR ^{URU}ša-mu-ḫa GAŠAN-IA (11) *ua-ar-ri-iš-iš-ia nu ša-ra-az-zi* (12) *kat-te-ir-ra-ia an-da ḫma-ru-ua-a-it nu ne-pi-iš* (13) *te-kān-na kat-kat-te-nu-ut* ‘und Istar, meine Herrin kam mir zu Hilfe, sie vermengte / trennte (?) Oben und Unten, sie ließ Himmel und Erde niederknien’ (HEG II/5–6 L–M:151); nos parece relevante mencionarlo porque este verbo podría tener la misma etimología que las “divinidades oscuras” ^DMarkuuaia- ‘Gottheit(en) in der Tiefe der Erde’, Dat.Pl. ^{DINGIR.MES}Mar-ku-ua-ia-[aš] KUB 54.78 Rs. 6 bzw. ^dMar-ku-ua-ia-aš KUB 7.38 Vs. 6 (HEG II/5–6 L–M:139); estas últimas podrían encontrarse, a su vez, en relación etimológica con *mrgá-*, en el sentido de “las (divinidades) que caminan en la oscuridad.”

⁹El poeta o cantor, tanto védico como indoeuropeo, era también, sin duda, un “explorador de lo oculto,” un chamán; cf. Watkins 1995:191: “A Vedic poet contemplating his own art could boast of ‘having found the hidden word like the track of the cow’ (RV 4.5.3c *padām nā gōr āpagūlham vidiḥvān*) [...]: RV 8.41.5. *yā usrānām apicyā veda nāmāni gūhyā / sā kavīḥ kāvya purū rūpām dyāur iva puyati* ‘He who knows the secret hidden names of the dawn cows, / he the kavi brings to flower his many poetic arts, as heaven its beauty.’”

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semántico testimoniado en el R̥gveda y en la literatura posterior,¹⁰ y por otra se trataría de la contraparte de *svargá-* (*suvar^o*) m. ‘cielo’ (RV [10.95.18] +), *svargá-* (AV +), *svargyā-* (YV +) ‘celeste’, en el sentido de *svaṛ-gā-* (**sub₂el-g^uh₂-ó-*) ‘que va a la luz del sol’ con *svāṛ-* n. ‘sol, luz solar, cielo brillante’.¹¹ Según Janda (2005:257–86),¹² también el avéstico gático *xⁿarəmā* (y av. reciente *xⁿarənah*), así como gr. ὄλβος ‘bienaventurado’—con todas sus resonancias iniciáticas—remontarían a este último compuesto.

Abreviaturas

- EWAia = Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1992–2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. 3 tomos. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Geldner = Geldner, Karl Friedrich. 1951–7. *Der Rig-Veda. Aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- HEG = Tischler, Johann. 1983–. *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- MW = Monier-Williams, Monier. 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon.

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¹⁰Los compuestos mencionados en §1.2, *myga-jala-* n., ‘agua del ciervo’ → ‘espejismo’; *myga-tiṣ-* (etc.) ‘sed del ciervo’ → ‘espejismo, Fata Morgana’, independientemente de que su interpretación sincrónica sea la correcta, se entienden mejor si se tiene presente la “desaparición” inherente al semantema originario.

¹¹De un iir. **suHar-*/**suHan-* < IE **sub₂el-*/**sub₂en-* (cf. lat. *sōl*, gót. *sunno*, esl.ecl.a. *slonŭce* etc. ‘sol’) + *gā⁻¹* (*gam-?*) ‘ir’ (cf. también gr. ὄλβος ‘steil, schroff’ según Meier-Brügger, cit. por Janda 2005:263).

¹²aav. *xⁿarəmā* Y 51.18, jav. *xⁿarəmah-* (Yašt 19). [Der Zamyād-Yašt] unterscheidet zwei Formen des *xⁿarəmah-*, welches ‘a half-personified light phenomenon of heavenly origin, a sort of halo or nimbus’ (Humbach y Ichaporia 1998:14) bezeichnet. [...] Der Anlaut *xⁿ-* der avestischen Form kann lautgesetzlich nur aus uriir. **sy-* entstanden sein; er läßt sich nicht regelhaft mit dem *f⁻* der anderen ir. Sprachen vereinbaren. Die [...] wahrscheinlichste Deutung hat schon Skjærvo (1983) aufgezeigt: In uriir. **huarnab-* [...] fand eine Dissimilation *hy* > *f* zu **farnab-* [...] statt. [...] Das uriir. Transponat ist also als **suarnas-* anzusetzen. Daß mit ved. *svāṛṇara-* ein lautlich nahestehendes Wort auch im indischen Zweig des iir. belegt ist, hilft freilich zunächst nicht weiter, weil weder Bedeutung noch Wortbildung von *svāṛṇara-* klar sind [...]. Nicht nur die lautliche Nähe zum ‘Sonnen’-Wort, sondern auch die Bedeutung(skomponente) ‘Glück’ rückt *xⁿarəmah-* in die unmittelbare Nähe von *svargá-* und ὄλβος (Janda 2005:275–8); [...] *svargá-* ‘wo man zur Sonne kommt’ (= die Milchstraße) kann aus **[b₂]uel-g^uh₂-o-* oder **[b₂]uol-g^uh₂-o-* entstanden sein [...]. Der lautgesetzliche Reflex von **uol-g^uh₂-o-* aber mußte in einem psilotischen Dialekt wie dem Ostionischen, der dem Epos wesentlich zugrunde liegt, ὄλβος lauten und ist so auch bezeugt” (Janda 2005:261 f.).

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vi-leś/liś, vi-riṣ und die Verstauchung des Opfers*

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1. In den späteren Texten der Atharvaveda-Schule kommen einige Formen mit *vi-riṣ* vor, dessen Bedeutung und Wurzel-Zugehörigkeit nicht geklärt sind:¹ Präs. Akt. Part. *vi-riṣyant-* Kauśikasūtra [KauśSū] LIX 28, LXXII 30 (s. §9), Med. *vi-riṣyate*, °*yante* Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa [GopB] I 1,13:11,1–5, II 2,5:169,17^v (s. §§7, 7.3, 8), Aor. 2. Sg. *mā vyarīṣas* Vaitānasūtra [VaitSū] XIX 18^m (s. §10) und Aor. Med. 1. Sg. *mā virikṣi* KauśSū CXVII 2^m (s. §7.2).

2. Die Verbindung mit dem Präv. *vi* ist bei der Wz. *reṣ/riṣ* ‘zu Schaden kommen, Schaden nehmen’ (Präs. *riṣya-ti*)² nicht bekannt (vgl. allerdings u. §9 wegen pw). Hingegen ist *vi-liś* von der Wz. *riś, leś/liś* ‘(heraus)reißen, rupfen’ eine gewöhnliche Kombination.

2.1. Das Präs. *vi-/...liśa-te* wird in der Bedeutung ‘fehltreten, Verstauchung, Zerrung oder Verrenkung erleiden’ gebraucht:

TS II 6,5,6^P

vī vā etād yājamāno liśate yāt prastarām yoyupyānte. barhīr ānu prā harati. śāntyai

“Wenn sie das *prastara* (ein auf dem *barhiṣ*, der das Feuer umstreuten Opferstreu aus Darbha-Gras, zu legendes Bündel der Darbha-Gräser) verwischen (unbemerkt machen), tritt fürwahr der Yajamāna damit fehl (bei seinem Himmelsgehen). Er (der Agnidh-Priester) wirft [das *prastara*] entlang dem *barhiṣ* fort. [Es dient] zur Stillung.”

TS VI 2,5,1^P

yād vā ānīśāno bhārām ādatté vī vāi sá liśate

*Abkürzungen: AB = Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa; Aor. = Aorist; AV = Atharvaveda; AVP = Atharvaveda-Paippalāda; AVP-Or. = AVP in der Orissa-Überlieferung (ediert); BĀU = Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad; Br = Brāhmaṇa, Br. = Brāhmaṇas; ChU = Chāndogya-Upaniṣad; GopB = Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa s. Gastra 1919, Mitra und Vidyābhushaṇa 1872; GṛSū(.) = Gṛhyasūtra(s); Inj. = Injunktiv; Instr. = Instrumental; Iptv. = Imperativ; JB = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa; JUB = Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa; KauśSū = Kauśikasūtra; KB = Kauśitaki-Brāhmaṇa; KS = Kaṭha-Saṁhitā; KpS = Kapiṣṭhalakāṭha-Saṁhitā; □^m = *mantra*; MS = Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā; □^P = Prosa (“*brāhmaṇa*”); Part. = Partizip; Pf. = Perfekt; Präs. = Präsens; Präv. = Präverb; pw = “(kleines) Petersburger Wörterbuch” (Böhtlingk 1879–89); RV = Ṛgveda; ŚB = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa; ŚBK = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva-Rezension; TĀ = Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka; TS = Taittirīya-Saṁhitā; □^v = nicht-ritueller Vers (“śloka”, “gāthā”); Up = Upaniṣad; VaitSū = Vaitānasūtra; VAdj. = Verbaladjektiv; VS = Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā; Wz. = Wurzel.

¹Die Formen werden von Kulikov (2012:609–11) zu *reṣ/riṣ* “be hurt, injured; injure” gestellt.

²Belegt: RV, AV, YS^m, Br., ChU, BĀU, TĀ^m, ŚrSū.^m, GṛSū.^m, Yāska, Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa, Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. Vgl. Kulikov 2012:609–11.

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“wenn ein Unfähiger die Last nimmt, erleidet er eine Verstauchung (Verrenkung, Zerrung).”³

ŚB IV 4,3,13 (~ ŚBK V 5,1,12)

yāthā vāi yuktó váhed evám eté yá ārtvijyam kurvāntiy. utá vāi yuktáḥ kṣaṇuté vā ví vā lisáte. śāntir āpo. bheṣajām tād. yád evātra kṣaṇvāte vā ví vā lisānte śāntir āpas

“Wie fürwahr ein gejohtes [Tier] ziehen dürfte, so sind diese, die das Priesteramt ausüben. Und ein gejohtes [Tier] fürwahr verletzt sich oder erleidet eine Zerrung (Verstauchung, Verrenkung). Die Wasser sind die Stillung. Sie sind das Arzneimittel. Eben wenn sie hier (im Opferritual) sich verletzt oder eine Zerrung erleiden, sind die Wasser die Stillung [dafür].”⁴

ŚB IV 6,1,6.8

āthāsyaṁ hīraṇyam baddhām bhavati. | tād upajighrati. sá yád evātra kṣaṇuté vā ví vā lisáte ’mṛtam āyur hīraṇyam tād amṛtam āyur ātmán dhatte ||

“Dann kommt Gold in ihr (dem Opferlöfel) gebunden vor. Das beschnüffelt er. Eben wenn er hier (im Opferritual) sich verletzt oder eine Zerrung erleidet,—die Unsterblichkeit, Lebenskraft ist Gold—legt er damit die Unsterblichkeit, Lebenskraft in sich selbst.”

Hierfür kommt in der Kāṇva-Rezension das aktive *ví...lisāti* in der facientiv-transitiven Bedeutung ‘Verstauchung, Zerrung, Verrenkung verursachen’ vor:

ŚBK V 8,1,8

ātha hīraṇyam abhīryanīti. āyur vā amṛtam hīraṇyam. sá yád etāsya prāṇāsya prajāpateḥ prāṇan vodānan vā ví vā lisāti kṣaṇóti vāyur vā amṛtam hīraṇyam tād evāsyāyusāmṛtena sāmādhātī. tāt chamayati. tāsmād dhīraṇyam abhīryanīti

“Dann behaucht er Gold. Die Lebenskraft, die Unsterblichkeit ist fürwahr Gold. Wenn er [einem Teil] dieses Atems von Prajāpati, einatmend oder herausatmend, eine Zerrung verursacht oder [einen Teil] verletzt,—die Lebenskraft, Unsterblichkeit ist fürwahr Gold—fügt er eben damit seinen [Atem] mit Lebenskraft, Unsterblichkeit zusammen. Damit stillt er. Deshalb behaucht er Gold.”

2.2. Das Akt. *ví-/...lisā-ti* ‘Verstauchung, Zerrung, Verrenkung verursachen’ ist nur im ŚBK bezeugt, außer der angeführten Stelle noch:

ŚBK VII 1,2,8

ātha yád āparāḥ pāñca juhóti. vívrhantīva vā etád agnīm vīva lisānti yád enam pāñcadhā vyūbhanti. sa yád evá tátṛāgnér ví vā lisāti kṣaṇóti vā tād evāsyaitābhir āhutibhir bhiṣajyāti. tāt sāmādhātī. tāt chamayati. tāsmād etá āparāḥ pāñca juhoti

“Dann in bezug darauf, daß man weitere fünf [Darbringungen] darbringt. Gerade zerreißen sie fürwahr das Feuer hiermit, verursachen sie [ihm] eine Zerrung, wenn

³Keith 1914:506 “If a weak man take up a burden, he breaks up into pieces.”

⁴Eggeling 1885:373–4 “For even as a yoked (animal) draws, so do they who perform the priestly duties. But the yoked (animal) galls or scratches itself; and the water is a means of soothing, a medicine: thus wherever in this (sacrifice) they gall or scratch themselves—water being a means of soothing—they soothe by that means of soothing, water; they heal it by water.”

man ihn (das Āhavanīya-Feuer) fünffach auseinanderschiebt. Eben das vom Feuer, welchem man dabei eine Zerrung verursacht oder [welches] verletzt, heilt man eben das von ihm mit diesen Darbringungen. Das fügt man zusammen. Das stillt man. Deshalb bringt man diese weitere fünf [Darbringungen]” (~ ŚB V 2,4,8 *ṣaṇvānti vā etād agnēr vīrṣhanti yāt pañcadhāhavanīyaṃ vyūhanti*).

ŚBK V 6,5,8

tām etād vīrṣhati vīlīṣati yād enām tredhā vyūhanti. tām evaitāt sāmādhātī

“Wenn man sie (das Metrum Virāj) in drei auseinanderschiebt, zerreiβt man sie hiermit, verursacht [ihr] eine Zerrung. Eben sie fügt man hiermit zusammen (als Folge)” (~ ŚB IV 5,8,12 bloß mit *vī*... *vṣhanti*).

ŚBK IV 3,1,6

ātha tātrāpa upanīnāyati. yād evāsyāḥ parilikhānto vollikhānto vā vī vā līṣānti ṣaṇvānti vāpo vai bheṣajān śāntis. tād adbhīḥ śāntiā samāyati. tād adbhīḥ sāmādhātī

“Dann bringt man dabei die Wasser heran. Eben das von ihr (der Erde), welchem sie (die Priester), herumritzend oder herausritzend, eine Zerrung verursachen oder [welches] verletzen, sind die Wasser das Arzneimittel, die Stillung [dafür]. Das heilt man mit den Wassern als die Stillung. Das fügt man zusammen” (~ ŚB III 3,1,7 *krūrīkurvānty apaghñānti* “fügen blutige Wunde zu, beschädigen”). Ähnliches IV 6,1,18 (~ ŚB III 6,1,19).

2.3. Hierzu gehört der iṣ-Aor. 1. Sg. Med. *vy-āleśiṣi*.⁵ TB I 5,11,2^P *saptadaśēna bṛiyāmāṇo vyāleśiṣi | bhiṣājyata* (so akzentuiert) *mā* “Als ich mit dem aus siebzehn bestehenden [Stoma] transportiert wurde, habe ich [gerade] eine Zerrung (Verstauchung, Verrenkung) erlitten. Heilet mich!”

Der Aor. der 3. Sg. Med. *vy-aliṣṭa* ChāgaleyaUp 7 (bzw. 6) dürfte sich hierzu stellen: *taṃ yadāvasāyāśvāṃs takṣāpohyāpāgād ātha vyalīṣṭa | adīdṛṣat | katham iveti | te hocur yathaitaṃ kṣāṭhabhāram ānaddham anupaśyāmas. tathāivāvaśo bhūsthaḥ spandate | neṅgate na vivartate na ca vīta iti* ‘Sobald der Zimmermann ihn (den Streitwagen) losgebunden hat, die Pferde weggebracht hat und weggegangen ist, dann hat [der Streitwagen] eine Verrenkung erlitten. [Der Ṛṣi] hat [sie es] sehen lassen. [Er sagte:] ‘Wie [sieht es aus]?’ Sie sagten: ‘Wie eine angebundene Holzmasse nehmen wir diesen (den Wagen) wahr. Genauso zuckt er willenlos am Ort stehend. Er bewegt sich nicht, dreht sich nicht, und folgt dem Weg⁶ nicht.’” Es handelt sich um einen ausgespannten, vom Lenker (“Zimmermann”?) verlassenen Streitwagen, der sich nicht mehr bewegt und wie nur ein Haufen der angebundenen Holzstücke aussieht. Der Zustand wird verglichen mit der Verrenkung oder Verstauchung.⁷ Diese spät bezeugte Form weist kaum auf die reale Existenz eines athemat. Wz.-Aor., sondern dürfte unmittelbar aus dem VAdj. *vīliṣṭa-* gebildet sein, etwa nach *kṛtā-* :: *akṛta*, *matā-* :: *āmata* = *vīliṣṭa-* :: *vyalīṣṭa*.

⁵Vgl. Narten 1964:229 (“ich wurde zerrissen”).

⁶*vīte* läßt sich hier als eine gewaltsame Medialform von *veti* nach *ingate*, *vivartate* auffassen, vgl. Renou 1959:11 n. 27. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre, *na ca vītas* ‘nicht [rollt, fährt o. ä.] von hier weg’ zu interpretieren.

⁷Kaum “se désagrègea” (Renou 1959:10 mit n. 25) bzw. “to tumble down” (Renou 1957:130). Seine Konjektur zu den Zeilen 65–6 (: 6,2–3) ist weder nötig noch überzeugend.

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3. Die Wz. *riś* und ihre *l*-Variante *leś/liś* werden im Simplex oder mit Präv. *ā* vom Grasen der Kühe bzw. Tiere gebraucht. Die Bedeutung wie ‘grasen’ läßt sich aus ‘rupfen’ bzw. ‘heraus (*ā*)-rupfen, -beißen, -kauen’ erklären, vgl. u. §4.

3.1. Das Simplex liegt allein im femininen Part. des aktiven Präs. *riśāntī-* vor: RV VI 28,7ab *prajāvatīḥ sūyāvasam riśāntīḥ* | *śuddhā apāḥ suprapāṇē pibantīḥ* ‘Nachkommenschaft habend, weidenreiches Land rupfend (grasend), reine Wasser am guten Trunk gewährenden Ort trinkend’ (von den Kühen).

3.2. Sonst kommen die Formen von *ā-riś* oder *-liś* im med. Präs. vor:

Iptv. *ā-riśantām* in RV X 169,1bc *ūrjasvatīr ṣadhbīr ā riśantām* | *pīvasvatīr jīvādhanyāḥ pibantu* ‘Sie (die Kühe) sollen die nahrhaften Pflanzen herauskauen! Sie sollen die fetthaltigen, am lebendigen Schatz reichen [Wasser] trinken!’

Ind. *ā-riśāmahe* in RV I 187,8 *yād apām ṣadhbīr ām* | *parimśām āriśāmahe* | *vātāpe pīva id bhava* ‘Wenn wir den Gehalt der Wasser, der Pflanzen herrupfen, werde, du Kamerad des Vāta (des Windes), ja zu Speck!’ (Annastuti, Witzel und Gotō 2007:340).

In der vedischen Prosa findet sich das Ip. *āliśanta* (*ā-alīśanta*): MS I 8,4^p:120,12 *ṣadhbīr vā imā rudrā viśenānjams. tāḥ paśāvo nāliśanta* ‘Die Pflanzen hier bestrichen die Rudras mit Gift. Sie kauen die Tiere nicht heraus (grasten nicht)’ ~ KS VI 5^p:53,12 = KpS IV 4^p:248,8 *rudra ṣadhbīr viśenālimpat. tāḥ paśāvo nāliśanta*. Die Lautfolge *nāliśanta* kann zwar auch als *nā* + *aliśanta* aufgefaßt werden, aber ŚBK I 3,2,2 *nā paśāva āliśanta* bestätigt die Interpretation als Kompositum mit *ā-*, s. den nächsten Abschnitt.

3.3. Das Pf. *ā-liliśire* ist in ŚB II 4,3,2 bezeugt: *devās ca vā āsurās cobhāye prajāpatyāḥ pasprādhire. tāto ’surā ubhāyīr ṣadhbīr yās ca manuṣyā upajīvanti yās ca paśāvalḥ kṛtyāyeva tvad viśeneva tvat prālilipur. utāivām cid devān abhībhavemēti. tāto nā manuṣyā āśūr. nā paśāva āliliśire. tā hemāḥ prajā ānāsakena nōt pārābabbhūvuh* ‘Die Götter und die Asuras, beide Nachkommen des Prajāpati, gerieten in Wetteifern. Dabei beschmierten die Asuras die beiden Pflanzen, von denen die Menschen leben, und, von denen die Tiere [leben], einmal gerade mit Zauber ein andermal gerade mit Gift. Und zwar [im Gedanken] ‘So auf jeden Fall möchten wir den Göttern überlegen werden.’ Deshalb aßen die Menschen nicht, grasten die Tieren nicht. So ging diese Geschöpfe hier durch Fehlen des Eßbaren beinahe zugrunde.’ Die Parallele ŚBK I 3,2,2 hat das Ip. *nā paśāva āliśanta. nā manuṣyā āśnan*.

3.4. Zur Wz. *riś*, *leś/liś* gehören weiterhin *an-ā-leśā-* TS V 1,5,5^p ‘(das nicht auf die Weide Gehen,“ pw IV 292), *riśādas-* RV, AVP ‘Speise rupfend’ (etwa im Sinne von ‘wählerisch’)” (Hoffmann 1975–6:II 564 n. 16; von den Göttern).

4. Die beiden Bedeutungen, ‘rupfen, grasen; (*ā-*) herausbeißen, -kauen’ und (*vi-*) ‘Verstauchung, Zerrung, Verrenkung verursachen’ lassen sich aus einer Grundbedeutung etwa ‘zerren, reißen, rupfen’ hergeleitet werden.⁸ Dann erklärt sich die fientiv-intransitive Bedeutung der Medialformen ‘Verstauchung, Zerrung, Verrenkung erleiden’ aus dem ursprünglichen direkt-reflexiven Medium.

5. Das VAdj. *vi-liśta-* bzw. *vi-riśta-* kommt in der Bedeutung ‘gezerrt’ vor, z. B. JB III 295:10

⁸Vgl. Mayrhofer 1996:461, s. v. *reś* (veröffentlicht 1994): ‘abreißen, abrupfen, abweiden, abgrasen’. Er setzt in Berücksichtigung von gr. *ἐρείκω* ‘zerbreche, zerreiße’ uridg. **(h₁)reik* an.

vi-leś | liś,vi-riṣ und die Verstauchung des Opfers

sā kakubh abravīd viliṣṭā vā aham asmīti “Da sagte (das Metrum) *kakubh*: ‘Gezerzt fürwahr bin ich.’”

Meistens wird es im n. Sg. in der Bedeutung ‘Gezerztes, Verstauchtes’, also ‘Verstauchung, Zerrung, Verrenkung’ verwendet:

(1) *vī-liṣṭa-* VS-TS-TĀ-KS-KpS-KaṭhaĀraṇyaka-ŚāṅkhāyanaŚrSū^m (~ AV-MS *vī-riṣṭa-*),⁹ VS-VSK-TS-KSAśvam^m,¹⁰ TS^m,¹¹ TS^p (s. u. 6.), KB, JB, ŚB, (z. d. St. im Bau-dhāyanaŚrSū, KātyāyanaŚrSū s. Anm. 18, Anm. 20); *viliṣṭa-bheṣaja-* ‘Arzneimittel für die Verrenkung’ AVP (Kashmir) XX 25,8.

(2) *vī-riṣṭa-* AV-MS^m (~ *vī-liṣṭa-* VS u.a., s. Anm. 9), AV VII 57,1,¹² AVP-Or. II 39,4 (= VaitSū XXIV 1), IV 15,6,7,¹³ ChU (s. u. §6.1), Atharva-Prāyaścittāni I 5, III 8; *vīriṣṭa-samdhāna-* ‘das Zusammenfügen, Einrichten der Verrenkung’ VaitSū XLIII 45.

5.1. Das Simplex *riṣṭa-* kann zwar als ‘gezerzt, verstaucht’ (zu *riś*) interpretiert werden, aber dürfte eher als ‘beschädigt; Beschädigung’ zu *reṣ/riṣ* ‘zu Schaden kommen, Schaden nehmen’ gestellt werden:

AV IV 12,2 *yāt te riṣṭām yāt te dyuttām* | *āsti peṣṭram ta ātmāni* | *dhātā tād bhadrayā pūnaḥ* | *sām dadhat pāruṣā pāruḥ* “Wenn dir ein gezerztes/beschädigtes, wenn dir ein geblitztes (d. h. akut schmerzendes) Schenkelstück¹⁴ existiert in deinem Körper, das soll Dhātā mit einer segensreichen [Arzneipflanze] wieder zusammenfügen Gelenk mit Gelenk.” Es handelt sich um ein bekanntes Lied für die Heilung eines Knochenbruchs. Auch die Lesung der Parallele AVP-Or. IV 15,5 *śūṇam* ‘zerbrochen’ statt *riṣṭam* deutet auf *reṣ/riṣ* hin.

AVP-Or. VIII 8,4 (cd auch in XIX 7,9) *yad aṅgair apasismiṣe* | *yac chīrṣṇā yac ca pṛṣṭibhiḥ* | *āpas tat sarvaṃ niṣkaran* | *taṣṭā riṣṭam ivānasah* “Wenn du an den Gliedern aus den Fugen ge-lächelt hast,¹⁵ wenn am Kopf, und wenn an den Rippen, sollen die Wasser all das beseitigen, wie ein Zimmermann die Beschädigung eines Karrens.”

ŚB XII 4,1,5,8 *yād vāi yajñāsya riṣṭām yād aśāntām āpo vāi tāsya sārvasya śāntir. adbhīr evāi-nat tāt chāntyā samayati* “Wenn fürwahr eine Beschädigung des Opfers, wenn ein Ungestill-

⁹VS II 24, VIII 14,16 *ānumārṣtu tamivō yād viliṣṭam* “Er (Tvāṣṭar) soll entlang den Körpern streifen (massagieren), wenn eine Zerrung vorhanden ist,” weiterhin VSK, ŚB; TS I 4,44,2(c), TĀ II 4,1; ~ *ānu no mārṣtu tamvō yād viliṣṭam* KS IV 12:37,4, KpS III 10, KaṭhaĀraṇyaka I 198,4, ŚāṅkhāyanaŚrSū IV 1,6. Die Parallele mit r-Form: *ānu no mārṣtu tamvō yād vīriṣṭam* AV VI 53,3, MS I 3,38:44,9, IV 14,17:247,5.

¹⁰VS XXIII 41, VSK XXV 8,3, TS V 2,12,1, KS-Aśvamedha V 10,6 *viliṣṭam sūdayantu te* “Die Zerrung von dir (: des Opferpferdes) sollen sie in Ordnung bringen!”

¹¹TS IV 1,4,1^m: *vī-liṣṭa-* wird vom Herzen gesagt, dafür *vīkastam* ‘zerbrochen’ MS II 7,4:78,7, KS XVI 4:224,1, VS XI 39.

¹²AV VII 57,1cd *yād ātmāni tan vō me vīriṣṭam* | *sārasvatī tādā pṛṇad ghytena* “wenn es im Rumpf meines Körpers eine Zerrung gibt, soll dann Sarasvatī mit zerlassener Butter erfüllen.” Vgl. auch Anm. 18.

¹³Z. B. IV 15,7b *sam te dhātā dadhātu tanvo vīriṣṭam* “Dhātā soll die Zerrung deines Körpers zusammenfügen!”

¹⁴Die Interpretation von *peṣṭra-* als ‘Schenkelstück’ geht auf die von AV VI 37,3 (= RVKhila V 5,18) zurück: *yō naḥ śāpād āśapataḥ* | *śāpato yās ca naḥ śāpāt* | *śūne peṣṭram vāvaksāmaṃ* | *tām pṛātyasyāmi mṛtyāve* “Wer uns fluchen wird, während wir [ihn] nicht fluchen, sowie wer uns fluchen wird, während wir [ihn] fluchen, den schmeiße ich zum Tode hin, wie ein versengtes *peṣṭra-* zu einem Hund.” *peṣṭra-* läßt sich am natürlichsten aus ‘Stampfer, Stößel’ (zu *peṣ/piṣ* ‘zerstampfen’) erklären, welches im Sinne vom Schenkelknochen (‘Keule’) gebraucht sein sollte. Das Wort kommt noch einmal vor: AVP XVII 21,1 (mit Konjektur von Barret 1936:173 und Raghu Vira 1940:260) *asṛi māṁsaṃ tvacam peṣṭram sambharaṇam aṁsān sarīram agniṣ kravyād attu* “Blut, Fleisch, Haut, Schenkel, Ligamentum(?), Schultern(?), Gerippe, [all dies] soll der Rohfleischessende Agni essen!”

¹⁵*apasismiṣe* wird hier vorläufig im Sinne etwa von ‘bist aus den Fugen geraten, wackelst’ interpretiert. *°sis°* ohne *ruki* erweckt zwar einen befremdenden Anschein (vgl. z. B. *upasiṣmiyāṇā* ‘anlächelnd’ RV, *vīsiṣmiye* ‘hatte [aus Schreck] einen Gesichtskrampf’ ŚB ŚBK JB), aber in Strophe 5 *adbhīr muñcāpasmitam*. Kashmir hat *apasasṛṣe* ‘hat hinweg berührt’(?).

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tes [vorkommt], sind fürwahr die Wasser die Stillung all dessen. Eben mit den Wassern stillt man es dabei als Stillung (als Folge).” Wegen Verstauchung des Opfers vgl. auch u. §6.¹⁶

6. Die ‘Verstauchung, Zerrung, Verrenkung’ wird auch vom Opfer gesagt:¹⁷

TS I 7,3,1^P *yád vái yajñāsya krūrām yád vilīṣṭam tād anvāhāryēṇa anvāharati* “Wenn es fürwahr eine Wunde des Opfers gibt, wenn eine Verrenkung, das holt man mit dem *anvāhārya* nach” (*anvāhārya*- ‘Nachzuholendes’ ist eine Art des Körnerbreis, der den Priestern bei den Neu- und Vollmondsopfern, *darsapūrṇamāsau*, als Lohn, *dāksinā*-, geboten wird), ebenfalls zusammen mit *yajñāsya krūrām* TS VI 6,2,1^P (dort *prīṇāti* ‘man stellt zufrieden’).¹⁸

6.1. Das Zerren des Opfers ist auch in der ChU die Rede: IV 17,4 *tad yad ṛkto riṣyēd bhūḥ svāheti gārhapatyē juhuyāt | ṛcām eva tad rasenārcām vīryenārcām yajñāsya virīṣṭam samdadhbāti* “Wenn nun vom Ṛc-Vers her etwas zu Schaden kommen sollte, sollte er in dem Gārhapatya-Feuer eine Darbringung verrichten, indem er spricht: *bhūḥ svāhā*. Durch die Essenz gerade der Ṛc-Verse, durch die Heldenkraft der Ṛc-Verse fügt man damit die Zerrung der Ṛc-Verse, des Opfers zusammen”; 5–6 ähnliches mit *yajūṣṭas*, *sāmatas*; ...¹⁹; 7–8 *tad yathā lavanēna suvarṇam samdadhyāt | suvarṇena rajatam rajatena trapu trapuṇā sīsam sīsenā loham lobhena dāru dāru carmanā evam eṣām lokānām āsām devatānām asyās trayyā vidyāyā vīryeṇa yajñāsya virīṣṭam samdadhbāti | bheṣajakṛta ha vā eṣa yajño yatraivamvid brahmā bhavati* “Wie man da mit Salz Gold zusammenfügen dürfte, mit Gold Silber, mit Silber Zinn, mit Zinn Blei, mit Blei Kupfer, mit Kupfer Holz, Holz mit Leder, so fügt man mit der Heldenkraft dieser Welten, dieser Gottheiten, dieses dreifachen Wissens die Zerrung des Opfers zusammen. Dieses Opfer ist fürwahr mit Arzneimittel behandelt, bei welchem ein so Wissender Brahman-Priester wird.”²⁰

Hier gehört *riṣyēd* ‘dürfte zu Schaden kommen’ zur Wz. *reṣ/riṣ*. Mit *vi-riṣṭa*- wird jedoch wohl ‘Verstauchung, Zerrung, Verrenkung’ gemeint; somit ist es zu *riṣ/liṣ* gehörig.²¹ Das geht aus *bheṣaja-kṛta*- ‘mit Arzneimittel behandelt’ hervor. Die Gegenmaßnahme der Verrenkung wird, wie es an den meisten Stellen von *vi-liṣṭa*-, *vi-riṣṭa*- (und auch *riṣṭā*- AV IV

¹⁶Sicher zu *reṣ/riṣ* ‘zu Schaden kommen, Schaden nehmen’ gehört *riṣṭā*- in RV I 131,7 *riṣṭam ná yāmann āpa bhūtu durmatīḥ* ‘Wie ein Unfall auf der Fahrt, soll die Mißgunst ausbleiben’, IX 112,1, JB II 306:6, ĀpastambaGṛSū, Atharvaveda-Parīṣiṣṭa, Klassisches Sanskrit, Purāṇas.; *ā-riṣṭa*- ‘unbeschädigt, unversehrt’ RV-Episches Skt., Klassisches Skt., Purāṇas. Anders Mayrhofer 1996:461, s. v. *reṣ* (veröffentlicht 1994).

¹⁷Zur Beschädigung des Opfers vgl. gleich oben ŚB XII 4,1,3.8 sowie AB- (Anm. 27, §8.2) und JUB-Stellen (Anm. 27).

¹⁸Vgl. auch *prīṇad* ‘soll erfüllen’ in Anm. 12 (AV). BaudhāyanaŚrSū XXVII 2:324,15 (*prāyāścitta*) zitiert die TS-Stelle mit ... *iti brāhmanam*. Vgl. auch Anm. 20.

¹⁹Eine Parallele findet sich AB V 34,4, dort ist nicht von der Verstauchung, Zerrung, Verrenkung des Opfers, sondern von *ārti*- ‘Unheil, Leid’ die Rede (vgl. auch Anm. 27).

²⁰Parallelen: GopB I 1,14:11,13– *tad yathā lavanēna suvarṇam samdadhyāt suvarṇena rajatam rajatena loham lobhena sīsam sīsenā trapu evam evāsyā yajñāsya virīṣṭam samdadhyate*; JUB III 17(4,3),3 *etā vai vyāhṛtayas sarvaprayāścittayah. tad yathā lavanēna suvarṇam samdadhyāt suvarṇena rajatam rajatena trapu trapuṇā lobhāyasam lobhāyasena kāṣṇāyasam kāṣṇāyasena dāru dāru ca carma ca śleṣmaṇaivam evaivam vidvāms tat sarvam bheṣajyati*; vgl. Rau 1974:30. Vgl. KātyāyanaŚrSū XXV 14,36 (*prāyāścitta*): *brahmā vilīṣṭam samdadhbātī śruteḥ* ‘aufgrund der *śruti*, in der es heißt: ‘der Brahman-Priester fügt die Zerrung zusammen.’” Vgl. auch Anm. 18.

²¹Deussen 1897:131 “das Beschädigte”, Böhrtlingk 1889:46 (Übersetzung) “den Schaden”, Senart 1930:58 “le dommage”, Morgenroth 1958:291 “einen Schaden”; Rau 1974:30 denkt mit “das Zerrissene” wohl an *riṣ*.

12,2, s. §5.1) der Fall ist, mit *saṃ-dhā* ‘zusammenfügen’ (vielleicht im Sinne von ‘einrichten’) ausgedrückt.²²

7. Mediales Präs. *vi-riṣyate*, *-riṣyante* kommt im GopB vor: I 1,13:10,15– *tad vai yajñasya viriṣtam ity ācakṣate. yajñasya viriṣtam anu yajamāno viriṣyate. yajamānasya viriṣtam anv ṛtvijo viriṣyanta. ṛtvijām viriṣtam anu dakṣiṇā viriṣyante. dakṣiṇānām viriṣtam anu yajamānaḥ putra-paśubhir viriṣyate. putrapaśūnām viriṣtam anu yajamānaḥ svargena lokena viriṣyate. svargasya lokasya viriṣtam anu tasyārdhasya yogakṣemo viriṣyate yasminn ardhe yajanta iti brāhmaṇam* “Das (der Fall der Beteiligung unfähiger Priester am Opfer) fürwahr nennen die Leute als die Zerrung des Opfers. Der Zerrung des Opfers folgend erleidet der Yajamāna eine Zerrung. Der Zerrung des Yajamāna folgend erleiden die Priester eine Zerrung. Der Zerrung der Priester folgend erleiden die Opferlöhne eine Zerrung. Der Zerrung der Opferlöhne folgend erleidet der Yajamāna von/an den Söhnen und Haustieren eine Zerrung. Der Zerrung der/von den Söhne/n und Haustiere/n folgend erleidet der Yajamāna von/an der Himmelswelt eine Zerrung. Der Zerrung der/von der Himmelswelt folgend erleidet der *yogakṣema* (der wesentliche Besitz sowohl bei der Anschirrung, d. h. der Fahrt, der wandernden Lebensperiode, als auch beim friedlichen Siedeln) desjenigen Landesteils, in welchem Landesteil die Leute für sich opfern lassen, so sagt ein Brāhmaṇa-Text.”²³

7.1. Die Konstruktion mit dem Instr. in *yajamānaḥ putrapaśubhir viriṣyate* und *svargena lokena viriṣyate* bereitet der Interpretation Schwierigkeiten. Wenn *viriṣyate* allein ‘erleidet eine Verstauchung, Zerrung’ bedeutet, läßt sich der Instr. als der der Beziehung²⁴ auffassen: ‘in bezug auf die Söhne und Haustiere, in bezug auf die Himmelswelt’ (‘an den Söhnen und Haustieren, an der Himmelswelt’). Falls in *viriṣyate* die ursprüngliche Bedeutung ‘zerren’ o. ä. empfindbar gewesen sein sollte, wird der Instr. der Trennung²⁵ angenommen: “der Yajamāna wird von den Söhnen und Haustieren abgezerrt (d. h., dem Yajamāna wird die Söhnen und Haustiere weggerissen). Der Zerrung/Wegreißung der Söhnen und Haustieren folgend wird der Yajamāna von der Himmelswelt abgezerrt (dem Yajamāna wird die Himmelswelt weggerissen). Der Zerrung/Wegreißung der Himmelswelt ...” Diese Interpretation hat den Vorteil, daß sich die Form *viriṣyate* als Passiv erklären läßt, vgl. u. §8.

7.2. Die entsprechende Satzkonstruktion liegt mit dem Inj. Aor. 1. Sg. *virikṣi* in einem Mantra des KauśSū vor: CXVII 2 *mā virikṣi tanvā mā prajāyā mā paśubhiḥ* “Nicht laß mich an/von dem Körper, nicht an/von der Nachkommenschaft, nicht an/von den Haustieren eine Zerrung erleiden/abgezerrt werden.” Narten (1964:224) stellt *virikṣi* zu *vi-ric* in der Bedeutung im Med. ‘verlassen werden, entleert werden von’, die jedoch für *vi-rec/ric* kaum

²²Vgl. Anm. 13, §5 (2) *viriṣta-saṃdhāna-*, Anm. 23 und §8.1. Vgl. auch Anm. 18 sowie *anu-mārṣtu* ‘soll entlang streifen, massagieren’ in Anm. 9 (AV und Parallelen).

²³Der Heilprozeß wird in GopB I 1,14:11,15– folgendermaßen genannt: *yajñasya viriṣtam saṃdhīyate. yajñasya saṃdhitam anu yajamānaḥ saṃdhīyate ... yajamānaḥ putrapaśubhiḥ saṃdhīyate. putrapaśūnām saṃdhitam anu yajamānaḥ svargena lokena saṃdhīyate. svargasya lokasya saṃdhitam anu ...* “Die Zerrung des Opfers wird zusammengefügt. Dem Zusammengefügt des Opfers folgend wird der Yajamāna zusammengefügt. ... Der Yajamāna wird von/an den Söhnen und Haustieren zusammengefügt. Dem Zusammengefügt der/von Söhne/n und Haustiere/n folgend wird der Yajamāna von/an der Himmelswelt zusammengefügt. ...”

²⁴Speyer 1896:11.

²⁵Vgl. Delbrück 1888:131.

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belegbar ist; das Muster dürfte für *viriksi* auf jeden Fall wohl z. B. von *āriksy āham* ‘ich wurde gerade ausgeschöpft’ ŚB III 9,1,2 von der W. *rec/ric* ‘verlassen’ geliefert sein.

7.3. *vi-riṣyate* kommt noch einmal in einer Strophe im GopB vor: II 2,5^v:169,16–7 *ṛtvijām ca vināśāya* | *rājño janapadasya ca* | *saṁvatsaravirīṣtam tad* | *yatra yajño viriṣyate* “Zum Vernichten der Priester, des Königs und des Volkes [führt] eine ein Jahr dauernde Verrenkung, in der das Opfer eine Verrenkung erleidet.”²⁶ Das Nomen *yajñavirīṣtin-* ‘der Zerrung, Verrenkung des Opfers Habende’ ist in GopB I 1,14:11,7.8 belegt.

8. Die Verbalform *vi-riṣyate*, *vi-riṣyante* im GopB (§§7, 7.1, 7.3) scheinen vom VAdj. *virīṣta-* ‘Zerrung, Verrenkung’ rückgebildet zu sein; der vedische Stamm *vi-lisate* (nur mit *l*, vgl. oben §2.1) war zu der Zeit des GopB nicht mehr in Gebrauch. Dabei könnten die Formen als Passiv gebildet sein (§7.1 a. E.), vgl. etwa *istā-* :: *isyāte* ‘wird gesucht’, *piṣṭā-* :: *piṣyāte* ‘wird zerstampft’. Auch die Anlehnung an das eigentlich aktiv flektierte Präs. *riṣya-*²⁷ ‘zu Schaden kommen, Schaden nehmen’ (vgl. oben die Stelle mit Anm. 2) ist anzunehmen, zumal nach-vedisch auch die Medialformen bezeugt sind: *riṣyate* Mahābhārata, Manusmṛti, Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, *riṣyeta* ĀrṣeyaBr, MānavaGrSū, VārāhaGrSū. Im GopB selbst kommt der Stamm *riṣya-* ‘zu Schaden kommen, Schaden nehmen’ zumal in einem ähnlichen Zusammenhang vor; ob der Stamm medial flektiert war, ist allerdings nicht mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen: I 5,21:133,12 *nāṣya yajño riṣyate* (Ed. Gaastra, dagegen *riṣyati* Ed. Bibliotheca Indica) “sein Opfer kommt nicht zu Schaden,” und unmittelbar danach folgend dunkles *na yajñapatim riṣyanta iti*, so in den beiden Editionen, Gaastra kommentiert hierzu: “?; vielleicht *yajñapatī riṣyata?*”, dann mediales *riṣyate*. Kulikov (2012:611) nimmt eine Anlehnung an *ricya-*²⁸ “become empty” an.

8.1. Eine ähnliche Geschichte findet sich statt *virīṣtam* mit *bhṛeṣam* ‘Schaden’ in AB V 33,3.²⁹ Daß hier im GopB aber *virīṣtam* eigentlich noch als ‘Verstauchung, Zerrung, Verrenkung’ verstanden werden dürfte, geht wohl aus *śāntiyudaka-* ‘das Wasser zum Stillen’ in der darauf folgenden Stelle (I 1,14:11,10) hervor (vgl. unter §2.1, 2.2; allerdings auch zu *riṣta-* ŚB XII 2,1,5.8: §5.1); das Heilprozeß wird ebenfalls durch *saṁ-dhā* ausgedrückt, auch wenn das Verbum auch als ‘in Ordnung bringen’ interpretiert werden könnte: *yajñasya virīṣtam saṁdhīyate* “die Zerrung, Verrenkung des Opfers wird zusammengefügt” usw. I 1,14:11,13.15– (s. Anm. 20, Anm. 23), *yajñasya no virīṣtam saṁdhehi* “Füge die Zerrung unseres Opfers zusammen” I 1,14:11,8–9.

8.2. Für den Einfluß von *reṣ/riṣ* (s. §8) kann außerdem noch angeführt werden: ŚB XII 4,1,58 *yajñāsya riṣtam* “das Beschädigte, der Schaden des Opfers” (s. §5.1), aber insbesondere AB V 33,4 *tad yathobhayatahpāt puruṣo yann ubhayataścakro vā ratho vartamāno na riṣyaty evam eva sa yajño na riṣyati yajñasyāriṣtim annu yajamāno na riṣyati* “Wie damit der auf beiden Seiten Füße habende Mann während des Gehens oder der mit auf beiden Seiten Rädern

²⁶Horsch 1966:147: “Zum Schaden der Priester, des Königs und des Volkes ist dies ein Verderbnis für ein Jahr, wenn das Opfer verdorben wird”; er vermißt ein Korrelat zu *yatra*.

²⁷AB V 33,3 *tad yathaikapāt puruṣo yann ekataścakro vā ratho vartamāno bhṛeṣam nyety evam eva sa yajño bhṛeṣam nyeti* “wie ein nur einbeinig gehender Mann oder ein nur auf einem Rad fahrender Wagen zu Schaden kommt, so kommt dieses Opfer zu Schaden” (Hoffmann 1975–6:I 32–3), vgl. AB V 33,4 in §8.2. Vgl. JUB III 16(4,2),4 (~7) *sa yathā puruṣa ekapād yan + bhṛeṣam nyeti + ratho vaikacakro vartamāno evam eva tarhi yajño + bhṛeṣam nyeti +*, zur Textkorrektur s. Hoffmann 1975–6:I 31; KS XX 8^p:27,21–2 *nārtim ārchaty adhvaryur na bhṛeṣam nyeti* “der Adhvaryu gerät nicht ins Unglück, nicht kommen sie zu Schaden” (Hoffmann 1975–6:I 33).

vi-leś | liś, vi-riṣ und die Verstauchung des Opfers

versehene Streitwagen während des Rollens nicht zu Schaden kommt, genauso kommt das Opfer nicht zu Schaden, dem Nicht-zu-Schaden-Kommen des Opfers folgend kommt der Yajamāna nicht zu Schaden,” s. Anm. 27.

9. Für die Kontamination von *vi-riṣṭa-* (*riṣ*) und *riṣya-*^{ti} (*riṣ*) spricht der Lok. *virīṣyati* des aktiven Part. *vi-riṣyant-* KauśSū LIX 28, LXXIII 30, welches allein stehend eine Bedingung ausdrückt: “falls man Zerrung, Verrenkung hat” oder “when one is hurt” (Bloomfield 1889:liii, Kulikov 2012: 609, n. 1937).²⁸

10. Ferner dürfte eine abnormale Aor.-Form *vyarīṣas* (statt **vi-rīṣas*) in VaitSū XIX 18^m hierher gehören: *gaṇān me mā vyarīṣaḥ* “Laß meine Gefolgschaft keine Zerrung erleiden!”²⁹ Vgl. auch *mā rīṣas* “schädige nicht” RV+ von der Wz. *reṣ/riṣ*.

11. Damit lassen sich *vi-riṣyant-* (*virīṣyati*) KauśSū (§9), *vi-riṣyate*, *vi-riṣyante* GopB (§§7, 7.3, 8) und Aor. *mā vy-arīṣaḥ* VaitSū (§10) als sekundäre Bildungen aus dem VAdj. *vi-riṣṭa-* ‘gezerrt, verrenkt; Verstauchung, Zerrung, Verrenkung’ erklären, welches eigentlich zu *vi-riṣ* (Wz. *riṣ*, *leś/liś* ‘zerren, reißen, rupfen’) gehört. Hierzu stellt sich weiterhin Aor. *mā vi-riṣi* KauśSū (§7.2). Die Wz. *reṣ/riṣ* ‘zu Schaden kommen, Schaden nehmen’ (Präs. *riṣya-*^{ti}) weist andererseits somit die Verbindung mit dem Präv. *vi* nicht auf.

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²⁸pw VII 371 (Nachtrag) setzt für diese Belege eigens *riṣ* mit *vi* “sich verletzen” an und fügt daselbst als Nachtrag zum Lemma V 190 *riṣ* mit *vi* zu: “*virīṣṭa* gehört eher zu *riṣ*.”

²⁹Caland 1910:53 “meine Schaaren halte frei von Schaden.” Es handelt sich um eine schlechte Variante des Yajurveda-Mantra: TS III 2.5.3 *gaṇān me mā vītīṣaḥ* “Laß meine Gefolgschaft nicht verdursten,” ferner mit *vītīṣat* MānavaŚrSū II 4.1.35, *gaṇā me mā vītīṣan* VS VI 31, TS III 1.8.2, *gaṇāir mā mā vītīṣata* MS I 3.2.30.10, *te me mā vītīṣan* KS III 10:28.12.

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PIE $*k^wi-/k^wo-$: Interrogative, Indefinite or Both?*

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1 Introduction

It is a commonplace of Indo-European linguistics to reconstruct the pronominal root $*k^wi/o-$ as having both *interrogative* and *indefinite* (and perhaps even relative) function. Dunkel (2014:452) glosses the root with “‘wer?; irgendwer’ Pronominalstamm, interrogativ; indefinit, wenn enklitisch; ?relativ.” This follows a tradition codified by Brugmann (1911:348): “Als solche [i.e. Interrogativa und Indefinita] fungierten, nur durch die Betonung von einander unterschieden, Formen die mit k^w- begannen.” This view is repeated in all the main surveys of Indo-European linguistics: Meillet (1937:328) “Les formes toniques sont interrogatives, ainsi gr. $\tau\iota\varsigma$; les formes atones, à l’intérieur de la phrase, indéfinies, ainsi gr. $\tau\iota\varsigma$ ”; Beekes (1995:203) “There was one form which was either stressed (the interrogative) or unstressed (the indefinite)”; Szemerényi (1996:208) “The *interrogative* pronoun, which also served as *indefinite* and in this function was enclitic”; Tichy (2000:40) “Das Interrogativpronomen $*k^wi/k^wo-$ ‘wer, was; welcher, welche, welches’ wurde in seinen enklitischen Formen als Indefinitpronomen verwendet”; Meier-Brügger (2002:231) “Während die orthotonen Formen am Satzanfang Fragen i.S.v. ‘wer?’, ‘was?’, ‘von wem (abstammend)?’, ‘wessen (zugehörig)’ usw. markieren, konnten die in Enklise stehenden Formen zu Indefinita i.S.v. ‘wer auch immer’, ‘irgendwer’ usw. abgeschwächt werden.”

The (sometimes implicit) assumption in all these reference works is that the interrogative pronoun, when unaccented, could be used as a general-purpose indefinite in all or at least most contexts. This is indeed what we see in Ancient Greek, where the indefinite pronoun $\tau\iota\varsigma < *k^wis$ occurs in a range of typical negative polarity contexts (cf. [1–5] below), as well as under intensional verbs (6) and in declarative main clauses (7):

- (1) Conditional: $\kappa\alpha\iota \nu\upsilon\nu \epsilon\iota \phi\omicron\beta\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu \tau\iota \acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$ “And if we had seen anything dangerous now” (Herodotus 1.120.6)
- (2) Comparatives: $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\nu \tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ “better than anyone” (Dem. 21.66)
- (3) Generalizing relative: $\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\nu \kappa\lambda\eta\theta\eta\acute{\eta}\varsigma \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o} \tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\iota\varsigma \gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, “whenever you are invited by someone” (Luke 14:8)

*I would like to thank the following people for help with the data and the literature: Gerd Carling (Tocharian), Michael Frotscher (Germanic), Borana Lushaj (Albanian), Ugnius Mikučionis (Baltic), Stefan Schumacher (Albanian), Andrej Sidel’cev (Anatolian), Dagmar Wodtko (Celtic), and Laura Zaleckienė (Baltic). All errors are mine.

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- (4) Question: *πῶς δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ἀρπάσαι* “How can anyone enter the house of a strong man and steal his property?” (Matt. 12:29)
- (5) Indirect negation: *οὐκ ἠκούσθη ὅτι ἤνοιξέν τις ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλοῦ γεγεννημένου* “It has not been heard that anyone ever opened the eyes of a blind-born” (John 9:32)
- (6) Intensional verbs: *ἔλπομαι τινὰ στάσιν μεγάλην διασείσειν ἐμπεσοῦσαν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα* “I expect that a big strife will fall upon and shake the spirit of Athenians” (Hdt. 6.109.5)
- (7) Declarative: *εἶπεν δέ τις αὐτῷ* “Someone said to him.” (Matt. 12:47)

Observe that we do not normally find *τις* under direct (same-clause) negation. This is a common pattern in the IE languages: the bare interrogative-indefinite is only used when the negation is in a higher clause (typically, as in (5), the indefinite is in a complement clause to a negated matrix predicate), or incorporates with the complementizer (as in purpose clauses with *μή* ‘in order that not’), or is only implicit. In other instances, when there is an overt negation in the same clause as the indefinite, a special negative pronoun is used instead. In Greek this pronoun is *οὐδείς*; but in many languages, the negative pronoun is etymologically formed from the negation + the bare interrogative-indefinite, and this is found in Homeric *οὐτίς* too. Such forms obviously point to a stage when the bare interrogative-indefinite *could* be used under direct negation.

Since Greek allows bare interrogatives as indefinites in all syntactic contexts, whereas Indo-Iranian—the other cornerstone branch of IE studies—has almost abolished it, the Greek system was projected back to PIE, and few scholars thought much about the contexts in which PIE **k^wi/k^wo-* was used as an indefinite. However, Jared’s work on Armenian indefinites (Klein 1997) has taught us that it is all-important to pay attention to the contexts in which various indefinites occur. In the following, I present a modest attempt to survey the use of the bare **k^wi/k^wo-* pronoun as an indefinite in the daughter branches of PIE. This will be but a preliminary study, based mostly on the reports of the standard grammars and some extra information that I have been able to gather. But the topic really calls for a comparative monograph; more research is needed into almost every branch of IE. The only way to know what contexts allow the use of the bare interrogative as an indefinite in a given daughter language is to examine every occurrence. And the only way to make plausible the claim that a context does *not* allow the bare interrogative as an indefinite in a given language is to examine all occurrences of that context and look at alternative means of expressing indefiniteness. If the context is a common one, and alternative indefinite strategies are found with some frequency, that may eventually allow us to establish negative claims. Absent such a full study of indefinites, I offer the following, tentative, but in my opinion very suggestive study. In §2, I go through the daughter branches of PIE and establish (as well as can be done based on secondary sources) what contexts allow the bare interrogative to be used as an indefinite. In §3, I draw the consequences for our reconstruction of PIE.

I will stress from the beginning that we are only concerned with *bare* interrogatives used as indefinites. By a bare interrogative I mean a form that is identical to the interrogative ex-

cept possibly for the lack of accent.¹ Typologically, this is not an uncommon phenomenon in the languages of the world. It is described in Haspelmath (1997:\$7.3), who finds them in 31 languages of his 100-language sample—enough to show that we are dealing with systematic polysemy rather than with accidental homonymy. In the formal semantic literature there are attempts to derive this systematic polysemy starting from a semantics of questions based on that of Hamblin 1973; see in particular Yanovich 2005. I will not be concerned with that tradition here except insofar as I will use the term “Hamblin indefinites” to refer to bare interrogatives used as indefinites.

In mapping the distribution of Hamblin indefinites in early IE languages, I have taken a semantic approach. That is, I have tried to identify whether Hamblin indefinites occur in *semantic* contexts similar to those seen in (1) and (3–7).² It is often argued in typological works that cross-linguistic work should start from the semantics, since it can be hard to identify syntactic constructions across diverse languages. In practice, however, it would be entirely feasible to compare syntactic constructions as long as we remain in the domain of early IE. But there is another, more important argument for taking a semantic approach, namely that the distribution of Hamblin indefinites is fundamentally sensitive to semantics rather than syntax. For example, we will see below that in Latin, the Hamblin indefinite *quis* is licensed in semantically conditional structures, irrespective of whether the syntax involves a complementizer *si* or a paratactic conditional. Moreover, Latin allows Hamblin indefinites in generalizing relative clauses similar to (3) above, and these are often taken to have a conditional semantics. Fundamentally, then, the semantic contexts found in (1) and (3–7) reduce to five: conditionals, questions, negations, modals, and declaratives.

In addition to these contexts, there is a different use of Hamblin indefinites in the so-called multiple partitive (Haspelmath 1997:177–9), cf. (8) from French.

- (8) Qui apportait un fromage, qui un sac de noix, qui un quartier de chèvre.
 “Some brought a piece of cheese, some a bag of nuts, some a piece of goat meat.”

This Romance construction does not exist in Latin, but it is found in at least Hittite (9) and Balto-Slavic.

- (9) nu=kán kuit kuennir kuit=ma=za=kán anda ēppir
 ptc=ptc WH:ACC slay:3PL:PST WH:ACC=conj=RFLX-ptc PREVERB seize:3PL:PST
 “And some they slew, but some they seized.” (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma; KBo V 6 i 21)

This construction seems to require that the bare interrogative-indefinite can bear (contrastive topic) stress. Not all languages allow this: Modern German, for example, has bare interrogative-indefinites, but they are always unstressed and so cannot appear in multiple partitives. We will disregard the construction for the rest of this paper. We will also disregard so-called existential free relative clauses (French *J’ai de quoi écrire* “I have something to write with”); although these have points of contact with bare interrogative-indefinites, they also involve relativization.

¹A bare interrogative used as an indefinite is not necessarily “etymologically bare” in the sense of being a direct descendant of PIE **k^wi-/k^wo-*. For example, Old Church Slavic *kūto* is obviously an extended form of the root, but this extended form synchronically works both as an interrogative and a (restricted) indefinite, so in this sense the indefinite pronoun is a synchronically bare interrogative.

²Comparatives (2) have been excluded because I generally did not find reliable information about them.

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To sum up this section, let us relate the semantic categories we are looking at to Haspelmath’s (1997:4) semantic map of indefinite pronouns. Conditionals, questions, and negation (direct and indirect) form a contiguous area (4–7) in the map, and as we will see, this is the core area of use for Hamblin indefinites in early IE. The use under modals is what Haspelmath calls “irrealis non-specific” context (3). Usages (1–2), specific (un)known, are the unembedded uses in declaratives: both uses refer to specific referents, but the referent may or may not be known to the speaker. In the lower right corner of the figure, we find the use under comparatives, which we will ignore for lack of data, and as free choice items (*anyone can do that*), which does not seem relevant for early IE Hamblin indefinites.

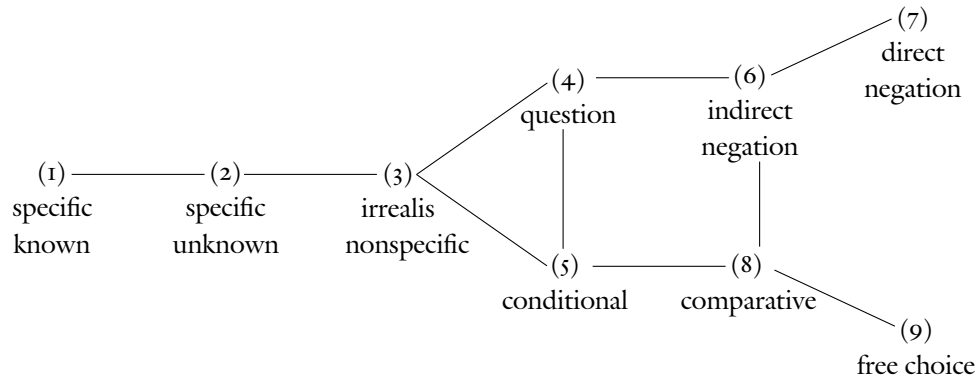


Figure 1. Semantic map of indefinites (after Haspelmath 1997).

2 The comparative data

2.1 Anatolian

Hoffner and Melchert (2008:149) claim that “[i]n Hittite the common form *kui-* serves both interrogative and relative functions, while the indefinite function is filled by *kuiški* ‘someone, anyone’. Only in combination with *takku/mān* ‘if’ can *kui-* have an indefinite meaning (see Latin *siquis*).” They note only one possible exception to this involving *UL kuit* ‘nothing’ (KBo 3.1+ ii 43–4), but there are more, cf. (10).³

- (10) ammug=a āššul *UL kuit* ḫa[tr]ā-eš
 me.DAT.SG=but greeting.ACC.SG.N NEG any.ACC.SG.N send-2SG.PST
 “To me you did not send **any** greetings” (ABoT 1.65 obv. 11 [CTH 199], MH/MS)

The use of *kui-* under negation was also noted (along with the multiple partitive construction) by Puhvel (1997:218) “after ‘if’ or negative or in *kui-...kui-* ‘some’...‘other’” and Friedrich (1952:114) “*kuiš* = ‘jemand’...; vor allem in *UL kuiš* ‘gar keiner’...*kuiš* – *kuiš*, der eine – der andere’ (... auch *kuiš* – *damaiš* KUB VII 5 II 25 ff.).”

In sum, then, Hittite seems to provide evidence for Hamblin indefinites in conditional clauses and less frequently (Andrej Sidel’cev, p.c.) in negated clauses. However, the matter is in fact more complicated. As Andrej Sidel’cev (p.c.) points out to me, Hamblin indefinites are in fact never attested in Old Hittite, only in Middle and New Hittite. The Old Hittite

³I thank Andrej Sidel’cev for showing me this example and providing the glossing.

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texts in the Old Script reveal 62 conditional clauses with the expanded indefinite *kuiš-ki* and none with the Hamblin indefinite *kuiš*. So it is in fact possible that Hamblin indefinites are an independent innovation in Hittite, but more research is obviously needed.

2.2 Indo-Iranian

Debrunner and Wackernagel (1930:568) say that Hamblin indefinites occur both “*tieftonig*” (clitic) and “*orthoton*” (stressed). As examples of the clitic use they mention the particles *cit* and *kīm*, which combine with the inflected interrogative to yield a morphologically complex indefinite. But this is an indefinitizing particle rather than an indefinite pronoun per se. As a further clitic use, they mention “*der alte NSg. kiḥ in v. nákiḥ* ‚nullus, non‘ und *mākiḥ* ‚nequis, ne‘; auch im Altiranischen findet sich das ungestützte Pronomen samt Ableitungen wie *kudaṭ* in indefiniter Bedeutung fast nur hinter den Negationen . . .” This lexicalization of the negation and **k^wi-/k^wo-* is found in several IE branches and no doubt attests to an ancient use of Hamblin indefinites in negative contexts. A specialty of Indic is the combination of **k^wi-/k^wo-* with the nominal negation *a-* < **n-* (Debrunner and Wackernagel 1930:569–70).

Debrunner and Wackernagel (1930:568–9) also mention independent (and accented) Hamblin indefinites, a usage that is clearly rare in Indo-Iranian: „die orthotonen Formen finden sich indefinit ohne einen diese Bedeutung anzeigenden Beisatz, aber dies nur in negativen Ausdrücken und auch so fast nur vorklassisch. Der RV. bietet *mā kāsya* ‚μηδενός‘ (dreimal) und 1,120,8 *mā kasmai* ‚μηδενί‘; ferner anscheinend 6.21.3 *kadā te mātā(h) . . . dhāma . . . nā minanti* ‚niemals verletzen die Menschen deine Ordnung‘, mit auffälliger Voranstellung des *ka-* vor die Negation. Dazu kommt AB. 2.7.2 *na kīrtayet kāni rakṣamṣi* ‚er soll keine Rakṣas preisen‘ nebst einigen zweifelhaften episch-klassischen Stellen.”

As we saw above, Debrunner and Wackernagel claim that in Old Iranian too, Hamblin indefinites are “almost exclusively” found in negated contexts. It is unclear what exceptions they were thinking of, but Delbrück (1893:513) provides two Avestan examples:⁴ Yasna 48.9, which seems to be an indirect question, and 50.1, which is a direct question (11).

- (11) *kaṭ mōi uruuā isē cahiiā auuanhō*
 QUESTION my soul:NOM command:3SG:PRS WH:GEN help:GEN
 “Does my soul command any help?”

In sum, then, the only context where Hamblin indefinites are very clearly attested in Indo-Iranian is negated sentences; but the Avestan material hints at an earlier stage where at least questions did also allow this usage.

2.3 Greek

As we already saw in (1–7), Greek can use (unstressed) Hamblin indefinites in all syntactic contexts. The use in main clause declaratives is found already in Homer:

⁴These two examples are also the only instances of Hamblin indefinites in unnegated clauses given by Bartholomae (1904:426–7 s.v. *ka-* II.5–6). Reichelt (1909:202) does not comment on the sphere of usage of Hamblin indefinites, but only notes that it is more common for the indefinite to be accompanied by a particle.

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- (12) ἀλλά τις Ἀργείων κόμισε χοῖ
 but WH:NOM Argive:GEN:PL receive:AOR.3.SG flesh:DAT
 “But someone of the Argives received [it] in his flesh”

In Mycenaean, there is no example of indefinite pronouns at all, except possibly indirectly in *o-u-ki oʽtis* ‘no one’ (KN V 280.5), if that is indeed the right interpretation. In any case, the Mycenaean material is too sparse to be of interest here.

2.4 Italic

Students of Latin are often taught to use *quis*, i.e. formally the interrogative pronoun, instead of the usual indefinite pronoun *aliquis* “after *si* [if], *nisi* [if not], *num* [question particle], *ne* [that not, lest], *quo* [by what], *quanto* [by how much]” (Mountford 1984:204). This lexicocentric view, which ties the use of *quis* to the presence of specific lexical items in the clause rather than to syntactic or semantic properties of the clause, may be a useful simplification for pedagogical purposes, but it has unfortunately made it into the scholarly literature as well. For example, Menge (2000:135) claims that the forms of *quis* “lehnen sich v.a. enklitisch an folgende Wörter an (hinter denen sie aber nicht unmittelbar stehen müssen)”; there follows an extended version of the list given above. The same view is found in Haspelmath (1997:254).

But while there is clear evidence that *quis* was enclitic in Latin (it does not occur in sentence-initial position), there is little reason to believe that its restricted distribution follows from the need to be hosted by a particular set of words. First, Latin does not otherwise have clitics that are restricted to specific lexical hosts. Second, Menge admits that *quis* does not have to follow immediately after its supposed host, which is problematic on a prosodic account. Third, the fact that the words in question introduce precisely the type of clauses that allow Hamblin indefinites in other languages should arouse suspicion towards an account relying on lexical properties. And fourth, it is in fact not the case that *quis* occurs as an indefinite only when hosted by these words. For example, Latin allows paratactic conditionals without any complementizer (13),⁵ and these can license Hamblin indefinites (14).

- (13) vim volumus exstingui, ius valeat
 violence:ACC want:IPL.PRS extinguish:INF, law:NOM prevail:3SG.PRS.SBJV
 necesse est
 necessary is:3SG.PRS
 “If we want to extinguish violence, law must inevitably prevail.” (Cic. *Sest.* 92)

- (14) negat quis nego
 deny:3SG.PRS WH:NOM deny:1SG.PRS
 “If someone denies it, I deny it.” (Ter. *Eum.* 252)

It is sometimes claimed that the first clause in such examples should be understood as a (rhetorical) question (*Someone denies it? I deny it!*) rather than antecedents of conditional.

⁵See Kühner and Stegmann 1976:164–6 for numerous examples of this construction.

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But Kühner and Stegmann (1976:165) provide strong arguments against such interpretations. In any case, if the first clauses of (13–14) are indeed questions, then (14) shows that questions can license Hamblin indefinites even in the absence of the question particle *num*.

It is therefore clearly preferable to give a semantic account of the restrictions on *quis* in Latin. The above-mentioned words *si*, *nisi*, *ne*, and *num* introduce contexts that are well-known from other languages, namely conditionals, negated complement and purpose clauses, and questions. The occurrence in conditionals is in fact corroborated by the other Italic languages: Umbrian *svepis*, Oscan *svepis* and *svei pid*, and Volscian *sepis* all correspond (except for the etymon of the complementizer in Oscan and Umbrian) to Latin *si quis*.

The final group of words that are thought to be able to host *quis* on the traditional view are relative pronouns and adverbs (including *cum* and *ubi* ‘whenever/wherever’). However, this usage is only found with generalizing relative clauses such as (15).

- (15) qui horum quid acerbissime crudelissimeque fecerat,
 WH:NOM them:GEN:PL WH:ACC most.harshly and.cruelly do:3SG:PLUPF
 is et vir et civis optimus habebatur
 he:NOM and man:NOM and citizen:NOM best:NOM hold:3SG:IPFV.PASS

“Among these, he who had done something with the greatest harshness and cruelty was held to be the best man and the best citizen” (Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.32)

Such generalizing relative clauses are semantically similar to conditionals, and we can paraphrase (15) as, “If someone had done something with the greatest harshness and cruelty...” So I regard the factor licensing Hamblin indefinites in examples such as (15) to be semantic conditionality.

Finally, Latin seems to marginally allow Hamblin indefinites in a context we have not discussed so far, namely potential subjunctives, e.g. *dixerit quis* “someone could say.” Many of these are in fact embedded in questions, under negation or in implicit conditionals, but some (e.g. Cic. *De Off.* 3.102) seem to have no operator except the possibility semantics introduced by the subjunctive. In sum, Latin displays Hamblin indefinites in conditionals, in questions and under negation, and also marginally under possibility modals.

2.5 Celtic

The usual indefinite pronoun is Old Irish *nech*, Brythonic *neb*, which derives from **ne-kʷo-* ‘no one’. How exactly we get from ‘no one’ to ‘someone’ is not clear (see the critical discussion in Haspelmath 1997:230–2), but a similar change seems to have operated in Balto-Slavic and in Semitic. Old Irish *nech* is used both in positive and negative polarity contexts (= Latin *aliquis* and *ullus/quisquam*, see Pedersen 1913:211). However, Pedersen also mentions a few examples where the bare interrogative *cía* has indefinite meaning (1913:209; see also the electronic *Dictionary of the Irish Language* at <http://edil.qub.ac.uk> s.v. 3 *cía* ‘man’). Pedersen’s examples are in fact declarative clauses with no embedding, but given the paucity of examples, it is hard to know how to analyze them.

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2.6 Germanic

Hamblin indefinites in Germanic are comparatively well-studied (Behaghel 1917, 1923; Rissanen 1987; Fobbe 2004). They are attested in Gothic and West Germanic, but not North Germanic.

According to Behaghel 1917:158, *wer/waz* always refers to “unbestimmte Größen.” We find it in the usual contexts: under negation (Gothic [16], Old High German [17]), in questions (Gothic [18], Old High German [19]), and in antecedents of conditionals (Gothic [20], Old High German [21]).

- (16) ni manna in analaugnein lva taujiþ
no man:NOM in secret:DAT WH:NOM do:3SG.PRS
- (17) Nioman giuuisso in taugle uuaz tuot
No.one certainly in secret:DAT something:ACC do:3SG.PRS
“No one does anything in secret (and wants to be a public figure)” (John 7:4, Tatian 104.1)
- (18) hvathro þans mag lvas gasopþjan hlaibam
whence the:PL.M.ACC can:3.SG.PRES.ACT WH:SG.M.NOM feed:INF bread:PL.M.DAT
ana auþidai
on desert:SG.F.DAT
“From where could someone feed these with bread in the desert?” (Mark 8:4)
- (19) habet ir hier uuaz
have:2PL.PRS you:NOM here WH:ACC.SG.N
“Do you have something here [that one could eat]” (Tatian 231.1)
- (20) jabai lvas gaggiþ du mis
if WH:SG.M.NOM come:3SG.PRS to me:DAT
- (21) Oba uuer quimit zi mir
If WH:SG.M.NOM come:3SG.PRS to me:DAT
“If someone comes to me” (Luke 14:26, Tatian 67.10)

Behaghel also notes examples in generalizing relatives (Gothic, John 14:13, 2. Cor. 2:10; Old High German, Otfrid 3.16.19), which we treat as a subtype of conditionals.

However, some of the examples given by Behaghel seem to suggest a slightly wider use of Hamblin indefinites in Gothic and Old High German. Behaghel presents these examples under various headings (future contexts, commands, realis), but they all seem to involve some modality:

- (22) unte wenja mik lvo hveilo saljan
for hope:1SG.PRS me:ACC WH:ACC.SG.F time:GEN.PL.F stay
“For I hope to stay [with you] for some time” (1 Cor. 16:7)

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- (23) skal þus hva qíþan.
must:1SG.PRS you:DAT something:ACC .SG.N say:INF
“I must tell you something” (Luke 7:40)
- (24) af þaim þugkjandam wisan hva
from the:DAT.PL seeming:DAT.PL be WH:NOM
“from those who seemed to be something” (Galatians 2:6)
- (25) wolt er thar waz irscaboron
will:3SG.PRS he:NOM there WH:ACC gain
“He wants to gain something” (Otfrid 4.2.30)
- (26) hiazi er io then worton was ármen
command:3SG.PST.OPT he ever ART.DAT.PL word:DAT.PL WH poor:DAT.PL
wihhtin spénton
creatures:DAT.PL give:INF
“He always commanded them with the words to give something to the poor creatures” (Otfrid 4.12.48)

Example (23) has been discussed in the literature. Haspelmath (1997:173) considers it a non-specific example, but as pointed out by Gärtner (2009:8–9), it is more likely to have a specific reading (i.e. the meaning is “there is something I have to tell you” rather than “it must be the case that there is something I tell you”). (24) also seems to be specific: “be something” carries positive connotations in the context, and as pointed out by Haspelmath (1997:187), specific indefinites tend to get appreciative meanings and non-specific ones depreciative meanings. We need not jump to the conclusion that Gothic allows *wh*-indefinites in specific contexts, though, for this could be a translation effect. Still, (22–6) suggest that Hamblin indefinites were spreading to modal contexts in early Germanic. This process seems to have gone the farthest in Old Saxon, where we get clear examples of Hamblin indefinites in unembedded contexts (Behaghel 1917:160).

For Old English, Rissanen (1987:415) reports that *hwa/hwæt* and *hwilc* are never used with a specific meaning. He also gives statistics on the clauses where these Hamblin indefinites occur:⁶ *hwa/hwæt* is found 162 times in conditional/concessive clauses, 20 times in negated clauses, once in a question, and 18 times in clauses of other types. *Hwilc* is broadly the same: there are 100 examples in conditional/concessive clauses, 11 in negated clauses, 3 in questions, and 16 in other clauses. These statistics raise a number of questions, for example why conditionals and concessives are grouped together. Rissanen may be thinking of concessive clauses with conditional force such as (27):

⁶The counts are taken from the Helsinki sub-corpus of Old English (a sub-corpus of the Toronto full corpus of Old English), described in Rissanen 1987:426 n. 3.

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- (27) Deaþe hwa secge be me tal oþþe hosp, hit byþ
 Though:COMP WH say:3SG.SBJV about me slander or reproach it is:3SG.PRS
 him forgyfen, gif he hit behreowsaþ
 him forgiven, if he it repents:3SG.PRS
 “Though (= Even if) he says slander or reproach about me, it will be forgiven to him,
 if he repents it.”

Presumably, (27) goes into the group of conditional/concessive clauses. Unfortunately, Rissanen does not give any examples from his “other clauses” group, nor have I found any in other works on Old English. Nevertheless, his data, together with the Gothic and Old High German data that we have already seen, clearly suggest that Hamblin indefinites in Common Germanic were originally restricted to conditionals, questions and negated clauses, although they may have started to spread to other, modal contexts already in Common Germanic times.

2.7 Armenian

Armenian does not have an indefinite/interrogative ambiguity. The adjectival interrogative ‘which?’ is *or* and the substantival interrogative is *or*, *o* ‘who?’ for persons and *z-i* ‘what?’ for non-persons. By contrast, the indefinite pronouns are *omn/inn* and *ok/inč*, which—as Jared has shown us (Klein 1997)—are positive and negative polarity items respectively. The indefinites are visibly built from the interrogatives by means of the suffixes *-mn* and *-k* (the latter from PIE **-k^we*), but they are not identical with the interrogative.

2.8 Tocharian

Tocharian interrogatives and indefinites (A *sam*, B *ksa*) are related, but not identical. The interrogative forms (A *kus*, B *kuse*) point to Proto-Tocharian **k^wu sa < k^wis sos* (Hackstein 2004:276). The Tocharian B indefinite pronoun *ksa* may in fact be exactly the same form with reduction due to phonological enclisis (Pedersen 1941:119: “In indefiniten Verwendung werden *kuse* und *kuce* zu *ksa* und *kca* geschwächt”), but there are also other possibilities, see Adams (1999:242) for some speculative proposals. The indefinite pronoun in Tocharian A, *sam*, has been expanded with a particle. In sum, there is no synchronic interrogative/indefinite ambiguity in Tocharian.

2.9 Slavic

The Old Church Slavonic interrogative pronoun is *kъto*, which is obviously an extended form of **k^wi-/k^wo-*, with the demonstrative stem *to-* added. This pronoun is also used as an indefinite. Miklosich (1883:86) claims that it can function as Latin *quidam*, i.e. in declarative clauses: “къ [sic!] erhält die bedeutung eines pronomen indefinitum dadurch, dass es tonlos wird, in welchem falle es meist einem oder mehreren worten des satzes nachgesetzt wird. Es entspricht dann къto dem lat. quis oder quidam und dem deutschen wer, während das gleichfalls indefinite нѣкъto dem lat. aliquis und dem deutschen jemand gegenübersteht.” Miklosich here claims that *kъto* corresponds to Latin *quis* (the Hamblin indefinite we discussed above) and *quidam*, which is only used for specific, known entities. By contrast,

Vaillant (1958:406) claims that *kъto* only corresponds to Latin *quis*, not *quidam*: “En Slave, l’interrogatif *kъto*, *čъ(to)*, comme en baltique lit. *kàs* et lette *kas*, est également indéfini, non avec la liberté d’emploi du grec *τις*, mais, comme lat. *quis*, dans certains tours, d’ailleurs assez étendus, du type de v.sl. *ašte kъto*, lit. *jėi kàs* ‘si quelqu’un’.”

If Miklosich is right and *kъto* in fact corresponds to both *quis* and *quidam*, then it is typologically odd. It would appear in questions, conditionals, and under negation, as well as when referring to specific, known referents (e.g. with proper names as above), but not to specific unknowns (Latin *aliquis*). This is a non-contiguous area in Haspelmath’s semantic map (Figure 1). Pronouns with such distributions are not found in any language in Haspelmath’s sample, and we should think carefully before we postulate it for a dead language like OCS. Nevertheless, the examples quoted by Miklosich look very convincing. In particular, he gives a number of examples where *kъto* combines with a proper name, such as *Marinъ kъto* “a certain Marinus” (Suprasliensis 23.21),⁷ *Nestorъ kъto* “a certain Nestor” (Suprasliensis 24.20).

It is noteworthy, however, that all of Miklosich’s examples that seem to correspond to *quidam* are from the Codex Suprasliensis. The usage of *kъto* in the older codex Marianus follows a different pattern, more in line with Vaillant’s view than Miklosich’s. Since the codex Marianus is part of the PROIEL Treebank, it is easy to extract all instances of the Hamblin indefinites *kъto* ‘who’ and *čъto* ‘what’. There are 53 instances of *kъto*: 40 of these are found in conditional clauses, 4 in questions, and 9 under negation (7 cases of indirect negation and 2 cases of direct negation). The inanimate *čъto* shows a similar pattern, with 10 instances in conditional clauses, 3 under negation (always indirect), and 4 in questions. When we look at how instances of Greek *τις* in contexts other than these are translated in the Marianus, we find a variety of strategies, including *edinъ* “someone” (e.g. Mark 2:6, Luke 10:33), *droudzii* “others” (Mark 8:3), *něčъto* (Matt. 20:20).

Given this clear pattern, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that at the stage of the Codex Marianus, it was ungrammatical to use *kъto* as a Hamblin indefinite in standard declarative contexts. The Suprasliensis is a later manuscript, so it is possible that the language had evolved by then and did allow this usage. There is reason to be skeptical, however. In addition to the typological problem mentioned above, the situation that we see in the Marianus seems quite typical of what we find in the modern Slavic languages, where Hamblin indefinites are typically used in questions, conditionals, under negation, and in some non-specific modal contexts (Křížková 1974; cf. also Yanovich 2005 for Russian), but not in declarative clauses. It is of course possible that the sphere of usage of Hamblin indefinites increased in early Slavic and then retracted in later Slavic. But again, such a change would be typologically odd, for, as Haspelmath (1997:\$6.4) shows, semantic changes in indefinite pronouns uniformly tends to increase their sphere of usage, not decrease it. Therefore it seems more plausible to conclude that Old Church Slavic only allowed Hamblin indefinites in conditionals, questions and under negation. This situation in fact persists until modern Slavic, with some extension to modal contexts happening after the earliest OCS texts.

⁷References to the Codex Suprasliensis are to the edition of Zaimov and Capaldo 1982.

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2.10 Baltic

In Lithuanian, the bare interrogative *kas* can be used as an indefinite, but its distribution is not well described in the grammars. Ambrazas (1997:201) glosses *kas* as ‘someone, somebody, something’, but does not further discuss its use, so it is unclear if they see any restrictions on it (and whether we should take the translation with the English *some*-series at face value). Senn (1966:202–3) similarly implies a non-restricted usage.

In the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Academy* (Ulvydas 1959:365–6 s.v. *kas* IV), most of the examples are found under the gloss *kas nors*, which is used in questions, conditionals, and under (indirect) negation, as well as in modal contexts, and all the examples here occur in such contexts. Here is an example with indirect negation:

- (28) Čia yra sunku kas suprasti
 Here is difficult WH:ACC understand
 “It is difficult to understand anything here.”

However, the dictionary also give a few examples of main-clause declaratives, where *kas* is glossed as “kažkas” (the pronoun used in specific unknown contexts), e.g. (29).

- (29) Man tai kas pasakė
 Me:DAT that WH:NOM say:3SG.PST
 “Someone told me that.”

I have consulted two native speakers of Lithuanian, who both reject such examples. In their varieties of Lithuanian, Hamblin indefinites are only found in questions, conditionals, under negation, and in modal contexts. More research is definitely needed on this topic, but since the large majority of examples in the Academy dictionary are also found in these contexts, it seems likely that this is the standard pattern and that the use of the bare interrogative outside of these contexts is a dialectal variant.

2.11 Albanian

The use of the bare interrogative *kush* ‘who?’ as an indefinite is described in Buchholz and Fiedler (1987:307). Unlike the expanded interrogatives (*dikush*, *sekush*, *ndokush*), *kush* occurs sentence-finally or after the verb. The examples given in the grammar are questions, fear clauses, and negated clauses, but no explicit claim is made that the Hamblin indefinite is only found there. However, according to Borana Lushaj (p.c.), such clauses, together with conditional clauses, exhaust the environments where *kush* can be used as an indefinite. Moreover, Lushaj reported examples of this occurring in Buzuku, the earliest Albanian text:

- (30) E në flet kush
 And if speak:3SG.PRS WH:NOM
 “And if anyone speaks” (Buzuku fol. 79v)
- (31) A mos i kish kush përëm me ëngranë
 QST not him:DAT had WH:NOM bring INF eat
 “Had anyone brought him something to eat?” (Buzuku fol. 53v)

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- (32) Përse kush nukë na muorr ëndë punë
because WH:NOM not acc.cl.I.pl take.AOR in work
(“And why are you here without work all day?” And they said to him:) “Because nobody has employed us.” (Buzuku fol. 39v)

In conclusion, Albanian—from its earliest attestations to the modern-day language—attests Hamblin indefinites in conditionals, questions, and under negation. An interesting fact is that it allows them in fear-clauses, which are introduced with the negative complementizer *mos*, but of course there is no semantic negation here. This is similar to Latin (*timeo ne quis...*).

3 Reconstruction

The following table sums up the findings of the previous section.

	ANATOLIAN	INDO-IR.	GREEK	ITALIC	GERMANIC	SLAVIC	BALTIC	ALBANIAN
Conditionals	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Questions	Unknown	Vestigial	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Negation	Rare	Vestigial	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Modals	No	No	Yes	Rare	Rare	No	Yes	No
Declaratives	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No

The most obvious thing to note here is that Greek is alone in allowing Hamblin indefinites in unembedded contexts. This speaks strongly against reconstructing $k^w i-/k^w o-$ as a general indefinite in Proto-Indo-European. As far as I am aware, the only scholar to have explicitly argued this is Behaghel (1917:161) “Und es entspricht *was* ursprünglich in bedeutung und verwendung dem lat. *quis*; man hat also diesen gebrauch als idg. anzusehen. Demgegenüber hat das griechische neuerungen geschaffen, die $\pi\tau\varsigma$ über das ursprüngliche hinausgehen lassen.” Behaghel’s opinion was ignored in the subsequent literature, but as the table shows, the data from Slavic, Baltic and Albanian supports his Italic-Germanic parallel.

The core contexts of Hamblin indefinites in PIE seem to have been conditionals, questions, and negation. The use in modal contexts is found sporadically in Latin and Germanic, and in later Slavic and in Baltic. Given the tendency of indefinites to expand into new contexts (Haspelmath 1997:§6.4), it is likely that these are independent innovations, as must in fact be the case in Slavic, where the oldest texts (Marianus and Zographensis) do not attest indefinites in modal contexts. Indo-Iranian went the other way. If Haspelmath is right, the change there was probably not a gradual retraction to fewer contexts, but an outright loss of the lexical item indefinite *kas*, outcompeted by the complex indefinites. The most difficult data to interpret are those from Anatolian: the use of Hamblin indefinites is clearly restricted—even more so than in other branches—and unattested in Old Hittite. A possible, “Indo-Hittite” answer to this is that Hamblin indefinites are in fact independent innovations in Anatolian (specifically Middle Hittite) and in the rest of IE. If so, the Hittite data would suggest an origin in conditionals and subsequent spread to negation and possibly questions. But at present this is speculation, which must be followed up in more research.

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Pāṇini’s Language: Real or Not?

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I Introduction

In a recent paper, Kulikov (2013) claims that several grammatical phenomena taught in Pāṇini’s grammar did not exist in Vedic and that the language described by Pāṇini was not “real” Sanskrit:

[A] number of linguistic phenomena described by grammarians did not appear in Vedic texts but existed within the semi-colloquial scholarly discourse of the learned community of Sanskrit scholars . . . Some of these phenomena may result from the influence of Middle Indic dialects spoken by Ancient Indian scholars, thus representing syntactic and morphological calques from their native dialects into the Sanskrit grammatical system. (59)

. . . the discrepancy between the two inventories of forms and constructions [in Vedic and in Pāṇini] raises serious doubts about the status of the linguistic forms in question and, more generally, about the linguistic reality of the language described by Pāṇini. (68)

This form of Old Indo-Aryan could not function as a normal living language: it was not spoken by adult persons addressing their children and therefore was not learned by children as first language . . . nor was it used in every-day life. (84–5)

In making these claims, Kulikov comes down on the side of Whitney’s intemperate and often unjustified¹ attacks on the Sanskrit grammarians (e.g. Whitney 1884, 1893). Even though he refers to Whitney’s position as “extreme” (p. 68), he apparently approves of Whitney’s statement that for “the grammarians, Sanskrit, as distinguished from them [i.e. the forms of Vedic and post-Vedic Sanskrit], is a thing of grammatical rule merely, having never had any real existence as a language, and being on the whole unknown in practice to even the most modern pandits . . .” (Whitney 1884:282). Further, he questions counterarguments such as Cardona’s (1999:214) by claiming that “Cardona is (almost) never concerned with the question of whether these forms and constructions in fact occurred in texts—which is often not the case.”

¹See e.g. Hock 2009 regarding Whitney’s analysis of causative morphology and Hock 2014 on Whitney’s evaluation of the phonetic classification of voiced aspiration in the Prātiśākhya.

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Kulikov’s evidence for his position is of three kinds. First, he claims that the passives *janyate* and *tanyate* (permitted by 6.3.43 *ye vibhāṣā* and 6.3.44 *tanoter yaki*) are “not merely accidentally unattested” in the Vedic corpus “but did not exist at all in the variety of Vedic Sanskrit contemporaneous with Pāṇini” (61–2, see also 71). Second, he claims that Pāṇini teaches “[n]on-existing functions: passive-non-passive accentuation” by his rule 6.1.195 *acah kartr yaki* (72). Third, Kulikov claims that contrary to the provisions of Pāṇini’s grammar (which permits bhāva-formations, i.e. impersonal passives from intransitives), even by the end of the Vedic period “we do not find passives from intransitives” (73).

In this paper I demonstrate that Kulikov’s arguments are problematic and fail to establish these claims.

2 The issue of “non-existent” passive forms

First, *janyate*, optionally permitted by 6.3.43, is an impersonal passive or bhāva-formation. While the form does not occur in the extant Vedic corpus, the question of whether it was a possible grammatical form depends on the larger issue of whether impersonal passives were possible in Vedic or not. As we will see, such passives were indeed possible, but attestations of finite structures, marked by *yaK*,² are rare. The non-attestation of *janyate* in the Vedic corpus, therefore, does not establish that the form was ungrammatical.

The forms *tanyate* and *khanyate*, permitted by 6.3.44, likewise are not attested in the extant Vedic texts. But again, this does not establish that the forms were ungrammatical. Moreover, *tanyate* is listed in Whitney’s *Roots* (1885) as occurring in the Classical language, and *khanyate* in “Epic +”. The latter occurrence may be significant, since the Epic language was relatively free of the influence of Pāṇini’s grammar, and hence is likely to reflect actual usage, rather than an attempt to live up to the prescriptions of the grammarians.

In fact, the entire Whitneyan—and Kulikovian—approach, based on whether particular forms are attested or not, is problematic. We can never be certain that a corpus, however large, provides complete information about the forms and grammar of a language. For instance, the root *yabh* ‘to have intercourse’ does not occur in the Rīg Veda, the earliest layer of the Vedic corpus. However, it has cognates in other Indo-European languages (Russ. *ebat*, Greek *oíphō*) and it occurs in the later Atharva Veda; the root must therefore have existed at the time of the Rīg Veda and its absence must be accidental. In contrast to Whitney’s and Kulikov’s corpus-limited approach, a speaker of the language, such as Pāṇini, has access to a much broader range of lexical and grammatical usage, and the resulting insights must not be dismissed lightly.

Kulikov’s other two claims are more significant, since they address not just the issue of whether particular, individual forms did—or could—occur, but rather whether entire categories of formations were grammatical in Vedic.

²Capital letters in Sanskrit forms indicate grammatical markers.

3 Kulikov on Pāṇini 6.1.195

Since the time of Whitney (1879:§761b) and Delbrück (1888:267–8)³ it has been known that certain verbs in *-ya-*, inflected in the middle voice (ātmanepada), exhibit variation between root and suffix accentuation, with some branches of the Veda preferring one accentuation, others the other. See e.g. (1). Both scholars agree on classifying these verbs as non-passive, belonging to the 4th (or *div*) class of verbs.

- (1) a. *yādi bhidyeta*
 “If (the *ukhā*) should break . . .” (TS 5.1.9.3)
 b. *yāsya kapālam bhidyeta tāt sām dadhyāt*
 “Whose cup should break, he/one should put it (back) together” (MS 1.4.13)

In his 2001 dissertation (published version 2010), Kulikov basically confirms (Whitney’s and) Delbrück’s perspective, adding that the verbs that exhibit this behavior are largely “anticausative,” referring to a “spontaneous” action without any implicit external agent.⁴ He further groups them in two major classes—verbs of “entropy increase” (“destruction” and “destructuring,” plus a few antonyms), such as *bhid* ‘split’, and a smaller group of verbs of “heating,” such as *tap*. In addition, he argues that this account differs from that of Pāṇini’s sūtra 6.1.195, which according to Kulikov teaches accent variation for PASSIVES, rather than NON-passive, “anticausative” intransitives.

In Kulikov’s 2013 paper, this claim becomes a cornerstone of the argument that Pāṇini’s grammar does not teach a “real” Sanskrit. The claim is based on a reading of 6.1.195 as indicating that accent variation takes place optionally in verbs characterized by the “passive” suffix *-ya-* under the condition that the verbs are employed in “agentive,” i.e. “non-passive—for instance, reflexive” usage. See (2) with Kulikov’s gloss.

- (2) *acah kartr yaki* (6.1.195)
 “before [the passive suffix] *-ya-* [in verbs with the roots ending] in a vowel (aC-)
 [the root optionally bears the accent if the verb is employed] in the agentive [i.e. non-passive—for instance, reflexive] [usage]”

Kulikov’s interpretation rests on a faulty understanding of Pāṇini’s grammar, specifically the sūtras dealing with what has come to be called karmakartari. A correct reading leads to the insight that Pāṇini’s account is eminently compatible with Kulikov’s (and Whitney’s, and Delbrück’s) interpretation of structures such as (1) as non-passive.

Rule 6.1.195 has to be read in the larger context of Pāṇini’s grammar, especially of sūtras 3.1.62., 3.1.67, and 3.1.87 which deal with karmakartari marking. Although the formulation of these sūtras may not be as transparent as one might want it to be, Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya, with an important vārttika of Kātyāyana, helps to clarify the issue. The extensive discussion in the Mahābhāṣya and its explanation of how Pāṇini’s grammar works as regards these

³See also Speijer 1896:49–50.

⁴The term “anticausative” is variously defined as a special variety of the passive, without any implied agent (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000:7–12) or as something semantically distinct from the passive in that there is no implied agent and the action is conceived of as arising spontaneously (Comrie 1985:326). Kulikov evidently adopts the latter definition.

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issues can be summarized in somewhat simplified form as follows. (See Cardona 1974, 1976, and 1978 for fuller discussions.)

Dealing with a natural language, the grammar needs to recognize that speakers may choose to refer to participants in an action (“constituents” for short) not in accordance with their “semantic” classification in the *kāraka sūtras* (1.4.23–55)⁵ as instrument (KARANA), location (ADHIKARANA), or object/patient (KARMAṆ), but as independent (*svatantra*) agent (KARTṚ). Consider the examples in (3a) vs. (3b).

- (3) a. *asīś chinatti*
 axe.KARTṚ CUT.KARTṚ.PRS.3SG.ACT
 “The axe cuts.”
sthālī pacati
 pot.KARTṚ COOK.KARTṚ.PRS.3SG.ACT
 “The pot cooks.”
 b. *asīnā chinatti*
 axe.KARANA CUT.KARTṚ.PRS.3SG.ACT
 “(Somebody) cuts with an axe.”
sthālyān pacati
 pot.ADIKARANA COOK.KARTṚ.PRS.3SG.ACT
 “(Somebody) cooks in a pot.”

While in most cases there is no change in verbal inflection, the situation is different for constituents that would semantically be classified as object/patient (KARMAṆ). If such a constituent is chosen to be referred to as independent KARTṚ, the present suffix *yaK*, ordinarily employed to mark KARMAṆ (object/patient) or BHĀVA ([intransitive] verbal action), is employed; see Pāṇini 3.1.67 (4a) with Kātyāyana’s *vārttika* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (4b). (For the corresponding aorist in CīṆ, see 3.1.62, which actually uses the term *karmakartari*.)

- (4) a. *sārvadhātuke yaK* (Pāṇini 3.1.67) [*bhāvakarmanoh* 3.1.66]
 “(When the endings are marked for BHĀVA or KARMAṆ [or KARMAKARTṚ]), the suffix *yaK* is introduced before the endings.”
 b. *bhāvakarmanor yagvidhāne karmakartari upasankhyānam* (*Vārttika*, *Mahābhāṣya* ad P. 3.1.67)
 “In the specification of *yaK* for BHĀVA and KARMAṆ, (the term) KARMAKARTARI (‘in the presence of a semantic KARMAṆ treated as KARTṚ’) is a (necessary) addition.”

What is crucial here, and shows that this is the correct interpretation, is Pāṇini’s *sūtra* 3.1.87: *karmavat karmanā tulyakriyāḥ (kartā)*, which expressly restricts the operation of 3.1.67 to KARTṚs that would be semantically classified as KARMAṆ. As a consequence, we get the relationship in (5a) vs. (5b).

⁵A detailed presentation of Pāṇini’s use of the *kāraka sūtras* (1.4.23–55), LA-marking on the verb (3.4.67–76), and the realization of *kāra*kas and LA-marking as case endings and verb suffixes (2.3.1, 3.1.67–90) is beyond the scope of this paper.

- (5) a. *kuśūlo bhid-ya-te*
 grain.pot.KARṬ break-yaK.KARṬ-PRS.3SG.MID
 “The grain pot breaks.”
 b. *kuśūlam bhinatti*
 grain.pot.KARMA break.KARṬ-PRS.3SG.ACT
 “(Somebody) breaks the grain pot.”

Actions expressed in this way are characterized as taking place “spontaneously,” in the sense of not being brought about by an “outside agent”; see (6).

- (6) *yas tu khalu nivāte nirabhivarṣe acirakālakṛtaḥ kuśūlo bhidyate tasya nānyaḥ kartā bhavati anyad ataḥ kuśūlāt*
 “But the grain pot that breaks without wind, without rain (falling) on (it), suddenly, of that (pot) there is no other karṭ, other than this grain pot.” (Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya on P. 3.1.87)

Examples such as (5a) are often cited with a following *svayam eva* ‘by itself’, but this is intended to indicate spontaneity—there is no KARṬ other than the grain pot. Nowhere is there any talk of such structures as having a “reflexive” function (as might be indicated by *svayam*). Kulikov’s glossing of 6.1.195 as referring to a reflexive action, which seems to follow Böhtlingk 1887, thus is inaccurate.

Most important, the verbs in structures such as (5a) are marked for KARṬ and thus, in Pāṇini’s grammar, are non-passive (karṭvācyā), not passive (karma- or bhāvavācyā). Kulikov’s interpretation of 6.1.195 as referring to some special kind of passive, thus, is inaccurate.

Being marked for KARṬ, structures such as (5a) are open to (impersonal) passivization, or in Pāṇini’s terminology, marking for BHĀVA. As a consequence, structures such as (5a’) are possible, roughly glossable as ‘there is spontaneous breaking of the grain pot’. (Note the instrumental case *kuśūlena* in (5a’) vs. the nominative case *kuśūlo* in (5a).)

- (5a’) *kuśūlena bhid-ya-te*
 grain.pot.KARṬ-INS.SG break-yaK.BHĀVA-PRS.3SG.MID

From a western perspective, marking by the “passive” suffix *-yaK-* in structures of this sort is thus a purely morphological phenomenon, not a syntactic one.⁶ The marking, however, has further implications: *yaK* requires ātmanepada (middle voice) endings, accent on the suffix *ya*, and weak form of the preceding root.

Sūtra 6.1.195, then, specifies that in structures of this sort, with *karṭryaK* ‘having a *yaK* marking the KARṬ’, a subset of verbs (those marked with final vowel in the dhātupāṭha) optionally permit shift of the accent from the suffix *ya(K)* to the preceding root. See (2’) vs. Kulikov’s (2).

- (2’) *acāḥ karṭryaki* (6.1.195)
 “(Roots optionally bear the accent) if they end in a vowel (in the dhātupāṭha), before the suffix *-yaK-*, provided that it marks the KARṬ.”

⁶But as George Cardona (p.c. Aug. 2014) reminds me, Pāṇini’s grammar does not distinguish a separate, purely morphological level.

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(2) *acah kartr yaki* (6.1.195)

“before [the passive suffix] *-ya-* [in verbs with the roots ending] in a vowel (aC-) [the root optionally bears the accent if the verb is employed] in the agentive [i.e. non-passive—for instance, reflexive] [usage]”

To sum up: Contrary to Kulikov’s interpretation of rule 6.1.195, Pāṇini treats structures of the type (2) as non-passives. In fact, like Kulikov, Pāṇinian grammar notes that the actions expressed by such structures are spontaneous and do not have an implied external agent. Moreover, similar to Kulikov, P 6.1.195 recognizes that a subset of verbs in such structures permit optional accent variation between the root and the suffix *-ya-*.

Thus this part of Kulikov’s arguments against the accuracy of Pāṇini’s grammar evaporates. This, of course, still leaves the issue of passives from intransitives, including the type (6a’), an issue that is addressed in the next section.

4 Kulikov on passives from intransitives (“bhāva passives”)

The third argument raised by Kulikov against the accuracy of Pāṇini’s grammar concerns the issue of passives from intransitives, i.e. BHĀVA-marked structures—“bhāva-passives” for short. This issue clearly is an empirical one: Did the Vedic tradition use bhāva-passives or not? Kulikov’s answer is a clear “No.” Careful examination, however, shows that this judgment is problematic.

It is true that examples of finite bhāva-passives, marked by the suffix *-yaK-* are difficult to find in the Vedic corpus. Even so, a possible example can be cited; see (7). The interpretation is difficult and might give rise to some disagreements. Since English does not have an idiomatic counterpart of *nṛtyate* lit. ‘is danced’, *nṛtyate* and the other passives are translated as ‘there is . . . dancing’, etc. Under this interpretation, focus is on the act or action, which is equated with the (action of the) “army” of Prajāpati or Death. Caland, to be sure, translates (7) as if *nṛtyate* were a “regular” passive: ‘was getanzt wird’ = ‘what is danced’; but what would be the underlying object (KARMAN) of *nṛt* ‘dance’?⁷ (Another, clearer case of a finite bhāva-passive is presented in §5.)

(7) *atha ha tarhi yajñāyudhāny āsur yathemāny etarbhīṣṭiṣv āyudhāni tad yad yajñe stūyate yac chasyate yat pracaryate sā prajāpateḥ senāsa + atha yad vīṇāyān gīyate yan nṛtyate yad vṛthācaryate sā mṛtyoḥ senāsa . . . tasya yāni stutaśastrāny āsan yad evaitad vīṇāyān gīyate yan nṛtyate yad vṛthācaryate tāny eva tāni* (JB 2.69)

“At that time there were weapons (i.e. instruments and actions) of the sacrifice just like these weapons (that are) now in the iṣṭis. In so far as there (now) is praising at the sacrifice, reciting, (ritual) proceeding, that (at that time) was the army of Prajāpati; in so far as there (now) is making music on the vīṇā, dancing, useless procedure, that (at that time) was the army of Death . . . Of it (i.e. Death) what were the stotras and śāstras, in so far as now there is making music on the vīṇā, dancing, useless procedure, they (were) those.”

⁷Caland also translates *yad vīṇāyān gīyate* as “Was auf der Laute gesungen wird” = “what is sung on the lute,” rather than the more idiomatic “what is played on the vīṇā” or rather “In so far as there is making music on the vīṇā.”

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Significantly, in Pāṇini's grammar bhāva marking is not restricted to finite passives in -*yaK*-, but also extends to *ta*-participles (Kta) and gerundives (kṛtya), as per sūtra 3.4.70. That is, it applies to all passive-like structures made from intransitives. Examples of bhāva-passive *ta*-participles are a bit more common than those of finite passives; see (8).

- (8) a. *tathā hāsām sarvāsām amoghāyaiva + upasametam bhavati* (KB 10.6)
 “In this way is not gathered/there is no gathering in vain by all of them.”
 ≈ “In this way all of them have not gathered in vain.”
- b. *yad vāva prāṇo jāgarti tad eva jāgaritam* (JB 3.8)
 “In so far as Breath (m.) is awake, thereby is awoken (n.).”
 ≈ “... thereby one awakes/awaking takes place.”
- c. *arātītam arātītam hy eva tasmāi yasmā etā devatā arātīyant(i)* (JB 1.98)
 “For to him has been (multiply) malevolent to whom these deities are malevolent.”
 ≈ “For him malevolence strikes again and again towards whom these deities are malevolent.”
 Caland: “... Denn Missgeschick hat ihn getroffen, welchem die Götter Unglück bringen wollen.”

The most productive category with bhāva marking is that of the gerundives (kṛtyas); see the selected examples in (9) as well as the discussion in Hock 1986a. Even the verb ‘to be’, crosslinguistically the least likely to undergo passivization, can be affected, as in (9g–h). Many of these constructions are difficult to gloss literally; so the translations in (9) are somewhat free, except for (9a).

- (9) a. *tasmād brāhmanena kṣatriyāya na drogdhavyam*
 “Therefore by a brahmin should not be been hostile to a kṣatriya.” (JB 1.287; sim. AB 1.24.7)
 ≈ “Therefore a brahmin should not be hostile to a kṣatriya.”
- b. *tasmād u ha vṛtena nāpakrāmyam* (variant -*kramyam*)
 “Therefore somebody elected should not depart.” (JB 3.187)
- c. *gantavyam ma ācāryas suyāman amanyat(a)* (JUB 3.8.4)
 “The acharya Suyāman thought that I should go.”
- d. *kāmam eva svaptavyam* (JB 3.8)
 “One should sleep to one's desire.”
- e. *tīrthé snéyam* (KS 22.13; sim. ibid)
 “One should bathe at a bathing-place.”
- f. *(ā)thātra prācīnāvṛtēna bhāvyaṁ* (MS 1.10.18)
 “Now, here one should be (a person) having the sacred cord over the right shoulder.”
- g. *tasmān na neṣṭrā na potrā bhavitavyam* (KS 24.6)
 “Therefore one should be neither a neṣṭr nor a potr.”
- h. *tasmād u ha brāhmanena śuddhenaiva śucinā bubhūṣitavyam* (JB 1.282)
 “Therefore a brahmin should desire to be [desiderative of *bhū*] pure (and clean)”

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Given that the best evidence for bhāva passives comes in the form of gerundives (kṛtyas), one could possibly claim that these are not really passive (because they are not finite), and that therefore Kulikov’s claim still holds. However, in that case the validity of the claim depends on the definition of what is a “real” passive. In Pāṇini’s grammar, all of the structures in (7–9) have bhāva-marking and thus are (impersonal) passives in western terminology; and the fact that such marking occurs more commonly in gerundives (kṛtyas) would be attributable not to grammar, but to usage. (Given that Vedic prose texts abound in injunctions as to what should or should not be done, a more widespread use of the gerundive is precisely what one would expect.)

Without compelling additional evidence, therefore, the fact that examples of finite bhāva-passives seem to be difficult to find cannot be taken as supporting the claim that finite bhāva-passives were ungrammatical in (late) Vedic.

5 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 1.9.2.8 and 4.6.7.9, karmakartari, and bhāva-passive

As it turns out, accepting Pāṇini’s grammatical account for the karmakartari construction as well as for bhāva-passives makes it possible to explain an otherwise puzzling use of case marking in two Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa passages involving a collocation of *car* ‘carry out, undertake’ and *mithuna* ‘copulation, coupling, intercourse’.

In the meaning ‘carry out, undertake’, *car* is construed as a transitive which takes an object/patient (KARMAN), marked accusative in the non-passive, as in (10a). In participial form, this construction also occurs in (10b), in the passage *jāyāpatī mithunam carantau* ‘husband-and-wife carrying out copulation.’ At the beginning of (10b), however, we find a different construction, with *car* marked by the suffix *-ya-* and *mithunam* as its subject. One possibility would be to read the form *car-ya-tā* = *car-ya-tai* as an ordinary passive, and to gloss *mithunam caryātai* as ‘copulation shall/should be carried out’; but Pāṇini’s grammar permits an alternative interpretation as a karmakartari, non-passive formation, so that *mithunam caryātai* is glossed as ‘copulation shall/should take place’ (*svayam eva*). That the latter interpretation must be correct is shown by (10c) which likewise exhibits a form of *car* with *-ya-* suffix, but with *mithuna* ‘copulation’ appearing in the instrumental.

(10) a. *vratāni carati* (KS 4.4)

VOW.ACC.PL.N carry.out.PRS.3SG.ACT

“He undertakes the vows.”

b. *tira iva + idam mithunam*
secretly like here copulation.NOM.SG.N

car-ya-tā iti

carry.out-ya-SUBJ.3SG QUOT

vyrdham vā etan mithunam

improper PARTICLE that copulation.NOM.SG.N

yad anyah paśyati

which another sec.PRS.3SG.ACT

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tasmād yady api jāyāpatī
therefore if even husband.wife.ACC.DU.M

mithunam carantau
copulation.ACC.SG.N carry.out.PRS.PPL.ACC.DU.M

paśyanti vy eva dravata(h) (ŚB 4.6.7.9)
see.PRS.3PL.ACT apart EMPH run.PRS.3DU.ACT

“‘Secretly, as it were, copulation is to be carried out/take place.’ For improper is the copulation which another sees. Therefore even when (people) see a husband and wife carrying on copulation, they run away from each other . . .”

- c. *tīra iva vai mithunena*
secretly like PARTICLE copulation.INS.SG.N
car-ya-te (ŚB 1.9.2.8)
carry.out-ya-PRS.3SG.MID
“Secretly, as it were, coupling takes place.”

Pāṇini's grammar can readily account for this difference in case marking—(10c) is simply a bhāva-passive corresponding to the karmakartari structure *mithunam caryātai*; so the reading should be that of an impersonal passive, lit. “by copulation is taken place.”⁸ See the presentation in (11) and compare the similar relations in (5), repeated for convenience in a format that brings out the parallelism more clearly. Without a Pāṇinian approach, by contrast, the difference in case usage between (10c) and the beginning of (10b) would remain unexplained.

- (11) a. Non-passive
jāyāpatī mithunam
husband.wife.KARTR.ACC.DU.M copulation.KARMAN.ACC.SG.N
carantau
carry.out.KARTR.PRS.PPL.ACC.DU.M
- b. Karmakartari
mithunam car-yā-t(ai)
copulation.KARTR.NOM.SG.N carry.out-yaK.KARTR-SUBJ.3SG
- c. Bhāva-passive
mithunena car-ya-te
copulation.KARTR.INS.SG.N carry.out-yaK.BHĀVA-PRS.3SG.MID
- (5) a. Non-passive
kuśūlam bhinatti
grain.pot.KARMAN break.KARTR.PRS.3SG.ACT
- b. Karmakartari

⁸At an earlier presentation of this paper (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, October 2014), Malhar Kulkarni noted that this use of the root *car* is not Pāṇinian (the dhātupāṭha gives *carA* as *gatyarthah* ‘in the sense of going’). The difference in usage may be attributable to regional difference (see the discussion in §6). Differences of this sort are especially likely as regards the use of individual roots or words.

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- kuśūlo* *bhid-ya-te*
 grain.pot.KARṬṚ.NOM.SG.M break-yaK.KARṬṚ-PRS.3SG.MID
 c. Bhāva-passive
kuśūlena *bhid-ya-te*
 grain.pot.KARṬṚ.INS.SG break-yaK.BHĀVA-PRS.3SG.MID

Far from being incorrect for the (late) Vedic language, Pāṇini’s grammar thus shows itself to be highly accurate—as well as productive, in so far as it provides a firmly grounded explanation for the structures in (10b) and (10c). An approach that denies the existence of bhāva-passives in Vedic Prose cannot provide such an explanation.

Additionally, of course, we can now add (11b) as an example of a finite bhāva-passive in (late) Vedic, which further demonstrates that Kulikov’s claim that such structures do not occur in Vedic is mistaken.

6 Conclusions

We can thus conclude that, contrary to Kulikov (and Whitney), Pāṇini’s grammar accounts for a real, late Vedic variety of Sanskrit. One of Kulikov’s more substantial arguments for his position, the claim that Pāṇini falsely interprets structure like (2) as passives, is based on a faulty interpretation of Pāṇini’s grammar. The other substantial claim, namely that contrary to Pāṇini there are no bhāva passives in Vedic, is empirically questionable and, unlike Pāṇini’s approach, is unable to explain the case variation in (11b) vs. (11c).

In all fairness, however, it must be said that Kulikov’s (2001, 2012) survey of what in Pāṇini’s terms are karmakartari constructions with accent variation is admirably thorough and informative. Moreover, his historical argument merits further research, namely that root accent is primary and accent on the suffix *-ya(K)-* is secondary, even though this conflicts with Pāṇini’s interpretation. But it should also be noted that Pāṇini’s approach is synchronic, not diachronic like that of Kulikov.

An argument for the non-passive interpretation of karmakartari constructions that Kulikov only alludes to (referring to Hock 1986b) is that in constructions of this sort, the converb (Ktvā/LyaP)⁹ is controlled by the surface subject of the construction; see (12). At least for the post-mantra language, such control is normally exerted only by a KARṬṚ (P 3.4.21). The surface subject in constructions of this type therefore must be the underlying subject, the KARṬṚ; and the action must be construed as spontaneous, without an implicit external agent or KARṬṚ.

- (12) a. *imā upātā mṛtyupāsā yān ākrāmya nā mucyāse* (AV 8.8.16ab)
 “These death-fetters are laid out, having entered which you do not become free.”
 (Not: “. . . which (someone else) having entered you do not get freed (by that person).”)
 b. *ubhau sahottamanī sarivatsaram eva kalpayitvā ubhau saha vimucyete* (KS 28.2)
 “Both having together established the last year, both get free together.”

⁹Ktvā and LyaP are Pāṇini’s terms for the converb suffixes *-tvā* and *-ya*.

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- c. *udañco vai naḥ palāyya mucyante* (ŚB 1.2.4.10)
 “They escape from us, fleeing northward.”

Kulikov's claim of Prakrit influence on Pāṇini's language is also worth further investigation. As we have seen, the evidence and arguments that he adduces in favor of the claim are problematic, but as is well known, from the time of the Rig Veda we find Prakritic influence on Sanskrit (as in *kim* for expected *kad* or *vikata* beside *vikṛta*). It would therefore certainly be interesting to see whether the language described in Pāṇini's grammar shows Prakrit influence beyond what we find in late Vedic.

On one count, the use of the genitive for the dative, Pāṇini seems to differ from Vedic, but he does so by being less influenced by Prakrit, not more. For late Vedic, Delbrück notes occasional examples of the genitive used instead of the dative (1888:162)—a common phenomenon in Prakrit. Pāṇini, by contrast, recognizes this use only for Vedic but, by implication, not for his own language (see 2.3.62: *caturthyartho bahulam chandasi* “In the Vedic language, [the genitive is used] variously in the sense of the dative”).

Deshpande (1992), to be sure, argues that Pāṇini's Sanskrit “incorporates” Prakrit elements in hypocoristics such as *upiya* for *upendradattaka* ‘that poor Upendradatta’. It remains to be determined whether such “Prakritic” forms are found in domains other than hypocoristics of (personal) names. A more comprehensive investigation of the issue of Prakritisms in Pāṇini would certainly be worth pursuing.

At this point, the most fruitful avenue for studying differences between Pāṇini's grammar and the Vedic language—and accounting for them—appears to be the one initiated by Deshpande in his famous paper on Pāṇini as a Frontier Grammarian (1983); see also Hock 1981 and 2012. But in this case, the basis for the differences is geographic/regional, not purely social, in terms of influence from Prakrit.

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Inter-hymnic Rhetorical Structure in RV I.68–70: Parāśara Śāktya’s Vaiśvānara Cycle*

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It is a great pleasure to offer this small token to my fellow-graduate student of long ago and my good friend and colleague ever since, Jared Klein. No one has contributed so much to our understanding—and even to our notice—of the ubiquitous rhetorical and stylistic patterns of repetition within verses and hymns of the Ṛgveda, in publications too numerous to list. In this short piece I want to extend the field of observation to rhetorical relationships between adjacent hymns attributed to the same poet, relationships that are more numerous than is generally thought.¹

The three hymns I will focus on are I.68–70, found in the group attributed to Parāśara Śāktya.² Now Parāśara Śāktya is not a name that resonates in the assemblage of Ṛgvedic poets—even among the very limited circles where the name of *any* Ṛgvedic poet might resonate. Vasiṣṭha, Dīrghatamas, Kakṣivānt, Agastya all have their share of fame, but, at least for me, until recently Parāśara was not among them. Nine hymns, I.65–73, all dedicated to Agni, are attributed to him.³ He is, perhaps, most notable for his fondness for the Dvipadā Virāj meter, in which I.65–70 are composed. Elsewhere in the RV there are no more than a few stray hymns or stray verses within hymns in this meter, as against Parāśara’s six consecutive ones (see Arnold 1905:51, 239). Dvipadā Virāj is a very economical meter, consisting of two ten-syllable pādas, in accordance with the name, or, more accurately, four five-syllable

*I am grateful for the careful editing and insightful suggestions of the editors of this volume.

¹The only listing I know of is the short treatment by Bloomfield (1916:16–9), but he confines himself to particular types of parallelism. For an illuminating treatment of the lexicon of the interconnected Praskaṇva Kāṇva hymns (I.44–50), see Lundquist 2014.

²This paper is an expanded and consolidated version of the introductions to my translations of these three hymns in Jamison and Brereton 2014. Some translations have been adjusted to reflect my more recent views on the passage in question or to bring out more clearly the relationship of the passage to the Vaiśvānara theme. Although selected other translations and commentaries will be discussed on various points, I do not aim to provide a complete account of the many interpretations of these hymns. Further philological and thematic arguments supporting my interpretations can be found in my online commentary (<http://rigvedacommentary.alc.ucla.edu/>).

³As well as IX.97.34–44 in the soma maṇḍala. Those verses show some artful touches, and in particular IX.97.38 contains the disguised formula “placer of the sun,” for which see Jamison 2010.

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pādas,⁴ making up a verse of a mere twenty syllables. Even Gāyatrī manages to reach twenty-four.

Although all of Parāśara’s hymns, particularly those in Dvipadā Virāj, share themes and are tightly knit together by phraseological repetitions and variations, I will argue that the last three of the Dvipadā Virāj sequence, I.68–70, have a particular connection among themselves and in fact constitute a larger unit, a three-hymn sequence focusing on a particular ritual entity. This entity is the Vaiśvānara fire—despite the fact that the word *vaiśvānarā-* does not occur in any of Parāśara’s compositions.⁵

The Vaiśvānara fire—the fire “belonging to all men”—has been illuminatingly treated by Theodore Proferes (2007:46–51, 73–5, 128–36, and *passim*), with discussion of earlier literature. He sees it as “the tribal fire” (p. 46, etc.) representing “the unity of all peoples constituting an ideal *ārya* polity” (p. 74), “a concrete symbol of collective identity” (p. 31), and identified with the sun. It contrasts with, while being made up of, the various clan fires,⁶ which in turn rest upon the household fires of the members of each clan. The three levels of fire in this hierarchy—household, clan, and tribal—are interconnected and indeed identified with each other, and Agni, the god, embodies them all. The constant shifting of focus from one level of fire to another in the R̥V is a mirror of the “fission and fusion” model of R̥gvedic social organization (pp. 16–7 and *passim*), “the process of the alternating unification and dispersal of the clans” (p. 17), coming together to effect larger projects such as raiding and war, but pursuing their ordinary livelihoods in tighter, smaller groups. In periods of fusion, the Vaiśvānara fire would be the focus of the loosely associated clans and symbolize not only their confederation but also the leader to whom they give fealty in the period of joint endeavor.

This is all very well, you may be thinking, but what does it have to do with Parāśara’s poetics? Proferes argues persuasively that I.70 treats the Vaiśvānara fire (pp. 48–9) and, in particular, that vv. 9 and 10 present first the image of this fire as the recipient of honor and tribute from a number of different groups (v. 9) and then (v. 10) this tribal fire divided and dispersed among the various clan fires after the temporary period of unification. I will cite the verses in my translation⁷ (starting with the second half of 9; Proferes does not translate 9ab):

I.70.9cd
bhāraṇta viśve balīm svār ṇaḥ
 All bear tribute to (you), our sun.

⁴Evidence for a four-pāda structure: the ten-syllable sequences almost without exception break into five-syllable halves (though see n. 8 below), and, more important, verbs beginning the second five-syllable sequence are accented even when non-subordinated, indicating that they are initial in their verse line. Cf., e.g., I.66.9 *āstaṁ nā gāvo nākṣanta iddbām*. It is also the case that the five-syllable units are often syntactically self-contained. Cf., e.g., I.65.5 *puṣṭīr nā raṇvā kṣitīr nā pṛthivī, gīrīr nā bhūjma kṣodo nā śambhū*, with four separate five-syllable similes.

⁵Contrast nearby I.59, attributed to Nodhas Gautama, dedicated to Vaiśvānara, and containing a form of the word *vaiśvānarā-* in each of its seven verses.

⁶Proferes uses the word “tribe” to refer to “the largest unit of political organization in the early Vedic period” (pp. 14–5); the Vedic words it corresponds to are *jāna-*, *kṛtī-*, and *carṣanī-*, all, roughly, ‘people(s)’. He uses “clan” to translate Vedic *vis-*, referring to smaller segments of the tribe, probably organized by lineage (p. 16). Both of these terms are used loosely and are not meant to imply a precise anthropological view of social organization. The clan in its turn is made up of a number of households (*grhā-*, *dām-*, p. 16).

⁷The Proferes translations differ minimally.

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I.70.10

*vī tvā nárah purutrā saparyan, pitúr ná jīvrer vī védo bharanta*⁸

Men serve you separately in many places; they bear (you) away separately as (sons bear away) the property of their aging father.

With regard to v. 9 Proferes says (p. 48) that “a multiplicity of widely dispersed groups are converging on a central fire in order to treat it as their leader. This is undoubtedly the language of fealty, as we know that the clans are made to bear tribute to the king.”⁹ The contrast between the two verses reflects (pp. 48–9)

the two contrasting poles of fire’s symbolic function. As the locus for tribal unity and the emblem of sovereign rule, the fire was the one center around which all constituents of the polity were organized. But centralized control was not permanent, and the autonomy of the individual clans was also represented by fire, here the individual clan fires burning in the hearth of each clan-lord. . . . [T]hese were conceived as but manifestations of a single fire, and thus one must imagine the cyclical integration and dispersion of fire. This process is reflected in RV I.70.9–10, in which the single tribal fire . . . is subsequently divided and distributed throughout the settlements.

I find this both elegantly phrased and convincing; I also think that it is truer than even the author knew—because the text itself encodes the underlying term *vaiśvānarā-* in these two contrasting verses, with *vīśve* the subject of the verb of 9cd and *nárah* that of 10ab. Vv. 9–10 are the last real verses of this hymn (on v. 11 see below), and therefore the serial juxtaposition of the two words making up the fire’s name serves as a climax for this hymn concerning Agni Vaiśvānara. At least in my opinion: it might be possible to argue that the presence of *vīśve* and *nárah* in successive pādas is an accident. However, the two preceding hymns give evidence for the same covert encoding. To anticipate the punchline of this paper, I.68 contains multiple occurrences of the word *vīśva-* ‘all’, I.69 of the word *ṁ-* ‘man’. Thus each of the elements of the compound *vaiśvānarā-* is repeatedly highlighted in its own hymn, and the two are finally united in the finale of the third hymn, I.70.9–10.

Let me begin simply by listing the occurrences of each of these stems in their respective hymns. It is well to keep in mind that both I.68 and I.69 are ten verses long, which in

⁸Neither of the hemistichs in v. 10 produces two proper Dvipadā Virāj pādas. The first divides into 4/6 and presents as a Triṣṭubh lacking a syllable; the second has eleven syllables and is simply a Triṣṭubh, though with an irregular break. Hemistichs in Dvipadā Virāj are always, as it were, trembling on the brink of being Triṣṭubhs and hymns of mixed DV and Triṣṭubh are found; see Arnold 1905:14, 239.

⁹The treatment of the fire as king is also found in the first half of v. 9, presumably left untranslated by Proferes because there is lack of agreement among translators and commentators about the meaning of the verb and its complements. I give it in my translation:

I.70.9ab

gōṣu prāsastiṃ vāneṣu dhiṣe

You acquire a laud among the cows and the (fire)wood.

The important word here is *prāsasti-* ‘laud’, which both in the R̥gveda and in later Sanskrit is a eulogistic genre associated especially with the praise of *kings*; see Jamison 2007:146–7. As to what the whole curious expression means, the point is that both the butter oblations represented by the cows and the firewood make noise when in contact with fire, and this noise can be interpreted as an audible expression of praise.

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Dvīpadā Virāj adds up to just 200 syllables, so repetition of any stem in this short compass is quite salient. I.68 has, densely packed in its middle, three occurrences of nom. pl. masc. *viśve* in three verses (3a, 4a, 5c), in addition to a gen. pl. *viśveṣām* (2b) and the compound *viśvāyuh* (5c). The ‘man’ word in I.69 skews slightly later in the hymn, but also appears in three successive verses in the plural: 6a *nṛ̥bhīḥ*, 7c *nṛ̥bhyaḥ*, 8c *nṛ̥bhīḥ*. The stem *viśva-* is not entirely absent in I.69: there is a neut. pl. *viśvāni* in 6d, and the final hemistich (10cd) contains a nom. pl. *viśve*, in a half-verse repeated from¹⁰ I.66.10cd, also a Parāśara product. It is also notable that the stem *viś-* ‘clan’ turns up in I.69 (acc. pl. *viśaḥ* 5d and 6a). Although *viśva-* ‘all’ and *viś-* ‘clan’ are of course not etymologically related, their phonological near-identity allows a folk-etymological pun to be actualized in this charged context: the various *clans* are the separate components of the *all*.

This simple listing of the repetitions is suggestive enough, but the thematic use made of the repeated words is more significant still. Let us begin with the *viśve* of I.68. It is noteworthy that there is no agreement among translators and commentators on the referent for this repeated plural. Sāyaṇa (see Max Müller ed.) glosses them as *yajamānāḥ* ‘sacrificers’; Geldner identifies them as the “Erzväter” (forefathers), with the further implication that these are the Aṅgīrasas; Oldenberg (1897:64), hesitantly, gods and men; Renou (1964:15), the gods; Hoffmann (1967:141), humans; Witzel and Gotō (2007:608), either gods or human worshippers. (Hoffmann and Witzel–Gotō also, almost indignantly, reject Geldner’s Erzväter.) This interpretational chaos—regarding a word that, because of its repetition, is clearly key to the understanding of the hymn—indicates to me that we must look at the larger context. None of the clauses in which *viśve* appears is diagnostic enough to allow a definite identification of its reference, but if we view it in light of the Vaiśvānara theme it clearly must refer to the totality of the clansmen joining together under the auspices of the Vaiśvānara fire.

Examination of the passages in question supports this interpretation. The first *viśve*, in v. 3, expresses the joint pleasure taken by all in the will or resolve (*krātu-*) of the newly produced fire:

I.68.3

ād it te viśve krātum juṣanta, śuṣkād yād deva jīvo jāniṣṭhāḥ

All take pleasure in your resolve because of this: that you are born alive from the desiccated (wood), o god.

It is no stretch to read this as an expression of the newly unified group’s submission to the will of their symbolic leader, the Vaiśvānara fire. The next occurrence is even more explicit:

I.68.4ab

bhājanta viśve devatvām nāma, rtām śāpanto amṛtam évaiḥ

All have a share in your divinity and in your name, as they serve immortal truth in their own ways.

The verb *bhājanta* ‘share, have a share’ expresses the mutual ownership of the group; that they share not only in Agni’s divinity but in his *name* is a key clue to the poetic enterprise:

¹⁰Or *in*. There is no way to determine which hymn has priority, since their arrangement in the Saṃhitā implies nothing about the order of composition, and as we will see, the passage fits comfortably in I.69.

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his name is Vaiśvānara and as *viśve* they do literally share in his name. As Mark Wenthe (p.c.) suggested to me, since the referent of “all” (*viśve*) is, by my argument, “men” (*nárah*), both halves are implied in the passage. But they perform their ritual service each in his own way, as the final *évaiḥ* implies. The final occurrence of *viśve* occurs next to the adverbial compound *viśvāyuh* ‘lifelong’:

I.68.5cd

viśvāyur viśve āpāmsi cakruḥ

All have performed their tasks lifelong.

Here the aim of the formation of the larger tribal group is expressed, to accomplish their shared tasks.

Two verses towards the end of the hymn (8–9) continue the theme of mutual labor in service of the fire. Though neither contains the word *viśve*, they contain 3rd pl. medial in-junctives like those in vv. 3 and 4, and in fact 9b simply repeats the verb phrase of 3a:

I.68.8–9

ichānta réto mithás tanūṣu, sám jānata svair dáksair āmūrāḥ

pitúr ná putráḥ krátum juṣanta, śrósan yé asya śásam turāsaḥ

8. They seek the seed mutually among themselves; no fools—they act in unison, each according to his own skill.

9. They take pleasure in his resolve like sons in their father’s—the powerful ones who obey his command.

If anything, these verses are more explicit about the mutual and complementary actions undertaken by the group, in particular with the phrase *mithás tanūṣu* expressing their reciprocally oppositional action. In v. 8, which has been variously interpreted, they seek the means to kindle the fire (in my view) and deploy their own separate skills (*svair dáksair*) for the greater good, but always (v. 9) under the command of the shared fire and the divinity it represents. Again there is an implicit contrast between joint activity and the separate means by which it is actualized.

That this fire is a god is emphasized early in the hymn, and in a sly fashion, for the first occurrence of the stem *viśva-* in the hymn (2b) does not refer to the mortal *viśve* we are about to meet, but to the more familiar “All Gods” or “all the gods”:

I.68.2

pári yád eṣām éko viśveṣām, bhúvad devó devānām mahitvá¹¹

... when, alone of all of them, of the gods, the god encompasses (them) by his greatness.

The poet doles out the genitive plurals one by one, finally identifying their referent as the gods, among whom Agni is. The juxtaposition of *viśva-* and *devá-* is also found in 4ab ... *viśve devatvām*, but by then the non-identity of the two has been established by the *viśve* of 3a contrasting with the *deva* of 3c.

¹¹The second hemistich is not a proper Dvipadā Virāj, since it divides into 4/6, showing the occasional tendency of Dvipadā Virāj verses to present as defective Triṣṭubhs. See n. 8 above.

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Let us turn now to I.60, the “men” hymn. The first half of the hymn passes with no direct mention of men, though Agni is compared to “a friendly (ally) among the people” (*jāne ná śevah*, 4a) and in 5d it is said that “he has traversed (or traverses? injunctive) the clans” (*viśo vī tārit*)—remember that *jāna-* is one of the words expressing the totality of the polity and that that polity is made up of clans. The verb *vī tārit* here might almost be paraphrased as “he is trans-clanal,” if that locution weren’t so barbarous.

The “men” section begins with the next verse. Before examining the passages in detail it should be noted that translators are no more certain about the referents of the “men” than they were of the “all” in the preceding hymn, vacillating between humans and gods, or particular gods like the Maruts. The first “men” verse introduces a 1st sg. speaker, quite surprisingly, and contains both *viś-* and *ni-*:

I.69.6

viśo yād āhve niḥbhiḥ sánīlā, agnir devatvā viśvāni aśyāḥ

When I have summoned the clans of the same nest along with their men, by his divinity Agni should attain all things.

First note another juxtaposition of *viśva-* and *devā-*, though they probably do not belong together syntactically.¹² But the most striking feature of the verse is that the first-person speaker has called together “the clans of the same nest,” that is, the close kinship groupings that make up the separate clans, “along with their men,”¹³ that is, their most prominent and conspicuous members, quite possibly the various *viśpāti-* ‘clan-lord(s)’. Who is the speaker? Although ordinarily in the RV the default referent of a first person, esp. a first singular, is the poet, I wonder in this instance if it is not the leader of the united forces, the Kriegskönig, calling the clans and their leaders and best warriors to unite them for action under the aegis of the Vaiśvānara fire. Once the clans and their leaders have assembled, their tribal fire should achieve all their aims (6cd).

The “men” reappear in the next verse, displaying their obedience to their fire and the fire’s alert awareness of them:

I.69.7

nākiḥ ṭa etā vratā minanti, niḥbhyo yād ebhyāḥ śruṣṭīm cakārtha

None transgress these commandments of yours, since you have given attentive hearing to these men.

The second half of the verse is reminiscent of I.68.9cd *śrōsan yé asya śāsam turāsaḥ* “the powerful ones who obey his command,” with a form of the extended root *śruṣ* found also in *śruṣṭi-* here. The final appearance of *ni-* in I.69 echoes I.68.5 in which “all performed their tasks” (*viśve āpāmsi cakruḥ*):

¹²In my interpretation and that of Renou’s, with *devatvā* as instr. sg.; most others (Sāyaṇa, Geldner, Oldenberg, Witzel–Gotō) do take it as neut. pl. with *viśvāni*.

¹³Most translators (but not Renou) construe *niḥbhiḥ* with *sánīlā(h)* “... the clans [that are] of the same nest with the men,” but *sánīlā-* does not otherwise occur with the instrumental, and in any case that interpretation does not make much sense to me. The term usually refers to those, like the Maruts, who share parentage.

Inter-hymnic Rhetorical Structure in RV I.68–70

I.69.8

... *samānāṭṛ, nṛ̥bhīr yād yuktó vivér āpāmsi*¹⁴

... that with the same men you carry out your tasks.¹⁵

The last hemistich of I.69 brings a return to the *vísve* characteristic of I.68:

I.69.10cd

nāvanta vísve svàr dṛ́śike

All cry out upon seeing the sun.

As was already noted, this is repeated verbatim from/in I.66.10cd, but it is also quite apposite here. Recall that the Vaiśvānara fire is identified with the sun (Proferes 2007:47–51). The first verse of I.69 covertly asserted the identification of the fire with the sun by way of two similes “like the lover of Dawn” (*uṣó ná jāráḥ*) and “like the light of heaven” (*divó ná jyótiḥ*), with the former repeated verbatim in 9a. By the end of I.69, after the joint begetting, tending, and worshipful submission to the fire, that fire’s identity as Vaiśvānara is complete. In the first half of v. 10 the priests throw open the doors and present him to the assembled:

I.69.10ab

tmánā váhanto dúro vy ṛ̥nvan

Carrying him themselves, they [= priests] open wide the doors.

The last half-verse quoted above then serves as a joyful recognition of the Vaiśvānara fire as the sun and as the culmination of the two hymns, each celebrating a different half of the name Vaiśvānara, now integrated by the incorporation of I.68’s *vísve* into the *nṛ̥* territory of I.69.

Before turning to the final hymn, I want to highlight another important piece of evidence for the scenario proposed here, the two occurrences of the lexeme *sám* √*jñā* (I.68.8, I.69.9). This idiom has a very specific meaning ‘come to an agreement, act in unison’. The last hymn in the RV, X.191, the self-consciously pacifying hymn to concord, has two occurrences of it. In I.68.8 the verb is another expression of the cooperative enterprise of the gathered peoples: *sám jānata* “they act in unison,” rendered in more or less the same way by the standard translations. In I.69.9 the bahuvrīhi *sámjñāta-rūpa-* is, by contrast, much bleached by most, into an anodyne “having a well-known form” vel sim.¹⁶ But it is highly unlikely that the poet would use a relatively rare idiom with a fairly precise sense to express such a commonplace meaning, especially having employed a form of the same lexeme in the previous hymn in its full idiomatic value. The compound must be a meaningful characterization of the shared clan-fire as the symbol of, and the product of, the mutual and unified ritual activity of the clans. Unfortunately to render this comprehensibly in English requires a heavy and awkward locution, my reluctant choice being “whose very form has been produced in unison.”

¹⁴With Oldenberg (1897:69; 1909:71) and others I read *vivér āpāmsi* against the Padapāṭha reading *vivé rāpāmsi*.

¹⁵I do not give text or translation for the first part of v. 9 because its extreme obscurity would require an elaborate discussion, especially since my interpretation differs radically from the standard ones. See the published translation and, with supporting arguments, the online commentary (cf. n. 3), both ad loc.

¹⁶Sāyaṇa *sarvāṇḥ prāṇībhir avagatasvarūpaḥ*, Oldenberg (1897:67) “of familiar form,” Geldner “in allbekannter Gestalt,” Renou “dont la forme est reconnaissable,” Witzel-Gotō “mit der ganz erkennbaren Gestalt.”

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The last hymn, I.70, can be treated fairly briefly because we have already examined the climactic verses 9–10 in detail. First note that now that the fire has been publicly acknowledged as the sun in the final verse of I.69, it is so identified in two verses in the last hymn, I.70.8, 9 (the latter quoted above). Verse 8 serves almost as an official announcement:

I.70.8

ārādhi hótā svār nīṣattaḥ, kṛṇvan viśvāny āpāmsi satyā

He has been brought to success, installed as Hotar-priest, as the sun, performing all the tasks to be realized.

The technical term *nīṣatta-* ‘installed’ occurs once each in the previous hymns, I.68.7 (*hótā nīṣattaḥ*) and I.69.4 (*mādhye nīṣattaḥ*). The second hemistich recalls both I.68.5cd ... *viśve āpāmsi cakruḥ* and I.69.8d *vivér āpāmsi*.¹⁷ The verbal links between these three hymns are inescapable.

The first verse of I.70 expresses what we hope to accomplish with Agni on our side. This is of course appropriate to the Vaiśvānara context, a jointly undertaken enterprise of conquest; tellingly it is the vanquishing of the eternal opponent, the “stranger” (*ari-*). It is also telling that this is the first expression of the first plural in this series of three hymns (and almost the only, save for *naḥ* in 9d). The “we” has been constituted by the creation of the Vaiśvānara fire.

I.70.1

vanéma pūrvīr aryó manīṣā, agnīḥ suśóko viśvāny aśyāḥ

Might we vanquish the many inspired thoughts of the stranger by our inspired thought; might bright-blazing Agni attain all things (for us)

As discussed in the published introduction, much of the rest of the hymn aims to enlarge the frame of reference, by emphasizing Agni’s pivotal role between gods and men (see especially vv. 2, 6cd).¹⁸ The interdependency of these two groups is expressed in complex fashion in 4cd, a passage that has given no end of trouble to all who tackle it, who then demonstrate a distressing tendency to emend it (Geldner; Oldenberg 1897:71–2, 1909:72, though differently) or produce fanciful alternative derivations of *viśvaḥ* (Sāyaṇa, Renou, though differently):

I.70.4cd

viśāṁ ná viśvo amṛtaḥ svādhīḥ

Note that this contains both *viś-* and *viśva-*, but not in any clear syntactic relationship with each other. Still, given the larger context of this hymn sequence and of the Vaiśvānara concept, in which the *viś-* is conceptually part of the *viśva-*, it seems possible that the poet is signaling a secret verbal connection between the two words (so also Proferes 2007:48). In order to tackle this baffling expression, we must look at the verse as a whole.

The first half refers to Agni in the dative and his habitations both domestic and wild:

¹⁷I think the echo of *viśve āpāmsi* found in *vivér āpāmsi* is not accidental.

¹⁸This is also true of the nearby Vaiśvānara hymn I.59, cited in n. 5 above.

Inter-hymnic Rhetorical Structure in RV I.68–70

I.70.4ab

ādrau cid asmā antar duroné

... to him even in the rock as well as within the household.

Most interpreters want the second hemistich to refer to Agni in the nominative, which both leaves ab syntactically in the air and causes great problems shoehorning Agni into the nominative phrases of cd. By contrast I take the referent(s) of cd to be not Agni himself, but the devotees of Agni, both divine and human, and read the *viśvalḥ* with both *viśám* and *amṛtaḥ*, with *svādhīḥ* the predicate and the pronominal *asmai* in pāda a as its complement:

I.70.4

Even in the rock (as well as) within the house, every immortal, like every (one) of the clans, is very attentive to him.

The shared *viśva-* links the divine and human realms, and *ná* makes clear that gods are exactly like men in their devotion to Agni. I am reasonably convinced that this is the correct interpretation, but it does trouble me that it is apparently identical to Max Müller’s (as reported by Oldenberg 1897:72), “To him also who dwells in the rock and in the house, every immortal like every one among men is well disposed.”

One last element of this hymn sequence remains to be dealt with, the extra verse at the end. As noted above, both I.68 and I.69 have ten verses, as do Parāśara’s preceding Dvīpadā Virāj hymns (I.65–67). But I.70 has eleven verses. This of course violates the principles of R̥gvedic hymn arrangement, and Oldenberg (1897:73, 1909:73) pronounces v. 11 an Anhängsel on those grounds, as well as because it sharply contrasts in content with what precedes. As we saw above, vv. 9–10 are the climax of this hymn and indeed of the three-hymn sequence, and that is another argument for separating v. 11. Nonetheless, I do not feel it is a later addition. Instead I consider it a super-summary verse of the whole Vaiśvānara sequence.¹⁹ It describes the power, skill, and eagerness of the martial Agni, and thus expresses one of the roles for which the Vaiśvānara fire is especially designed: to unite the clans into a force able to oppose its enemies. So, although it seems like a non sequitur, it captures the desired essence of the Vaiśvānara fire:

I.70.11

sādhūr ná grādhūr āsteva śūro, yāteva bhīmas tveṣāḥ samātsu

Avid like (a horse) heading to the goal, like a champion archer, fearsome like a (chariot-)driver, dazzling in combats.

In this brief paper I have tried to demonstrate two things: 1) that rhetorical structure in the R̥gveda can transcend not only the verse, but also the hymn; 2) that this structure need not be explicit, but can be conveyed by buried puns and covert verbal conjunctions. In particular, starting from an observation of Proferes concerning the final verses of I.70, I argue that not only does that hymn concern the Vaiśvānara fire, but that the two preceding hymns do as well. And that this is verbally encoded in the deployment of the two members of the underlying compound, *viśva-* and *mṛ-*, found separately in I.68 and I.69 respectively

¹⁹Or perhaps to the whole Dvīpadā Virāj series. The first two hymns of this series (I.65–66) are especially characterized by pāda-length similes, as this verse is. See I.65.5 quoted in n. 4 above.

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and finally united in I.70.9–10. There are more such superstructures in the Ṛgveda that cannot be treated here for want of space, and I am both hopeful and certain that there are even more to be found. And, by the way, Parāśara has even more tricks up his sleeve.²⁰

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²⁰Which makes me all the sadder that, according to Bloomfield (1916:90), Aufrecht in his second edition of the Ṛgveda labeled Parāśara’s Dvīpādā Virāj hymns as “rubbish.”

Toch. AB *ākl-* ‘learn’

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Many Tocharian roots have a very un-Indo-European-looking shape, a reflection of the profound changes, phonological and morphological, that have set Tocharian off from the rest of the IE family. A case in point is AB *ākl-*, which in Toch. B means ‘learn’ as a base verb and ‘teach’ as a causative. In Toch. A, where there is no separate causative, the verb means ‘learn’ in the middle and ‘teach’ in the active. Malzahn (2010:520–1) gives the forms:

Toch. B

BASE VERB

pres. IXa: ptcp. *aklaṣṣeñca*, ger. I *aklaṣṣälle/aklaṣṣle* ‘pupil’
 subj. IV: mid. 3 sg. *aklyitār*, opt. 3 pl. *aklyiyentār*, abstr. II *aklyilñe*, inf. *aklyitsi*
 pret. VII: mid. 1 sg. *aklyīyamai/aklyamāi*, 2 sg. *aklyiyatai*, 3 sg. *aklyiyate*
 ppt.: *āklū*, vb. n. *āklor(sa)*

CAUSATIVE

pres. IXb: 3 sg. *ākläṣṣām*, mid. *āklästär-ne*, ger. I *ākläṣṣälle*

Toch. A

pres. VIII: 3 sg. *ākläs*, 3 pl. *ākläseñc*, mid. *āklästantār*, ger. I *ākläṣṣäl*, inf. *āklässi*
 subj. IV: abstr. II *āklyune(yā)*
 ppt. *āklū*

Inseparable from the verb is the substantive B *akalye* (obl. *āklyi*) ‘learning, study, doctrine’, A *āklye* ‘id.’. The root-final consonant is palatalized, agreeing in this respect with the palatalization in the subjunctive and preterite, but not the present or past participle of the verb.

Since PIE roots could not end in an obstruent + liquid cluster, the sequence *ākl-* must be historically analyzed into an actual etymological root and some other constituent or constituents. There are two obvious possibilities: 1) *āk-* was the root and *-l-* a nominal suffix; and 2) *kl-* (i.e., **kVL-*) was the root and *ā-* a preverb. In the first case the verb would have been a denominative present. A proposal along these lines was made by Winter (1990:376f.), who thought the root was PIE **h₂eg-* (“**ag-*”) ‘say’ (: Gk. *ē* ‘said’, Lat. *adagium* ‘saying’, etc.) and that the class IV subjunctive B *aklyi-*, A *āklyi-* (PToch. **akl’ay-*) reflected a present **agl-je/o-* (*vel sim.*). But this was merely a root etymology, and not, semantically speaking, a particularly compelling one. As pointed out by Malzahn (521),¹ both Winter’s specific proposal and the denominative approach as a whole are compromised by the absence of palatalization in the present *ākläs(k)-* and the past participle *āklū*; these cannot rest on a denominative

¹References to “Malzahn” in what follows are to Malzahn 2010.

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present **agl- $\dot{\imath}$ e/o-* if, as Winter assumes, **agl- $\dot{\imath}$ e/o-* was also the source of PToch. **akl^y-*, with palatalized **-l^y-*. For this and other reasons the preverb analysis is more promising. Malzahn (*ibid.*) favors Schmidt’s (1992:112) and Hilmarsson’s (1996:8ff.) proposal of a compound **ō-kleu-* ‘listen to’, where **ō* was the Tocharian cognate of Ved. *ā* ‘to, toward’, and **kleu-* was the familiar PIE root meaning ‘hear’ (cf. Ved. *śṛṇōti*, etc.). Under the **ō-kleu-* etymology, *āklaus(k)-* and *āklū* would go back to zero-grade **ō-klu-(s \acute{e} e/o-)*, and Toch. B *aklyi-*, as Malzahn says, could go back to *e*-grade **ō-kleu-e-*, with **-u-* palatalized to **-w^y-* (> Toch. B *-y-*) before the *e*-variant of the thematic vowel. But this would imply a PToch. preform **akl^yaw^y-* rather than **akl^yay-*, and while **akl^yaw^y-* could conceivably underlie Toch. A abstr. II *āklyune* (< **-kl^yaw^y-aw^yan-?*), it could never have given A *āklye*.

Malzahn does not comment on the other preverb + verb analysis to be found in the literature, viz., **ā + käl^y-* ‘stand’, with the semantics of Eng. *understand* and Ger. *verstehen*. This suggestion is favored by Adams (1999 s.v.; repeated in Adams 2013), who credits it to “Jasanoff (p.c.)” and cites the further semantic parallel of Gk. *epístamai* ‘know, understand’. Adams takes *käl^y-* ‘stand’ (3sg. B *kaltär*, A *kälytär*) from a PIE present **k ℓ h₁- $\dot{\imath}$ e/o-*, with the root (**kelh₁-* ‘raise, rise’) of Lith. *keliù*, *kél^ti* ‘raise’, Lat. *collis* ‘hill’ (< **-l-n-*), etc., a view that once seemed unproblematic. But deradical *\dot{\imath}e/o-presents are not otherwise encountered in Tocharian, and it is now known, as will be seen below, that the palatalized *-ly-* in forms like 3 pl. B *klyentär*, A *klyantär* would not have been phonologically regular if the starting point had been **k ℓ h₁- $\dot{\imath}$ o-*. It is better, therefore, to return to the old idea, going back to van Windekens (1941:33), that the underlying root was PIE **klei-* ‘lean, incline’ (: Gk. *klínō* ‘cause to lean’, Ved. *śráyate* ‘leans, positions oneself’, etc.). The simplest derivation of the attested forms, as suggested by Normier (1980:257) and Hilmarsson (1996:69f.), is from a thematic stem **klei-e/o-*.² The phonetic steps would have been as follows:*

3 sg.	<i>*klei$\dot{\imath}$etor</i>	3 pl.	<i>*klei$\dot{\imath}$ontor</i>	
	<i>*kl^yeyetor</i>		<i>*kl^yeyontor</i>	(palatalization before front vowels)
	<i>*kl^yay\acute{e}tär</i>		<i>*kl^yay\acute{e}ntär</i>	(vowel changes)
	<i>*kal^yatär</i>		<i>*kal^yentär</i>	(<i>*Cl^(y)äC</i> > <i>*Cäl^(y)C</i> metathesis)
	<i>*kal^yätär</i>		<i>*kal^yentär</i>	(loss of postconsonantal <i>*-y-</i>)
	<i>*kal^ytär</i>		<i>*kl^yentär</i>	(schwa syncope)

In the last line, 3 sg. **kal^ytär* (> B *kaltär*, A *kälytär*) and 3 pl. **kl^yentär* (> B *klyentär*, A *klyantär*) were the Proto-Tocharian forms. For the metathesis **Cl^(y)äC* > **Cäl^(y)C*, compare B *-kälywe*, A *-klyu* ‘fame’ < PToch. **kal^ywæ* < **kl^yawæ* < **kleuos*; B *kälyp-* ‘steal’ < PToch. **kal^yp-* < **kl^yäp-* < **klep-*; and B *kälymiye*, A *kälyme* ‘direction’ < PToch. **kal^ym-* < **kl^yäm-* < **kli-m-*. The rule is discussed by Ringe (1996:158f.), who, however, conflates it with the “*tarya*-rule”—the separate and earlier change of **CRi $\dot{\imath}$ V-* to **CR $\dot{\imath}$ V-* and **CRuuV-* to **CR $\dot{\imath}$ V-* in words like B *tarya* ‘three (fem.)’ < **tri $\dot{\imath}$ a* (< **tri $\dot{\imath}$ ₂*), *pärwāne* ‘eyebrows’ < **b^hru $\dot{\imath}$ ua-* (< **b^hruh_{2/3}-*), and *palwam* ‘laments’ < **pluu $\dot{\imath}$ a-* (< **mluh_{2/3}-?*).³

²Followed by LIV 332–3.

³The separateness of the two rules is seen in the fact that the palatalization rule intervened between them. The *-l-* is thus palatalized in *kälymiye* < **kl^yäm-* < **kli-m-*, but not in pret. ptp. *āklū* < **kl $\dot{\imath}$ -V-* < **kli $\dot{\imath}$ -V-* (cf. below). Adams’ failure to assume **Cl^(y)äC* > **Cäl^(y)C* metathesis accounts for his statement that **klei $\dot{\imath}$ etor* “would surely have given **klyitär*” (*ibid.*). *-klyitär* was the output in composition, where there was no metathesis.

No other reconstruction of the stem—e.g., as **kli-* or **kl̥ie/o-*—works so well. Malzahn (*ibid.*) starts from a present (3 sg.) **klitor*, back-formed from a putative middle root aorist **klito* (cf. Ved. aor. *ásret*, “passive” *ásrāyi*). This accounts directly for 3 sg. *kaltär/kälytär* (**kli-* > **kl̥a-* > **kal̥-*), but not for 3 pl. *klyentär/klyantär*, which she takes as analogical, with the thematic ending, for PToch. **kl̥antär* (> B **klyantär*, A **klyäntär*) < **klitor*. The analogy itself is trivial; on the other hand, PIE aorists do not otherwise yield presents in Tocharian, and it seems particularly unlikely that the specific root *käly-*, which is praesens tantum, would be of aoristic origin.⁴ Ringe (*ibid.*), likewise apparently starting from a root aorist, considers the possibility of a thematized **kl̥i(i)e-*, which he says would have developed via **kl̥iye-*, **kl̥ya-*, and **kal̥ya-* to AB *käly-*. But this phonological history is incorrect; thematic **kl̥ie/o-* would first have given **kl̥ie/o-*, whence **käl-*, with unpalatalized **-l-* (cf. n. 3). Quite apart from any other considerations, a major reason to prefer **kl̥ietor* to Malzahn’s **klitor* or Ringe’s **kl̥ietor* is that it makes a perfect word equation with Ved. *śráyate*.

How do the forms of *ākl-* fit into this picture? If *ākl-* is a compound of *käly-*, as maintained here, the class IV subjunctive *aklyitär* must contain a reflex of the present that appears unprefixed in *kaltär/kälytär*. Thus, if this goes back to **kl̥ietor*, so must 3 sg. subj. *-klyitär*.⁵ The difference in treatment lies in the fact that the metathesis of **Cl̥(y)āC* > **Cāl̥(y)C* was confined to initial syllables:

3 sg.	* <i>-kl̥ietor</i>	3 pl.	* <i>-kl̥eiontor</i>	
	* <i>-kl̥eyetor</i>		* <i>-kl̥eyontor</i>	(palatalization before front vowels)
	* <i>-kl̥yātər</i>		* <i>-kl̥yāentər</i>	(vowel changes)
	[* <i>-kl̥yātər</i>		* <i>-kl̥yāentər</i>	(no * <i>Cl̥(y)āC</i> > * <i>Cāl̥(y)C</i> metathesis)]
	* <i>-kl̥yātər</i>		* <i>-kl̥yāentər</i>	(schwa syncope)

PToch. 3 sg. **a-kl̥yātər* was the regular source of B 3 sg. subj. *aklyitär*; cf. also, with the same phonology, abstr. II *aklyil̥ne* and inf. *aklyitsi*. In Toch. A, abstr. II *āklyune* < **a-kl̥yāw̥m-* points to an unattested 3 sg. subj. **āklyitär*, essentially identical to the Toch. B form. Neither language preserves a direct reflex of 3 pl. **a-kl̥yāentər*, but the expected Toch. B outcome **aklyiyentär*/**akly(y)entär* is effectively on display in the class VII preterite forms 1 sg. *aklyiyamai/aklyamai*, 2 sg. *aklyiyatai*, and 3 sg. *aklyiyate*. The class VII (B “-iyā-”) preterite is identical in formation with the preterites of classes IV (“-ssā-”) and V (“-ññā-”) and the class I subtype *klyauṣa* (Malzahn 163ff.). All are historically imperfects, made to derived thematic presents by substituting PToch. (palatalizing) **-a-* for the thematic vowel.⁶ Pret. VII *akly(i)yamai*, etc.⁷ thus stands in the same relation to the subjunctive (formerly present) stem

⁴The non-presential forms of *käly-* (e.g., 3 sg. subj. *stāmam*, pret. *śama*) are supplied by the unrelated root *stām-* < PIE **stembʰH-* ‘support’.

⁵Like many Tocharian subjunctives, *-klyitär* is a present *déclassé*, displaced from its original presential value by the newer, more highly marked stem that underlies the class IX presents *āklāsk-* and *āklāsk-*. The pattern is nicely displayed in the pair subj. VI *kärnā-* ‘buy’ (= Ved. *kr̥nāti* ‘id.’) : pres. X *kärnāsk-*.

⁶Theories of the origin of the palatalizing **-a-*, which is discussed inconclusively by Malzahn (*ibid.*), will not be evaluated here. The existing proposals, including one put forward by me (Jasanoff 1987:95f.), need to be re-examined in light of more recent work on the prehistory of the Tocharian verbal system.

⁷The *-i-* in the variant *aklyiyamai* stands phonologically for an accented Fremdvokal (/̥-ya-/), which in the shorter form *aklyamai* (for **aklyiyamai*) has been syncopated with retraction of the accent to the first syllable. Note that the late retraction did not cause lowering of the initial *a-* [Λ] to *ā-* [a]; cf. Malzahn 219.

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aklyi- (*-*k̑leje/o-*) as pret. IV 3 sg. *yamaṣṣa* ‘made’ to pres. IX *yāmāšk-* (*-*ské/o-*), pret. V 3 sg. mid. *kwipeññate* ‘was ashamed’ to pres. XII *kwipeññ-* (*-*nije/o-*), and pret. I *klyausa* ‘heard’ to pres.-subj. II *klyaus-* (*-*se/o-*).

The preterite participle AB *āklū* (presupposed in Toch. B by the verbal noun *āklor*) and the class IXa and b presents B *āklāšk-* (non-causative; ptc. *aklasṣeñca*) and *āklāšk-* (causative; 3 sg. *āklāṣṣām*) are more difficult.⁸ To all appearances, the consistently unpalatalized *-l-* of these forms would seem to argue for a root like Schmidt and Hilmarsson’s **k̑leu-* or Adams’ **kelh₁-*, both of which would have had non-palatalizing zero grades. Before embracing one or the other of these alternatives, however, we should consider what kind of preterite participle and *sk-*present would have been expected from **k̑lei-*.

The Tocharian preterite participle is a development of the PIE perfect participle in *-*uōs-/us-*. The remade actual forms, however, go back not to *-*uōs-*, *-*uos-*, and *-*us-* directly, but to *-*was-* (as if < *-*uōs-*), *-*mes-* (as if < *-*uos-*), and *-*was-* (as if < *-*uūs-*), respectively. Toch. B nom. sg. masc. *yāmu* is thus the phonological reflex of **yam-wa(s)* (← nom.-acc. sg. nt. *-*us*); nom. pl. masc. *yāmoṣ* continues **yam-mes(s)*⁹ (← nom. pl. masc. *-*uoses*); and nom. pl. fem. *yām(u)wa* goes back to **yam-wa(s)* (← nom.-acc. pl. nt. *-*uōs*). Applying these formulae to the zero-grade root form **k̑li-*, we obtain *-*k̑liu-uūs* and *-*k̑liu-uōses* as the theoretically expected (“*Transponat*”) masculine nominative forms, singular and plural, of the preterite participle of *ākl-*. What would these have given in historical Tocharian? We can be sure that a preform containing *-*k̑liu-* would have been subject to the “*tarya-*rule” (cf. above), yielding *-*k̑liu-* or, in later Tocharian phonology, *-*k̑lyə-*. It is usually taken for granted that the cluster *-*ly-* in this sequence would have given a Proto-Tocharian single or geminate *-*lʷ-*. But this assumption, as more than once intimated above, is not well-supported. Convincing arguments have been brought forward by Fellner (2013:46–50) to show that *-*y-* was lost after coronal consonants in Proto-Tocharian without causing palatalization. Key examples are the *devī*-type feminines of preterite participles (B *yāmusā*, A *yāmus* < *-*us(i)a* < *-*us-ih₂*; cf. Ved. *-uṣī*, Gk. *-uīa*), *men*-stem adjectives (A *klyomim*, pl. *-minān* ‘noble’ < *-*mʷen(i)a* < *-*menih₂*; B *klyomña* is by assimilation from *-*mʷña*), and the word for ‘one’ (B *sana*, A *sām* < **sən(i)a* < **səmīa* < **smih₂* (= Gk. *mīa*)). A non-*devī* example is A *ālak* < **aljo-* ‘other’, B *aletstse* ‘foreign’, *ālām* ‘otherwise’, etc. (B *alyek*, *allek* ‘other’ and other forms with *-ly-* and *-ll-* show the influence of the adjectives in *-lye* < *-*lijo-*).¹⁰ If it is in fact the case that *-*l-* was not palatalized by a following consonantal *-*y-*, the treatment of our forms would have been

sg.	*- <i>k̑liu-uūs</i>	pl.	*- <i>k̑liu-uōses</i>	
	*- <i>k̑liuūs</i>		*- <i>k̑liuōses</i>	(<i>tarya</i> -rule)
	*- <i>k̑lyəwəs</i> ¹¹		*- <i>k̑lyəwəs</i>	(palatalization by * <i>e</i> , * <i>i</i> ; vowel changes)
	*- <i>k̑aləwəs</i>		*- <i>k̑aləwəs</i>	(loss of postconsonantal <i>-y-</i>)
	*- <i>k̑aləwəs</i>		*- <i>k̑aloṣəs</i>	(contraction across *- <i>w-</i>)
	*- <i>k̑ləw(ə)</i>		*- <i>k̑loṣ(ə)</i>	(schwa syncope; final syllable reduction)

⁸Toch. A has class VIII *āklās-*, with the usual substitution of *-s-* for *-sk-*.

⁹For the phonology, with contraction following loss of intervocalic *-*w-*, see the classic discussion by Dórhallsdóttir (1988).

¹⁰The history of these is discussed by Fellner (*op. cit.* 73–84).

¹¹NB: with cluster *-*ly-*.

PToch. **a-klaw(a)* is continued in AB *āklw*. The nom. pl. **āklōš* is not attested, but the expected phonological treatment is seen in vb. n. *āklor* < **klijuuor*.

The absence of palatalization in the *sk*-present B *aklask-* (pres. IXa)/*āklāsk-* (pres. IXb) and its *s*-present replacement A *āklās-* (pres. VIII) is explainable in the same way. The class IX present suffix, it should be recalled, is not *-sk-* < PIE **-sḱe/o-*, but *-āsk-* < **-ask-*.¹² The source of the apparent union vowel **-a-* is impossible to specify uniquely; it may have been epenthetic, or it may have been abstracted from some inherited sequence like the PIE suffix variant **-isḱe/o-* or the inner-Tocharian combination **-nu-sḱe/o-* (> B *-nāsk-*). Either way, the starting point for the present *āklās(k)-* would have been, or would have been remade to be, a structure of the form **-kli-^hVsk-*. As in the preterite participle, this gave **-kalyask-* by the *tarya*-rule, whence **-kalask-* and the quasi-attested **-klask-*.

Thus, when the relevant sound changes are properly understood, both *kāly-* ‘stand’ and *ākl-* ‘learn’ turn out to be completely explainable on the basis of PIE **klei-* ‘lean’. This discovery has several ramifications. On a purely phonological level, it adds to the evidence for two proposed sound laws that should now be accepted as canonical: **Cl^(y)aC* > **Cal^(y)C* metathesis, as in pres. **kl^yay-* > **kal^yy-*; and non-palatalization of coronals by **-y-*, as in ptcp. **kalyam-* > **kalaw-*. It also confirms the change of **-eje-* to **-ya-* (**-klejetor* > **-kl^yayatar*)—thus establishing **-eje/o-* as one of the possible sources of the class IV subjunctive marker *-i/-⁽ⁱ⁾ye-* and laying to rest the persistent notion that **-eje-* contracted to **-ē-* (> **-a-*) in Tocharian.¹³ On a morphological level, B *kaltär*, *-klyitär*, anchored by the solid word equation with Ved. *śráyate*, takes its place beside B *parüm* ‘brings’ (= Ved. *bhārati*, etc.) and B *āsüm* ‘leads’ (= Ved. *ájati*, etc.) as a secure new case of an inherited primary thematic present in Tocharian. Such forms are notoriously rare; *kaltär*, *-klyitär* is only our third certain example, and the first to be formed from a root that, unlike PIE **b^her-* and **b₂ej-*, possessed a full set of non-presential forms.¹⁴ The potential significance of all this has yet to be explored.¹⁵

¹²The Fremdvokal in the suffix played a crucial role in the fixation of the accent on the first syllable in the causative; for the mechanism see Jasanoff forthcoming.

¹³It can be assumed that **-ije/o-* would have had the same treatment as **-eje/o-*; either of the two could have been responsible for the class IV subjunctive suffix in infin. *śerütsi* ‘hunt’ (denominative to *śerwe* ‘hunter’ < **kēruo-*). On the other hand, neither **-ije/o-* nor **-eje/o-* is an attractive candidate for the etymological suffix in subj. IV infin. *ṣṛütsi* ‘dwell’ (< **b₂yues-*) or *kālypütsi* ‘steal’ (< **klep-*), the morphological prehistory of which remains obscure.

Contraction of **-eje-* to **-ē-* is contemplated in Jasanoff 1978:46, where A *klawaš* ‘proclaims’, a form now questioned (cf. Malzahn 623), is tentatively taken from **klawē-* < **-eje-*. Likewise dubious is the proposed derivation of B *trai*, *trej* ‘3’ < **treies* via **trej*, with **-y#* < **-s#* in monosyllables and **-a-* < **-eje-* (Cowgill apud Ringe 1996:55). It is increasingly clear that intervocalic **-j-* was *never* lost in Tocharian.

¹⁴Pres. II (+ subj. II) 3 sg. *lyasüm* ‘lies’, pl. *lyakem* (< **léd^h-e/o-*) could be another instance, but the argument for a thematic stem at the PIE level is less compelling.

¹⁵In Jasanoff 1998 (recapitulated in Jasanoff 2003:224–7) I distinguished two types of full-grade thematic presents in the IE daughter languages, one associated with Narten presents (e.g., **b^hér-e/o-*, **b₂éj-e/o-*) and the other with *s*-aorists (e.g., **d^héj^h-e/o-* ‘burn’, **pék^h-e/o-* ‘cook’). Only the first type is found in Anatolian and Tocharian. In **kléj-e/o-* we see the representative of a third family of thematic forms, one with neither Narten nor sigmatic associations (cf. Rau 2013:258–65). The discovery of a new full-grade thematic present in Tocharian removes one of the obstacles to taking class II antigrundverb subjunctives of the type B 3 sg. *lyustär* ‘will illuminate’ and 3 sg. opt. *palysütär* ‘would burn’ from full-grade thematic preforms as well (**léuk-e/o-*, **b^hléj-e/o-*), despite the arguments offered against this derivation in Jasanoff 2015:10’–16’.

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Abbreviations

LIV = Kümmel, Martin, and Helmut Rix (eds.). 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

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Toch. AB ākl- ‘learn’

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Balkan, Indo-European, and Universal Perspectives on ‘be’ in Albanian*

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I Introduction

Although Albanian was recognized as a member of the Indo-European language family as early as 1835 by Josef Xylander in his book *Die Sprache der Albanesen*, advances in the understanding of its diachronic development have generally lagged behind those for other branches of the family. This situation is due in large part to Albanian’s relatively late attestation, the earliest Albanian being a one-sentence baptismal formula from 1462 and the first substantial material being the 1555 *Meshari* (Missal) of Gjon Buzuku.

To appreciate fully how Albanian unfolded over time, one has to examine the language from a three-fold perspective. First, it must be considered in its genealogical, which is to say its familial, context. In the case of Albanian, such a perspective of course means examining how it fits into the Indo-European family and how the rest of Indo-European informs the view of what Albanian’s prehistory was. Second, Albanian’s geographic context must be taken into account, examining how Albanian fits into the Balkans and how its speakers interacted with their Balkan neighbors. This perspective reflects the fact that Albanian as we know it today has been shaped to a considerable extent by contact with other languages in the Balkans, especially South Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Greek, and especially during the period of the control of the Balkans by the Ottoman Turks (roughly from the 14th into the early 20th century). The effects of this contact are seen in all of the languages, actually, giving a contact zone that has been referred to as the Balkan “Sprachbund” or “linguistic area.” Finally, it is useful to consider Albanian in its human linguistic context, that is to say, viewed as a natural human language, in a typological perspective.

Such perspectives can of course be taken on just about any language but impressionistically speaking at least, the need for a three-fold approach to understanding the history of the language may be greater for Albanian than for most languages and, certainly within Indo-European, greater than for any other branch. In what follows, I illustrate this multi-faceted aspect of linguistic Albanology by examining the present tense indicative forms of

*I would like to offer a word of appreciation for all that the honorand has done to further our understanding of Indo-European and especially Sanskrit; I have known him a long time and stand in great admiration of the fine work that he has done, all the while being a fine person as well.

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the verb ‘to be’. It turns out that each form in this paradigm of ‘be’ has its own story to tell, and the combination of the six stories, from the six person–number paradigm cells of the present indicative, offers some elements of interest from Indo-European, Balkanological, and cross-linguistic perspectives.

2 The paradigm

The present indicative of the verb ‘be’ has the following forms in contemporary standard Albanian:

	SING.	PL.
1	jam	jemi
2	je	jeni
3	është	janë

These are the forms that provide the point of departure for discussion here. There are variations on these, most notably the Geg 3sg form *është*; some of these are discussed along with the standard forms where appropriate.

3 The diachrony of the forms, one by one

To understand the diachronic development of the paradigm in §2, one must start with a root **H₂es-*,¹ an uncontroversial reconstruction that is assured by comparisons across the family, including Indo-Iranian (e.g. Sanskrit *√as-*, Avestan *ah-*), Greek (*ἐσ-*), Balto-Slavic (e.g. Lithuanian *ẽs-*, Old Church Slavonic *jes-*), Germanic (e.g. Gothic *is-*), Anatolian (e.g. Hittite *ẽš-*) and others. This root had an athematic conjugation in Proto-Indo-European, so the endings can for the most part be securely reconstructed as:

	SING.	PL.
1	-mi	-me
2	-si	-t(H ₂)e
3	-ti	-enti

The details of how those endings, or innovative variants of them (especially in the 1/2pl), combine with the root form to give the paradigm in §2 are in some cases far from obvious, and that is where careful diachronic analysis must come into play. In what follows, a form-by-form account is given, with the forms in the paradigm presented in an order dictated by certain expository needs.

3.1 3rd person singular

Hamp (1980) has discussed this form in great detail, adding in data from his years of field-work on outlying Albanian dialects in Italy (the Arbëresh varieties), in Greece (the Arvanitika varieties), and elsewhere (e.g. in Bulgaria); the additional data includes forms with

¹As far as Albanian is concerned, the initial laryngeal is irrelevant, so the root is written as **es-* hereafter.

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initial *i*-vocalism (e.g. Arvanitika *ist̃i*, Mandrica (Bulgaria) *ist̃*, etc.) and short forms such as San Nicola (Arbëresh) *o* and Attic-Boeotian (Arvanitika) *ja*, pointing to a long *ē*.² While all of Hamp’s observations are characteristically cogent and important, for the present purposes, one comment of his is particularly significant, as soon becomes clear.

The comparison of the 3sg form *ështëë* with Geg *ânsht* shows that Albanian somehow developed an *-n-* in the stem, as shown directly by the Geg nasal vowel (spelled ⟨ân⟩) and the Tosk *ë*, inasmuch as Tosk *ë* is a regular result of the denasalization of a Proto-Albanian nasalized vowel. Thus the accretion of the *-n-* took place fairly early, since its effects are seen in both Geg and Tosk dialects.³ Scholars differ on the source of this *-n-*. Orel (2000:179) suggests that it is “probably the result of the analogical pressure from the 3 pl.,” though the status of the *-n-* in the 3pl form is problematic, for two reasons. First, the reconstruction that Orel proposes for the 3pl form, **es-nti*, is hard to justify, as discussed in more detail below (§3.3). Even more serious is that even if one were to grant that reconstruction, the *-n-* in 3pl is in the ending and not in the stem, a detail which makes it a much less likely model for the introduction of an *-n-* into the stem of the 3sg form.

A more likely explanation for *ështëë/ânsht* is that given by Hamp (1980). He traces the Tosk form back to **ensti*,⁴ and then goes further with that, arguing that this derives from a phrase with the adverb **H_een*, the “locative of a defective noun . . . in late Indo-European” (Hamp 1980:341),⁵ and he adduces numerous parallels to the use of this adverbial (or its equivalent) as a preverb with ‘be’ in locational and existential senses, including the compounded form *ἐνέμυ* ‘be in’ in Greek. Thus, in his view, “one way or another we may see underneath **ensti* an old phrase **én esti* < **H_een* **H_eesti*” (idem). The short form *ë* derives from the preverb/adverb used alone, thus **H₁en* (or **H₂en*, as the case may be). Matzinger and Schumacher (2016:§3.6) also take this view, though they posit the shape **an* for the preverb.

Both Matzinger and Schumacher, on the one hand, and Hamp, on the other, agree that the coexistence of a long-form based on **en-(e)sti* and a short form based just on the preverb offers a striking parallel with Koine Greek, where for the 3sg form, both a compounded *ἐνέσται* and a short form *ἐν* based on the adverb/preverb are to be found, and they see contact between Albanian and Greek speakers as the source of the parallel.⁶ They differ, however, in the directionality of the contact-induced influence; Hamp is inclined to see the Albanian pattern as the model for the Greek, with early Albanians projecting their pattern onto their speaking of Greek in the Koine period and using the Greek adverb *ἐν* as the equivalent of (that is, a calque for) their short form *ë*, while Matzinger and Schumacher see the influence going the other way, with the Greek pattern being primary and having affected the Albanian.

In either case, the “story” of the 3sg form is instructive from the point of view of the need

²Hamp notes (1980:339) that 19th-century grammars, such as that by Girolamo de Rada (1871) show *ëë*, suggesting a long vowel.

³Hamp (1980:341) points out that the *a*-vocalism of Geg might well need to be considered analogical, based on the short form *â*, but the nasalization is original, deriving from a Proto-Albanian form with a nasal.

⁴See n. 3 regarding Geg *â* here.

⁵Hamp’s **H_e* is his notation for the first laryngeal, what is written as **H₁* here.

⁶The short form ultimately prevailed; through various morphological reshaping, *ἐν* is the basis for the usual form in Modern Greek, *είναι* ([ine]).

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to recognize multiple dimensions in the understanding of the development of Albanian. That is, in this case, the geographic context of Albanian, namely the fact that it was spoken in the same area as Greek in the relevant period, together with the concomitant social fact deriving from that geography that early Albanians had to be able to speak some form of Greek, provides the basis for gaining insight into how the 3sg forms of ‘be’ arose. This paradigmatic cell is thus crucial for demonstrating a significant level of contact between Greek and Albanian in a pre-Sprachbund period, prehistoric as far as Albanian is concerned.

3.2 1st person singular

The 1st singular form *jam* is well behaved in terms of its diachronic development. A starting point **esmi* gives exactly the form attested, *jam*, as the result of a sound change by which *e* became *ja* before two (or more) consonants (what may be written: *e > ja / __CC*). This sound change is amply attested in Albanian and is shown by such forms as *jashtë* ‘outside’ < **eghs-to-* (cf. Greek *ἐξθός*, Latin *extra*), *gjashhtë* ‘six’ < **seks-ti-*, *mjaltë* ‘honey’ < **melt-o-* (< earlier **melit-*, cf. Greek *μέλι* [genitive *μέλιτ-ος*], Hittite *malit*), *djathë* ‘cheese’ < **dedhH-* (cf. Sanskrit *dadhi* ‘sour milk’). What is interesting about the 1sg form is not its rather unexceptional development per se, but instead the role it plays with respect to other forms, in particular the 3pl form, discussed in the next section.

3.3 3rd person plural

As for the 3pl form *janë*, the starting point in Proto-Indo-European would have been **s-enti*, with a zero-grade of the root (cf. Sanskrit *santi*, Latin *sunt*, etc.). Such a form, **senti*, would probably have yielded **gjanë* (with initial **s > gj* as in *gjarpër* ‘snake’ from **serpen-*, and assuming **-nt- > -nn- > -n-* ultimately),⁷ though perhaps **gjäntë* is conceivable too. Thus some other preform is needed. As noted in §3.1, Orel reconstructs **esnti*, with nonsyllabic (consonantal) **n* in the ending and with the *e-* in the stem generalized from the full grade of the singular. This could give **janë*, with **e > ja / __CC* and the presumed treatment of **-nt-* needed in any case, but positing this form achieves the right result at the expense of a phonotactically impossible reconstruction; that is, Orel needs the sonorant **n* to be nonsyllabic in order to allow for the *e > ja* change, but the *n* occurs between two consonants, exactly the environment where the sonorants are expected to vocalize (i.e. syllabify, and take on syllabic quality). However, the phonotactically regular reconstruction, **esnti*, with the sonorant **n* properly vocalized, would probably have yielded **eatë*,⁸ and while initial **ea* could (perhaps) have given *ja*, getting the *-n-* in the ending would be difficult.

Thus an alternative to any version of Orel’s reconstruction is needed. Hamp assumes **senti*, and formulates the next step as **(s)enti*. However, he offers no indication of why the **s* would elide in that position; one might presume that an unaccented **senti* could undergo such a change, but it is not clear that there are any parallels to that development. One further alternative to consider is **es-enti*, with a generalized full grade and the expected

⁷This single intervocalic *-n-* would have to have arisen after the sound change by which *n* became *r* in that position.

⁸One has to assume here the loss of intervocalic **s-*, a change that is reasonable but needs its own justification; **s*-aorist forms like 1sg *dhashë* ‘I gave’, from **(e-)dH₁-s-m*, seem to retain **s* but could in principle show generalization of a *-sh-* outcome of **s* after *i* or *u* (so Orel 2000:193). On **n > a*, see Orel (2000:42).

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ending *-enti. However, the outcome of such a reconstruction is likely to have been *jejanë (with the development of initial *e to *je* before a single consonant, and of *-enti as posited by Hamp for *(s)enti) rather than the attested *janë*.

Thus none of these possibilities can give exactly the right result on its own. Two reconstructions come close, if there were a way to get from *gjanë or *jejanë to *janë*. As it happens, there is such a pathway. In particular, if analogical pressure from a stem form in *ja-*, that is from the 1sg form *jam*, is invoked, then the adjustment of *gjanë or *jejanë so that it would have an initial *ja-* becomes reasonable, thereby yielding the required *janë*. All that is needed is some motivation for a linkage between *jam* and the 3pl form. Here, the geography of Albanian provides the necessary motivation, because within the Balkans, there is a language, specifically Balkan Romance, that shows exactly that relationship on a widespread basis, though other models within the Balkans were present.⁹ As for Romance, it can be noted that in Romanian, in the present tense of the second, the third, and (most of) the fourth conjugations, the forms for the 1sg and the 3pl are identical, e.g. *eu/ei văd* ‘I/they see’, *eu/ei merg* ‘I/they go’, *eu/ei zidesc* ‘I/they build’; this 1sg–3pl syncretic linkage extends even to some irregular verbs, most notably *sînt* ‘I am’/‘they are’. Outside of Romance, one can look to Greek as perhaps a more immediate source of influence for such an intra-paradigmatic linkage, as the verb ‘be’ itself shows the same root vocalism in the 1sg and 3pl of ‘be’ from Classical Greek up through Koine Greek, in the forms *εἰ-μὶ* ‘I am’/‘they are’ (and cf. *ἐσ-τί* ‘is’ or *ἐσ-μέν* ‘we are’ displaying a contrasting root vocalism). With the 1sg–3pl convergences in both Romance and Greek, languages that Albanian speakers would have been in close contact with, there is a powerful model for precisely the relationship among paradigmatic cells that could lead to the re-formation of a 3pl form *gjanë or *jejanë to *janë* so that it matches the 1sg form in the vocalism of the root.

Thus language contact seems to have been involved in the shaping of the 3pl form. But the language-internal issue of pressure from the 1sg form is interesting in its own right, even if contact-induced, given that the forms do not share person features or number features and thus seem not to have a clear basis for being connected. The question of which cells in a paradigm can be linked with—and thus can analogically affect or be syncretic with—which other cells is an issue for morphological theory. There clearly are such linkages, but some linguists have sought to constrain them; Burzio (2005), for instance, introduces the notion of “morphological neighborhoods” as a basis for syncretism, whereas Tantalou and Burzio (2007:1091) explicitly state that “cross-linguistically, syncretism obeys two main generalizations. One is that it tends to affect neighboring cells.” Based on this Balkan Romance and Albanian evidence, whatever constraints might exist—and it is possible that there are none (see Joseph 2009:53)—must allow for the perhaps somewhat unusual 1sg–3pl connection.

3.4 2nd person singular

For the 2sg form *je*, Orel (2000:207) reconstructs *es-si as the source without comment, suggesting he sees the development to *je* as straightforward. Hamp (1980:337), by contrast, posits a seemingly, but only seemingly, similar *e(s)-s-i as the Proto-Indo-European form, and gives the successive steps to the attested *je* (with length [*jē*] in Sofikó, an Arvanitika va-

⁹I thank Mark Wenthe for drawing these other models to my attention.

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riety in the district of Korinthias) as *esi (presumably, Proto-Albanian), whence *ie-si, then *ie. Hamp is more explicit, but there is still more to be said, starting with the parenthesized (s) in his PIE reconstruction.

The s is given in parentheses to signal that there was a degemination at the PIE stage, so that *es-s-i would be the pre-PIE form or perhaps more accurately, the synchronic underlying form for PIE, thus */essi/,¹⁰ with the degeminated form *[esi] as the synchronic surface form in PIE.¹¹ This degemination is motivated independently, especially by the comparison of the synchronically anomalous 2sg form in Sanskrit, *asi*, with its corresponding form in Greek, *ἐῖ*, though forms in a few other languages, e.g. Old Church Slavonic *jesi*, point in the same direction; from a PIE form without degemination, a (non-occurring) *assi** would be expected in Sanskrit and *ἐσσῑ* in Greek. There are languages that do not show evidence of *esi, e.g. Latin, where Old Latin 2sg *ess* points to a geminate form (Meillet and Vendryes 1966:§229); Armenian, where 2sg *es* must be from *essi (Hamp 1980:337); and Hittite, where the 2sg form is *ēssi*, and even Greek itself has *ἐσσῑ* in Homer and in some dialects. All of those forms, however, are generally presumed to show an analogical restoration of the root and ending structure, and not a PIE non-degeminated form per se. Thus, *asi*, *ἐῖ*, and *jesi* are archaisms pointing to a surface form *esi in PIE.¹²

From that PIE surface form, the ultimate Albanian form *je* can be arrived at by the relevant sound changes affecting final syllables. It is significant to note that what did not happen is the *e* > *ja* change (i.e., the modern form is not **ja); this failure of occurrence for this change indicates that there was just one consonant following the *e, not two, thus motivating the reconstruction with a single *-s- (hence Hamp’s parenthesized *s). This means that Albanian can be added to the languages across the Indo-European family that give testimony to the need to reconstruct a degemination rule that dates to the Proto-Indo-European era. Albanian *je* is thus a precious archaism on a par with *asi*, *ἐῖ*, and *jesi*.¹³

3.5 1st person plural and 2nd person plural

For reasons that become clear, it is appropriate to treat the 1pl and 2pl forms together. To start with 1pl *jemi*, it cannot be from *esmen or the like (Orel suggests *esmei); because of the *e > ja change, the expected form would be *jami. The source of the -e- vocalism in *jemi* must be sought in analogical influence from some other form in the paradigm. The only form with -e- “organically”, that is via sound change alone, is the 2sg form *je*, but the question must be asked how the 2sg form would come to affect the 1pl form. While the discussion in §3.3 might suggest that anything goes as far as paradigmatic cell linkage is concerned, it is still preferable to have some motivation for the analogical connection. The motivation is to be found in the developments with the 2pl form *jeni*.

It is clear that *jeni* cannot continue a Proto-Indo-European *s-t(H₂)e or an innovative *es-t(H₂)e directly; there is simply no way to get the vocalism of the Albanian root of *jeni*

¹⁰This underlying form is morphologically well motivated, as the stem is clearly *es- in other singular forms, and the ending *-si is found throughout the present system.

¹¹The slashes indicate an underlying morphophonemic form, and square brackets indicate a surface phonetic form.

¹²I thank my colleague Dan Collins for very helpful discussion about the Slavic forms of ‘be’.

¹³I leave as an open question whether the fact that early Slavic had a degeminated form played a role, via language contact in the Balkans, in the retention of a form with a single *-s- in prehistoric Albanian.

nor the ending from such a starting point: *st- should give *sht-* (as in *shteg* ‘path, road’ < *stoigh-; cf. Greek *στῆριχος* ‘row, line’) and *e before *st- would give *ja*. Thus the 2pl form must have been built on the 2sg *je*, with the addition of the ending *-ni*, which has its own interesting history, based on a pattern evident throughout the present system, e.g. *ti di* ‘you know’ ~ *ju dini* ‘y’all know’.¹⁴ The 1pl *jemi* would then have resulted from influence from this innovative 2pl form, ousting an inherited *jami, in a linkage between paradigmatic cells found in other languages from different eras, as seen, e.g., in the later Greek rhyming endings 1pl *-μαστε*/2pl *-σαστε* in the nonactive imperfect.¹⁵ A 1pl/2pl connection is thus a likely universally available sort of analogical development. And, the 2sg/2pl connection, though motivated internally within Albanian, as noted above, is reminiscent of the way the Latin 2sg *-s* affected the presumed original 2pl **-ti* (< **-t(H₂)e*) to give *-tis*, and of the resulting synchronic sharing of final *-s* between these two forms (e.g. 2sg *ama-s* / 2pl *ama-ti-s*); whether that Latin matching had any affect on the Albanian pattern is hard to say, but given the degree of contact with Latin that Albanian speakers had in the post-Classical period, it cannot be ruled out.

4 Concluding remarks

It is well known that the verb ‘be’ in many languages shows special developments and irregularities. Old English had suppletion in the 2sg form *eart*, and that irregularity continues into the modern language (*are*), and has even spread into the plural, ousting Old English forms built more regularly on a stem in *s-*, namely 1/2PL *sind*, 3pl *sindon*. Spanish anomalously has *eres* as the 2sg form, with a stem *er-* found nowhere else in the paradigm. Lithuanian has a suppletive 3sg form *yra*, which replaced the more regular *ēsti* of Old Lithuanian. In Modern Greek, only in the verb ‘be’ are the 3sg and 3pl forms identical. And so on. Thus in a number of languages, forms of ‘be’ have their own stories to tell, so that, in a sense, it is not surprising that ‘be’ in Albanian should similarly prove interesting. However, those other stories are not as rich as what ‘be’ in Albanian has to offer, in that they deal with only a few forms and mostly involve language-internal matters. In Albanian, by contrast, all of the forms are notable in some respect and the collective story they tell touches on more than just language-internal developments, extending to matters of language contact and of cross-linguistic typological interest. In that way, therefore, the verb ‘be’ in Albanian offers a microcosm of the multi-dimensionality of perspective needed to understand Albanian linguistic history.

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¹⁴It is probably from the PIE adverb *nū ‘now’, as argued by Rasmussen (1985); see Joseph 2011 for some further discussion.

¹⁵The 2pl *-σαστε* replaces earlier *-εσσε*, and this reshaping of the ending is due to the 1pl.

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Kausative im Frühvedischen

G Ö T Z K E Y D A N A



1 Einleitung

Das frühe Vedisch verfügt, wie die anderen altindogermanischen Sprachen auch, über eine Kategorie Infinitiv. Betrachtet man aber die Bandbreite, in der diese infinite Verbalform verwendet wird, so fällt auf, dass sie erheblich geringer ist als selbst im eng verwandten Avestischen: Infinitivphrasen können immer als offene Funktionen (XADJUNCT oder XCOMP) beschrieben werden, und semantisch zeichnen sie sich dadurch aus, dass sie modal interpretiert werden. Eine Verwendung des frühvedischen Infinitivs scheint allerdings aus dieser semantischen Enge auszuscheren: der faktitive AcI (*Accusativus cum infinitivo*) bei einbetten dem *KAR*. Ziel des vorliegenden Aufsatzes ist es, zu zeigen, dass dieser Schein trügt. Auch die Kausativperiphrase mit Infinitiv bei *KAR* hat tatsächlich eine modale Interpretation. Der frühvedische Infinitiv ist somit deutlich archaischer als der verwandter Sprachen.

2 Der Infinitiv im Frühvedischen: ein Überblick

Der Infinitiv des frühen Vedisch ist durch eine Vielzahl morphologischer Marker gekennzeichnet. Einige davon sind distinkt, andere identisch mit Dativen bzw. Akkusativen von Verbalnomina. Die Infinitive sind in der Regel von der Wurzel, in (wahrscheinlich einer besonders alten Schicht zugehörigen) Ausnahmefällen vom Präsensstamm gebildet. Sie sind diathesenindifferent, können also je nach Kontext bald aktive, bald passive Lesart haben.

Syntaktisch sind die frühvedischen Infinitive durch ihre VP-Syntax kenntlich, die sie eindeutig von Ereignisnominalisierungen scheidet. So finden sich Belege mit Objekt oder Richtungsakkusativ (1), aber auch solche mit Apposition zum latenten Subjekt (2):

- (1) vémi tvā ṛñjāse [...] vémi stótavāi [...]
wollen-1.SG.PRS du-ACC eilen-INF wollen-1.SG.PRS preisen-INF
Ich will zu dir eilen, ich will dich preisen! (8,4,17)
- (2) yó [...] aratír nid^hāyi / yájiṣṭ^ho
wer-NOM Kranz-NOM niederlegen-3.SG.AOR.PASS am-besten-opfernd-NOM
mahná śucád^hyai [...] hótā
Macht-INS aufleuchten-INF Priester-NOM
[Agni,] der niedergesetzt ist als Kranz, um mit seiner Macht aufzuleuchten als der am besten opfernde Priester. (4,2,1)

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Komplement des transitiven *vémi* in (1) ist jeweils die Infinitivphrase. Der Akkusativ *tvā* wird wie von einem finiten Verb vom Infinitiv *ṛṇjāse* regiert. Im zweiten Satz des Beispiels liegt der im Vedischen verbreitete Fall einer Ellipse des Pronomens im Konjunkt vor.¹ In Beispiel (2) ist das Subjekt der Infinitivphrase identisch mit dem des einbettenden Satzes. Spezifiziert wird es in der Infinitivphrase durch die appositive NP *hótā yájiṣṭ^hah*, deren Nominativ der Kongruenz zum latenten Subjekt geschuldet ist.

Die Verwendung des Infinitivs als Adjunkt, wie sie von Beispiel (2) illustriert wird, ist die bei weitem frequenteste und wohl auch älteste. Das ist schon daraus ersichtlich, dass die meisten (und ältesten) Infinitivmarker formal entweder mit Dativen oder seltener Lokativen von Ereignisnominalisierungen identisch sind, oder auf solchen beruhen. Akkusativische Infinitive, die aus nominalen Objekten reanalysiert sind und ihren Ursprung somit in Komplementstrukturen haben, finden sich in diesem Stadium des Vedischen nur äußerst selten.

Komplemente sind allerdings in frühen Vedisch noch rar. Ein Beispiel ist (1). Daneben gibt es weiterhin prädikative Infinitive. Man vergleiche (3) und (4):

- (3) *naíṣā gávyūtir ápab^hartavá u*
 nicht-dies-NOM Weide-NOM wegnehmen-INF PTCL
 Diese Weide kann [uns] nicht weggenommen werden. (10,14,2)
- (4) *rāyáḥ syāma d^harúṇam d^hiyád^hyai*
 Reichtum-GEN sein-1.PL.PRS.OPT Grundlage-ACC legen-INF
 Wir wollen in der Lage sein, die Grundlage des Reichtums zu legen. (7,34,24)

An diesen Beispielen ist v.a. bemerkenswert, dass auch der Infinitiv in prädikativer Funktion ganz offensichtlich diathesenindifferent ist: In (3) hat *ápab^hartavái* sicher passive Lesart, während *d^hiyád^hyai* in (4) angesichts des Objekts *rāyó d^harúṇam* eindeutig aktiv ist.

Schließlich werden Infinitive im Frühvedischen auch imperativisch verwendet. Dieser Gebrauch, der Parallelen in anderen frühindogermanischen Sprachen hat, ist im Vedischen wahrscheinlich bereits lexikalisiert.²

All diesen Funktionen, seien sie adjunkt, regiert, oder gar unabhängig, ist eines gemeinsam: Sie bezeichnen immer modal zu bewertende Propositionen. Offensichtlich ist dies in (1), wo das Einbettungsverb selbst die— hier bouletische—Modalität bezeichnet. Aber auch *śucád^hyai* in (2) wird relativ zu der durch den Einbettungssatz gegebenen modalen Basis bewertet: Der Satz ist dann wahr, wenn aufgrund der Entfaltung des Feuers dessen Aufleuchten möglich (und diese Möglichkeit mit der Intention der Handelnden kompatibel) ist. Entsprechendes gilt für die übrigen Beispiele.

2.1 Infinitive als Komplemente

Bei der Untersuchung frühvedischer Infinitive erweist es sich als besonders schwierig, Infinitivkomplemente zu identifizieren. Die brauchbarste Heuristik besteht in einer Untersuchung der Subkategorisierung des einbettenden Verbs. Ist die sicher zu ermitteln und

¹Vgl. Keydana and Luraghi 2012:117–21.

²Siehe Keydana 2013:183.

in einem gegebenen Beispiel ohne Annahme eines Infinitivkomplements nicht saturiert, so ist der Komplementstatus des Infinitivs sicher. Ein Beispiel ist wiederum (1). Auch die Semantik des einbettenden Verbs sowie der Satzkontext können bei der Klassifizierung helfen—Beispiele folgen.

Komplementinfinitive wie in (1), bei denen das latente Subjekt der Infinitivphrase identisch ist mit dem des einbettenden Satzes, sind zweifelsfrei nachweisbar. Schwieriger ist der Nachweis von Fällen mit Objektkontrolle. Man vergleiche (5):

- (5) téb^hir índram codaya dātave mag^hám
 dies-INS.PL Indra-ACC drängen-CS.2.SG.PRS.IPV geben-INF Gabe-ACC
 Mit denen [sc. den Rauschtränken] dränge den Indra, ein Geschenk zu geben. (9,75,5)

Sätze dieses Typs können immer auch so gelesen werden, dass der Subkategorisierungsrahmen des einbettenden Verbs bereits durch das Objekt (hier also *índram*) vollständig saturiert ist. Zweifelsfreie Fälle von Objektkontrolle lassen sich im Frühvedischen daher nicht nachweisen.

Schließlich gibt es einen letzten Typ des Komplementinfinitivs, den AcI. Er steht im Mittelpunkt der folgenden Überlegungen.

3 Zwei frühvedische Kausativa

Das Frühvedische kennt zwei Möglichkeiten, Kausativa zu bilden, das morphologische Kausativum und eine Konstruktion, in der ein AcI von dem Verb *KAR* eingebettet wird.

Morphologische Kausativa sind weit häufiger als der periphrastische Typ. Im Rigveda sind 106 *-āya*-Formationen in kausativer Funktion nachgewiesen (Jamison 1983:Kap.7). Ein typisches Beispiel ist (6):

- (6) táyehá víśvān [...] yájatrān á sādaya
 dies-INS=hier all-ACC.PL opferwürdig-ACC.PL her setzen-CAUS.2.SG.PRS.IPV
 pāyayā cā mād^hūni
 trinken-CAUS.2.SG.PRS.IPV und süß-ACC.PL
 Mit dieser [Zunge] mach all die, die eines Opfers wert sind, sich setzen, und mach sie süße Tränke trinken. (3,57,5)

Dem kausativen *-āya*-Präsens entspricht regelmäßig der reduplizierte Aorist; ein kausatives Perfekt gibt es nicht.

Periphrastische Kausativa sind weit seltener. Insgesamt sind nur 32 tokens im Rigveda belegt. Man vergleiche (7):

- (7) utó kavīm [...] yuvām [...] akr̥ṇutam vicákṣe
 und=PTCL Seher-ACC du-NOM.DU machen-2.DU.IMPF sehen-INF
 Und ihr machtet den Seher sehen. (1,116,14)

Der Typus kann aufgrund der oben eingeführten Heuristik sicher von adjunkten Infinitiven bei *KAR* abgegrenzt werden:

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- (8) apáde pádā prátid^hātave kaḥ
 fußlos-DAT Fuß-ACC.DL setzen-INF machen-3.SG.INJ.AOR
 Er machte dem Fußlosen zwei Füße, [damit er sie] aufsetze. (1,24,8)

In (7) ist nicht *kavīm* das von der Subkategorisierung des Verbs geforderte Thema. Die angesprochenen Ásvins machen nicht den Seher, vielmehr sorgen sie dafür, dass der Seher sieht. Das Thema ist also zweifellos *kavīm vicákṣe*. Anders in (8): Hier werden tatsächlich die Füße (*pádā*) effigiert. Der Subkategorisierungsrahmen von *KAR* ist also schon ohne Infinitivphrase gesättigt, letztere mithin ein Adjunkt.

Die Syntax des periphrastischen Kausativums ist unproblematisch. Im folgenden gebe ich eine Darstellung im LFG-Format nach Keydana 2013:164:³

$$\begin{aligned} \text{KAR} \quad V(\uparrow \text{PRED}) &= \text{'machen'}(\langle(\uparrow \text{SUBJ})(\uparrow \text{XCOMP})\rangle(\uparrow \text{OBJ})) \\ (\uparrow \text{OBJ}) &= (\uparrow \text{XCOMP SUBJ}) \end{aligned}$$

KAR selegiert immer zwei Argumente, Agens und Thema. In der periphrastischen Konstruktion werden sie respektive als Subjekt bzw. offenes Komplement (XCOMP) versprochen. Außerhalb des Subkategorisierungsrahmens selegiert die Konstruktion weiterhin ein Objekt. Durch Strukturteilung wird das (fehlende) Subjekt des offenen Komplements mit diesem Objekt gleichgesetzt.

3.1 Komplementäre Verteilung?

Angesichts der Existenz zweier Kausativtypen im Frühvedischen stellt sich die Frage nach deren Verteilung. Traditionell wird die Auffassung vertreten, das periphrastische Kausativum werde (zumindest überwiegend) dann verwendet, wenn das morphologische Kausativum blockiert sei: „To a great extent they [sc. the periphrastic causatives] seem to be in complementary distribution with morphological causatives“ (Jamison 1983:38). Neuerdings ist diese Auffassung in aller Deutlichkeit von Thomas Zehnder (2011) vertreten worden, der sie auch ausführlich begründet. Demnach tritt die periphrastische Konstruktion v.a. unter drei Bedingungen ein. Die erste ist das Perfekt—wie oben erwähnt, kann zu *-áya*-Kausativen zwar ein Aorist, nicht aber ein Perfekt gebildet werden. Die zweite Bedingung ist komplexer: Periphrase findet demnach immer dann statt, wenn die *-áya*-Bildung morphologisch oder morphonologisch blockiert ist oder aber (dies ist die schwächere Variante dieser Bedingung), wenn die *-áya*-Bildung nicht attestiert ist. Der dritte Faktor ist schließlich die Homonymenflucht: Periphrase wird demnach immer dann gewählt, wenn die *-áya*-Bildung bei einem gegebenen Verb andere Funktionen hat als die, ein Kausativ zu markieren.

Im folgenden soll die Validität dieser Annahmen einer erneuten Überprüfung unterzogen werden, zumal sie eine wichtige Konsequenz für das Entwicklungsstadium des Infinitivgebrauchs im Frühvedischen hat: Ist die Periphrase tatsächlich ein Allosyntagma zum morphologischen Kausativum, so ist sie das erste (und im Frühvedischen einzige) Beispiel für eine Entwicklung, in der die ursprüngliche modale Semantik des Infinitivs in den Hintergrund tritt.

³Dort auch zu einer ausführlichen Herleitung der Struktur.

3.1.1. Das Perfekt

Zehnder (2011:48) geht davon aus, dass das Kausativum solange keines Perfekts bedurfte, wie letzteres eine resultative oder, in seiner Terminologie, naktostatische Aktionsart bezeichnete. Als es dann im Laufe der vedischen Sprachgeschichte zum Tempus wurde, entwickelte sich das seit dem Atharvaveda belegte periphrastische Perfekt des Typs *gamayām cakāra* ‘machte gehen’. Im Frühvedischen sollte man demnach keine Periphrasen mit *KAR* und *AcI* erwarten. Tatsächlich gibt es im Rigveda auch nur vier Belege. Ihre Funktion ist es nach Zehnder, ein Faktum zu konstatieren oder ein Resultat zu bezeichnen. Schließlich mag ein Perfekt auch einfach aufgrund vorangehender Perfekta gewählt worden sein.

Zehnders Annahmen werden aber von Beispielen wie dem folgenden in Frage gestellt:

- (9) ... yád agnīm samíd^he cakárt^ha ví yád ávaś
 dass Feuer-ACC entfachen-INF machen-2.SG.PRF auf dass leuchten-2.SG.AOR
 [...] yán mānuṣān [...] ājīgas ...
 dass Mensch-ACC.PL wecken-2.SG.AOR
 ... dass du das Feuer entfachen machtest, dass du aufleuchtest, dass du die Menschen erwecktest ... (1,113,9)

In diesem Vers wird das Perfekt *cakárt^ha* von zwei Aoristen gefolgt. Die drei jeweils durch *yád* eingeleiteten Nebensätze stehen parallel und bezeichnen sämtlich Ereignisse, die mit dem Sonnenaufgang einhergehen: Das Entfachen des Opferfeuers, die Ausbreitung von Licht und das Erwachen der Menschen sind jeweils unmittelbare Konsequenzen des Erscheinens der Uṣas. Ohne mutwillige Zusatzannahmen wird man daher konzедieren müssen, dass das Perfekt der faktitiven Konstruktion hier funktional den folgenden Aoristen gleichwertig und somit bloßes Erzähltempus ist. Da *cakárt^ha* das erste Verb in dieser Reihung ist, kann auch eine Beeinflussung durch andere Verben im Kontext sicher ausgeschlossen werden.⁴

Keiner der Belege der Konstruktion im Perfekt erzwingt im übrigen – zum Beispiel aufgrund eines Rahmenadverbs – eine resultative Lesart. Wir dürfen also folgern, dass das Perfekt durchaus nicht als Ersatz für das fehlende Perfekt des morphologischen Kausativs verwendet wird. Im Gegenteil: Die äußerst geringe Frequenz des Perfekts des periphrastischen Kausativs im Vergleich zu den vielen hundert Belegen für das morphologische Kausativ bestätigt den Befund, dass die Periphrase nicht suppletiv verwendet wird, um eine Lücke im Paradigma zu füllen.

Welche Faktoren allerdings die Verwendung des Perfekts in Fällen wie (9) steuern, muss wohl offen bleiben. Zweifellos bezeugen sie einen Wandel, der im Rigveda bereits im Gange ist und letztendlich zum Tempussystem der Brāhmaṇaprosā führt, wie es Delbrück (1888: 273ff.) beschrieben hat. Die Annahme, dass das neue historische Perfekt sich in dieser Phase der Umgestaltung des T/A-Systems durch lexikalische Diffusion über das Lexikon ausge-

⁴Der Gebrauch des Perfekts als Erzähltempus der Vergangenheit ist im Rigveda sicher nachzuweisen. Man vergleiche etwa Sätze wie *uvāśoṣā uchāc ca nū* (RV 1,48,4), wo durch das Perfekt ein zurückliegendes Ereignis einem zukünftigen kontrastiert wird: “Uṣas leuchtete auf und wird jetzt wieder aufleuchten.” Dahl (2010:353) stellt fest, dass „examples [sc. of the historical perfect] are abundant.“ Ebenda findet sich auch Beispiele „with frame adverbs denoting a specific past reference time“ (2010:365–6).

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breitet hat, ist nicht unwahrscheinlich. Trifft sie zu, so wäre zu erwarten, dass unterschiedliche Verbwurzeln im Rigveda in unterschiedlichem Maße von diesem Prozess erfasst sind. Tatsächlich ist die Gesamthäufigkeit von Perfekta bei *KAR* in Relation zu anderen Tempora, vergleicht man sie mit der anderer *activity*-Verben, recht hoch. Auch ist die Zahl von vier Perfektformen gegenüber 28 der verbleibenden Tempora in der Periphrase angesichts einer Gesamtrelation von 1:4 (Perfekt des Aktivs gegenüber anderen finiten Aktivformen von *KAR*) keinesfalls auffällig. Die Attestierung des periphrastischen Kausativs im Perfekt mag also eine direkte Folge davon sein, dass *KAR* von dem Wandel schon stärker erfasst ist als andere Verben. Allerdings harrt die Häufigkeitsverteilung von Perfektformen bei unterschiedlichen Verbalwurzeln des Frühvedischen noch der Untersuchung.

3.1.2 *Blocking*-Effekte?

Blocking-Effekte werden von Zehnder (2011:52) als weiterer Grund für die Verwendung des periphrastischen Kausativs genannt. Tatsächlich erlauben Wurzeln auf *y(i)* keine *-āya-*Kausative. Als Konsequenz tritt nach Zehnder die Periphrase ein.

Allerdings ist bereits im Rigveda ein morphologisches *repair* für dieses Problem nachweisbar, das *p*-Kausativ. Formen wie *dʰāpáyate* ‘säugt’ oder *ksepáyati* ‘lässt wohnen’ sind schon in den älteren Textschichten belegt. Die Periphrase ist daher schwerlich die ultima ratio für Wurzeln auf *y(i)*.

Schon an dieser Stelle sei im übrigen darauf hingewiesen, dass Zehnders Kronzeuge für das blocking eine bemerkenswerte Semantik zeigt:

- (10) ávarṣīr varṣām úd u ṣū gr̥bhāya= ákar
 regnen-2.SG.AOR Regen-ACC ADV PTCL gut fassen-2.SG.PRS.IPV machen-2.SG.AOR
 dhānvān,y át,yetavā u
 Wüste-ACC.PL durchqueren-INF PTCL
 Du hast Regen geregnet, hör jetzt schön auf! Du hast die Wüsten durchquerbar gemacht. (5,83,10)

Das periphrastische Kausativum bedeutet hier schwerlich, dass tatsächlich jemand die Wüsten durchquert. Worum es dem Dichter geht, ist vielmehr die Tatsache, dass durch den Regen die Wüsten in einen Zustand versetzt wurden, der eine Passage erlaubt. Es geht also anders als beim morphologischen Kausativ nicht darum, ein Ereignis auszulösen, sondern vielmehr darum, Voraussetzungen zu schaffen, die ein solches Ereignis ermöglichen.⁵

3.1.3 Homonymie?

Der letzte Faktor, der nach Zehnder (2011:55) zur Verwendung des periphrastischen Kausativs führt, ist die Homonymenflucht. Die Periphrase wird demnach dann verwendet, wenn *-āya-* bei einer gegebenen Wurzel und identischem Wurzelablauf bereits mit einer anderen Funktion belegt war. Der Druck, derartige Homonymie zu vermeiden, war aber ganz offenbar äußerst gering: Beispiele von Verben, bei denen das *-āya-*Präsens verschiedenste Funktionen hat, können ohne Schwierigkeiten in großer Zahl beigebracht werden. So stellt

⁵Dazu ausführlich unten §3.2.

z.B. Jamison (1983:57) für *citáyati* fest: „Of the 21 occurrences of *citáyati* in the RV, 13 have the intransitive sense ‘appears’, while the others are divided among several different meanings: I/T ‘perceives’ [...], trans. ‘reveals’ [...], and double I/T ‘makes perceive’ ...“

Das Fazit ist eindeutig: Von komplementärer Distribution kann keine Rede sein, und das periphrastische Kausativum ist keinesfalls der Notstopfen, zu dem immer dann gegriffen wird, wenn das morphologische Kausativum unmöglich ist.

3.1.4. Zur Distribution von morphologischem Kausativ und *KAR* + Infinitiv

Bestätigt wird dieser Schluss durch die Tatsache, dass von ein und demselben Verb periphrastisches und morphologisches Kausativum synchron oftmals nebeneinander belegt sind. Besonders instruktiv ist in diesem Zusammenhang folgendes von Zehnder (2011:65) besprochenes Beispiel aus dem Atharvaveda, in dem beide Typen Seite an Seite stehen:

- (11) *sárvaṃ tád* [...] *távam amítreb^hyo drśé*
all-ACC dies-ACC du-NOM Feind-DAT.PL sehen-INF
kurūdārāṃś ca prá darśaya
machen-2.SG.PRS.IPV=Geist-ACC.PL und ADV sehen-2.SG.CAUS.PRS.IPV
All dies mach den Feinden sichtbar, und lass [sie] Geister sehen! (AVŚ 11.9.1)

Drśé kuru und (*prá*) *darśaya* stehen unter identischen Bedingungen im gleichen Tempus nebeneinander. Komplementäre Distribution ist daher sicher auszuschließen. Auch hier sind aber die syntaktischen und semantischen Eigenschaften der Periphrase im direkten Vergleich zum morphologischen Kausativum aufschlussreich: Das Ziel der Veranlassung, die potentiellen *experiencers* des Sehen-Ereignisses also, stehen in der periphrastischen Konstruktion im Dativ. Beim morphologischen Kausativum sind sie latent; wollte man sie overt nennen, so müssten sie wohl im Akkusativ stehen: *amitrān prá darśaya*. Mit diesem syntaktischen korreliert ein semantischer Unterschied: Das morphologische Kausativum besagt, dass ein konkretes Ereignis ausgelöst wird, das periphrastische dagegen wiederum, dass lediglich die Möglichkeit für ein Sehen-Ereignis geschaffen wird.⁶

4 *KAR* + Infinitiv im Detail

Es hat sich gezeigt, dass das periphrastische Kausativum nicht einfach ein Allosyntagma für das morphologische Kausativum ist. Die Beispiele (10) und (11) haben zudem erste Hinweise geliefert, dass die periphrastische Konstruktion eine ganz eigene Semantik hat, die von der des morphologischen Kausativums zu unterscheiden ist. Im folgenden sollen daher die spezifischen Eigenheiten der Konstruktion herausgearbeitet werden.

4.1 Argumentreduktion

Eine erste Auffälligkeit betrifft den Subkategorisierungsrahmen des eingebetteten Verbs: Tritt in der periphrastischen Konstruktion ein Infinitiv eines transitiven Verbs auf, so ist dessen Valenz ausnahmslos reduziert, das Verb also lediglich einstellig.

⁶Vgl. wiederum §3.2.

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Zehnder (2011:16) sieht in dieser Argumentreduktion einen Einfluss des morphologischen Kausativs. So hat Tichy (1980:5) tatsächlich nur ein sicheres Beispiel eines morphologischen Kausativs ohne Argumentreduktion im Rigveda gefunden, *devān* [...] *pāyayā havīḥ* in 2,37,6. Jamison (2014:183) geht gar soweit, mit Thieme (1929) anzunehmen, „double transitivity“ sei im frühen Vedisch bei *-āya*-Kausativen ausgeschlossen.

Bei genauerer Betrachtung gibt es aber durchaus weitere Beispiele. So liegt im folgenden Fall zwar kein Akkusativobjekt vor, gleichwohl ist der Subkategorisierungsrahmen der Wurzel $B^H AJ$ erfüllt, da das Thema hier im Genitiv steht:

- (12) *tāsya bhājayatehā naḥ*
 dies-GEN teilen-CAUS.2.PL.PRS.IPV=hier wir-ACC
 Lass uns dies hier teilen! (10,9,2)

Daneben gibt es Fälle wie Beispiel (6), wo im zweiten Satz, *pāyayā cā mādḥūni*, zwar der *causee* fehlt, dies aber ganz offensichtlich auf Ellipse im Konjunkt beruht: Im unmittelbar vorangehenden parallelen ersten Satz, der ebenfalls ein Kausativum enthält, *ā sādāya*, ist der *causee*, *yājatrān*, durchaus vorhanden.

Neben Ellipsen gibt es weiterhin Fälle mit latentem *causee* wie das folgende:

- (13) *śrāvāyā vācam kuvīd aṅgā védat*
 hören-CAUS.2.SG.PRS.IPV Rede-ACC ob PTCL wissen-3.SG.PRS.SUBJ
 Lass [ihn] deine Rede hören! Gewiss wird er [sie] verstehen. (8,96,12)

Der zweite Satz dieses Verses ist klar anaphorisch. Der, von dem gesagt wird, er werde verstehen, *védat*, ist ohne Zweifel identisch mit dem, der hört, mit dem *causee* von *śrāvāyā* also.⁷ Von Argumentreduktion kann also keine Rede sein, vielmehr ist der *causee* latent durchaus vorhanden.⁸ Dass dennoch der Eindruck entstehen mag, Argumentreduktion sei für morphologische Kausative typisch, hat sicher damit zu tun, dass tatsächlich Kausative zu echten Transitiva im Korpus sehr selten sind. Kausative zu der in (13) belegten Wurzel *ŚRAV*, z.B., sind viel häufiger zur intransitiven Verwendung mit der Bedeutung ‘gehören’ belegt als zu transitivem ‘hören’ wie im vorliegenden Fall. Erst im späteren Vedisch werden sie frequenter (Gaedicke 1880:272f.).⁹

Die konsequente Argumentreduktion beim periphrastischen Kausativum muss also eine andere Ursache haben; vom morphologischen Kausativum ist sie nicht beeinflusst.

⁷Eine passive Lesart von *śrāvāyā* ist auszuschließen. Ist das diesem Kausativum zugrundeliegende Verb einstellig, so bedeutet es in allen Fällen ‘gehören’. Vgl. das Folgende.

⁸Zum Nachweis latenter Objekte im Vedischen vgl. Keydana 2009, Keydana und Luraghi 2012.

⁹Kulikov (2013) weist zurecht darauf hin, dass Kausative im frühen Vedisch typischerweise nicht von Verben mit hoher Transitivität im Sinne von Hopper und Thomson (1980) gebildet werden – auch wenn das Postulat geringer Transitivität nicht immer frei von Zirkularität ist, z.B. im Falle von $B^H AJ$ in Beispiel (12). Seine Einschätzung, Thiemes Generalisierung sei zutreffend, wenn man von prototypischer, nicht kategorialer, Transitivität ausgehe (Kulikov 2013:96), trifft *grasso modo* durchaus zu, ändert allerdings nichts an der Tatsache, dass Argumentreduktion keine Eigenschaft des *-āya*-Kausativs ist.

4.2 Die passive Lesart

Um den Unterschied zwischen morphologischem und periphrastischem Kausativ genauer herausarbeiten zu können, soll zunächst die Semantik des morphologischen Kausativs erläutert werden. Man betrachte dazu das folgende Beispiel:

- (14) yāṃ tvā [...] vard^háyanti úṣaḥ sujāte
 welch-ACC du-ACC wachsen-CAUS.3.PL.PRS Uṣas-VOC wohlgeborene-VOC
 matíb^hir vásiṣṭ^hāḥ
 Gebet-INS.PL Vasiṣṭ^ha-NOM.PL
 Wohlgeborene Uṣas, welche die Vasiṣṭ^has wachsen machen durch [ihre] Gebete ...
 (7,77,6)

Der Satz bezeichnet ein Ereignis, das Sprechen der Gebete, welches ein zweites Ereignis, das Wachsen der Uṣas, zur Folge hat. Ist der gesamte Satz wahr, so gilt dies notwendig auch für einen Satz (14’):

- (14’) úṣo vard^hate
 Uṣas-NOM wachsen-3.SG.PRS
 Uṣas wächst.

Zwischen (14) und (14’) besteht eine Relation der materialen Implikation: In allen Situationen, in denen (14) wahr ist, ist auch (14’) wahr.

Die Betrachtung der Beispiele (10) und (11) hat bereits gezeigt, dass die Semantik des periphrastischen Kausativs komplexer ist—zumindest bei passiver Lesart des Infinitivs. Man vergleiche dazu (15):

- (15) and^hā támāṃsi dúd^hitā vicákṣe nṛb^hyaś
 blind-ACC.PL Dunkelheit-ACC.PL undurchsichtig-ACC.PL sehen-INF Mann-DAT.PL
 cakāra
 machen-3.SG.PRF
 Er machte den Männern die blinde undurchsichtige Dunkelheit transparent. (4,16,4)

Hier geht es nicht darum, dass wirklich ein Sehen-Ereignis stattfindet. Effigiert wird vielmehr ein Zustand, in dem die Männer die Möglichkeit haben, trotz Dunkelheit zu sehen. Ist (15) wahr, so gilt dies notwendig auch für eine Proposition, die den effigierten Zustand der Sichtbarkeit bezeichnet, nicht aber für einen Satz wie (15’):

- (15’) náras támāṃsi ví cacakṣur
 Mann-NOM.PL Dunkelheit-ACC.PL durch sehen-3.PL.PRF
 Die Männer sahen durch die Dunkelheit.

Auch das periphrastische Kausativ wird also als materiale Implikation interpretiert. Die Relation besteht allerdings zwischen der Periphrase und einem Zustand, in dem ein Sehen-Ereignis möglich ist. Die Infinitivphrase hat folglich modale Bedeutung.

Bestätigt wird die modale Interpretation der Periphrase wie schon in Beispiel (11) durch den Gebrauch des Dativs *nṛb^hyaḥ* für die potentiellen *experiencers* des Sehen-Ereignisses.

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Handelte es sich um eine materiale Implikation, mithin um ein faktisches Passiv, so wäre zweifellos der Instrumental *niḥḥiḥ* zu erwarten.¹⁰

Das periphrastische Kausativum unterscheidet sich also nicht nur insofern vom morphologischen, als es überhaupt eine passive Lesart zulässt. Es hat ganz offensichtlich auch eine andere, modale, Semantik. Und das gilt, wie die folgenden Beispiele zeigen, nicht nur für die passive Lesart. Auch im Aktiv ist die Modalität deutlich:

- (16) *yābḥiḥ śacībḥir [...] parāvḥjaṃ prāṇḥāṃ śroṇāṃ*
 welch-INS.PL Fähigkeit-INS.PL verstoßen-ACC ADV=blind-ACC lahm-ACC
cākṣasa étave kṛtḥāḥ
 sehen-INF gehen-INF machen-2.DU.AOR.INJ
 die Fähigkeiten, mit denen ihr den Verstoßenen, den Blinden, sehen und den Lahmen gehen macht. (1,112,8)

In (16) geht es gewiss nicht darum, dass der Blinde als Ergebnis des Tuns der Aśvins konkrete Dinge sieht. Vielmehr wird auch hier lediglich ein Zustand effigiert, in dem das Sehen schlechthin möglich ist. Ebenso geht der Lahme nicht zwangsläufig irgendwohin; Er wird in die Lage versetzt, potentiell wieder zu gehen. Ähnlich ergeht es der Viśpalā in Beispiel (17):

- (17) *yuvāṃ sadyó viśpālāṃ étave kṛtḥāḥ*
 du-NOM.DU plötzlich Viśpalā-ACC gehen-INF machen-2.DU.AOR.INJ
 Ihr macht, dass Viśpalā mit einem Mal gehen kann. (10,39,8)

Auch dieser Vers handelt von den Taten der Aśvins: (17) referiert darauf, dass sie der Viśpala ein ehernes Bein geben. Effigiert wird durch die Anfertigung der Prothese ein Zustand, der es ihr erlaubt, wieder zu gehen.

Eine Durchsicht der Belege zeigt, dass die modale Lesart zwar nicht immer so augenfällig ist wie in (16) und (17). Es gibt aber keinen Fall, wo sie, z.B. aufgrund von Rahmenadverbien, ausgeschlossen ist.

4.3 Syntax und Semantik von *KAR* + Infinitiv

In der folgenden Tabelle werden die wichtigsten Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen morphologischem und periphrastischem Kausativum zusammengefasst:

MORPHOLOGISCHES KAUSATIVUM	<i>KAR</i> + INFINITIV
direkte Verursachung	direkte Verursachung
temporale Überschneidung zwischen CUL(<i>e</i>) und <i>e'</i>	temporale Überschneidung zwischen CUL(<i>e</i>) und <i>e'</i>
<i>causee</i> ist erstes Argument ∈ SUBCAT _{VERB} CAUSE(<i>e, e'</i>) und <i>P(e)</i> und VERB(<i>e'</i>)	<i>causee</i> ist ein Argument ∈ SUBCAT _{VERB} CAUSE(<i>e, e'</i>) und <i>P(e)</i> und STATE(<i>e'</i>) so dass [<i>◇(e'')</i>] zu <i>e'</i> und VERB(<i>e''</i>)

¹⁰Die von Tichy (1980:5) diskutierten Fälle von Dativen bei morphologischen Kausativen beruhen jeweils auf Lexikalisierung des Kausativs, die eine geänderte Subkategorisierung zur Folge hat.

Sowohl das morphologische Kausativum als auch die Periphrase bezeichnen eine direkte Verursachung. Die hier besprochenen Beispiele machen dies ganz unzweifelhaft deutlich. Die Periphrase ist daher keinesfalls z.B. mit der *faire par*-Konstruktion romanischer Sprachen zu vergleichen.¹¹ Beide stimmen auch darin überein, dass der Kulminationspunkt des effigierenden Ereignisses e mit dem effigierten Ereignis e' überlappt. Das effigierende Ereignis e ist in beiden Fällen ein *accomplishment*.

Nur das morphologische Kausativum folgt Simpsons Gesetz (Simpson 1983), nach dem das externe Argument des nicht-kausativen Prädikats notwendig internes Argument und somit *causee* des kausativen Prädikats ist. Im Falle des periphrastischen Kausativs ist das interne Argument des Kausativums ein beliebiges Argument des nicht-kausativen Verbs. Aus diesem Grund ist in der Periphrase die passive Lesart möglich.

Das morphologische Kausativum bezeichnet eine Relation zwischen genau zwei Ereignissen e und e' . Welcher Art das verursachende Ereignis ist, muss dem Kontext oder dem Weltwissen entnommen werden. In (14) zeigt zum Beispiel der Instrumental *matib^{hi}* an, dass es sich um ein Beten-Ereignis handelt. $P(e)$ ist also in diesem Falle als $MAN(e)$ zu lesen. Die Art des verursachten Ereignisses dagegen wird durch das Verb determiniert, zu dem das Kausativum gebildet wurde. In (14) ist es also ein Wachsen-Ereignis: $WARD^H_{Medium}(e')$. Bei der Periphrase dagegen sind drei Ereignisse beteiligt, das verursachende (e), das verursachte, der Zustand (e'), und schließlich das während des verursachten Zustands mögliche (e''). Das verursachende Ereignis wird auch hier nicht durch das finite Verb denotiert. In Beispiel (17) etwa ist es das Verfertigen eines ehernen Beins. Der verursachte Zustand ist einer, in dem ein Gehen-Ereignis möglich ist, $VERB(e'')$ ist also im Falle von (17) als $AT(e'')$ zu lesen. Die Tatsache, dass die Verursachung in einem Zustand resultiert, rückt das periphrastische Kausativum in die Nähe einer Resultativkonstruktion.¹² Die Semantik der Infinitivphrase, also der Zustand, zu dem $\diamond(e'')$ gilt, entspricht der des prädikativen Infinitivs (vgl. oben [3] und [4]). Ob die obligatorische Argumentreduktion der Zustandssemantik geschuldet ist, muss wohl offen bleiben. Beispiel (4) zeigt, dass sie zumindest bei prädikativer Verwendung ausbleiben kann.¹³

5 Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Untersuchung hat gezeigt, dass das morphologische Kausativum und die periphrastische Bildung mit *KAR* und Infinitiv durchaus nicht in komplementärer Distribution zueinander stehen. *KAR* + Infinitiv hat vielmehr eine modale Semantik, die dem *-āya*-Kausativ abgeht. Damit bestätigt die Konstruktion den eingangs beschriebenen Befund der übrigen im frühen Vedisch belegten Infinitivverwendungen: Die Modalität, die für die wahrscheinlich ursprüngliche adjunkte Verwendung konstitutiv war, ist im gesamten Verwendungsspektrum bewahrt. Das frühe Vedisch zeigt sich in diesem Punkt wie auch

¹¹Die *par*-Phrase gibt hier lediglich zusätzliche Information zum effigierten Ereignis, ein direkter Einfluss des Verursachers auf einen *causee* besteht aber nicht (Folli und Harley 2007:201)

¹²Vgl. dazu Keydana 2000:371.

¹³Auch die Nähe zum Gerundivum ist deutlich. Letzteres selektiert allerdings immer das interne Argument des Verbs. Zudem bezeichnet es grundsätzlich Notwendigkeit, eine Lesart, die der Infinitiv in der Kausativperiphrase nie hat, der prädikative lediglich unter Negation (vgl. Beispiel [3]).

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in der Infinitivsyntax¹⁴ bemerkenswert konservativ: Alle anderen altindogermanischen Sprachen einschließlich des nahe verwandten Avestischen haben diese Beschränkung aufgegeben und erlauben die Verwendung des Infinitivs zumindest auch bei *verba dicendi vel sentiendi*.¹⁵

Deutlich geworden ist auch, dass das periphrastische Kausativum sowohl aktive als auch passive Lesart haben kann — auch in diesem Punkt entspricht es den übrigen Verwendungen des Infinitivs. Zudem zeigt es, anders als das *-āya*-Kausativ, in allen Belegen konsequent Argumentreduktion.

Das periphrastische Kausativum verliert sich bereits im späteren Vedisch: Gibt es noch neun Belege im Atharvaveda, so finden sich nur noch zwei im Yajurveda, und lediglich einer in der vedischen Prosa. Nach Jamison (2014:183) beruht das Verschwinden der Konstruktion auf zwei Faktoren: Einerseits sei es durch „the growing productivity of the morphological causative in *-āya* and its new-found ability to express double transitivity“ begründet. Trifft der erste Punkt zweifellos zu, so ist der zweite, wie oben in §3.1 gezeigt wurde, in dieser strikten Form nicht zutreffend. Auch wird man die Konkurrenz durch das morphologische Kausativum angesichts der unterschiedlichen Semantik nicht überbewerten wollen. Andererseits führt Jamison „the shrinking of the functional domain of the dative (which, of course, has essentially disappeared in Middle Indic, forms of which were certainly contemporary with Vedic prose)“ ins Feld. Auch dieses Argument überzeugt nicht: Da die Konstruktion keinen Dativ enthält, bezieht es sich offenbar auf die morphologische Markierung des Infinitivs selbst. Allerdings sind die in der Tat dem Infinitiv sprachgeschichtlich unterliegenden Dative von Ereignisnominalisierungen synchron eben Infinitive und somit trotz formaler Identität keine Dative mehr. Zudem existiert schon im Rigveda der akkusativische Infinitiv, der in freier Distribution neben dem dativischen steht (Keydana 2013:256). Warum die Konstruktion also verschwindet, wird man nicht ohne weiteres beantworten können. Zum Abbau der Periphrase schon im Vedischen passt jedenfalls die Beobachtung, dass sie nicht oder nur in äußerst begrenztem Umfang auf andere Einbettungsverben ausgeweitet wurde. Neben der Periphrase mit *KAR* gibt es zwar eventuell eine weitere mit einbettendem *D^HĀ*; die Daten lassen aber sämtlich eine adjunkte Lesart zu.¹⁶

Der frühe Verlust des periphrastischen Kausativs ist umso bemerkenswerter, als die Periphrase wohl erst im Frühindischen entstanden ist. Im Iranischen finden sich keine Parallelen, und auch die periphrastischen Kausative z.B. des Latein bezeugen — schon wegen der abweichenden Semantik — keinesfalls indogermanisches Erbe. Sie sind vielmehr unabhängige Neubildungen aufgrund vergleichbarer syntaktischer und semantischer Voraussetzungen.

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¹⁴Syntaktisch können sämtliche frühvedischen Infinitivkonstruktionen als unsaturierte Formeln beschrieben werden, siehe Keydana 2013:324.

¹⁵Nur am Rande sei vermerkt, dass die Funktion des hethitischen Infinitivs eine besondere Ausweitung erfahren hat: Zumindest syntaktisch wird man das Anatolische nicht unbedingt für altertümlich halten wollen.

¹⁶Zuletzt ausführlich behandelt wurden sie von Keydana (2013:312ff.), zur Einschätzung vergleiche man auch Zehnder (2011:44) und Jamison (2014:184).

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Studies in Armenian Historical Phonology I: Aspiration and Spirantization of PIE Voiceless Stops

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Throughout his career, Jared Klein has been renowned among colleagues in Indo-European linguistics both for his love of textual analysis and for his attention to methodological issues in historical reconstruction. In the following pages, I offer a modest contribution to the historical phonology of one of Jared’s favorite languages, Classical Armenian, in the hope that it will be worthy of the high standards which he has consistently upheld in his own scholarship.¹

1 PIE voiceless stops in Armenian: the evidence

Among the IE languages, Armenian and Germanic stand out in having undergone a shift in the phonetic realization of the PIE stops. According to the standard view, PIE voiced aspirated stops became Armenian voiced stops (e.g. PIE **dʰugh₂tér* > *dowstr* ‘daughter’), and PIE voiced stops became Armenian voiceless stops (e.g. PIE **déǵm* > *tasn* ‘ten’).² For PIE voiceless stops, the default treatment is usually taken to be voiceless aspirated stops, at least in the case of PIE **t* > Arm. *tʰ* [tʰ] and **k*, **kʷ* > Arm. *kʰ* [kʰ].³ The latter developments are supported by a core of solid etymologies, including

- (1) *tʰarāmim*, *tʰarsamim* ‘fade, wither’ < PIE **ters-* ‘dry’ (Ved. *tṛṣyant-* ‘thirsting’, Goth. *þaur̥sjan** ‘be thirsty’)
ewtʰn ‘seven’ < PIE **septm̥* (Ved. *saptá*, Gr. *ἑπτά*, Lat. *septem*, etc.)
owtʰ ‘eight’ < PIE **oktōH* (Ved. *aṣṭā(u)*, Gr. *ὀκτώ*, Lat. *octō*, etc.)

¹Thanks to Jessica DeLisi, Petr Kocharov, Jean-François Mondon, and Rémy Viredaz for their many helpful comments and criticisms, and to them as well as Birgit Anette Olsen, Dariusz Piwowarczyk, and Don Ringe for providing me with some of the less accessible scholarly literature. All errors and opinions remain entirely my responsibility.

²I am not convinced by the arguments of Kortlandt (e.g. 1978, 1998) for reinterpreting these developments in light of the “glottalic theory”, nor by those of Holst (2009:23–44) for taking Classical Armenian voiceless and voiceless aspirated stops as ejectives and nonejectives, respectively (hence e.g. *t*, *tʰ* → *tʰ*, *t*). For objections to the glottalic interpretation of Armenian stops, in particular the evidence of *partēs* ‘garden’ and other early Iranian loanwords, see Meid 1987:9–10, de Lamberterie 1992:254–5, and Winter 1992b:112. Garrett (1998) has plausibly argued on the basis of data from Modern Armenian dialects that the Proto-Armenian continuants of PIE “voiced aspirates” were breathy.

³See e.g. Meillet 1903:7, 1936:24 (“les sourdes sont devenues des sourdes aspirées”), Džaukjan 1982:46 (“in initial position before vowels the ‘shift’ of consonants occurs in its ‘purest’ form”; trans. mine), Clackson 2004:130 (“[t]he traditionally reconstructed voiceless series is continued, at least in some positions, by aspirates”), Fortson 2009:386 (“[t]he plain voiceless stops **t* and **k* . . . became the voiceless aspirates *tʰ* and *kʰ*”).

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- t'ér* ‘side; leaf’ < **pt-er-o-* to PIE **pet-* ‘fly’ (Gr. *πτερόν* ‘wing’)⁴
t'ek'em ‘twist, warp; weave’ < PIE **tek-*⁵
 (2) *k'an* ‘than’ < **k'am* < PIE **k^weh₂m* (Lat. *quam*) or **k^weh₂nt* (cf. Lat. *quantus*)⁶
lk'anem ‘leave’, aor. *lk'i* (3sg. *elik'*) to PIE **leyk^w-* ‘id.’ (Ved. *rinákti*, cf. Lat. *linguō*)⁷
t'ek'em ‘twist, warp; weave’ < PIE **tek-* (see (1) above)

As for PIE **p*, which usually yields Arm. *h* or *Ø* in comparable cases (e.g. PIE **ph₂tér* > *hayr* ‘father’, PIE **pód-* ~ **péd-* ‘foot’ > *otn* ‘id.’, *het* ‘track’), it is possible that this consonant likewise passed through an intermediate stage *[p^h] before being debuccalized to [h].⁸ There is also widespread agreement that aspiration did not affect voiceless stops after pre-Arm. **s*, at least in the case of PIE **p* and **t*, hence we find:

- (3) Arm. *sparnam* ‘threaten’ ← PIE (**sp^hṛ-né-H-* ~) **sp^hṛ-n-H-* to **sp^herH-* ‘push, kick’ (cf. Lat. *spernō* ‘despise’; *LIV*² 585)
sterj ‘sterile’ < **sterya* ← PIE **stér-ih₂-* ~ **stṛ-yéh₂-* (Gr. *στειρά* ‘barren, not bearing offspring’)
stép ‘quickly; often’, *stipem* ‘urge, compel’ < PIE **steyb-* (?) (Gr. *στειβω* ‘tread, stomp on’)⁹
astl ‘star’ < PIE **h₂stér* ‘id.’ (Hitt. *ḫastērza*, Gr. *ἀστήρ*, etc.)
z-gest ‘dress’ < PIE **wés-ti-* ‘id.’ (Lat. *vestis*; to **wes-* ‘have on’)
erastank ‘buttocks’ ← (post-)PIE **pro(H)kto-* (Gr. *πρωκτός*)
dowstr ‘daughter’ < PIE **d^hugh₂tér* (Ved. *dubhitā*, GAv. *dugədā*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, OE *dohtor*, etc.)¹⁰

⁴First proposed by Bugge (1893:40); see *EDAIL* 286–7 with refs., to which add Klingenschmitt 1982:99.

⁵Cf. *IEW* 1058 s.v. 3. **tek-*, Olsen 1999:300, 782, *LIV*² 619–20 s.v. 2. **tek-*; not in *EDAIL*. — I leave aside *arcat* ‘silver’, which may be a very early borrowing from (Indo-)Iranian (de Lamberterie 1978:245–6) and/or have been influenced by *erkat* ‘iron’ (so already Hübschmann 1897:424, Pedersen 1906:411; see the discussion and references in *EDAIL* 138–9); and *awt* ‘sleeping place’, which may be from pre-Arm. **aw-ti-* < PIE **h₂ew(H)-* (cf. *aganim* ‘spend the night’; Klingenschmitt 1982:100, 203), though the contrast with *awd* ‘footwear’ remains unexplained (see Ravnæs 1991:144–6). Attempts to connect the latter with the PIE root **h₂wes-* (*LIV*² 293–4) face numerous problems; see the discussions in Peters 1980:34–42 (esp. 40–2), Clackson 1994:104–7, *EDAIL* 4, 152.

⁶See Pedersen 1906:374, 377 (**q^wānt*), Klingenschmitt 1982:169, Matzinger 2005:92–3 for the latter preform. Cf. also the related *k'ani* ‘how much’.

⁷Pace Winter (1966:206, 1992b:117, 121), *lk'anem* cannot directly continue PIE pres. (**li-né-k^w-* ~) **li-n-k^w-* and be equated with Gr. *λυμπάνω*. From a synchronic perspective, *lk'an-em* < **lik'-an-* is simply a nasal-suffixed present in *-an-* (Klingenschmitt 1982:180, 269; see already Pedersen 1906:357–60).

⁸Pace Winter (1955, 1966:203–4 §2.1, 1992b), the reflexes of PIE voiceless stops are to be kept strictly apart, in initial as well as intervocalic position. In particular, I am not convinced by any of the examples adduced for word-initial PIE **t-* or **k^w-* > Arm. *Ø-* or *h-*, nor for PIE **p-* > Arm. *p^h-*. With respect to the former, note that the interrogative stem *o-* of *o(v)* ‘who’, *or* ‘which’, *owr* ‘where’, *him* ‘why’, etc. could continue the generalized relative stem PIE **H₂yo-*, for which cf. Polish *jak* ‘how’, *jaki* ‘which’ vs. Russian *kak*, *kakój* (*EDAIL* 706 with refs., to which add Bonfante and Gelb 1944:183 n. 72, but see the defense of *o-* < **k^wo-* in Viredaz 2004–5:85 n. 8, Kölligan 2006:110–2); and for *himsn* ‘carpenter’, derived from PIE **té-tk-ōn* and equated with Ved. *táksan-*, Gr. *τέκτων* by Winter (1962:262, 1983), several alternative etymologies have been proposed (*EDAIL* 410–1 s.v. *himsn*). As for alleged cases of PIE **p* > Arm. *p^h-*, including *p'esay* ‘bridegroom’ and *p'owl* ‘fall, ruins’, see *EDAIL* op. cit. and, for *p'owl*, also Kortlandt 1976:92.

⁹Cf. Klingenschmitt 1982:217, Olsen 1999:196, *LIV*² 592 s.v. ?**stejb-*; not in *EDAIL*.

¹⁰The last two examples indicate that aspiration was blocked not only after **s* < PIE **s*, but also after **s* < pre-Arm. **k* (< **k* [next to **u*] < PIE **g* [voicing assimilation] in ‘daughter’). On the merger of PIE **sk^(w)* with **sk* as Arm. *c'*, see Meillet 1936:32, Godel 1975:80, Beekes 2003:198.

It is equally clear, however, that not all instances of PIE voiceless stops evolved in this fashion. At least for PIE **t*, there are reasonably secure examples for the (pre-Armenian) reflexes *d* after a sonorant and in certain pronominal forms; *y*, *w*, and *Ø* after vowels; and *Ø* in word-initial clusters and in *Auslaut*.

- (4) PIE **t* > *d* after a sonorant and in pronouns
ard ‘arrangement, order’ < (post-)PIE **h₂rtús* (Ved. *ṛtú-* ‘appointed time’, Gr. Hesych. ἀρτύς· σύνταξις, Lat. *artus* ‘joint, limb’; to **h₂er-* ‘fit, join’)
bard ‘heap, pile’ < (post-)PIE **b₁rtis* (Ved. *bṛtī-* ‘support’, Lat. *fortis* ‘chance, luck’, Goth. *ga-baurþs* ‘birth’; to **b₁er-* ‘bear, carry’)
mard ‘man’ < PIE **mrtós* ‘mortal’ (Ved. *mṛtá-*, Gr. βροτός)
*and** ‘doorframe’ (in e.g. (*dr-*)*and* ‘threshold, porch’) < PIE **h₂enHt-* ~ **h₂ηHt-* (cf. Ved. *ātā-* ‘id.’, Lat. *antae* ‘pillars’, ON *ǫnd* ‘hallway, porch’)¹¹
and ‘towards, in, at, etc.’ < PIE **h₂énti* (Gr. ἀντί ‘against’, Lat. *ante* ‘before’, Goth. *and* ‘along, etc.’)¹²
anderk ‘intestines, entrails’ < PIE **(h₁)éntereh₂* (Gr. ἔντερα, ON *idrar* ‘id.’, OCS *jětro* ‘liver’)
awd ‘footwear’ < (post-)PIE **h₂éwtis* vel sim. (cf. *ag-anim* ‘put on’ < **aw-*, Lith. *aũti*, OCS *ob-uti*, Lat. *ind-uō* ‘id.’ < PIE **h₂ew-*)¹³
dow ‘you (sg.)’ < PIE **tuH*
-d (second-person deictic, e.g. in *d-a*, *ay-d* ‘iste’) < PIE **to-*
- (5) PIE **t* > *y* after vowels
bayr ‘father’ < **hayir* < PIE **ph₂tér* (Ved. *pitā́*, Gr. πατήρ, Lat. *pater*, Toch. B *pācer*)
mayr ‘mother’ < **mayir* < PIE **méh₂tēr* (Gr. μήτηρ, Lat. *māter*; Ved. *mātā́* with stress after *pitā́*)
elbayr ‘brother’ < **brayir* < PIE **b₁réh₂tēr* (Ved. *bhrātā́*, Lat. *frāter*, Toch. B *procer*; Gr. φράτηρ ‘member of a phratry’)
bay ‘word’ < **bāyi-* < (post-)PIE **b₁h₂tis* (to **b₁eh₂-* ‘speak’; cf. Gr. φημί ‘id.’, φάσις ‘utterance’)¹⁴
pres. 3sg. *-é* < **-ey* < PIE primary act. 3sg. **-e-ti*
abl. sg. *-é* (e.g. *y-azgê* ‘from the people’, *i srtê* ‘from the heart’) < PIE **(h₁)éti*¹⁵

¹¹The relative chronology of laryngeal loss in PIE **h₂enHt-* has not yet been established, but note that the laryngeal would have been lost at any rate in the weak stem **h₂ηHt-* > pre-Arm. **ant-*. Thanks to Petr Kocharov for useful discussion on this point.

¹²With reduction of **a* > *ɔ* and preservation of *-d* in proclisis (Schmitt 1981:59, 75, Beekes 2003:173).

¹³See Klingenschmitt 1982:173–7 and LIV² 275 s.v. **h₂ewH-*, though the Lithuanian form points to a root without final laryngeal; see also n. 5 above on *awt-* ‘sleeping place’. Pace EDAIL 150, I see no reason to take *-d* from a PIE root extension **-d^h*.

¹⁴See however Winter 1998:629 for the possibility that *bay* is simply a nominalization of the (unmarked) pres. 3sg. *bay* ‘says’, as is surely the case for *goy* ‘essence, property’ ← *goy* ‘there is, exists’.

¹⁵This derivation, which goes back all the way to Bugge (1893:75), has been accepted by most scholars, including Pedersen (1905:224, 1906:438), Godel (1975:105), Kortlandt (1984:103 [2003:49]), Olsen (1999:7), and Hackstein (2007:133–6). For morphological and phonological arguments against the alternative derivation of abl. sg. *-é*, (*o*-stem) *-oy* from **-e-tos*, **-o-tos* (Hübischmann 1883:89, Meillet 1927:4–5, 1936:73), see respectively Pedersen 1905:221–4, Schmitt 1981:113 and de Lamberterie 1982:84 (whose alternative suggestion of **-e-tes*, **-o-tes* would be totally isolated within Indo-European), Olsen op. cit. Klingenschmitt (1982:19; followed by Matzinger 2005:114–6) proposes that *-é* continues PIE **-d^he(n)*, comparing Gr. *-θεν*, but even if the merger of PIE **p* and **b^h* in intervocalic position raises the possibility

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- (6) PIE $*t > w$ after vowels
 gen./dat./loc. sg. *hawr* ‘father’ < PIE $*ph_2tr-ós$, $*-éy$, $*-í$ (sim. *mawr* ‘mother’, *elbawr* ‘brother’)
arawr ‘plow’ < (post-)PIE $*h_2érh_3trom$ (Gr. ἄροτρον, Welsh *aradr*)
 aor. mid. 3sg. $-aw < *-ato \leftarrow$ PIE $*-to$ (see below, (10) with n. 43)
 aor. 3sg. *elaw* ‘became’ < $*e-k^w l-e-to$ (cf. Gr. ἐπλετο ‘has become, is’; Klingenschmitt 1982:280–1)¹⁶
- (7) PIE $*t > \emptyset$ after vowels, in word-initial clusters, and in *Auslaut*
 instr. sg. *harb* ‘with father’ < PIE $*ph_2tṛb^h i$ (sim. *marb* ‘with mother’, *elbarb* ‘with brother’ and the corresponding plurals in $-bk^h$);
 nom. pl. *hark* ‘fathers’ < PIE $*ph_2téres$ (sim. *mark* ‘mothers’, *elbark* ‘brothers’)
 \check{c}^hork^h ‘four’ < PIE $*k^w etwóres$ (Ved. *catvārah*, Gr. Dor. τέτορες, Toch. B *stwer*; see below, (10) with n. 45)
or ‘which’ < PIE $*k^w otero-$ ‘which (of two)’ (Ved. *katará-*, Gr. πότερος, Goth. *hwar*)¹⁷
li ‘full’ < PIE $*pléh_1tos$ (Ved. *prātá-*, Lat. *-plētus*)
herow ‘last year’ < PIE $*peruti$ (Gr. πέρυσι, Ved. *parut*, ON *i fforð* ‘id.’, OIr. *ónn-urid* ‘from last year’)
low ‘famous’ < PIE $*klutós$ (Ved. *śrutá-*, Gr. κλυτός)
erek ‘three’, acc. *eris* < PIE $*tréyes$, $*trins$ ¹⁸
 aor. *elik* ‘left’ < $*e-lik^w et$ (\leftarrow PIE $*léyk^w-$ \sim $*lik^w-$; cf. Gr. ἔλιπε, likewise thematized)
 pres. 3pl. $-n$ (e.g. *sir-e-n* ‘they love’, *sir-i-n* ‘they are loved’) < PIE $*-nti$
 aor. 3pl. $-a-n$ (e.g. *lk^h-a-n* ‘they were left’) < PIE $*-nto \sim *-nto$
k^h san ‘twenty’ < PIE $*wíkn̥ti$ (Gr. Dor. *ῥίκατι*, Toch. B *ikām*, A *wiki*)
 $-sown$ ‘-ty’ (e.g. *eresown* ‘thirty’, *kařasown* ‘forty’) < PIE $*-kōmt \leftarrow **kōmth_2$ (cf. Gr. *τριάκοντα*, Toch. B *täryāka* ‘thirty’)¹⁹

Similarly, PIE $*k$ and $*k^w$ develop to Armenian *g* in the following cases:²⁰

of a similar merger for the dentals, there are no other examples of PIE $*d^h >$ pre-Arm. $*y$; see also the discussion of the Greek facts in Praust 2005 [2006]:152–4 n. 35. For the alternative view that PIE intervocalic $*d^h >$ Arm. *r*, see n. 36 below.

¹⁶I leave aside such cases as *alawri* ‘mill; female who grinds corn’ < $*h_2elh_1-tr-$ (cf. Gr. ἄλετρις; EDAIL 31); *canawt* ‘known person, acquaintance; known, acquainted’ < $*ǵnh_3-to$ or $*ǵnh_3-ti-$ (Klingenschmitt 1982:99, Kortlandt 1991), or (virtual) $*ǵnh_3-sk-ti?$ (Clackson 1994:40, EDAIL 724); and *cnawt* ‘parent’ < $*ǵenh_1-tlo-$ (EDAIL 343 with refs., to which add de Lamberterie 1992:272 n. 88) or $*ǵénh_1tōr/l$ (Olsen 1999:639, 647), as their exact preforms remain contested, and their development involves the vexed problem of word-internal laryngeal reflexes in Armenian. On the latter, see Winter 1965, Clackson 1994:36–41, Olsen 1999:767–81, Beekes 2003:191–6, Mondon 2008 [2010].

¹⁷Cf. Schmitt 1981:74, 123; Olsen 1999:151–2, 783, 786, 806; Viredaz 2004–5:85 n. 8. On the initial consonant, see the references above in n. 8, to which add Olsen 1999:783 (“or ‘who’ < $*k^w otero-$ (rel. perhaps $*(h)iotero-$ ”).

¹⁸With the same loss of voiceless stop in an initial cluster $*TR-$ as in *erevim* ‘seem’ < $*k^w rep-$ (or $*prep-$; see below, [9]), *erastank* ‘buttocks’ < $*pro(H)kto-$ (see above, [3]), *li* ‘full’ < $*pléh_1-to-$ (see above, [5]), *eréc* ‘elder, priest’ < post-PIE $*presgu-$ vel sim. (Gr. πρέσβυς, Cret. πρέγυς; de Lamberterie 1992:256, Viredaz 2008). See Meillet 1936:32, Godel 1975:78, Beekes 2003:176.

¹⁹On *hown* ‘ford’, see n. 27 below.

²⁰See de Lamberterie 1992:248. I leave aside palatalized reflexes of PIE $*k^w$, which will be treated in a future installment of this series (Kim forthcoming:§2ff.).

- (8) *argel* ‘obstacle’ < (post-)PIE **h₂(e)rke-lo-* (cf. Gr. ἄρκος ‘defense’, ἀρκέω ‘ward off’, Lat. *arceō* ‘shut up; hold off’), to PIE **h₂erk-* ‘hold’²¹
eryg ‘song’ < PIE **(h₁)érk^wos* (Toch. B *yarke*, A *yärk* ‘honor, reverence’; cf. Ved. *arká-* ‘ray; praise hymn, song’)²²
hing ‘five’ < PIE **pénk^we* (Ved. *pāñca*, Gr. πέντε, etc.)²³

And PIE **p* becomes Armenian *w* in

- (9) *ew* ‘and’ < **h₁epi* (Ved. *ápi* ‘also, moreover, besides’)
erewim ‘seem’ < **k^wrep-* (or **prep-*; cf. Gr. πρέπω ‘am clearly seen, am conspicuous’ and see Clackson 1994:165–6 with refs.)
ewtⁿ ‘seven’ < PIE **septṛh₂* (Ved. *saptá*, Gr. ἑπτά, Lat. *septem*)
hovim ‘shepherd’ < PIE **h₂owi-peh₂-* (cf. Ved. *avi-pālā-*)
k’own ‘sleep’ < (post-)PIE **swópnos* (Gr. ὕπνος)²⁴

These developments have long formed part of the *communis opinio*, and may be found (with additional, less certain examples) in all the principal works on Armenian historical phonology since Hübschmann 1881:169, 1883:64ff.²⁵ However, their exact distribution continues to be debated, in particular the conditioning factors for PIE **t* > pre-Arm. **y*, **w*, and **Ø* in (5–7) above; in the words of Clackson (1994:31), “[t]he conditions which have led to this split are not fully known.” The only points on which there is general agreement are that voiceless stops were voiced after sonorants, e.g. in *mard* ‘man’ < PIE **m^rtós* (4),²⁶ and that PIE **-t* was lost word-finally in the active 3sg. of strong aorists such as *elík* ‘left’ < post-PIE aor. **e-lik^w-é-t* or *eber* ‘brought, bore’ < PIE impf. **é-b^her-e-t* (7).²⁷

²¹This is the traditional etymology of this noun, though note the alternative connection of *argel* and the derived *argelown* ‘hinder, forbid’ with the Germanic family of OHG *-twelan* ‘be stiff, numb’, *twel(l)en* ‘keep back’ < PIE **d^hwel(H)-* (Klingenschmitt 1982:238–9; not cited in EDAIL 133–4). Thanks to Jessica DeLisi for bringing this to my attention.

²²The Armenian and Tocharian forms go back to a PIE neuter *s*-stem **(h₁)érk^wos*, whereas Ved. *arká-* < PIE **(h₁)ork^wos* is a result noun to *arc-* ‘shine, beam; sing, praise’ (Schindler 1980:84, Olsen 1999:46, Matzinger 2005:43).

²³On the absence of palatalization, see Kim forthcoming:§3.

²⁴Perhaps also in *arowi* ‘eagle’ < **rǵipyó-* (Ved. *rǵipyá-*, Av. *arəzifjō.parna-* ‘having eagle feathers’), although an old Iranian borrowing cannot be excluded (de Lamberterie 1978:251–62). On *ewtⁿ*, *hovim*, and *k’own*, see §4 ad fin.

²⁵Cf. Brugmann 1897:526–7, Meillet 1903:7–8, 11–5, 1936:25–6, 29–34, Pedersen 1905:200–4, Grammont 1918:230ff., Pisani 1951:68–72, Winter 1955:5–6, 1992b:113–8, Mann 1963:75–83 (except for this author’s outdated insistence on PIE **t* > Arm. *t* [75–7] and PIE **k* > Arm. *k* [112–5]), Godel 1975:75–7, Pisowicz 1976:8, 1986:349, Schmitt 1981:59–60, 63, 64, Džaukjan 1982:45–54, Beekes 2003:171–2, 173–4, 176–7.

Viredaz (2004–5:91–2) proposed that PIE **t* > pre-Arm. **d-* was generalized from position after **r*, **l* and became *-r-* in e.g. *dir* ‘position’, *lir* ‘fullness’ (*i*-stem, gen. *dri*, *lri*), but the *r* of these nouns has been explained otherwise, e.g. as a reflex of word-final **s* in *ruki* position (Olsen 1989b:10–1, 1999:80–1, 782, 850; see the critical remarks in Ravnæs 1991:116). For my part, I do not see why these cannot simply continue secondary *i*-stem abstracts to PIE deverbal adjectives in **-ro-*, e.g. **pleh₁-ro-* ‘full’ (cf. Lat. *plērus* ‘very many’) → **pleh₁ri-* ‘fullness’. See also n. 36 below on the Armenian treatment of PIE intervocalic **d^h*.

²⁶A potential example of PIE **t* > Arm. *t^h* after sonorant is *ort* ‘calf’, but the etymological relation of this word to Gr. πόρτις ‘calf, young cow’ is uncertain; see the discussion in Kortlandt 1976:92 [2003:1–2], Klingenschmitt 1982:102–3, EDAIL 536–7. Arm. *arcat* ‘silver’ is probably a loanword; see above, n. 5.

²⁷Arm. *k’san* ‘twenty’, pres. 3pl. *-n* < **-nti*, and aor. mid. 3pl. *-a-n* < **-nto* have undergone apocope followed by another round of loss in the newly word-final sequence **-nt*; for a close parallel, cf. the fate of **t* in Tocharian (Ringe 1996:74–8). Pace Pedersen 1906:366–7 and Bolognesi 1954:127 (apparently followed by Ravnæs 1991:53–5), the Armenian facts do not require an earlier loss of word-final **-i* than of other vowels. The dental could easily have been restored in

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2 The phonetic puzzle

Furthermore, it is not immediately apparent how to interpret the reflexes of PIE voiceless stops in phonetically plausible terms, particularly the manifold reflexes of PIE **t*. In his classic historical grammar, Meillet (1903:11–5, 1936:29–34; cf. already 1892:163–4) proposes that voiceless stops were aspirated, and that the aspirates, having “une occlusion plus faible,” then underwent various conditioned changes: hence **p^h* > **h* (1936:30), voicing after nasals and liquids (31), **p^h* > **w* word-internally after vowels (31–2); loss in word-initial clusters of stop + **r* (32); and **t^h* > **y* “devant voyelle de dernière syllabe qui tombe” (33). Yet “[l]a faiblesse du mouvement de pression” (31) is hardly a sufficient explanation for such a wide range of developments; and typologically, a hypothesis that “le *t* de l’indo-européen devenu **t^h* a perdu son occlusion devant une voyelle (ordinairement de timbre *e* ou *i*) de la fin du mot” (33) is far less likely than one that operates with intermediate phonetic stages.

A step forward was taken by Pedersen (1905:202, 232; 1906:387), who saw that voicing must be involved.²⁸ With respect to the intervocalic reflexes **y* and **w*, he remarked that “[d]as idg. *t* ist offenbar im Armenischen im anlaut und im inlaut zunächst zu *t^h* geworden; daraus entwickelte sich im inlaut *h*, das weiterhin stimmhaft wurde” (1905:202); more explicitly, “[d]er weg der entwicklung kann gar nicht zweifelhaft sein; *t* ist über *t^h*, *h*, *dh* zu *y* oder *v* geworden” (232). He then extended this statement to all the PIE voiceless stops: “[i]n intersonantischer stellung sind die idg. reinen tenues wohl überall zunächst zu stimmlosen spiranten geworden: idg. *q*, *q^h*, *k*, *t*, *p* wurde durch das zwischenglied *k^h*, *c^h*, *t^h*, *p^h* zu *x*, *s*, *f*, *f* und *h* wurden weiterhin stimmhaft und erschienen historisch als bez. *v* und *y*” (1906:387). More recently, Olsen (1999:785) states that **-t-* > **-t^h-* > **-h-* “probably went through a voicing process yielding **-ð-* and was subsequently differentiated according to the following vowel, so that a **-γ-* arose before back vowel unless a preceding *-i-* blocked this process. From this point **-ð-* and **-γ-* may have been subject to a further weakening into *-y-* and *-w-* respectively.”²⁹

In contrast, Winter (1954, 1955, 1992b:120–3) proposed that all PIE voiceless stops first evolved to fricatives, which then in certain positions became aspirated stops by “post-pausal and postconsonantal fortition” (1992b:123), e.g. [t] > [θ] > [t^h]; similarly, Godel (1975:85) claims that “**t* and **k* were going to change to fricatives... *h* and *h^h*; but the weakening process was somehow thwarted, so that *h* (initial or preceded by a *u* diphthong) hardened again to *t^h*, and *h* to *k^h*.” But a phonetic shift [θ] > [t^h] occurs much less frequently than the

drand ‘threshold, porch’ (see above, [4]) after gen. *drandi* and other oblique cases (Clackson 1994:56, Beekes 2003:173). Why this did not happen in *hown* ‘ford’ < **pont-s* is a mystery; if, as I am inclined to believe, most nouns generalized the accusative singular as nominative/accusative in the prehistory of Armenian (Kortlandt 1985), the generalization of nom. **pont-s* in a word of this meaning would be unexpected. (I do not understand the argument of Beekes 2003:173–4.) Cf. also the hypotheses of Olsen 1989a:234, 1999:809 (**nt* > Arm. *-nd-* after a stressed vowel, otherwise *-n-*; would be virtually the only trace of PIE stress) and Viredaz 2004–5:92, 97 with n. 66 (regular loss of **t* after **n* as in *hown*; requires *ad hoc* explanations for (*dr-*)*and*, *and*, *anderk*, etc.). I leave aside *leard* ‘liver’, *neard* ‘sinew’, whose final *-d* can hardly continue PIE word-final **-t*; cf. Schmitt 1981:77, Clackson 1994:55–6, Olsen 1999:191–2, Kümmel 2007:84 n. 52 (“< **iek^ht-*”).

²⁸Cf. Grammont (1918:235), though he seems to have believed that pre-Arm. **t^h* could yield **y* directly rather than passing through an intermediate stage **[ð]*.

²⁹So also presumably Viredaz (2001–2:6–7, 2004–5:96–7), who assumes a change of PIE intervocalic **t* > **[t^h]* > **[ð]*.

reverse, and a phonological change of $*\theta$ to a distinctively aspirated stop $*t^h$ (i.e. contrasting with unaspirated $*t$) is vanishingly rare in the historical record.³⁰ Nor is there any obvious language-internal advantage to positing an intermediate fricative stage between unaspirated $[t]$, $[k]$ and aspirated $[t^h]$, $[k^h]$; as far as I can tell, none of the Greek or other early loanwords into Armenian requires such a development.³¹

In his relative chronology of sound changes from PIE to Armenian, Kortlandt (1980; cf. Beekes 2003:207–11) gives lenition of $*p, *t, *k, *k^w > *f, *θ, *χ, *χ^w$ as step 10 and asserts that “[t]his development was posterior to the voicing of these stops after resonants, e.g. *mard* ‘man’, *hing* ‘five’... because there is no trace of spirantization in the latter environment.” Subsequently, at his step 12, the voiceless fricatives shifted articulation, word-initial $*f$ becoming $*h$ (e.g. in PIE $*p_r(\acute{k})-s\acute{k}\acute{e}/\acute{o}-$ → Arm. *harc’anem* ‘ask’) and preconsonantal fricatives becoming $*f$; step 13 then changed the new preconsonantal $*f$ and intervocalic $*f$ to $*w$ (e.g. in gen. *hawr* ‘of father’), but intervocalic $*θ, *χ > *γ$ (e.g. in *hayr* ‘father’). The “shortening” of $*θ, *χ, *γ > t^c, k^c, g$ is assigned to a relatively late date (step 19).

The common vein running through these treatments is the assumption that the phonemes in question (here, voiceless stops) would develop identically in different environments. Yet the history of numerous languages, including Insular Celtic, Western Romance, postclassical Greek, and Old Aramaic, demonstrates that this is far from the case: lenition of stops is favored intervocalically, but often restricted or blocked after sonorants, especially nasals. Similarly, aspiration of stops, particularly voiceless stops, is more likely to occur in certain positions than others, a point to which we will return below.

In fact, there is no reason why pre-Armenian $*γ$ and $*w$ in the examples listed under (5) and (6) should have passed through an intermediate phonetic stage $*t^h$ or $*θ$ at all. In the following section, I offer a unified account of *all* Armenian reflexes of PIE $*t$, one which provides a plausible motivation for their distribution and conforms as far as possible to crosslinguistically observed patterns of consonant change.

3 Conditioned aspiration and lenition of PIE voiceless stops in Armenian

A possibility that until now has been largely overlooked is that PIE voiceless stops were aspirated in pre-Armenian only word-initially or after another stop. Such a conditioning for aspiration makes good sense in phonetic terms, as these are precisely the environments

³⁰Interestingly, the few instances of $*θ > *t^h$ listed by Kümmel (2007:147–8) are restricted to Iranian languages: Ossetic, where nonglottalic voiceless stops are pronounced aspirated except after f, s, x and in geminates (Thordarson 1989:462); word-initially in Kurdish, where voiceless stops are normally aspirated in the central and southern dialects (the opposition of p, t, k vs. p^h, t^h, k^h in northern Kurdish has been attributed to contact with Armenian, cf. Blau 1989:329, McCarus 2009:628–9); word-initially and after nasals in Khotanese (Emmerick 1989:213, Emmerick and Pulleyblank 1993:31–2; cf. the discussion in Kümmel 2007:290–1); and possibly after nasals in Parāčī, although the evidence is slight and the phonemic status of the voiceless aspirates remains in question (Morgenstierne 1929:39–40, Kieffer 2009:694–5). Only Khotanese, then, clearly attests the “reversion” of Proto-Iranian voiceless fricatives to aspirated stops, a change which has been ascribed to Indian influence (Emmerick op. cit.).

³¹The data are difficult of interpretation, and complicated by the fact that the shift of $φ, θ, χ$ to fricative pronunciation doubtless occurred at different times and different rates across the Greek-speaking world from the Hellenistic to the later Roman period (Schwyzer 1939:204–7 with earlier refs., Browning 1983:26–7; cf. Horrocks 2010:170–1 “fricativization... had been widely, though by no means universally, carried through by the end of the 4th century AD”).

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most favorable for aspiration crosslinguistically; cf. the pattern of aspirated voiceless stops in modern English or German.

As far as I am aware, Pisani (1951:68–71) was the first to consider the possibility that PIE **t* in other positions was not aspirated, proposing the phonetic evolution **t* > **tʰ* > **d̪* > **ɣ* or “labializzato” **w*. The first step in this development, the lenition of postvocalic **t*, **k* > **θ*, **x* is well paralleled in other IE as well as non-IE languages, e.g. Old Irish, Tuscan Italian (the *gorgia toscana*), and Old Aramaic. After sonorants, PIE **t* and **k*, **kʷ* underwent the same sequence of changes, followed by **ð*, **ɣ* > *d*, *g* (cf. Pedersen 1906:363–4, Winter 1955:7): hence e.g. PIE **mṛtós* ‘mortal’ > **marθ* > **marð* > *mard*. De Lamberterie (1978:250) likewise suggested that “**-t-* entre voyelles avait commencé d’être altéré dès avant la mutation . . . les seuls changements qui reflètent à coup sûr une mutation sont **kʷ* (**k*) > *kʰ*, et **t* > *tʰ* en position forte,” i.e. word-initially before a vowel or word-internally after a consonant or diphthong. Pisani’s hypothesis was largely endorsed by Ravnæs (1991:150–1), who provides a relative chronology on pp. 155–6 (steps 9, 10, 11b, 12), 173–81 (steps 28, 37, 39, 44). With the assumed shift of **[ð]* > **[β]* before back vowels, this would become

- 1a. aspiration of PIE voiceless stops word-initially and after stops (e.g. **[t]* > **[tʰ]*);
- 1b. spirantization of aspirated voiceless stops after [+son] (e.g. **[t]* > **[θ]*);
2. voicing of voiceless fricatives after sonorants (e.g. **[θ]* > **[ð]*);
3. labialization of **[ð]* > **[β]* before back vowels;
4. deocclusion of **[ð]* > *[j]* and **[β]* > *[w]*.

Yet given the unambiguous evidence from *mard* and the other forms in (4) for voicing of the reflexes of PIE voiceless stops after sonorants in pre-Armenian, it would be surprising if the same did not take place after vowels. One need not rehearse here the innumerable examples for voicing of intervocalic voiceless stops, a trivial instance of assimilation observable on the phonetic level in a wide range of spoken languages. I therefore conclude that voicing was not confined to the position after sonorants, but also affected voiceless stops after vowels, above all intervocalically. The same voicing in unstressed position would also be responsible for *dow* ‘you (sg.)’ < PIE **tuH* and the second-person deictic *-d* < PIE **to-* (see above, [4]), where the clitic variant was generalized.³² Subsequently, the newly voiced stops were further lenited to fricatives in intervocalic position, but not after sonorants (*mard*) or in unstressed pronouns (*dow*, *-d*). The resulting relative chronology is as follows:

- 1a. aspiration of PIE voiceless stops word-initially and after stops (e.g. **[t]* > **[tʰ]*);
- 1b. voicing of voiceless stops after [+son] (e.g. **[t]* > **[d]*);
2. spirantization of voiced stops in intervocalic position (e.g. **[d]* > **[ð]*);
3. deocclusion of **[ð]* > **[j]*, **[w]*, **[Ø]* (see below, §4).³³

The difficulty with this scenario, compared to Pedersen and Olsen’s **[t]* > **[tʰ]* > **[θ]* > **[ð]* > **[j]*/**[w]* or Pisani’s **[t]* > **[θ]* > **[ð]* > **[j]*/**[w]*, is that one must explain how PIE

³²See Pedersen 1905:232–3, Grammont 1918:232, Meillet 1936:33–4, Pisani 1951:72, Mann 1963:79, Klingenschmitt 1982:138 n. 3. De Lamberterie (1976:85, 1978:250 n. 36) prefers a development **t* > **tʰ* > *d*, under the view that the voiced stops of Classical Armenian were in fact aspirated; see immediately below and n. 35.

³³A similar sequence of changes was proposed by Dressler (1976:304): **t* > **d̪* > **ð* > **ɣ* or **w*.

**t* > **d* in *mard*, (*dr-*)*and*, etc., while PIE **d* > *t* in the same environment, e.g. in post-PIE **kērd-* > Arm. *sirt* ‘heart’.³⁴ As observed by Bolognesi (1960:20) and Ravnæs (1991:151), the PIE voiceless and voiced plain stops should have fallen together after sonorants, regardless of the relative chronology of the shifts involved—unless one wishes to posit some kind of *ad hoc* distinction between the dentals in pre-Arm. **marT* and **sirT*. Various authors have proposed a shift of PIE **rt* > *[rt^h] > *[rd^h] > *rd*, which involves no phonetic difficulties, but requires that pre-Armenian speakers phonemically identified voiced aspirates with the respective plain voiced stops.³⁵ I am rather inclined to assume lenition of *[t] (> *[d]) > *[ð] after all [+son] segments, followed by “reversion” of [ð] > [d] only after sonorants: hence PIE **mrtós* > **mar*[d] > **mar*[ð] > *mard*. The revised relative chronology will then be

- 1a. aspiration of PIE voiceless stops word-initially and after stops (e.g. *[t] > *[t^h]);
- 1b. voicing and spirantization of voiceless stops after [+son] (e.g. *[t] > *[d]);
2. spirantization of voiced stops in intervocalic position (e.g. *[d] > *[ð]);
- 3a. devoicing of (PIE) voiced stops (e.g. *[d] > *[t]);
- 3b. deocclusion of *[ð] > *[j], *[w], *[∅] (see below, §4)
4. occlusion of voiced fricatives after sonorants (e.g. *[ð] > *[d]).

The evidence of Parthian, Syriac, and Greek loanwords which appear in Armenian with *r* for [ð], e.g. *boyr* ‘smell’, *patvér* ‘command’, *hrey* ‘Jew’, *lampar* ‘torch’ ← Mlr. **bouði-*, **pati-veiðā-*, Syr. *ihūdāyā*, Gr. *λαμπάς* (*λαμπάδ-*), suggests that step 4 was complete by the onset of Parthian rule, so that later speakers replaced foreign [ð] with the closest sound in their language, the rhotic tap or flap *r*.³⁶

4 Pre-Armenian *[ð] and its reflexes

Step 3b in the proposed chronology, the development of pre-Armenian *[ð] to *[j], *[w], or *[∅], likewise finds parallels in the historical phonology of several IE languages.³⁷ In the prehistory of Old English (and Old Frisian), the Proto-Germanic fricative **ɣ* developed into [ɣ] and [j], the latter originally an allophone in palatal contexts; they were distinct

³⁴I thank Jessica DeLisi and Rémy Viredaz for helpful discussion of this old problem

³⁵Cf. Grammont 1918:241 (“l’aspiration s’est perdue parce que l’arménien ne connaît pas d’aspiration sonore”); unlikely Bolognesi 1960:20–1 (*[rt] > *[rd^h] directly). De Lamberterie (1973–4:41, followed by Job 1995:298–9) proposes that the voiced stops were actually aspirated, hence **rt* [rt] > *[rt^h] > **rd* [rd^h], but the phonetics of Classical Armenian stops and affricates remain a point of contention; see above, n. 2.

³⁶Cf. Jasanoff 1979:145 (“the phonetic distance between Mlr. **ð* and pre-Arm. **r* was not very great in Arsacid times”), Schmitt 1983:97 n. 38 (“Armen. *r* is für das systemfremde /ð/ des parthischen Phonemsystems substituiert worden”). For a parallel, cf. the substitution of *r* [r] for [ð] in Spanish loanwords into Mayan languages, e.g. Zinacantan Tzotzil *‘araro* ‘plow’, *‘esparn* ‘sword’ ← *arado*, *espada*, Q’eqchi’ *asaron* ‘hoe’, *kareen* ‘chain’ ← *azadón*, *cadena* (data taken from the World Loanword Database, <http://wold.clld.org>).

Note that even if one assumes a sound change of PIE intervocalic **dʰ* > *r* for Armenian itself (cf. Jasanoff 1979:144–9, Viredaz 2004–5:85–93, Praust 2005 [2006]:149–56), this does *not* necessitate an intermediate stage *[ð] (pace Pedersen 1905:231–2, Praust op. cit. 150–1, Kümmel 2007:79), as demonstrated by the American English pronunciation [r] of intervocalic *t*, *d* before unstressed vowels; see also the other examples listed in Kümmel 2007:77–8. On the other hand, Pedersen’s discussion of *dow* and *da* (1905:232–3) does raise the possibility that *[ð] > *[d] took place later in these forms than in *mard*, etc.

³⁷Cf. Kim 2008:50–1, although there I incorrectly assumed a direct change of pre-Arm. **θ* > **y* or **w*.

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phonemes by the Old English period, but continued to be spelled with the letter *yogh* <3> and participated in numerous alternations, e.g. *de3* [j] ‘day’ ~ pl. *da3as* [ʏ] or *friznan* ‘ask’, pret. *fræ3n* [j] ~ pl. *fruznon*, ptcp. *fruznen* [ʏ]. These sounds then became respectively *w* and *y* in late Old and early Middle English, as in late OE *dei* ‘day’ (Kentish), *seizð* ‘saith’ (West Saxon), early ME *tweien* ‘twain’, *cie* ‘eye’, *morwe* ‘morrow’, *youth* ‘youth’, *drawen* ‘draw, pull’ < OE *de3*, *se3ð*, *twēzen*, *ēaze*, *morzen*, *zeozud*, *drazan* (Luick 1964:850, 945–6).³⁸ An even closer parallel comes from Faroese, where Old Norse *ð* has disappeared in the modern language, leaving as reflexes Ø between nonhigh vowels or next to a consonant, [j] after front vowels and before *i*, and [v] before *u*: cf. *røða* [rø:a] ‘make a speech’, *verða* [ve:ra] ‘become’, *bíða* [bʊɹja] ‘wait’, *søðin* [so:jɪn] ‘boiled’, *maður* [mævʊr] ‘man’ (Lockwood 1955:14–5; cf. Olsen 1999:785).³⁹

Based on such comparanda, we may suppose that pre-Arm. *[ð], like Old Norse *ð* in Faroese, was lost intervocalically, leaving behind a homorganic glide *y next to *i and *w next to *u, but vanishing without trace between nonhigh vowels.⁴⁰ This rule will account for almost all of the etymologies in (5–7) above, namely

- (10) PIE primary act. 3sg. *-e-ti > *-eði > *-eyi > pres. 3sg. -é
 PIE *(h₁)éti > *-eði > *-eyi > abl. sg. -é
 (post-)PIE *b^hh₂tis > *baði > *bayi > bay ‘word’
 PIE *ph₂tér > *baðir > *hayir > hayr ‘father’ (sim. mayr ‘mother’, elbayr ‘brother’)
 PIE *pléh₁-to- > *liðo- > *liyo- > li ‘full’⁴¹
 PIE *peruti > *beruði > *beruyi (or *beruwi?) > herow ‘yesterday’⁴²
 PIE *klutó- > *luðo- > *luwo- > low ‘famous’
 PIE secondary mid. 3sg. *-to → *-ato > *-adu > *-awu > aor. mid. 3sg. -aw⁴³
 PIE *ph₂tr^bh₁i > *baðarβi > *haarβ > instr. sg. harβ ‘with father’ (sim. marβ ‘with mother’, elbarβ ‘with brother’)
 PIE *ph₂téres > *baðer- > *haer- → nom. pl. hark ‘fathers’ (sim. mark ‘mothers’, elbark ‘brothers’)
 PIE *k^wetwóres → *k^wetóres > *ēðor- > *ēeor- > ēork ‘four’
 PIE *k^wotero- ‘which (of two)’ → *oðer- > *oer > or ‘which’

³⁸Similarly, *h* in many eastern dialects of Serbo-Croatian has become *v* next to *u* (e.g. *muva* ‘fly’, neut. nom./acc. sg. *suvo* ‘dry’ < *muha*, *subo*), *j* next to *i* (e.g. *Mijailo* ‘Michael’ beside *Mihailo*), and Ø elsewhere (e.g. *lak* ‘light, easy’, *ora* ‘walnut’ < *lahk*-, *orah*); and Turkish *j*, historically [ʏ], has disappeared in the modern language, leaving a slight glide next to high vowels as in *soğuk* [so(w)ʊk] ‘cold’, *cijer* [çɟi(j)ɛr] ‘liver’.

³⁹I am grateful to Aurelijus Vijiūnas for bringing the Faroese data to my attention. Other cases of weakening of intervocalic [d] to Ø or a glide may be cited, e.g. Dutch (*goede* ~ *goeie* ‘good’, *beneden* ~ *beneje* ‘downstairs’, *broer* ‘brother’, *kleren* ‘clothes’ < *broeder*, *klederen*) or the “Zagros *d*” of southern Kurdish dialects (*adam* ~ *aia* ‘I give’, *x(u)wā* ‘God’ < **xudā*; McCarus 2009:597).

⁴⁰As first argued by Bartholomae (1891:27–8), although he assumed a phonetic path of PIE intervocalic *t > *θ > *h > *Ø and knew only examples next to *i (*hayr*, *mayr*, *elbayr* and the present 3sg. ending).

⁴¹Similarly *ji* ‘horse’, if from a substantivized PIE *ǵ^{hi}-tó- ‘driven (on), set in motion’ (de Lamberterie apud Olsen 1999:40, 783; Viredaz 2005–7:6–8, de Lamberterie 2006:213–23), but other preforms are possible (EDAIL 433).

⁴²Note that this form need not go back to a preform with *y < PIE *t (e.g. Meillet 1903:34, 1936:57, Grammont 1918:236, Schmitt 1981:59), but could instead continue intervocalic *w < PIE *t next to *u (cf. Olsen 1999:785). The latter outcome is almost certain for *low* ‘famous’ < PIE *klutó-, as well as the parallel cases of *arow* ‘stream’, *ēow* ‘departure, journey, campaign’ < **sru*-tó-, **kyn*-tó- (Olsen 1999:38, 41, 783, 849; cf. EDAIL 115, 547–8). On Armenian reflexes of PIE deverbal adjectives in *-tó-, see Olsen 1999:37–41, 849–50.

⁴³On the raising of word-final *-o, see Kim forthcoming:§1.

Many scholars have operated with a more general rule by which PIE **t* > **w* before back vowels and **y* before front vowels;⁴⁴ but the forms *ēork* and *harb* (*marb*, *elbarb*), *bark* (*mark*, *elbark*) support the more restricted formulation above, which eliminates the need for a separate loss of intervocalic **y*- and **w*- after the pre-Arm. apocope (Pisani 1950:180, Olsen 1999:150–2, 786; cf. Ravnæs 1991:26 “only in Armenian non-final syllable”), or for the more complicated hypothesis of Viredaz (2001–2:6–7, 2004–5:96–7), i.e. loss of **δ*- with contraction between nonfinal syllables and insertion of a glide between two final syllables.⁴⁵ It also makes unnecessary the change of **θ* > **β* (or, under the present analysis, **ð* > **β*) proposed for *harb*, etc. by Matzinger (2005:118, 127–8, 130), unless one assumes dissimilation of **hadarβi* > **haβarβi* > **haarβi* > *harb* with Bolognesi (1949:36–7).⁴⁶

The case of *arawr* ‘plow’ < PIE **h₂érh₃tróm* and gen. *hawr* ‘father’ < PIE **ph₂trós* (sim. *mawr* ‘mother’, *elbawr* ‘brother’) is somewhat different, as PIE **t* here was not in intervocalic position, and there is no indication that it was intervocalic at the time when pre-Arm. **ð* underwent the changes described here. While some authors simply state that PIE **tr* > Arm. *-wr*,⁴⁷ others explicitly assert that PIE **t* in this position passed through a labial stage, i.e. pre-Arm. **tr* > **t^hr* > **p^hr* > *wr* (Meillet 1936:32), **tr* > **θr* > **fr* > *wr* (Kortlandt 1980:102–3 [2003:29–30], Beekes 2003:209–10), or **tr* > **θr* > **βr* > *wr* (Matzinger 2005:118). In terms of the present analysis, this would mean that pre-Arm. **[ð]* > **[v]*, or perhaps bilabial **[β]*, in position between **a* and a liquid. Although the phonetic details are no longer recoverable, the evidence of *ewtⁿ* ‘seven’ < **eβtⁿm* < PIE **septn̥*, *horin* ‘shepherd’ < **howiβ* < PIE **h₂owi-peh₂-*, and *k^oown* ‘sleep’ < **k^oβn* < (post-)PIE **swópnos* demonstrates that these diphthongs **Vw* do go back to intermediate sequences of the shape **Vβ*.⁴⁸

⁴⁴E.g. Klingenschmitt 1982:19 (“intersonantisches *t* > arm. *w* vor *a*, *i* vor palatalen Vokalen”), 98 (“*i* vor *i* und *e*, *w* vor *o*”), Olsen 1999:150–1, 785 (“[i]n intervocalic position **t* ... is continued as *-w*- (*-p*-) before the back vowels *a*, *o*, *u* ... before the front vowels *e* and *i* ... we have *-y*- ... However, it seems that a preceding *-i*- consistently triggered the development to **y*-”), Beekes 2003:174 (“**t* > *y* between vowels (at a stage before the loss of final vowels) but *w* between back vowels”), Kümmel 2007:84 (“**ð* > *j*, **y* > *j* / *í*, *l* *__* *V*; / *V* *__* *V* [+front]; **ð* > *w*, **y* > *w* / *o* *__* *V*; *V* *__* *V* [–front]”), slightly differently Pisani 1951:70 (*y* “avanti vocali palatali ed *a*,” *w* “avanti vocali labiali”). The older view that PIE intervocalic **t*- only gave **y*-, not **w*-, is represented by Hübschmann (1883:74–5, 1897:408), Brugmann (1897:527), Meillet (1903:14–5, 1936:33), Pedersen (1906:387–8, against 1905:232–3!), Schmitt (1981:59), Ravnæs (1991:33, 142).

⁴⁵A change of PIE **t* > **y* has been repeatedly invoked for *ēork* in order to explain the initial consonant: cf. Winter 1955:6, 1992a:349, 1992b:120 (**k^wetwóres* > **k^(w)ey* > **k^(w)iy* > **k^(w)y* > *ē^c*) and Beekes 2003:160 (“**ē^ceyor-ek* > *ē^cor-k* ‘four’”; sim. “**hayer-ek* > *har-k* ‘fathers’,” though admitting the possibility that the *-a*- is analogical), following Kortlandt 1980:102. Since however PIE labiovelars are regularly palatalized before a front vowel, there is no need to assume a stage with **y*- at any point in the history of Armenian ‘four’ (pace Pedersen 1906:396, Godel 1975:77). Likewise unnecessary is the assumption of a dissimilated **k^wetores* > **ē^cenork* > *ē^cork* (Szemerényi 1960:20–1, Klingenschmitt 1982:260 n. 2).

⁴⁶As noted by Olsen (1999:786), intervocalic **β* < PIE **p* survives in all clear cases as Arm. *w*; see the examples in (9) and already Meillet 1903:12–3, 1936:31. Also unnecessarily complicated is the alternative explanation of Klingenschmitt (1982:99) that the PIE form was remade to **fāθr-bi* under the influence of gen./dat./loc. **fāθr*-, followed by loss of **θ* in the triple consonant cluster. The expected development of the instrumental is also found for *k^oerb* ‘with sister’ < **k^oelharβi* < **smesyb^hi* (with analogical *-e*- for **-a* < **elha-*) vs. gen./dat./loc. *k^oeř* < **smesr-ós*, **-éy*, **-í*.

⁴⁷E.g. Godel 1975:78–9, Klingenschmitt 1982:98, and Martirosyan in *EDAIL* 729. Cf. already Hübschmann 1881:168, 170 (“idg. *tr* zwischen Vocalen = arm. *wr*”), Brugmann 1897:527 (“Uarm. *-atr*- wurde *-aur-*”).

⁴⁸On PIE **p* > *w* after a vowel, see Meillet 1936:31–2, Beekes 2003:172, Kümmel 2007:84 (“**β* > *w* / *V* *__*”). Another possible example is *owt* ‘[ut^h]’ < **owt^h* < **oφt^h* < **oxp^h* < PIE **oktō*, if one sets up a conditioned change of *[x]* > *[φ]* (cf. Kim 2008:51 for the parallel of Late Lat. *octō*, *noctem*, *lactem* > Romanian *opt* ‘eight’, *noapte* ‘night’, *lapte* ‘milk’; sim. Pedersen 1906:349–50). However, *owt* could simply have been influenced by ‘seven’ (Meillet 1936:32, Bolognesi 1949:38, de Lamberterie 1978:281, Schmitt 1981:75, Winter 1992a:350; cf. Gr. Elean *ὀπτά*). The later variant *ewtⁿ* of ‘seven’

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5 Conclusions

The famous Armenian consonant shift did not in fact affect all PIE voiceless stops, but only those in word-initial position or after another obstruent, crosslinguistically the most favorable environments for aspiration. The remaining instances were then lenited to voiced stops and further to voiced fricatives, so that PIE $*t > *[d] > *[\delta]$. These then reverted to stops after sonorants (e.g. in *mard*, *and*^{*}) and in pronominals (*dow*, *-d*), but disappeared intervocally, giving $*\emptyset$, $*y$, or $*w$ depending on the identity of the neighboring vowels. Only for the position V_r must a shift of $*[\delta] > *[\beta]$ be assumed, eventually producing new diphthongs in e.g. *arawr*, *hawr*.

The hypothesis presented here has the advantage of offering a unified, phonetically plausible account of all Armenian reflexes of PIE $*t$ and other voiceless stops, one which dispenses with the problematic and/or unnecessary assumptions of unconditional aspiration, “reversion” of voiceless fricatives to aspirated stops, voicing after sonorants but not vowels, labialization of intervocalic $*[\delta] > *[\beta]$ before back vowels, or $*[\delta] > *[\jmath]$ in forms such as *čork*^ε, *hark*^ε. The consequences for other problems of Armenian historical phonology, in particular the relative chronology of sound changes from PIE to Classical Armenian, must be reserved for another occasion, one at which I hope Jared Klein will be present to contribute his always stimulating insights.

Abbreviations

EDAIL = Martirosyan, Hrach K. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of the Armenian Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden: Brill.

IEW = Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 1. Bern: Francke.

LIV² = Kümmel, Martin, and Helmut Rix (eds.). 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

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is perhaps due to contamination of *ewt*^ε*n* and an unattested dialectal $*awt$ ^ε*n* (cf. Winter 1966:22, 1992a:350, though most of the Old Armenian dialectalisms suggested there and elsewhere in Winter’s papers are highly speculative); otherwise Kortlandt 1994:254. On the monophthongization of $*ow > *u < ow >$ in *k’own* and *owt*^ε, see Pedersen 1906:349, 403, Grammont 1918:244–5, Meillet 1936:32, Bolognesi 1949:38, Godel 1975:79–80, 90, de Lamberterie op. cit., Schmitt op. cit., Ravnæs 1991:48–9, 51 (with reference to *k’ownem* ‘sleep’), Beekes 2003:171, 172; pace Pisani 1951:55–8.

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The Adnominal Locative in Indo-Aryan*

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1 Introduction

In English, it is completely grammatical for a locative prepositional phrase (PP) to modify a noun, as in the phrase *a book on the table*. In some early Indo-European languages such as Attic Greek, locative PPs modify nouns as well. On the contrary, it is rather rare that a locative noun can be interpreted as modifying another noun in Sanskrit, as Delbrück (1888:120) pointed out. In Hindi, too, locative postpositional phrases, especially those in *mem* ‘in’, are not used as adnominal modifiers. In this paper, we address the problem of why the locative case or locative adpositional phrases¹ are not used adnominally in Indo-Aryan, comparing Indo-Aryan with other branches of Indo-European.

2 Adnominal locative in Indo-Aryan

A Sanskrit noun is inflected in seven cases: nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative. There are adverbs that are attached after an inflected noun and modify the meaning of cases, such as *ā* ‘to’ or *ādhi* ‘on’, attached to a locative noun as in *ājmann ā* ‘on (one’s) drive’, *upāsthe āditer ādhi* ‘in the lap of Aditi’. However, they are not to be called postpositions, for they do not express the semantic role of the NP by themselves (Hewson and Bubenik 2006:104ff.).

Of the seven cases, the locative denotes the locus of the verbal action, including verbs of existence which can be omitted in the present tense, and usually does not modify another NP. Suspected cases of an adnominal locative in the Ṛgveda include the following:

(1) Ṛgveda 5.61.2

kvā . . . pṛsthé sádo nasór yámah

“Where is the seat **on** their back, the bridle **at** their nostrils?”

*The English translation of the Ṛgveda is from Jamison and Brereton 2014 and the German translation from Geldner 1951–7, unless otherwise mentioned.

Abbreviations: DP = determiner phrase; GEN = genitive; LOC = locative; M = masculine; NOM = nominative; NP = noun phrase; PL = plural; PP = prepositional phrase; REL = relative; SG = singular; Thuc. = Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*; VP = verb phrase.

¹We use the term ‘locative’ primarily as an Indo-European declensional category denoting the locus of a verbal action, and secondarily to refer to adpositional phrases that took over the original morphological locative in many daughter languages.

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However, most cases where a locative noun appears to modify another noun fall under one of the following circumstances:

- i) There is a verb whose action is connected to both nouns. In such sentences, it is difficult to decide whether the locative NP modifies the other NP or is an argument of the verb. For example, *divī* in Ṛgveda 7.11.5c *imāṃ yajñāṃ divī devēsu dhehi* “Bring dieses Opfer zu den Göttern im Himmel!” can be interpreted either as modifying *devēsu* or as denoting the locus of the verb *dhehi*.
- ii) The locative noun can be interpreted as the predicate of the other noun, with an omitted copula verb.
- iii) The locative noun is construed with another locative noun, and the two asyndetically refer to the same locus, or embedded or overlapping loci.
- iv) The locative noun is construed with a deverbal noun as the locus of its verbal action, or an adjective requiring a locative NP as its complement.
- v) While describing the function of the locative primarily as the locus of a verbal action (*adbhikarāṇa*), Pāṇini also provides for an adnominal use of the locative in a few cases, such as singling out (*nirdhāraṇa*, Aṣṭādhyāyī 2.3.41).

Excluding these cases, we have not yet come across a case where the locative is determined to be exclusively adnominal in the Ṛgveda (Kobayashi 2016). In the example cited above, the locative *prsthē* ‘on the back’ need not necessarily modify *sādas* ‘seat’, but might as well be its predicate (case (ii)), meaning “Where on their back is the seat?”

In later Sanskrit, the locative is construed not infrequently with another noun, and Speiser (1886:105 §135) mentions that “nothing impedes locatives qualifying a noun.” One of the sources of the adnominal locative in Classical Sanskrit is the nominalized clause, a common type of clause in which only the predicate is changed to a noun, with adjunct NPs left in their original case, as in (2) and (3).

- (2) Mahābhārata (Poona edition) 3.28.23
śarātisarge śīghratvāt
“because of [his] swiftness **at** discharging arrows”
- (3) Kātyāyana’s Vārttika (in Mahābhāṣya 1.9.6 in Kielhorn’s edition)
arthe śabdaprayogāt
“because a word [is] used **with respect to** the referent”

Also, in section headings such as *iti śrīmadbhagavadgītāsu prathamādhyaḥ*, the book title *śrīmadbhagavadgītā* occurs in the locative apparently modifying its first chapter. If new constructions like these are excluded and if we count only unambiguous cases of the adnominal locative, the situation might not be essentially different in Classical Sanskrit.

Curiously, Modern Standard Hindi has similar restrictions on the adnominal locative as in Sanskrit. In Hindi, the Old Indo-Aryan case system is reduced to a two-way contrast between the direct and oblique cases, and the locative case is denoted by postpositional phrases. Locative postpositional phrases, especially those with *mem* ‘in’, are not used adnominally, except in book or movie titles or news headlines such as *camḍigarḥ mem bhūkamp* “Earthquake in Chandigarh.” So for example, while English uses the locative adnominally

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in phrases such as *houses in the village*, Hindi allows only the genitive as in *gāv ke: ghar* village GEN.PL house(s).

When it is necessary to mention the locative relationship explicitly, Sanskrit and Hindi use relative clauses as in (4) and (6), or derivative suffixes as in (5) and (7):

- (4) Sanskrit (Ṛgveda 3.22.2a)
yāt te divi vārcaḥ pṛthivyām
“deine Kraft im Himmel und auf Erden”
- (5) Sanskrit (Yājñavalkya-smṛti 1.2)
mithilā-sthaḥ sa yogīndraḥ
“‘That best of the Yogis seated in Mithila’ (translation by Srisa Chandra Vidyarnava)”
- (6) Hindi
jo log śāhronṁ mem rahṁte hainṁ
“those people who live in cities”
- (7) Hindi
śāhronṁ mem rahnevāle log
“people living in cities”

3 The adnominal locative in other Indo-European subfamilies

To see if the restriction against the adnominal locative is an innovation or retention of Indo-Aryan, we would like to review the usage of the locative NP or PP in other branches of Indo-European.

The locative case, with the reconstructed endings **-i* or zero in the singular and **-su* in the plural, is attested in several branches. In Indo-Aryan and Balto-Slavic, it is inherited as the locative, although a preposition is required in most Slavic languages. The locative endings are retained in dative forms in Greek, and there are relic locative forms such as *oīkoi* adv. ‘at home’. Latin also has relic locatives such as *domi* ‘at home’ or *militiae* ‘on a campaign’. Hittite also has the locative which often merges with the dative. On these grounds, the locative is safely reconstructed as an Indo-European case category. Now let us review the usages of the locative or locative prepositions in different branches.

3.1 Iranian

Iranian forms a close subgroup with Indo-Aryan, and shares structures such as distinct morphological locatives. The most significant syntactic characteristic marking off Iranian from Indo-Aryan is the wide use of relative or relative-like constructions to express all kinds of adnominal modification. We have not conducted a systematic search of Old Iranian locatives, but as far as the handbooks go, they do not seem to be used adnominally, and the locative is put in a relative clause when it modifies another noun, e.g.

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- (8) Darius, Persepolis Inscription 13f.
tyaiy drayahyā
 REL.NOM.PL.M sea.LOC.SG
 “those **by** the sea” (Kent 1953:100)

Later Iranian develops a clitic called *ezāfē* which is attached to a noun and combines various adnominal modifiers to it, such as possessor, adjective, and PPs. According to Caland 1891:21ff., the *ezāfē* construction originated from Old Iranian relative clauses with **ya-*. In the following example from Kurdish, the PP *li.ber derî* ‘in front of the door’ modifies *zîlam* ‘man’ mediated by the *ezāfē -ê*.

- (9) Kurdish
zîlam-ê li.ber derî
 “a man in front of the door” (Haig 2011:366)

3.2 Balto-Slavic

Balto-Slavic retains the Proto-Indo-European locative morphemes. In Slavic, the locative usually occurs with a preposition since at least Old Church Slavonic times, and we do not know if the locative itself once modified another noun. In modern Slavic languages such as Russian and Polish, locative PPs modify nouns, as in Russian *dolg pered sem’ej* ‘duty **to** the family’. In the Baltic language Lithuanian, the morphological locative can be used adnominally, as in the following examples:

- (10) *vilkas aviės kailyje*
 “a wolf **in** sheep’s clothing” (Senn 1966:436)
- (11) *paukščiai narvelyje*
 “birds **in** a cage” (Aurelijus Vijūnas, p.c.)

3.3 Greek

Except for a few relic forms, Greek has lost distinct locative endings, and the locative has merged with the dative case. In Homeric Greek, the dative case covered locative meaning as well (Monro 1882:100ff.), but it is more common in Classical Greek to attach locative prepositions to the dative or the accusative forms to denote locus or goal of the verbal action. I cannot judge whether locatives or locative PPs modify nouns in Homeric Greek, and could find only one possible case in the chapter on the preposition in Monro (1882:123–52):

- (12) Iliad 2.416
χιτώνα περὶ στήθεσσι δαΐξαι
 “to tear the chiton **about** (round on) the breast” (Monro 1882:131)

On the other hand, Thucydides, the Athenian historian of the fifth to the fourth century BC, uses PPs to modify nouns, as in the following examples.

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- (13) Thuc. 1.44
ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίου πόλεμος
“the war against the Peloponnesians”
- (14) Thuc. 1.128
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ
“from his command in the Hellespont”
- (15) Thuc. 1.56
τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τεῖχος
“the wall facing Pallene” (Thompson 1898:293)

Although Thucydides is known for his complex style, the adnominal use of PPs was not peculiar to him. Bakker (2009:35 n. 9) points out that examples of adnominal PPs are doubtless found in Herodotus, too. Adnominal PPs are also found in the New Testament about five centuries later, as in the following examples (translations from the New Revised Standard Bible).

- (16) Acts 8:1
ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις
“against the church **in** Jerusalem”
- (17) John 5:44
τὴν δόξαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ
“the glory that comes **from** the one who alone is God”

3.4 Italic

Old Latin had a few distinct locative singular forms while the locative plural had merged with the ablative. In Classical Latin, inherited locative singular forms are not distinct from the dative or the genitive, but some are still used as the locative. Bennett (1914:389) cites the following passage as an example of a locative limiting a substantive.

- (18) Terence, Phormio 5.8.23(1012)
Haecine erant itiones crebrae, et mansiones diutinae Lemni?
“Were these those frequent journeys and long visits **at** Lemnos?”

In our criteria, *itio* ‘going’ and *mansio* ‘staying’ are action nouns, and it is not surprising that they take a locative to denote the locus of their verbal actions. Bennett (1918:234 §353.5) mentions that Latin “avoids the use of prepositional phrases as modifiers of a Noun.” We could not examine Classical Latin text systematically to verify Bennett’s observation, but avoidance of adnominal PPs is still observed in the Vulgate translation in passages where the Greek source used adnominal PPs, as is shown by the following passages corresponding to (16) and (17), where relative clauses with a copula connect the modifier and the modified noun:

- (19) Acts 8:1 *in ecclesia quae erat Jerosolymis*
(20) John 5:44 *gloriam quae a solo Deo est*

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3.5 Celtic (Old Irish)

Old Irish has no inherited locative, and PPs are formed with a preposition and a noun in the accusative or the dative. According to our search of the POMIC corpus of Old Irish (Lash 2014), unequivocally adnominal use of a locative PP is hard to find. In the following examples, the PPs might be modifiers of nouns, but might also be adjuncts of the copulas.

- (21) Treatise on the Psalter
Is hé a ainm isind ebru.
 “This is its name **in** the Hebrew”
- (22) Liber Hymnorum
co mad dítiu ar cech ngalar
 “and that it would be a protection **against** every disease”

3.6 Germanic

The extant corpus of Gothic, the oldest attested Germanic language, consists mainly of a translation of the Greek New Testament. In view of the possibility of structural borrowing, we are not absolutely sure if adnominal PPs were native to Gothic, but at least there are examples as in the following:

- (23) Luke 20:35
usstassais us dauþaim
 “in the resurrection **from** the dead”
- (24) Romans 8:39
af friaþwai gudis þizai in Xristau Iesu
 “from the love of God **in** Christ Jesus our Lord”

Like Gothic, English uses PPs to denote locative meaning. Adnominal PPs are common in Modern English, but Kellner (1913:30) notes that an adnominal use of PPs is not frequent in the earlier periods, and cites the following passage from Old English:

- (25) Hexameron 7
ðæt synd ða leohtan steorran on ðam heofonlican rodore
 “there are the bright stars **in** the sky”

3.7 Anatolian

Neither Hoffner and Melchert (2008) nor Wilhelm (2001) give an example of an adnominal locative in Hittite or other Anatolian languages. Oshiro (1995:222) gives the following example from Hieroglyphic Luwian, where a postpositional phrase with SUPER+RA/I-ta (*saranta) ‘above’ appears to modify the NP OMNIS-MI-ma-za VIS-há-sá OMNIS-MI-za ‘all strength’. The postpositional phrase might also be an adjunct of the verb *pi-ia-tu-há-wa/i-tu*.

- (26) Hieroglyphic Luwian, KARATEPE, LII
pi-ia-tu-há-wa/i-tu OMNIS-MI-ma-za VIS-há-sá OMNIS-MI-za REX-za

SUPER+RA/I-ta

“And let them give to him all strength **above** all kings.”

3.8 Tocharian

Tocharian has the locative as a secondary case. According to Krause and Thomas 1960:90, the locative is used with a superlative adjective to refer to the context of comparison. We have not found an example of an adnominal locative in Tocharian.

3.9 Albanian

Modern Albanian uses PPs to denote the locative, and PPs are used adnominally.

4 Discussion

4.1 Direction of change

The data of Indo-European languages, though still far from sufficient, points to a common direction of change, i.e. the later the language or stage of the language, the more adnominal uses of the locative or the locative PP. This change is found between Homeric and Attic Greek, and Latin and Romance. Indo-Aryan and Anatolian do not seem to allow the adnominal locative throughout their histories. In Germanic and Celtic, adnominal PPs are found from early periods, but there is at least no indication that they were once more common than now. Lithuanian has the adnominal locative, but since other circum-Baltic languages such as Finnish have it too,² it might be an areal feature that developed later across different language families. It is quite possible that Proto-Indo-European did not originally have the adnominal locative, and even if it did, the usage must have been more limited than in later periods.

Cross-linguistically, both directions of change are observed. Among Turkic languages, Sakha, which is generally conservative, does not allow adnominal use of the ablative, while in Turkish it is possible. On the other hand, the adnominal locative was common in Classical Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan), but in some modern Nahuatl dialects such as Tlaxcala the locative needs to be in a relative clause in order to modify a noun.

4.2 Development of adnominal PPs and the definite article

Another change, more or less concurrent, is the emergence of grammaticalized definiteness markers, most typically the definite article. In the development from Homeric to Classical Greek, locative PPs developed from locative or dative NPs with or without adpositional adverbs (Hewson and Bubenik 2006:55ff.). In Classical Greek and Koine, the locative PPs were used for adnominal modification. Another change from Homeric to Classical Greek is the grammaticalization of the definite articles *ὁ*, *ἡ*, *τοῦ* from originally demonstrative pronouns. Aside from modifying nouns, the definite articles also nominalize the adjectives, adverbs and

²E.g. *kahvi kupi-n_{GEN} pohja-lla_{ADPOSSIVE}* “coffee at the bottom of a cup” (Sulkala and Karjalainen 1992:92).

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PPs. When a PP and a noun have the same definite articles or share a definite article, the PP modifies the coindexed noun. Thus the Greek definite articles function as a quasi-relativizer.

To take another example, Latin does not show an adnominal use of PPs, but it is common in modern Romance languages like French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Romanian. And these languages have definite articles originating from Latin demonstrative pronouns.

4.3 DP structure and the attributive locative

If a language has the definite article, it entails that the language has structured noun phrases. Abney (1987:47ff.) considered that such noun phrases actually have a functional head, which is the determiner like the definite article, and called them DPs (determiner phrases). It has been proposed that a DP has a structure parallel to a clause. For example, Rijkhoff (2002:223ff.) points out that definiteness, quantification and adjective modification are marked in a DP just as tense, aspect and manner are in a clause. It has also been proposed that while some languages have highly structured DPs, others have simple NPs, and that difference is reflected in the syntactic restrictions of each language (Bošković 2005). If we apply that framework to Indo-European languages, it would be possible to consider that Indo-Aryan, Anatolian, Latin, and Homeric Greek have only NPs (or “non-integral NPs” in the terminology of Rijkhoff 2002:19f.), while languages such as Attic Greek and later Romance languages have DPs (or “integral NPs”), as the definite articles in these languages indicate. And if these languages have structured DPs, the DPs typically have other attributes including location, and that is why languages with definite articles seem to allow attributive locatives.

Contrary to these languages, Indo-Aryan never developed a full DP structure, and that is why Indo-Aryan locative NPs function only as a VP adjunct except for established exceptions such as singling out (*nirbhāraṇa*).

While the definite article is a typical indicator of a DP structure, there seem to be other ways to develop one. Old Iranian languages probably had only non-integral NPs as Old Indo-Aryan did, but they were slightly different from Old Indo-Aryan in their ample use of relative clauses. As mentioned in §3 above, the relative clause with **ya-* is considered to be the origin of the cliticized adnominal modification marker called *ezāfe* in New Iranian languages. In modern Iranian, all kinds of adnominal modification are expressed by *ezāfe* construction, including locative PPs. Karimi (2007) argues that the *ezāfe* construction of Iranian can also be regarded as a DP structure.

4.4 Hindi locative postpositions and etymology

We saw in §2 that a Hindi PP with the locative postposition *mem* ‘in’ is not used for adnominal modification. While *mem* is never followed by the genitive marker *ka:/ki:*, Subbarao (1984:15) points out that a PP with *par* ‘on’ is followed by it and modifies a noun, as in the following example:

- (27) *me:z par ki: kita:b*
 table on GEN book
 “the/a book on the/a table”

According to Turner, *CDIAL*, Hindi locative postpositions derive from Old Indo-Aryan indeclinables or stems, e.g. *par* ‘on’ < **uppari* ‘above’ (*CDIAL* 2333), *se* ‘with, by, from’ < *sahita-* ‘accompanying’ (*CDIAL* 13310), *tak* ‘till, up to’ < *tāvātka-* ‘bought for so much’ (*CDIAL* 5805), whereas *mem* is considered to come from a Middle Indo-Aryan oblique form of *mādhyā-* ‘middle’, ultimately traceable back to the Old Indo-Aryan locative form *mādhye*. While other postpositions, originating from nominal stems (including indeclinables), can easily be compounded with the genitive marker *ka:/ki:* which itself comes from a nominal stem (Old Indo-Aryan *kṛtā-*, verbal adjective of *kar/kṛ* ‘to do, to make’), *mem* has its origin in an oblique form, and the morphological restriction of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan that nouns cannot take more than one case ending might be taken over in Hindi too. In that case, the impossibility of the Hindi postpositional phrase with *mem* to modify nouns is not because of the NP structure but of the morphological property of *mem*.

4.5 Typological factors

While languages with definite articles often have adnominal PPs, Lithuanian, which does not mark definiteness overtly, shows adnominal use of the locative. There might be other typological factors which bear on the adnominal locative or adnominal PPs more directly.

In an SVO language, an adnominal PP is distinguished from a VP adjunct by a verb placed between the noun and the PP, as in *The book is on the table* and *a book on the table*, while distinction with the position of the verb is impossible in SOV languages. So it is expected that SOV languages like Indo-Aryan allow adnominal PPs less than SVO languages like English, Koine Greek, and Lithuanian do.

A possible starting point of adnominal PPs is the small clause. In the history of English, postnominal adjectives shifted to prenominal position (Fischer 2006), and the slot after an object noun became available for adjectives, predicative adverbs and PPs which stand in a subject-predicate relationship with the object noun. Such a verbless unit of an object noun, called a small clause, might have been reinterpreted as an NP of its own, with an adverb or a PP modifying the head noun. There are sentences like (28) from the Helsinki Corpus where a PP can be interpreted both as a predicate and a modifier and allow for reinterpretation as an NP with an adnominal PP.

(28) Then I saw a braunch **with** leves foldid and wrethin into circles. (John Leland, 16c)

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper, a diachronic study of syntactic change might reveal the reason why adnominal PPs and locatives are commoner in SVO than SOV languages.

5 Conclusion

In Indo-European languages, adnominal modification is possible both for morphological locatives and locative PPs. Historical developments suggest that there was a diachronic shift within Indo-European languages such that the adnominal locative became more and more common across time. This shift is concurrent with the development of structured NPs (or DPs), which is reflected in the development of definite articles or other constructions involving relativization.

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Among the subfamilies of Indo-European, this shift did not occur in Indo-Aryan, and Modern Hindi still does not allow adnominal use of locative PPs, especially those with *mem*, in normal sentences. We could not pin down the factor which prevents Indo-Aryan from developing adnominal locatives, but lack of definite articles and retention of SOV word order are probably related to the restriction.

Abbreviations

CDIAL = Turner, Ralph L. 1962–6. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. London: Oxford University Press.

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syá- im Indoiranischen: Zahlwort und Demonstrativum?

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Das ostmitteliranische Sakische und das diesem wohl nicht besonders nahe verwandte moderne Ormuri verwenden als einzige iranische Sprachen als Zahlwort ‚1‘ nicht das sonst übliche *aiwa- (av. *aēuua-*, ap. *aiva-* etc.), sondern stattdessen ein Wort mit anlautendem stimmlosem Sibilanten:

Tumšuqsakisch *śo*; khotansakisch mask. *śśau*, Instr. *śśina*, Lok. *śśīni*; fem. *śśā*, Akk. *śśau*, *śśīye*; als Vorderglied *śśū-* und spätkhot. *śa-*, *śā-*, *śau-*; dazu kommen erweitert *śśūka-*, *śśūma-* ‘allein’ und zusammengesetzte Zahlen in spätkhot. *śū(m)dasa*, tumš. *śowarsaño* ‘elf’ und khot. *śśūvare-* ‘eins mehr’ (Bailey 1979:401–2, 404; Emmerick 2009:390–1).

Ormuri Barakī-Barak (Logar) *še*, Kaniguram *sa* (*sā*) < Ur-Ormuri *śa- ‘eins’ < *syā- (Efimov 2011:139, 300) und B. *śāndas*, K. *sāndas/sandās* < *śāndas ‘elf’ (Efimov 2011:140, 299).

Der palatoalveolare Sibilant des Sakischen geht gewöhnlich auf gemeiniranisch *św < *cw oder Sibilant vor *y zurück, der des Ormuri ist ebenfalls für *S+y (vgl. *bres-/bras-* ‘brennen’ < *brasya-) und *sr, *str, *štr belegt (*šer/sir* ‘gut’ < *srira-, *gīši/gas* ‘Zahn’ < *gaštra-, *γʷāši* ‘Gras’ < *wāstra-), außerdem teilweise für *čy (*šuk/syuk* ‘werden’ < *čyutaka-, *diš-/dus-* ‘melken’ < *daučya-, *γoš-/γʷas-* ‘sprechen’ < *wačya-), vgl. insgesamt Efimov (2011:69, 88). Ormuri *ś kann jedoch nicht auf *św zurückgehen, das sich im Ormuri (anders als im Sakischen) wie in den meisten iran. Sprachen zu *sp* entwickelte (Efimov 2011:67, 86). Daher kann die Zurückführung des sakischen Wortes auf *wīsw(a)-*aiwaka-* ‘all-ein’ nach Emmerick¹ nicht zutreffen, wenn diese beiden Wörter zusammengehören. Dass orm. *ś-/s-* aus *ś- < *y- desonorisiert

*Abkürzungen: ae. = altenglisch; air. = altirisch; aksl. = altkirchenslavisch; äol. = äolisch; ap. = altpersisch; arm. = (alt)armenisch; aruss. = altrussisch; att. = attisch; av. = avestisch; bal. = baloči; dor. = dorisch; elam. = elamisch; frz. = französisch; got. = gotisch; heth. = hethitisch; hom. = homerisch; ion. = ionisch; jav. = jungavestisch; khot. = khotan(sak)isch; kurd. = kurdisch; lat. = lateinisch; lit. = litauisch; mak. = makedonisch; mp. = mittelpersisch; np. = neupersisch; nsorb. = niedersorbisch; orm. = ormuri (B. = Barakī-Barak (Logar), K. = Kaniguram); oss. = ossetisch; parth. = parthisch; phryg. = phrygisch; russ. = russisch; skr. = serbokroatisch; sogd. = sogdisch; spätkhot. = spätkhotanisch; tumš. = tumšuqsakisch; uriir. = urindoiranisch; uriran. = uriranisch; ved. = vedisch; yagn. = yagnobi(sch).

¹Emmerick 1992:291–2 und in Emmerick und Skjærvø 1997:148–50.

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sei (Emmerick 1992:292) und hier also ursprünglich $*y\bar{o} < *(y)\bar{e}w < *aiwa-$ vorliege (wie wohl in Parači *žu*), ist keineswegs wahrscheinlich, sondern völlig ad hoc; $y-$ ergibt sonst imOrmuri immer j/dz (s. Efimov 2011:62–3), und auch der Vokal weist nicht auf $*\bar{o}$. Aus dem gleichen Grund hatte schon Emmerick (1992) selbst mit Recht Baileys (1979:404) Erklärung von khot. *śś-* aus $*ś-$ < $*y-$ abgelehnt. Die für das Sakische angesetzte Kombination $*wičwa-$ + $aiwa-$ selbst ist zudem im Iir. völlig ungesichert. Recht dürfte Emmerick aber jedenfalls mit seiner Erklärung der sakischen Flexion haben, denn sie ist tatsächlich von einem Stamm auf $*-aiwa(ka)-$ aus besser verständlich, d.h. vermutlich liegt im Sakischen ein Kompositum mit $-aiwa-$ im Hinterglied zugrunde, oder eine Kontamination mit diesem Stamm. Die Quelle des *śś-* dagegen bleibt noch zu suchen.

Als lautliche Basis für beide Sprachen böten sich theoretisch $*sy-$ oder $*šy-$ an, außerdem wohl auch $*sr$ bei khotanischer Palatalisierung, vgl. khot. *śśāra-* ‘gut’ < $*šāra-$ = orm. B. *šer*, K. *sir* < $*srāra-$. Skjærvø (in Emmerick und Skjærvø 1997:146–8) geht von einer Basis $*syāw-$ aus, die er an iranisch $*caīwa-$ ‘Waise’ in ap. $*θaīva-$,² khot. *syūta-*, mp. parth. *sēwag*, kurd. *sēwī* etc. und ved. *śayū-* m. ‘Waise’ anschließt; hier wäre dann vielleicht auch dasOrmuri anschließbar. Wie Emmerick (in Emmerick und Skjærvø 1997:149) mit Recht einwendet, kann eine uriir. Stammform $*śyāw-$ jedoch nicht weiter gestützt werden, denn für die übrigen iir. Formen kommt man mit uriir. $*śayū-$ und $*śaiw-a(-ka)-$ aus (gerade auch in khot. *syūta-* < $*saiwaka-$).³ Die semantische Ableitung ist auch nicht zwingend, da sich für das ‘Waisen’-Wort keine ältere Grundbedeutung ‘allein, einzeln’ stützen lässt; auch seine idg. Verwandten bedeuten stets ‘Waise’ oder ‘Witwe’ (s. Mayrhofer 1996:615).

Da das Zahlwort für ‘eins’ in idg. Sprachen gewöhnlich ererbt ist, sollte man zunächst versuchen, den Stamm an eines der bekannten idg. Wörter anzuschließen (wie dies Emmerick getan hat). Lautlich und morphologisch am ähnlichsten sind hethitisch *sia-/sie-*, das man erst vor kurzem als Zahlwort erkannt hat⁴ und griechisch (hom. äol.) *ia/iā-* f. (jünger auch *ios* m.) neben *mía*, ersteres bei Homer häufiger im Dat. und Gen., letzteres im Nom. und Akk.,⁵ falls *ia/iā-* einen psilotischen Reflex von $*hía/hīā-$ darstellt. Diese gehen nach einer Deutung von einem Stamm $*sih_2-/sjah_2-$ aus, der wohl zu $*sem-/sm-$ ‘eins’ gehörte: In $*sm-jah_2-$ sei das $*m$ interkonsonantisch geschwunden,⁶ und dazu konnte auch ein starker Stamm $*sih_2-$ rückgebildet werden, der nach Hackstein (2005:178–9) auch in toch. A *ši* ‘zum ersten Mal’ fortgesetzt ist. Eine entsprechende iir. Bildung sollte $*sī-/syā-$ lauten, wozu man ein neues Maskulinum/Neutrum $*sya-$ hätte rückbilden können.

Im Iranischen würde man daraus freilich zunächst $*hya-$ (evtl. mit Variante $*šya-$) erwarten, nicht $*sya-$. Nun wissen wir aber gar nicht, wie sich $*hy$ im Sakischen undOrmuri entwickelte, denn diese Anlautgruppe war idg. wie iir. selten. Bekannt ist allerdings, dass im

²In PN, s. Tavernier 2007:111 Nr. 4.2.91; 329 Nr. 4.2.1727.

³Allenfalls könnte man noch mit einer Basis $*śai-$ rechnen, wenn av. *saē* (F. 87), ap. $*θai-$ (in clam. *sa-i*°, Tavernier 2007:329 Nr. 4.2.1726), oss. *se-/si-* (Abaev 1979:106–7) nicht aus $*caīw-/cayū-$ verkürzt sind.

⁴Vgl. Goedegebuure 2006; Klockhorst 2008:750–1; Hoffner und Melchert 2008:154–5. Klockhorst setzt wegen des alten Belegs *i-iš* den Stamm als urspr. *si-* an; die anderen betrachten die Zugehörigkeit dieser und anderer niemals voll ausgeschriebener *i-*-stämmiger Formen als unsicher, und das Neutrum *i-an* zwingt ohnehin zum Ansatz eines Stammes *sia-*.

⁵S. Gippert 2004:161 Anm. 22 nach Schmidt 1898.

⁶So wohl zuerst Schmidt 1898:399, vgl. auch Peters 1980:102–3, 132–3 Anm. 80–1; Gippert 2004; Hackstein 2005:178–9; Eichner 2015:§8bc.

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überlieferten Avestischen der normale Reflex im Anlaut *xii* lautete (s. de Vaan 2003:563–4, 574–5), also wohl [çj], parallel zur Verstärkung von **h* auch in der Gruppe **hw* > av. *x*⁷ = **x*⁷, die von den meisten iranischen Sprachen bezeugt wird.⁷ Für eine Verstärkung von *h* auch in *i*-ähnlicher Umgebung spricht, dass vor *i* oder *i*-Diphthong manchmal *x* für *h* erscheint (vgl. z.B. oss. *xed/xid* ‘Brücke’, np. *xš* für mp. *hēš* ‘Pflugschar’), ähnlich wie vor *u*. Wenn wir eine solche Entwicklung **[hj]* > **[çj]* auch für das Sakische und Ormuri annehmen könnten, wären wir der bezeugten Lautung [ç] schon erheblich näher gekommen. Ein Wandel ç > ʃ ist typologisch sehr häufig (s. Kümmel 2007:207–10) und könnte also leicht in den beiden Sprachen eingetreten sein.

Leider lässt sich diese Vermutung nicht leicht überprüfen, denn die Gruppe **hy* ist im Anlaut ja sehr selten, und die Inlautvertretung kann sich wegen der dort potentiell heterosyllabischen Stellung unterscheiden.⁸ Altiranisch ist offenbar überhaupt nur ein ererbter Wortstamm mit altem **hy*^o sicher bezeugt, nämlich der Optativ von *ah-* ‘sein’, der im Altavestischen den Stamm *xiiā-* besitzt. Hier zeigt jedoch der jungavestische Stamm *hiiā-*, dass man mit einer Variante **hiyā-* zu rechnen hat, so dass etwaige sonstige Fortsetzer dieses Stammes nicht unbedingt altes **hy* haben müssen. Im Altpersischen wäre **hiyā* (> **hayā*) zu erwarten, dass jedoch zu *biyā* umgestaltet wurde. Sogd. *y’t* kann aus **hyāt*, aber wohl auch aus **ahyāt* erweitert sein. Sonst ist der Optativ dieser Wurzel im Iranischen meist nicht direkt fortgesetzt, so dass er als Zeuge für altes **sy-* ausfällt: khot. *īā/īyā* ist offenbar thematisch gebildet.

Außerdem ist jav. noch der Volksname *xiiāona-* (fem. *xiiāonī-*) belegt, der aber keine sichere Etymologie hat.⁹ Die wenigen anderen vedischen Wörter mit *sy*^o haben meist keine iranischen Entsprechungen. Die einzige Ausnahme sind Ableitungen der Wurzel *sṛ-/syū-* ‘nähen’ (vgl. Cheung 2007:136–7), die in mehreren iranischen Sprachen belegt sind. Dabei zeigen oss. *xu(j)-/xwy(j)-* ‘nähen’ und khot. *hīya* ‘Genähtes’ einen *h*-Reflex, den man am besten aus einfachem **h*^o erklärt (nicht aus **hy*^o); auch yidgha *žīy-* ~ *žuy-* könnte mit Morgensterne (1938:279) ein Kompositum **uz-h(y)ū-* fortsetzen. In sogd. *šm-*; yagn. *šy-*, *šīa* und denom. bal. *gu-šād-* ‘nähen’ sowie oss. *sunk/synk* ‘Naht’¹⁰ ist jedoch ein palatoalveolarer Sibilant bezeugt, der sich auch aus **hy*^o > **ç(y)*^o erklären ließe; **šy*^o könnte zwar als Ruki-Variante aus Komposita (Cheung 2007:137) oder (so Rastorgueva und Edel’man 2007:406–7) reduplizierten Formen übertragen sein, doch liegt nur im Baloči tatsächlich ein entsprechendes Kompositum vor.

Es erscheint demnach von der Lautentwicklung her gut denkbar, dass der Anlaut des sakischen und ormurischen Zahlwortes auf einen uriir. Stamm **sya-* zurückgeht, der über gemeiniranisch **hya-* zu **ša-* führen konnte. Prinzipiell wäre dieser Stamm dann mit heth.

⁷Vgl. Cipriano 1998; Kümmel 2007:161, 274.

⁸Gen. Sg. **abya* wurde zu aav. *-abiiā*, jav. *-ahe/-ayhe* und auch sonst wohl nirgends zu so etwas wie **ačya*; zwar ist diese Endung vor enklitischem *-cā* als aav. *-axiiācā* vertreten, und auch fem. Gen. Sg. **abyāh*, Dat. **abyāi* führten zu aav. *-axiiā*, *-axiiāi*, doch im sonstigen Iranischen findet sich nichts Vergleichbares.

⁹Vgl. Felix 1991. Die Annahme einer Entsprechung von ved. *syonā-* stößt auf Schwierigkeiten, s. Hintze 1994:362–3. Ob der iranische Name mit dem Namen der chinesischen *Hsiung-nu* (*Xiongnu*) identifiziert werden kann (so Bailey 1981 und andere vor ihm), bleibt unsicher.

¹⁰Vgl. Abaev 1979:202 (mit Deutung von *s-* als „europäische“ Lautvertretung); fraglich ist oss. *sinag/sinag* ‘Seil’, das Abaev (1979:111) — formal naheliegend — als Ableitung von *sin/sin* ‘Oberschenkel’ deutet. Woxi *šm* ist nach Steblin-Kamenskij 1999:335 aus Khovar *šmān-* entlehnt, das ved. *syūman-* entspricht.

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sia-/sie- ‘eins’ vergleichbar—was freilich zu fehlen scheint, sind weitere Anknüpfungsmöglichkeiten innerhalb des Iranischen oder Indoiranischen.

Nun gibt es allerdings Fortsetzer eines Stammes **syá-* in einem Wortstamm, das im Vedischen häufig ist, doch keine iranische Entsprechung zu haben scheint, nämlich dem einen der beiden Stämme des Pronomen *syá-/tyá-* ‘dieser’, dessen Funktion von Klein (1998) als primär proximal und sekundär auch anamnestic bestimmt worden ist (vgl. schon Delbrück 1888:221), während Kupfer (2002:227–43) für den Rigveda jede raumdeiktische Funktion bestreitet und dem Pronomen nur anamnesticen Gebrauch zuschreibt (mehr zur Funktion s. unten). Außer im Vedischen ist ein solcher Stamm sonst offenbar nur in air. *se* ‘dies’, *siu* ‘diesem’ < urkelt. **sijo-* fortgesetzt,¹¹ weniger sicher auch im Germanischen, wenn ae. *sīo* wirklich auf ein altes **sijō* < **sijā* zurückgeht (so Dunkel 2014:686 mit Anm. 5) und nicht eine jüngere Umbildung von anaphorischem **sī* darstellt, die von neugeschaffenem *hīo* in das Paradigma von *sē/het* verdrängt worden war. Ein daraus rekonstruiertes uridg. **s(i)jō-* wird nun von Dunkel (2014:687) als mögliche Quelle des hethitischen Zahlworts angesehen, das er also auf ein Demonstrativum zurückführt, obwohl er selbst (S. 687 unter 4) unter Verweis auf Diessel (1999a:150, 152) diesen Funktionswandel für prinzipiell unwahrscheinlich hält, aber auch den umgekehrten, dass ein Demonstrativum zum Numerales werden könnte. Seine Entscheidung für ein primäres Demonstrativum begründet er mit zwei Argumenten: Zum einen deute die Morphologie eher auf ein ursprüngliches Pronomen als auf ein Numerales, zum andern müsse man dann nur in einer Sprache (Hethitisch/Anatolisch) den ungewöhnlichen Funktionswandel annehmen. Das erste Argument ist jedoch unsicher: Zwar flektieren Numeralia partiell nominal (Neutrum ved. *ékam*, jav. *ōiium/aēuuan-*, ebenso heth. *ī-an*), aber pronominale Flexion ist gerade bei ‘eins’ verbreitet, vgl. ved. *ékasmin*, *ékasyās* (jünger auch *ékasmai*, *ékasmat*; *ékasyai*, *ékasyām*; *ékesām*); av. *aēuuahmāt*, *aēuuahmi*, *aēuuahjā*; lat. *ūnūs* usw. Es wäre also kein Problem, von diesem Ausgangspunkt einen Übergang zu vollständig pronominaler Flexion zu verstehen, besonders wenn ein Funktionswandel hinzukäme. Das zweite Argument wird irrelevant, wenn die Funktion als Numerales auch in einem weiteren Sprachzweig erscheint, nämlich eben im Iranischen, das gewöhnlich keine exklusiven gemeinsamen Neuerungen mit dem Anatolischen teilt.

Jedenfalls haben wir hier ein Dilemma, nämlich zwei gleiche Stämme, die offenbar unterschiedliche Funktion haben: **s(i)jō-* ‘eins’ und **s(i)jō-* ‘dieser’ (mit regulären Lindeman-Varianten). Für letzteres gilt zwar im Vedischen die Suppletion durch *tyá-*, doch darf das wohl als Innovation in Analogie zu *sá-/tá-* gelten, da es nirgendwo anders sichere Spuren eines Stammes **t(i)jō-* gibt (s. Dunkel 2014:770–1).

Tatsächlich gibt es eine weitere denkbare Parallele in den schon erwähnten iranischen Wörtern für ‘eins’: Ur-orm. **śa* ist ja schon auf ein Demonstrativum zurückgeführt worden, nämlich von Morgenstierne (1929:407)¹² auf einen Stamm **śya-* < uriir. **śya-* < uridg. **k(i)jō-* zu **ki-*, **ke-*; die Bedeutungsentwicklung wird von ihm nicht diskutiert. In demonstrativer Funktion liegt ein solcher Stamm im Ormuri in dem sonst schwer deutbaren Zeitadverb B. *šan*, K. *san* ‘heute’ tatsächlich vor (Efimov 2011:215; Variante *can* bei Morgenstierne).

¹¹Vgl. Thurneysen 1946:301–4; dazu wohl auch die Nota augens der 1. Sg. *-se* (entpalatalisiert *-sa*), vgl. Thurneysen 1946:252–3.

¹²Vgl. auch Edelman 1986:83–4; 1990:45, 183; 2009:75, 77, 83; Rastorgueva und Edel’man 2000:136.

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Dieses Adverb ist höchstwahrscheinlich auf eine Kombination eines proximaldeiktischen Elements mit einem Wort für ‘Tag’ zurückzuführen.¹³ Für letzteres kommt nur uriran. **aj̥n-* = ved. *áhar*, *áb(a)n-* in Frage (vgl. jav. *asn-*, tumš. *azn-* ‘Tag’, khot. *va-ys̥nā* ‘jetzt’ < ‘heute’). Eine Entwicklung von **azn-* > **an-* imOrmuri ist wohl auch für B. *prān*, K. *prān* ‘gestern’ = pašto *par’un* < **para-azni* (Efimov 2011:215) und für B. *injān*, K. *indzān* ‘vorgestern’ < **anyai-či-azni* (Efimov 2011:287) anzunehmen und lauthistorisch unproblematisch in einer Sprache, in der auch *šm* > *m* gilt (vgl. orm. K. ‘Auge’ < giran. **časman-*). Formal parallel zu khot. *vays̥nā* könnte also imOrmuri ein **ša-(a)z̥ni* vorgelegen haben. Für die Funktion von **ša-* ist dabei zu beachten, dass khot. *va-* in der parallelen Bildung das ursprünglich distale Demonstrativum **awa-* ist, das sonst im Sakischen diese Funktion behalten hatte (vgl. tumš. *wa-* ‘jener’; khot. *vara* ‘dort’), hier aber offenbar umgedeutet wurde. Das bedeutet, dass orm. **ša-* nicht zwingend ein ursprünglich proximales Pronomen gewesen sein muss.¹⁴ Nach Morgenstierne (1929:407–8) geht vielleicht auch orm. B. *šam* ‘früher; vor’ (nur bei Morgenstierne, nicht bei Efimov) auf ein solches Pronomen zurück, und zwar auf einen Lokativ **syahmi*. Das ist allerdings semantisch und auch formal unsicher; da keine Entsprechung in K. bekannt ist, könnte orm. B. *š-* hier auch auf **f̥-* zurückgehen, vgl. B. *šaw-* = K. *řaw-* ‘geben’ < **fra-d(ad)ā-*.

Das im Ur-Ormuri offenbar vorliegende Demonstrativum **ša-* erinnert nun zwar zunächst an uridg. **k̥i-/k̥o-/k̥e-*, das in den meisten Sprachzweigen ein proximales Demonstrativum bildet, vgl. heth. *kī*, *kā*, *kē-*; arm. *-s-*; phryg. *si-*, *sa-/se-* (s. nun Hämmig 2013:128–9, 140 Anm. 41); gr. **k̥j-*; lat. *ci-*; got. *hi-*; lit. *šis*, aksl. *sv* (vgl. Dunkel 2014:405–15). Gerade im Indoiranischen fehlt aber sonst jede Spur¹⁵ von proximalem **k̥i-*, **k̥e-*, **k̥o-* oder **k̥jo-*, und somit wäre es eigentlich naheliegender, uriran. **sya-* (und nicht **cya-*) anzusetzen und dies auf das im Vedischen sicher bezeugte Demonstrativum **syá-* zurückzuführen, wenn—wie schon für **ša-* ‘eins’ gezeigt—keine lautlichen Schwierigkeiten im Weg stehen. Anzunehmen wäre lediglich, dass im Iranischen zu **syá-* (noch) kein Suppletivstamm **tyá-* vorlag (oder dass dieser beseitigt worden war).

Die Hauptfrage ist nun, ob man die beiden offenbar homonymen Stämme **sjó-* ‘eins’ und **sjó-* ‘dies’ durch einen Bedeutungswandel vereinigen kann oder mit einer schon uridg. Homonymie rechnen muss, die sekundär entstanden ist. Für letzteres spricht die denkbare Herleitung von **sjó-* ‘eins’ von **sém-/sm-* ‘eins’. Es erscheint möglich, dass **sjó-* aus **smj́o-* entstanden war, das entweder eine Ableitung von **sm-* oder eine Rückbildung zum Femininum (?) **smih₂-/sjah₂-* < ***smjah₂-* sein könnte (vgl. oben); letzteres wurde bereits von Eichner (2015:20f.) vorgeschlagen und als Beleg für die voruratanolische Existenz eines Femininums gewertet. Die Entwicklung **smj- > *sj-* würde auch durch das Verhältnis der erweiterten Pronominalformen des Singulars mit mask. **-sm-* und fem. **-sjah₂-* vorausge-

¹³Vgl. Morgenstierne 1929:408; Edelman 2009:83; vgl. parallele Bildungen in oss. dig. *a-boni*; np. *imrōz*, *emrūz*; arm. *ays-awr*, gr. **k̥j-āmeron* > ion. *sēmeron*, dor. *sāmeron*, att. *tēmeron*; got. *himma daga*; lit. *šian-dien*; aksl. *dnb-sv*, russ. *sego-dnja* ‘heute’.

¹⁴Auch heth. *ani-sivat* ‘heute’ scheint von einem primär distalen Demonstrativum abgeleitet zu sein, vgl. Dunkel 2014:55.

¹⁵Dunkel (2014:405; 413 Anm. 48) sieht zwar in ved. *śeva-* und *śivā-* ‘vertraut, lieb’ samt Verwandten einen möglichen Reflex, doch selbst wenn das zuträfe, würde es nicht zeigen, dass das Pronomen iir. noch vorhanden war, da diese Nominalbildung sicher schon vorurir. entstanden war. Das Gleiche gilt natürlich erst recht für die denkbare Herkunft der Verbalwurzel **k̥ej-* ‘liegen’ aus dieser Quelle (Dunkel 2015:414).

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setzt, falls diese aus Formen des Zahlwortes ‘eins’ abzuleiten wären (s. u.a. Gippert 2004, dagegen aber Dunkel 2014:195–6). Da das alles nicht garantiert werden kann, muss ein Lautgesetz $*s(.)mj > *s(.)j$ zwar unsicher bleiben (interessante, aber ebenfalls unsichere indirekte Parallelen für $**mj > *j$ nach Vokal bei Hill 2012), kann aber auch nicht widerlegt werden. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre eine direkte Ableitung von einem älteren $**se-$, von dem auch $*sém-$ abgeleitet wäre (so Goedegebuure 2006:185); für diese fehlt freilich jede unzweideutige Evidenz.

Das Demonstrativum $*s(i)j\acute{o}-$ hingegen müsste eine Ableitung $*si-\acute{o}-$ von $*si-$ sein (Dunkel 2014:688), einer Nebenform von $*s\acute{o}-/se-$, die auch Basis des anaphorischen Pronomens $*si-h_2-$ sein dürfte. Dabei bliebe allerdings die proximale Funktion der Ableitung unklar, und die schwache Bezeugung dieses Stammes wäre immer noch auffällig. Die Möglichkeit einer gemeinsamen Quelle beider Funktionen sollte also jedenfalls geprüft werden.

Wie könnte man sich einen Funktionswandel vom Numerales zum Demonstrativum oder umgekehrt vorstellen? Dass es schwierig sein kann, ein Demonstrativum in Texten von dem Numerales ‘eins’ zu unterscheiden, wird schon dadurch demonstriert, dass man heth. *sia-* bis vor kurzem für ein Demonstrativum gehalten hat—trotz der Existenz von für diese Deutung durchaus problematischen Belegen. Das impliziert, dass Umdeutungen auch im Sprachwandel möglich sein könnten.¹⁶

Ein möglicher Ausgangspunkt könnte gewesen sein, dass ein Zahlwort ‘eins’ bei emphatischer oder anamnestischer Funktion einem Demonstrativum hinzugefügt werden konnte (wie das ja für die Herleitung der pronominalen Erweiterungen $*-sm-$ und $*-sjah_2-$ aus ‘eins’ angenommen wird). Parallelen für solche Kollokationen sind nicht selten: So kann engl. *this/that one* als substantivisches Demonstrativum dienen. Im Neuhochdeutschen kann man Ausdrücke wie *der/dieser eine (da)* verwenden, wenn der Sprecher zwar weiß, wen er meint, aber nicht explizit verweisen kann oder will. Für den Hörer liegt dann zunächst spezifisch-indefinite Referenz vor, die aber durch sein Wissen identifizierbar und damit definit werden könnte.¹⁷ Wenn eine solche Konstruktion existiert, das in ihr verwendete Numerales aber in seiner Hauptfunktion von einem anderen Wort verdrängt wird, könnte eine Umdeutung zu einem zunächst anamnestischen Demonstrativum erfolgen, das sehr ähnlich wie ein Definitivitätsmarker funktioniert (vgl. Himmelmann 1997:93–8), jedoch nicht anaphorisch. Die spezifisch-indefinite Funktion überschneidet sich textlinguistisch und pragmatisch mit der von anamnestischen Demonstrativa darin, dass sie besonders für die Neueinführung von Referenten dienen kann. Spezifisch-indefiniten Gebrauch anamnestisch verwendeter Demonstrativa ist gut belegt jedenfalls bei nhd. umgangssprachlich *dies* (spezifisch-indefiniten Artikel nach von Heusinger 2011) und engl. *this* (Diessel 1999b:30), so dass sie sich im Gebrauch mit einer möglichen Verwendung des Zahlwortes ‘eins’ oder eines indefiniten Artikels überschneiden.

Ein Numerales ‘eins’ kann sich leicht zu einem zunächst spezifisch-indefiniten Artikel

¹⁶Bei oberflächlicher Analyse könnte man auch das in südalemannischen Dialekten belegte distale Demonstrativum *äin-* mit dem Numerales ‘eins’ verbinden. Der Diphthong des Demonstrativums weicht aber teilweise von dem des Numerales ab, vgl. berndeutsch *ein-* ‘ein’ vs. *äin-* ‘jener’; dabei entspricht *äi* dem sekundären Diphthong, die aus *en* vor Frikativ entsteht, und zeigt damit, dass eine sekundäre Entwicklung vorliegen muss, die vom Neutrum $*äns > äis$ ausgegangen sein muss.

¹⁷Vgl. besonders Himmelmann 1997:101–8.

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entwickeln; die Ausweitung des Gebrauchs auf unspezifisch-indefiniten Gebrauch, also ein Übergang zum echten Indefinitartikel, ist erst ein weiterer Schritt (vgl. Heine 1997:66–82; von Heusinger und Klein 2013). Aus der spezifisch-indefiniten Funktion kann sich aber im Prinzip auch eine definite entwickeln, am leichtesten über sogenannte „weak definites“, die nur durch den Kontext identifizierbar sind und in manchen Sprachen nicht als definit markiert werden. Damit unterscheiden sie sich relativ wenig von spezifischen Indefinita—der einzige Unterschied ist ja, ob der Sprecher erwartet, dass dem Hörer eine Identifikation gelingen sollte. Die Gebrauchserweiterung von definiten zu spezifischen Artikeln ist gut belegt (s. Himmelmann 1997:101–6), so dass durch Umdeutung in den gleichen Kontexten auch der umgekehrte Weg vom spezifischen zum definiten Gebrauch vorstellbar ist, also von spezifisch-indefiniten Verwendung zu assoziativ-definiten oder anamnestic.

Tatsächlich folgt ved. *syá-/tyá-* in einer großen Zahl seiner Belege einem anderen Demonstrativum (meist dem selbst auch anamnestic verwendbaren, aber auch exophorisch medialen *eṣá-/etá-*),¹⁸ was typologisch nicht ganz selbstverständlich ist und bei keinem anderen Demonstrativum im Vedischen vorkommt. In vielen Belegen ist dann im Kontext sogar noch eine Übersetzung mit ‘dieser eine’ möglich.¹⁹ Vgl. z. B.

RV 4,45,1ab

eṣá syá bhānúr úd iyarti yujyáte
ráthah párijmā divó asyá sánavi /

Dieser eine/bekannte Strahl erhebt sich, angeschrirt wird der erdumrundende Wagen auf dem Rücken dieses Himmels.

RV 7,8,2

ayám u syá súmahān avedi
hótā mandráḥ mānuṣaḥ yajváḥ agníḥ /

Und **dieser eine/bekannte** sehr große **hier** ist gefunden, der muntere Hotar, der junge Agni des Manu.

RV 7,68,9

eṣá syá kārúḥ jarate sūktáḥ
āgre budhāndḥ uśásām sumánmā /

Dieser bekannte/eine Sänger wacht mit Hymnen, erwachend zu Beginn der Morgenröten mit guten Gedanken.

Die Auffassung als ‘einer’ ist auch an anderen Stellen durchaus möglich, vgl.

RV 2,31,4ab

utá syá devó bhívanasya saksánis tváṣtā gnābbiḥ sajósā jūjuvad rátham |

Und **dieser/der eine** Gott, der Eroberer der Welt, Tvaṣtar, wird vereint mit den Götterfrauen den Wagen beschleunigen.

¹⁸Dazu s. Knobl 2007; Kümmel 2014.

¹⁹Das gilt auch für die auffällig wenigen Pluralbelege, in denen das Numerale die indefinite Bedeutung ‘einige’ gehabt haben könnte.

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Adverbial gebrauchtes *tyát* kann an den meisten Stellen genauso gut als (spezifisches) ‘einmal’ wie als (anamnestisches) ‘da, damals’ verstanden werden. Meist geht es um einzelne Taten der Götter, an die erinnert wird:

RV 4,12,6 = 10,126,8a–c

yáthā ha tyád vasavo gauryām cit

padí śitām āmuñcatā yajatrāḥ |

evó śv āsmān muñcatā vy āmbaḥ

Wie ihr, Gute, ja **damals/einmal** sogar die Gaurkuh befreitet, die am Fuß gefesselt war, Verehrungswürdige, so löst doch von uns die Bedrängnis!

7,19,2

tvám ha tyád indra kútsam āvalḥ

śúśrūsamānas tanvā samaryé |

dāsam yác chśṣṇam kúyavam ny āsmā

ārandhaya ārjuneyāyā śíkṣan ||

Du, Indra, halfst ja **damals/einmal** dem Kutsa, indem du im Kampf selbst Ruhm suchtest, als du den Dāsa Śuṣṇa mit schlechter Ernte ihm unterwarfst, um dem Arjuneya zu helfen.

Gut passt zu dieser Deutung außerdem, dass *syá-* sehr gerne in Ortsfragen verwendet wird, wo eine raumdeiktische Referenz gerade nicht möglich ist—die deiktischen Demonstrativa kommen hier gar nicht vor, und auch *sá* ist wesentlich seltener. Die Funktion von *syá* kann hier nur anamnestisch sein, was zu den nachgestellten, Referenz herstellenden Relativsätzen passt:

RV 2,33,7ab

kvā syá te rudra mṛṇayākur

hāsto yó ásti bheṣajó jālāṣaḥ |

Wo ist diese gnädige Hand von dir, Rudra, die eine heilsame Arznei ist?

RV 5,30,1

kvā syá vīrāḥ kó apaśyat índram

sukhāratham īyamānam hāribhyām |

yó rāyā vajrī sutāsomam ichān

tād ōko gāntā puruhūtá ūtī ||

Wo ist dieser/der eine Held? Wer hat Indra gesehen, mit gutem Wagen mit den Falben dahineilend, der ...?

Bemerkenswert ist auch die extrem häufige Kollokation mit den Diskurspartikeln *u* oder *ha* und *utá*, die bei den deiktischen Demonstrativa nicht zu bemerken ist, dafür jedoch bei Indefinita wie *tva-*. Das könnte zwar eine automatische Folge der ganz überwiegend „enklitischen“ Stellung in der Wackernagel-Kette sein, diese selbst ist aber ebenfalls bemerkenswert, weil sie so nur beim Relativpronomen und dem anaphorischen Demonstrativum *sá/tá-* ei-

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ne Parallele findet, nicht aber bei den deiktischen Demonstrativa (vgl. Lowe 2013:16–24).²⁰ Das spricht dafür, dass ved. *syá/tyá-* — anders als das ebenfalls anamnestic verwendbare *eśá/etá-* — keine primär exophorische Funktion hatte, was nach der hier entwickelten Hypothese auch nicht zu erwarten wäre. Sichere Belege für exophorisch-proximale Funktion gibt es denn auch im Rgveda gar nicht. Die von Klein (1998) genannten Belege dafür können allesamt anders verstanden werden, zumal oft ein anderes Demonstrativum danebensteht.²¹ Das Demonstrativum *syá/tyá-* wird zudem im Gegensatz zu *sá/tá-* auch nicht anaphorisch verwendet, d.h. es referiert gerade nicht auf schon Genanntes,²² sondern führt meist einen neuen Referenten ein. Ganz überwiegend steht es im ersten Vers einer Strophe, nicht selten auch im ersten Vers einer Hymne.²³

Auch die spätere vedische Verwendung von *syá* mit unmittelbarer Sprecherreferenz (also wie das Personalpronomen) ließe sich wohl aus einer besonderen Verwendung von ‘einer’ herleiten und erfordert nicht eine eigentlich proximaldeiktische Bedeutung: Indefinite Pronomina wie ‘man’ und ‘einer’ werden ja gerne für die erste Person verwendet, um sich höflicher auszudrücken; das bekannteste Beispiel ist wohl frz. *on* ‘man’ im Sinne von ‘wir’, aber auch in anderen Sprachen kann ‘man’ pragmatisch als „verdeckte“ Bezeichnung des Sprechers dienen, vgl. die deutsche Redensart „man gönnt sich ja sonst nichts“, die sich in der Regel auf den Sprecher bezieht.

Ein weiterer Kontext, in dem ein Numerale ‘eins’ zum Demonstrativum umgedeutet werden kann, ist der in heth. *siēz...kēz* (KUB 9.31 i 14–20) belegte, dass in einer kontrastiven Darstellung ein Referent als ‘(der) eine’, der andere aber mit einem Demonstrativum bezeichnet wird.²⁴ Das Numerale könnte hier als das jeweils kontrastierende Demonstrativum verstanden werden und so auch einer raumdeiktischen Kategorie zugeordnet werden. Diese Möglichkeit lässt sich zwar durch die vedischen Daten nicht unmittelbar stützen, denn *syá/tyá-* scheint gerade nicht kontrastiv verwendet zu werden. Das schließt aber nicht zwingend aus, dass dieser Weg eine Rolle gespielt haben könnte. Eine solche Entwicklung ist nämlich offenbar für das slavische Pronomen **eina-* > aksl. *inv* ‘ein anderer’ anzunehmen, das offenbar ein Numerale ‘eins’ fortsetzt (vgl. die Ableitung *inok* ‘Einsiedler’), diese Funktion aber nur mit präfigiertem **ed-* fortführt (aksl. *jedin*, aruss. *odin* ‘eins’ etc.), während der einfache Stamm nur noch kontrastiv verwendet wird (vgl. Dunkel 2014:590–1). Aus einer kontrastiven Funktion kann sich nun auch ein einfaches Demonstrativum entwickeln, wie wiederum im Slavischen bezeugt durch die Fortsetzung eines anderen kontrastiven Pronomens, nämlich aksl. *ov* ‘der eine/andere’, als proximales Demonstrativum im zentralen Südslavischen²⁵ und Sorbischen (nur Adverb nsorb. *how* ‘hier, hierher, her’), als distales De-

²⁰Nach Lowe 2013 sind diese Pronomina hier als betonte Klitika zu bestimmen.

²¹Z.B. könnten sich *eśá syá* und *tyám* in RV 9,84,4–5 zwar auf den Soma beziehen, der gerade durch die Seihe fließt, der Inhalt der Strophen bietet aber eher generelle Aussagen über Soma, so dass ein aktueller Bezug unsicher ist.

²²Zwar kann sich *syá/tyá-* an einigen Stellen tatsächlich auf einen vorher genannten Referenten beziehen — so z.B. *tyásya* in RV 10,86,23c, das auf die in ab genannte Parśu referiert; auch hier ist aber anamnestic Funktion möglich, wofür der folgende Relativsatz sprechen könnte.

²³RV 1,19; 50; 51; 52; 92; 143; 171; 178; 2,38; 4,45; 51; 52; 5,30; 6,43; 51; 63; 65; 71; 7,38; 8,22; 67; 9,38; 89,1; 10,41; 171; 178.

²⁴S. Goedegebuure 2006:177–8; häufiger ist die Konstruktion 1...1 ‘der eine...der andere’.

²⁵Vgl. skr. *ovaj*, *ovā*, *ovō* und mak. *ovoj*, *ovaa*, *ova* und suffigiert *-ov*, *-va*, *-vo*. Einige bulgarische (auch pomakische) Dialekte, die ein dreigliedriges System haben, verwenden aber offenbar das alte proximale Demonstrativum *s-* und nicht *ov-*.

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monstrativum im Polnischen (vgl. Dunkel 2014:111–2). Folglich kann ein indirekter Übergang von einem Numerales ‘eins’ zu einem deiktischen Demonstrativum auch von kontrastiver Verwendung aus prinzipiell stattfinden. Gleichzeitig zeigen diese Fälle auch, dass ein primär nicht raumdeiktisches Demonstrativum sekundär eine solche Funktion übernehmen kann, wenn es im Kontrast zu anderen Demonstrativa steht.²⁶

Eine Herleitung von ved. *syá* aus einem ursprünglichen Numerales ‘eins’ würde auch, wie Dunkel (2014:687 Anm. 8a) bemerkt hat, erklären können, warum dieses Demonstrativum nur selten im Dual und Plural vorkommt (ein „singulare tantum“ liegt freilich nicht vor). Für das Urindoiranische kann also ein altes Zahlwort **syá-* ‘eins’ angesetzt werden, das in dieser Funktion nur in zwei iranischen Randsprachen überlebt hat. Neben dieser Funktion hatte sich wohl schon früh (voreinzelsprachlich?) auch eine Verwendung als (spezifisches und kontrastives) Indefinitum und dann als (hauptsächlich anamnestisches) Demonstrativum entwickelt, die sich iranisch nur im Ormuri ebenfalls erhalten hat und im Vedischen zur alleinigen Verwendung wurde. Bei dem neuen Demonstrativum wurde dann analogisch nach *sá* : *tá-*; *ešá* : *etá-* die Stammvariante *tyá-* eingeführt.

Wenn also ein uriiir. **syá-* ‘eins’ existiert hat, das teilweise zum Demonstrativum umgedeutet wurde, bildet es wohl eine Gleichung mit heth. *sia-/sie-* und macht für dieses eine Herkunft aus einer schon uridg. Bildung **s(i)jó-* wahrscheinlicher, ob diese nun aus einem Femininum **s(m)jáh₂-* rückgebildet ist oder nicht.

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²⁶Zur sekundären Entwicklung einer exophorischen Funktion vgl. auch die Herkunft uriiir. **i-/a-* ‘dies hier’ aus dem uridg. anaphorischen Demonstrativum **i-/e-*, vgl. Dunkel 2014:197, 372–3.

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Vedic *aśáni*:- Another Stone from Heaven?

M E L A N I E M A L Z A H N



The standard handbooks offer the following glosses for the Vedic feminine *i*-stem *aśáni*:- PW (1.135) reads “1) f., später auch m. Donnerkeil, Blitzstrahl, 2) f. Pfeilspitze, 3) f. als Naturerscheinung eine Species der Ulkā, 4) m. ein Name Rudra’s, 5) *m. Pl. N.pr. eines Kriegerstammes”; Schmidt in the additions to PW (p. 79) adds “etwa Hagelkorn”. Grassmann sets up ‘stone’ as the original meaning, which results in the synchronic senses “*Donnerkeil*, als Schleuderstein aufgefasst” and “die auf dem Geschosse (çalyá) befestigte (steinerne) Spitze,” the latter said to be confined to the one and only attestation of the noun in the plural in RV 10.87.4.¹ Likewise, Mayrhofer (*EWAia* 1.136) glosses the word as “Donnerkeil, Pfeilspitze (RV+),” and *Rivelex* (1.589) as “thunderbolt; arrowhead” (German “Donnerkeil; Pfeilspitze”), ‘arrowhead’ again said to be confined to the one attestation of the noun in the plural. Geldner translates *aśáni*- by various terms, viz. “Stein,” “Schleuderstein,” “Schleifstein,” “Keil,” “Blitz,” “Blitzstein,” and “Blitzstrahl”; only somewhat differently, Gotō-Witzel render the word with “Pfeilspitze,” “(Vajra)spitze,” “Donnerkeil,” “Stein,” and “Blitz” in their translation of the first two books of the RV, and ‘stone’ is also found in translations of many scholars discussing passages with *aśáni*- (e.g., Das Gupta 1975:9f.; Schlerath 1997:820). In the most recent complete translation of the Rigveda by Jamison–Brereton, *aśáni*- is regularly rendered with “missile,” and sporadically with “(arrow-)point” (10.87.5ab), “spear” (2.14.2b), and “stone” (1.54.4cd), but never with a term referring to the main ingredients of a thunderstorm.

1 The Rigvedic attestations in the singular

The Rigvedic attestations in the singular are as follows:

1.54.4cd *yán māyīno vrandīno mandīnā dhr̥ṣác chitām gābhastim aśānim* Jamison–Brereton (1.170) translate: “as, daringly, by reason of the exhilarating (soma), you battle the sharpened stone, the fist, of the wily one grown weak”; similarly Geldner: “...indem du gegen die Hand des erliegenden Zauberers, die scharf (wie) der Stein, kühn durch den berausenden (Soma), kämpfst”; but quite differently Gotō–Witzel (103): “wenn du [Indra, M. M.], kühn durch den berausenden (Soma), des zermürenden wunderkräftigen (Śambaras) Hand, die geschärfte Pfeilspitze bekämpfst.”

¹This holds at least for the whole Veda, to judge from Bloomfield’s *Vedic Concordance* (Bloomfield 1906).

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1.80.13ab *yád vṛtrám tāva cāsānim² vājreṇa samāyodhayah* Jamison–Brereton (1.207) translate: “When with your mace you set Vṛtra and your missile to fighting, o Indra”; Gotō–Witzel (143): “Als du [Indra, M. M.] den Vṛtra und deine (Vajra)spitze mittels (des) Vajra miteinander kämpfen ließt”; the latter comment upon the passage (p. 621): “(Vajra)spitze] Heißt wohl tausend Zacken des Vajra” and “mittels (des) Vajra] Indem er den Vajra schwingt oder schleudert; ganz anders GE [Geldner, M. M.] zur Stelle.” Actually Geldner translated somewhat similarly: “Als du den Vṛtra und deinen Keil, (als du den Vṛtra) mit der Keule kämpfen ließt,” commenting, “Offenbar Wechsel der Konstruktion,” and it was only the interpretation by Sāyaṇa (mentioned by Geldner) “Als du den Vṛtra und den von ihm auf dich geschleuderten Keil mit dem Vajra trafst” that differed completely from that of Gotō–Witzel. Assuming that *aśāni-* here refers to a weapon of Indra and not of Vṛtra seems indeed to make more sense; if this is correct, *aśāni-* seems to refer either to the Vajra as a whole, or to the foremost part of it.

1.143.5ab *ná yó várāya marútām iva svandh séneva sṛṣṭhā div.yá yāthāśāniḥ* Jamison–Brereton (1.320) translate: “Who is not to be hindered, like the roar of the Maruts, like an army unleashed, like a heavenly missile”; in a more specific way, Geldner and Gotō–Witzel translate the noun phrase in question as “himmlische Donnerkeil.”

1.176.3d *div.yévāśānir jahi* Jamison–Brereton (1.376) translate: “Like a heavenly missile, smash him!”; again more specifically Gotō–Witzel (324): “Erschlag[, Indra, M. M.] (ihn) [= den Feind, M. M.] wie der himmlische Stein!”; and Geldner: “wie der himmlische Keil.”

2.14.2b *vṛtrám jaghān_a aśānyeva vṛkṣām* Jamison–Brereton (1.420) translate: “Who struck, like a tree with a spear, Vṛtra”; rather differently Geldner and Gotō–Witzel (“wie einen Baum mit dem Blitz”).

3.30.16b *jahí n_i eṣ_u aśānim tāpiṣṭhām* Jamison–Brereton (1.507) translate: “Smash your most scorching missile down on them”; Geldner: “Schleudere auf sie deinen glühenden Keil[, Indra, M. M.]!”

4.16.17ab *tigmā yád antár aśāniḥ pátāti kásmiñ cic chūra muhuké jánānām* Jamison–Brereton (1.581) translate: “If a sharp missile will fly in an instant amid some one of the peoples, o champion”; Geldner: “Wenn der spitzige Schleuderstein dazwischen fliegen wird in jedwedem Schlachtgeschrei der Völker, o Held [Indra, M. M.]”

6.6.5ab *ádha jihvá pāpatīti prā vṛṣṇo goṣuyúdhō n_a aśāniḥ sṛjānā* Jamison–Brereton (2.779) translate: “Then the tongue of the bull keeps flying forth, like a cattle-raider’s missile let loose”; Geldner: “Dann schießt die Zunge des Bullen hervor [= Agni’s flame, M. M.] wie der abgeschossene Schleuderstein des um die Rinder Kämpfenden [= Indra, M. M.]”

6.18.10ab *agnír ná śuṣkam vānam indra hetí rākṣo ní dhaks_i aśānir ná bhīmā* Jamison–Brereton (2.798) translate: “As fire does dry wood, like a terrifying missile burn down the demon with your lance, o Indra”; Geldner: “Wie das Feuer das trockene Gehölz, so brenn, o Indra, mit deinem Geschoß den bösen Geist nieder, wie der furchtbare Blitzstrahl!”

7.104.20cd *śísīte śakráḥ píṣunebh_iyo vadbhām nūnam sṛjad aśānim yātumádbh_iyah* Jamison–Brereton (2.1017) translate: “The able one is honing his weapon of death for the slanderers. Now he discharges the missile toward the sorcerers”; Geldner: “Śakra schärft für die Verleumder die Waffe. Möge er [Indra, M. M.] jetzt den Stein³ gegen die Zauberer schleudern!”

²On Rigvedic nominal X Y’ca Y constructions in general, see Klein 1985:92–102.

³Cf. 7.104.19a *prā vartaya divó aśmānam indra* “Schleudere vom Himmel den Stein, o Indra” (Geldner) and 19d *abhi*

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~ 7.104.25cd *rākṣobhyo vadhām asyatam aśāniṃ yātumād bhayaḥ* Jamison–Brereton (2.1018) translate: “Hurl the weapon of death at the demonic forces, the missile at the sorcerers”; Geldner: “Schleudert [Indra and Soma, M. M.] die Waffe nach den bösen Geistern, den Schleuderstein nach den Zauberern!”

8.27.18cd *eṣā cid asmād aśāniḥ paró nú sá* *średhantī ví naśyatu* Jamison–Brereton (2.1087) translate: “Also this missile—it is now far from him—let it go unfaltering to destruction”; Geldner: “Auch jener Schleuderstein [= Der Blitz] soll weit weg von ihm [= any mortal who is protected by Aryaman, Mitra, and Varuna, M. M.] sein, er soll ohne Schaden anzurichten verschwinden.”

10.87.5ab ~ AV 8.3.4 *ágne tvācam yātudhānasya bbindhi himsrāśānir hārasā hant, enam* Jamison–Brereton (3.1516) translate: “Agni, split the skin of the sorcerer. Let the murderous (arrow-)point smite him with its blaze,” which is fully consistent with their translation of *aśānibhir* in 10.87.4ab (see below); quite differently Geldner: “Agni, spalte die Haut des Zauberers; der mörderische Blitzstein soll ihn mit seiner Glut erschlagen!”

These passages yield the following generalizations:

(1) *aśāni-* seems to be a tool not used by mortals, but rather by gods; among the latter, it is almost exclusively associated with Indra, and only sporadically with Agni (10.87.5) or Indra’s enemy Śambara (1.54.4).

(2) *aśāni-* is mostly found together with an adnominal, viz. *eṣā* (deictic pronoun), *tāpistha-* ‘extremely hot’, *tigmā-* ‘sharp, pointy’, *divyā-* ‘heavenly’,⁴ *bhīmā-* ‘terrible’, *śitā-* ‘whetted’, and *himsrā-* ‘harmful’; verbal roots associated with the term are √as, √srj ‘shoot’, √pat ‘fly’, and √han ‘strike (down), kill’.

(3) In most attestations, *aśāni-* refers to a kind of lightning damaging something with its force, i.e. what may be called a thunderbolt. However, in only a minority of these cases is *aśāni-* transparently used as a term that denotes a thunderbolt (2.14.2b and 4.17.13c [*aśānimant-*]; possibly 6.6.5b, 6.18.10b, 10.87.5b); everywhere else, *aśāni-* may refer to a thunderbolt only metaphorically (1.143.5b, 1.176.3d, 3.30.16b, 7.104.20d, 7.104.25d,⁵ 8.27.18c⁶). Note that *aśāni-* exhibits a distribution unlike that of *vidyút-* ‘flash of lightning’ (which can be used in the plural, the intensive of the respective root⁷ also denoting ‘to flash’). The *vidyút-* is the weapon of the Maruts, while *aśāni-* is never associated with these storm-cloud gods, although the Maruts clearly use missile weapons (e.g., Ved. *ṛṣṭī-*); cf. Roesler 1997:236f. Similarly, the rain god Parjanya (for whose function cf. most recently Oberlies 2012:156), who can also hit people with a lightning stroke (RV 5.83.2), which is further described as a dreadful weapon (Parjanya can take on the *epitheton ornans mahāvadhā-* “having a great weapon,” otherwise used to describe Indra), is also like the Maruts associated with

jahi rakṣasah pārvatena “Erschlage die Dunkelmänner mit dem Fels!” (Geldner), but also *vadhām* ‘weapon’ in 4a, 20c, and 25c. For the special status of this hymn, see below, n. 37.

⁴Cf. also the *-mant-* adjective *aśānimant-* attested once in 4.17.13c as adjectival attribute of the sky; according to Geldner, Indra is here said to be “zerschmetternd wie der Keile schleudernde Himmel.”

⁵This is somewhat doubtful, but cf. 10.87.5ab, where according to Geldner the poet expresses the wish that “der mörderische Blitzstein soll ... erschlagen” specifically a “Zauberer.”

⁶The same holds for the passages AV 6.37.2; 7.50.1; 7.109.4; AV(P) 20.18.2 (which are about *striking an enemy as the aśāni- from heaven [strikes] a tree*) and AV(Ś) 6.142.1; AV(P) 2.70.4 (which are about protection against *being hit by the heavenly aśāni-*, see Zehnder 1999:158).

⁷For the origin of which see J. Rau 2010:308–13.

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the *vidyút-*, but never with the *asáni-*.⁸ On the other hand, Indra is in the older language never associated with the *vidyút-*.

(4) In a certain number of attestations in the singular, *asáni-* does not seem to be connected with any kind of lightning at all, at least in 1.54.4d, 1.80.13a, and 4.16.17a. In these passages, the term has a much broader meaning such as ‘weapon’, ‘missile’, or ‘stone’, each of which, of course, should then be taken for a meaning of the noun that was more original than ‘thunderbolt’. According to Gotō–Witzel, in 1.54.4d and 1.80.13a it even just denotes the tip of a weapon; if this should turn out to be correct, ‘tip of a weapon/missile’ surely would have to be regarded as the most archaic attested meaning of the word. Indeed a semantic development from ‘tip of a weapon’ to ‘thunderbolt’ is attested for Sanskrit: Ved. *pavi-* denoted the metal tip of a javelin or arrow in the Rigveda, and came to denote ‘thunderbolt’ in Sanskrit, and the same semantic development can be found with *nemi-* ‘metal set of tires’. Interestingly enough, the manuals published before the recent translations by Gotō–Witzel and Jamison–Brereton all seem to agree that ‘(Pfeil-)Spitze’ (‘tip of a missile’; ‘(arrow-)point’) is a meaning to be assigned to *asáni-* only in the one attestation of the noun in the plural that we evidently have, i.e., RV 10.87.4 (whereas Jamison–Brereton assign this meaning also to the use of the singular form in RV 10.87.5). This warrants another look at this passage to see if this claim is justified.

2 The sole attestation in the plural

The relevant passage, RV 10.87.4ab *yajñair īṣūḥ samṇāmamāno agne vācā śalyāṁ asānibhir dihānāḥ*, concerns the potency of the sacrificial act. If the manuals are right that *asānibhir* denotes ‘tips of missiles’, only a translation along the lines of “by [the help of our] sacrifices, o Agni, [you are] straightening your arrows, by [the help of our] speech [you, Agni, are] providing the *śalya-* with arrow tips” could be correct.

Interestingly enough, Geldner did not side with the handbooks when it came to the semantics of *asānibhir*, as is clear from his own translation: “An den Opfergebeten deine Pfeile glättend, o Agni, an unserm Worte die Pfeilspitzen (wie) an Schleifsteinen streichend . . .,” whereas Jamison–Brereton (3.1516) do so (as already indicated above): “Fitting your arrows to the bow with sacrifices, o Agni, and smearing their shafts along with their points with speech.”

The verb *sam* √*nam* ‘make straight’ is a *terminus technicus* (see already the footnote to the passage in Geldner and now Gotō 1987:194–6 with refs.), and it certainly refers to the lower part of the arrow, that is, the shaft and feathers.

The interpretation of *asānibhis* now crucially depends on the semantics of the participle from √*dih* and of the noun *śalyā-*. Pace Jamison–Brereton, the latter certainly denotes a portion of the upper part of the arrow, but the precise meaning is debated. Wilhelm Rau (1974:40 = 2012:824) set up ‘barb’,⁹ but in the majority of subsequent studies of the

⁸The *vidyút-*, being a forerunner of rain, can be viewed as a good omen, cf. RV 7.69.6 (thirsty cattle follow the lightning), and further be connected with fertility (quite clearly in the Purūruvas/Urvāṣī hymn 10.95.10). Flashes of lightning could therefore also trigger positive emotions and be described as the “smile of heaven” (thus RV 1.79.2 and 2.4.6; cf. Oberlies 2012:352 n. 11.). The *asáni-* is by contrast always dreadful.

⁹Despite the fact that according to him, precisely in RV 10.87.4 the whole armoring of the upper part of the arrow was denoted by the term.

term this proposal has not been adopted (Das Gupta 1975:49–52;¹⁰ Falk 1994:195; Schlerath 1997:820). Nevertheless, Lubotsky (2002:51) again worked with the meaning ‘arrow tip’ at least for the use of the word in the Atharvaveda (explicitly contradicting Schlerath, op.cit.). However, some passages discussed by Das Gupta and Falk seem to suggest a specialized meaning, namely “back part of the point which is stuck into the reed.”¹¹ If this is correct, *śalyā-* refers to a larger part of the armoring, i.e., the whole tip (as it does beyond doubt in the Atharvaveda), and one could easily assume a *pars pro toto* use. All in all, *śalyā-* in RV 10.87.4 may either denote the whole upper armoring of the arrow or just the back part of it.

The participle *dihānā-* cannot refer to whetting (pace Geldner),¹² as already pointed out by Schlerath (1997:820). The root $\sqrt{\text{dih}}$ basically means ‘to smear something on’ (PW 3.92: “bestreichen, verstreichen, verkitten, salben,” its object being mostly some juicy substance), and a use of the root in the meaning ‘to sharpen, whet’ is neither attested otherwise nor generally plausible. Schlerath thus correctly rejects Geldner’s translation of 10.87.4, but without proposing an alternative.¹³ However, if *dihānā-* means ‘smearing’, we have to abandon the meaning ‘tips of arrows’ for *āsānibhis*.

The question then is what this form refers to instead. $\sqrt{\text{dih}}$ is actually attested only twice in the Rīgveda, and in the other Rīgvedic passage a subjunctive form *pari dehat* refers to a skin eruption that spreads (RV 7.50.2b). The Atharvaveda passages offer guidance, however, as here the root $\sqrt{\text{dih}}$ is precisely associated with smearing poison onto arrows (*prāñjana-* n. being a *terminus technicus* for the poisonous spread on the arrow tip, see W. Rau 1974:40 = 2012:824). Cf., e.g., the passages

AV(Ś) 4.6.7 ~ AV(P) 5.8.6 (a hymn against poisonous arrows)
yé āpīsan yé ādīhan yā āśyan yé avāsījan | sārve té vādhrayah kṛtā vādhrir viśagīrīḥ kṛtāḥ |

“[Those] who squeeze [the poison from the plant], who smear [it onto the arrow], who shoot [the arrows], who hit [with the arrow], —all these have become impotent. Impotent has become the poisonous hill [where the plant grew upon].”¹⁴

¹⁰Who made a good case for a meaning “rückwärtiger Dorn der Pfeilspitze,” while admitting that the evidence of some of the attestations does not fit.

¹¹Such a meaning can also be backed by the etymology. *śalyā-* is clearly a derivative in *-iya-* from *śalā-*, an *l*-form variant of *śarā-* ‘staff’, so the original meaning should have been ‘the thing belonging to the staff’, and this could have been easily said of the part of the arrow tip that is connected with the shaft.

¹²The proper term for whetting is *śam* $\sqrt{\text{śā}}$ ‘to whet, sharpen’, cf. RV 6.75.16ab *āvasīṣṭa pára pata | śarmye brāhmasamśīte* “Being shot, o arrow, dart forth whetted by Brahman [words]!”

¹³These are his own words: “Die Stelle RV 10,84,4 reicht natürlich nicht aus, um ein Verstreichen der Rille am Ende des Pfeilschafts beim Einsetzen der Spitze (das ist weltweit die normale Befestigungsart in älterer Zeit) etwa mit Harz anzunehmen. Es könnte sich auch um eine übertragene Verwendung des Wortes *dih-* ‘gewissermaßen verkitten’ handeln”; I must confess that I do not understand Schlerath’s punchline.

¹⁴Basing myself on W. Rau 1994:33 = 2012:525: “Die [das Gift] zerquetschten, die es aufschmierten, die [Giftpfeile] schossen, die [mit Giftpfeilen] trafen,—die alle sind entmannt worden. Entmannt ist der Giftberg [d.h. der Berg, auf dem die Giftplanze wuchs]”; Whitney: “They who mashed, who smeared, who hurled, who let loose, they [are] all made impotent; impotent is made the poison mountain”; Lubotsky 2002:51: “Those who mashed, who smeared, who shot, who let loose—let all of them be impotent. Impotent is made the poison-mountain”; Lubotsky casts doubt on Rau’s translation “trafen” for *avāsījan*; however, Rau manifestly was aiming for a climax of the various actions, each of which would lead to the next (preparing the poison, putting it onto the arrow, shooting the arrow, and hitting by it); if *ava* $\sqrt{\text{śj}}$ is rendered ‘let loose’, we are left with only a synonym of $\sqrt{\text{as}}$ ‘shoot’, and no final climax. Note that a

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AV(Ś) 5.18.15a

īsur iva digdhā . . . śā brāhmaṇasyēsur ghorā

“like an arrow smeared [with poison] . . . that arrow of the Brahman is terrible” (Whitney)

More important than these two passages is the fact that RV 10.87.4ab recurs as AV(Ś) 8.3.6ab. Whitney translates: “By sacrifices, o Agni, straightening thine arrows, by speech smearing their tips with thunderbolts,” and according to this translation the meaning of the passage intended by the original poet would then evidently be that Agni,¹⁵ as a god, is able to provide his arrows (a.k.a. flames) with something even more noxious than the poison that accompanies mortal arrows—namely, thunderbolts.

Since Whitney’s translation makes perfect sense, RV 10.87.4b thus does *not* attest to a meaning “Pfeilspitze,” and as a result keeps open the possibility that the original meaning of *āsāni-* was ‘weapon’, ‘missile’, or ‘stone’, rather than ‘tip of a missile’. So let us first see if a case can be made in favor of an original meaning ‘stone’, which was evidently preferred by Aufrecht,¹⁶ Grassmann, Geldner, and, more recently, Wilhelm Rau, who stated explicitly, “Wo der einschlagende Blitz als Götterwaffe galt, dachte man sich diesen als scharfen, glühenden Schleuderstein (*āsān* m., *āsāni* f., *āsman* m., *pārvata* m.)” (1974:45 = 2012:829).¹⁷

3 Two possible arguments in favor of an original meaning ‘stone’

(1) Indra is associated with other terms (at least originally) denoting a kind of ‘stone’:

(1.1) *ādri-* ‘stone, rock’. In the whole of Vedic literature,¹⁸ *ādri-* is never used in the sense of ‘throwing stone’ (pace Grassmann, s.v.¹⁹ and *Rivelex* 1.134f.) or a god’s weapon. Therefore, we expect *adrivant-*²⁰ to mean ‘provided with a stone’, but although it is often used as an adjectival attribute of Indra, it is quite unlikely that it means “mit Schleudersteinen versehen” (as claimed by PW 1.30; Grassmann, s.v.), let alone “armed with stones or thunderbolts” (MW), or refers to the *vājra-*.²¹ Whenever *ādri-* acts as a first member of a RVic nominal compound, it has the meaning ‘rock’ or ‘pressing stone’ as well. Since *ādri-* often refers to the rock of the Vala myth said to have been split by Indra in order to free the cows, one should interpret *adrivant-* rather as “who belongs with, is connected with the *ādri-*.”²² Note that such a strategy is also the best solution for *adrivant-* functioning as an attribute

similar strategy in order to avoid final synonymy was developed by Whitney, as well—diverging from Rau, he opted for translating √as as ‘hurl’ instead of ‘shoot’.

¹⁵Note that in Brāhmaṇa literature Agni was associated with the tip of an arrow (see W. Rau 1974:39 = 2012:823).

¹⁶Cf. Aufrecht 1856:136 (“selbst aṇi donnerkeil ist ursprünglich stein”).

¹⁷Note, however, the doubts already expressed by Macdonell–Keith (s.v. *āsāni*): “no Vedic passage requires this sense [i.e., sling stone].”

¹⁸According to Bloomfield’s concordance.

¹⁹Grassmann claims such a meaning for the one single passage 1.168.6, where we are faced with an unclear picture of the flying Maruts; in any case, assuming a meaning ‘throwing stone’ is by no means necessary at all. Gotō–Witzel (313) translate “Den Fels entlang fliegt ihr [Maruts, M. M.] über die heftig wallende Flut.”

²⁰Only attested in the vocative, so the accent is unknown.

²¹Accordingly, the traditional translation “Keulenbewehrter” (thus, e.g., Hoffmann 1967:191 ad RV 1.121.10) is not warranted.

²²Note that among various different interpretations offered by *Rivelex* (1.136f.), one is “he who is connected with the rock(-myth).”

of Soma in RV 9.53.1, i.e. one should prefer here “who belongs with, is connected with the pressing stones” over “who possesses the pressing stones.”²³ Accordingly, *ádri-* is irrelevant for our purposes.

(1.2) *ásman-*. The manuals gloss *ásman-* m. as follows: “1.) Fels, Gestein, Stein, 2.) Werkzeug aus Stein, 3.) Donnerkeil, 4.) Himmel” (PW 1.137); “1.) *Fels*, besonders häufig von den Felsen, in welchen nach dem Indramythos die Kühe eingeschlossen waren, 2.) Stein als Werkzeug, 3.) Donnerkeil, 4.) Edelstein, 5.) Himmel” (Grassmann); “Stein, Schleuderstein, Fels, auch ‘Donnerkeil’” (Mayrhofer 1.137); “stone, throwing stone, rock” (*Rivelex* 1.596). The Iranian equivalent shows roughly the same semantic range (YAv. m. ‘stone, throwing stone; heaven’; OP m. ‘heaven’). In Greek, *ἄκμων* denotes ‘anvil’ (clearly < ‘stone’), but there are also traces of a former use in the meaning ‘heaven’, see most recently Beckwith 1998.²⁴ Quite obviously this derivative from *h₂ek- ‘(to be/become) pointy, sharp’ had the specialized meaning ‘stone’ already in late PIE.

In contrast to *ásáni-*, *ásman-* ‘stone’ can be used as a tool for killing by humans as well;²⁵ the gods throwing an *ásman-* from above are again Indra and, interestingly enough, the Maruts. In the case of the latter gods, it is clear that *ásman-* means ‘hailstone’, at least in 5.54.3,²⁶ but at 1.172.2, *ásman-* seems to be the striking flash of lightning.²⁷

As for Indra’s *ásman-*, it is well known that Indra’s weapon par excellence was rather the *vájra-*, which in older literature was said to have been a thunderbolt itself.²⁸ Although in more recent literature there is still some disagreement about the basic nature of this weapon and its possible counterpart among the mortals’ weapons, it has long since become clear that in Vedic the Vajra was not a lightning bolt at all,²⁹ despite the fact that in post-Vedic literature, Indra was associated with rain, thunderstorm, and lightning. According to Schlerath 2000:554, in Vedic the Vajra and Indra’s *ásman-* are related in the following way:³⁰ “Der Vajra ist die Waffe, mit der Indra seine Heldentaten vollbringt. Der Ásman ist der Feuerstein, den Indra in der Faust hält, in dem die Blitze stecken, die Indra beim Gewitter—bei jedem Gewitter, das man erlebt—wirft.”

²³The sense of *adrivant-* functioning as attribute of Varuṇa in the confession hymn RV 7.89.3 is unclear to me, but pace *Rivelex* (1.136), I doubt Varuṇa is regarded as “Regengott” here; to be sure, as lord of the waters Varuṇa rewards humans by letting it rain and punishes them by sending dropsy (as in this hymn), but unlike Indra he does not throw stones from heaven.

²⁴A paper strangely missing among the references on ‘stony heaven’ given in *NIL* 291; see in addition also Harmatta 1998, and, most recently, Meiser 2011:118f. For the present study, the vexed question of whether the meaning ‘heaven’ can be attributed to PIE *h₂ekmon- is of no concern.

²⁵Cf. AV(Ś) 5.23.13 where worms are killed “with a stone,” and in AV(Ś) 6.138.5 a stone is even used as cutting instrument by women.

²⁶*ásmadidyu-* ‘whose projectiles are (hail)stones’, not ‘throwing stones’ (as claimed by *Rivelex* 1.596); note that *brādhūni-* ‘hailstone’ is actually explicitly mentioned in the same strophe 5.54.3c.

²⁷1.172.2 *āre śā vaḥ sudānavo māruta ṛṇjati śāruḥ | āre ásmā yām ásyatha* “In the distance be your straight-aiming arrow, you Maruts rich in drops, in the distance the stone that you hurl” (Jamison–Brereton 1.371) ~ AV 1.26.1, where the weapon is also denoted by *hetí-* ‘missile’.

²⁸A view still accepted by Janda (2010:110) (“Mit seinem [Thor’s, M. M.] Donnerkeil Mjölnir wird schon seit langem der *vájra-* verglichen”).

²⁹W. Rau (1974:37–46 = 2012:821–30) suggested the Vajra was a harpoon, but this identification has not found favor in subsequent studies (Das Gupta 1975; Falk 1994; Schlerath 1975 and 1997:821; Gotō–Witzel 85of.). At any rate, all these authors agree that in Vedic the *vájra-* is described in too much detail to leave any doubt that the Vedic poets had a particular weapon in mind.

³⁰Note that this is a “Nachtrag” to his 1975 paper, which is found only in his *Kleine Schriften* (2000).

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Pace Schlerath, there is not all that much evidence in the Rigveda to suggest that *ásman-* referred to lightning and/or thunder. On the contrary, *ásman-* is said to be crafted out of rock (7.104.4),³¹ to be identical with rock (*párvata-*, 7.104.19a),³² and possibly even to be made out of metal if we include the difficult passage 1.121.9.³³ Besides 1.172.2 already mentioned above, in my view only the following two or three³⁴ Rigvedic passages refer also to lightning:

2.30.4a

bṛhaspate tápuṣāśneva vidhya

“O Bṛhaspati, with searing heat, as if with a stone, pierce the heroes of the (rival) lord.” (Jamison–Brereton 1.445)

7.104.5 = AV(Ś) 8.4.5

indrāsomā vartáyataṁ divás páṛ;agnitaptébhir yuvám ásmahanmabbhiḥ | tápurvadbebbhir ajārebbhir atrīno ní pársāne vidhyataṁ yāntu nisvarám

Geldner: “Indra und Soma! Schleudert vom Himmel her (die Geschosse)! Mit den feuergeglühten, wie Stein schlagenden (Geschossen), mit den glutbewaffneten nie altersschwachen (Flammen) stoßet die Atrins in die Versenkung! Lautlos sollen sie dahingehen”; Lommel (1966:204): “mit feurigen Steinschlägen, mit nicht ermatenden Gluthieben”; Rivelex (1.598): “Indra and Soma, hurl these (projectiles) from throughout the heavens! Plunge the Atrins into the abyss, you two, with those ones heated with fire, with those that have the blow of the slingshot”;³⁵ Jamison–Brereton (2.1016): “Indra and Soma, make it roll from heaven. With fire-heated (weapons) that smite like stones, with unaging (weapons) whose murderous force is searing heat, spear the voracious ones down into a deep place. Let them go to silence.”

In another line of the same hymn, 7.104.19a *prá vartaya divó ásmānam indra* “Roll the stone forth from heaven, Indra” (Jamison–Brereton 2.1017), *ásman-* may then refer to a thunderbolt as well, exactly for the reason exposed above in favor of this interpretation of *asāni-* in 7.104.25d.³⁶

Finally, there seems to exist evidence for this use of *ásman-* in the Atharvaveda, see AV 13.4.41 *sá stanayati sá ví dyotate sá u ásmānam asyati* “he thunders; he lightens; he indeed hurls the stone” (the subject is unclear; translation by Whitney).

³¹7.104.4a–c *indrāsomā vartáyataṁ divó vadbhām sám pṛthivyā aghásamsāya tárhanam | út takṣataṁ svar, yam párvatebbhiyo* “Indra and Soma, make the crushing weapon of death roll from heaven and from earth toward the one who speaks evil. Fashion a reverberating (weapon) up out of the mountains” (Jamison–Brereton 2.1016).

³²7.104.19a *prá vartaya divó ásmānam indra* “Roll the stone forth from heaven, Indra” (Jamison–Brereton 2.1017), cf. 19d *abbí jahi rakśásah párvatena* “strike at the demons with the mountain” (Jamison–Brereton 2.1017).

³³This hymn is full of riddles. 1.121.9ab *tá vām āyasám práti vartayo góṛ divó ásmānam úpanītam ṛbhvā* is translated by Jamison–Brereton (1.283): “Ingenious, you rolled back from the cow the metallic stone of heaven, which had been brought nearby”; differently, Hoffmann 1967:191: “Du schleuderst . . . den ehernen Hammer.”

³⁴In contrast, I do not believe that in 10.89.12ab the use of *tápiṣṭha-* as adnominal of *bhas-* (and not of *asmā!*) guarantees reference to a lightning-bolt: *ásmeva vidhya divá á srjānas tápiṣṭhena bhasā dróghamitrān* “Like a stone being launched from heaven, pierce with your hottest weapon those whose alliances are deceitful” (Jamison–Brereton 3.1523).

³⁵In Rivelex the compound *ásmahanman-* is translated as “he who has the blow/punch of the slingshot,” with an additional note “here, fiery projectiles are referred to.”

³⁶See n. 5 above.

Accordingly, the case of *ásman-* shows that a term denoting ‘stone’ could come to refer to lightning and thunder. However, *ásman-* did not denote ‘lightning’ or ‘thunderbolt’ from the start. This is thus a “special development” of Indic, as already claimed by Beckwith (1998:94 and 98). This view is supported by the fact that in Avestan *asman-/asan-*, when used in the sense of a weapon, always refers to a ‘sling stone’ or ‘stone missile’ and never ‘lightning’ (as per Malandra 1973:8). As for the few obvious Rigvedic attestations mentioned above, it is quite remarkable that one or two come from RV 7.104.5 = AV(Ś) 8.4.5, i.e., from an “Anhangslied” (Oldenberg 1912:68) on black magic, which is clearly characterized as young by both its contents³⁷ and some late linguistic features.³⁸

On the other hand, Indra evidently did *not* start out as a thundergod³⁹/stormgod either, but rather as a heroic warrior figure of the Heracles kind,⁴⁰ whose famous weapons only later became gradually associated with lightning and thunder, i.e., were reinterpreted as thunderbolts, *asáni-* probably being the first of them to do so. Note that even Oldenberg (1917:136–41) felt obliged to admit that for the Rigvedic poets the Indra of the Vṛtra myth was *not* a thundergod and that the Vṛtra myth was not about meteorological phenomena, even though he believed that this myth had its ultimate origin in a “Gewittermythus.”⁴¹

It is fully consistent with such a view that *vidyút-*, an old term for ‘flash of lightning’, is neither associated with stones nor with Indra but with the Maruts, the gods of the storm clouds, and that *asáni-*, whenever referring to lightning, is always detrimental, i.e., is a lightning bolt that creates destruction, whereas the *vidyút-* may bring rain and fertility. It was only in post-Vedic times that Indra finally became completely associated with rain, thunderstorms, and fertility.⁴²

(1.3) *párvata-* ‘rock, mountain’ (substantive). *párvata-* is used as a weapon by gods in order to slay their enemies in two Rigvedic instances. In 6.22.6 Indra kills Vṛtra with it; in 7.104.19d Indra is asked to slay the evil rivals with it; and in the same hymn at 4c *párvatebhyo* is used to denote the ‘rocks’ from which a weapon (*vadhāṇi*) is fashioned by Indra and Soma for the same purpose.⁴³ In neither of these passages does *párvata-* refer definitively to a lightning bolt. In the AV we find *párvata-* used as a weapon by Indra only once, in 8.4.19 (Ś), again with no obvious reference to lightning. Accordingly, this term too is of little use for our purposes.

(1.4) To summarize so far, as the case of *ásman-* shows, in the language of the Veda a word for ‘stone’ could indeed assume the meaning of ‘lightning’ or ‘thunderbolt’; however, this does not require us to posit such a semantic shift in the case of *asáni-*. As was pointed out before, in India ‘(tip of a) missile’ could have turned into ‘thunderbolt’ too.

³⁷ Cf. Lommel 1966–7:203: „deutlich von jüngerer Art als die Mehrzahl der Rigvedagedichte. Es ist ein Nachtrag und hat atharvavedischen Charakter (ist auch in den Atharvaveda 8.4 aufgenommen).“

³⁸ Metrically guaranteed vowel sandhi in 2a (*abhy āghāṇi*), contraction sandhi in 6a (*kakṣyáśeva*) and 6d (*ṛpātīva*).

³⁹ An old idea most recently revived by Janda (2010:114, “Die Forschung hat Thor und Donar gewiß zu Recht mit Indra zusammengestellt. Der Donnerer ist aber nicht der einzige, der dem Komplex des kosmogonischen Mythos entstammt”). In the Rigveda, Indra uses ‘thunder’ (*tanyatí-*) just once in order to strike Vṛtra (RV 1.32.6).

⁴⁰ See most recently Oberlies 2012:145–8.

⁴¹ “Aber doch bleibt möglich, ja, wie ich meine, überwiegend wahrscheinlich, daß wir es vielmehr mit einem *ursprünglichen* Gewittermythus zu tun haben, ... daß der Vajra seinem ursprünglichen Wesen nach die Blitzwaffe war”; Oldenberg 1917:138.

⁴² For Indra as god of fertility, see above all Hopkins 1916.

⁴³ See above, n. 3.

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(2) Morphologically, *ásáni-* can be interpreted as an *i*-stem extension of *ásman-*, *ásn-* ‘stone’, which would further imply that it had much more in common with the latter word than the mere root $*\sqrt{h_2ek}$ ‘(to be/become) pointy, sharp’.⁴⁴

As already observed by Brugmann, “*i*-stems often occur beside athematic bases with no observable semantic difference”;⁴⁵ in Vedic, there is at least one other endocentric *i*-stem attested, viz. *ṛṣṇi-* (neuter nom. acc. sg. *ṛṣṇi*⁴⁶) ‘strong, vigorous, manly; ram’;⁴⁷ which shows basically the same meanings as the *n*-stem *ṛṣṇan-* ‘male, strong; bull’ from which it was derived. Accordingly, one could assume that *ásáni-* was derived by the very same endocentric *i*-suffix from a stem allomorph $*ásan-$ of *ásman-*, *ásn-* ‘stone’, which could have been secondarily formed on the model of *ásn-* from $*h_2ekmn-$;⁴⁸ however, such an $*ásan-$ triggered by a process of back-formation is actually attested only in Iranian and not in Vedic.⁴⁹ We thus stand in need of a more satisfactory analysis.

4 An alternative morphological analysis

In Vedic, there are feminine verbal abstracts in *-áni-*,⁵⁰ which are best explained as abstracts in $*-i-$ based on erstwhile verbal adjectives in *-ana-*.⁵¹ Accordingly, *ásáni-* may have started out as a (later concretized) abstract derived from an adjective $*ásana-$ (seemingly from $*-eno-$). As we find in e.g. *EWAia* 1.136 (with refs.) and *NIL* 287–90, there exist forms morphologically similar to $*ásana-$ in other branches as well, above all in Greek (*ἄκαινα* ‘spike, prick, goad’, *ἄκανος* ‘a thistle’, *ἄκαυθα* ‘thorn, thistle’, *ἄκανθος* ‘acanthus’;⁵² *ἄκονη* ‘whetstone’⁵³), most of which denote pointy or sharp objects other than stones, and are formed with suffixes that are typically used in exocentric (possessive) derivation, viz. $*-o-$, $*-ih_2$,⁵⁴ and $*-d^h(h_1)o-$.⁵⁵ Accordingly, the simplest analysis for all these adjectives and nouns (including $*ásana-$ underlying *ásáni-*) is that we simply have various exocentric derivatives from an abstract (or maybe two abstracts) with the meaning ‘sharpness’ which had at least an oblique-case stem allomorph ending in $*-n-$. This/these abstract(s) may have been an $*r/n$ -stem (for setting up such a heteroclitic stem built from $*h_2ek-$ ‘(to be/become) pointy, sharp’,

⁴⁴As maybe already suggested (if implicitly) by *NIL* (290 nn. 2 [“Die Existenz eines selbständigen grundsprachlichen *n*-Stammes zu $*h_2ek-$ ist fraglich”] and 6 [“Die Bildweise ist nicht sehr klar”]).

⁴⁵Weiss 2013:350.

⁴⁶See Widmer 2004:153f.

⁴⁷Matched by YAv. *ṛṣṇi-* ‘ram’, which suggests even a Common Indo-Iranian origin of the formation.

⁴⁸See Nussbaum 2010:269 with refs. Since in the paradigm of the basic $*-m(e/o)n-$ stem $*-m-$ remained non-syllabic also within the cluster $*-kmn-$ and was there finally dropped, it is extremely unlikely that *-san-* in *ásáni-* derives from a sequence $*-kmn-$ with syllabic $*-m-$.

⁴⁹See Nussbaum 2010:269; *NIL* 290 n. 2; also Av. *aθmga-* ‘stone’ and OP *asanga-* ‘stone’ (however, it is not so clear—at least not to me—that this Iranian formation in *-ga-* started out as endocentric; see for the suffix involved Nussbaum 1986:2f. with nn. 3 and 13).

⁵⁰See *Ai.Gr.* 2.2.207.

⁵¹For the formational principle, see especially Nussbaum apud Vine 2006:151 and Weiss 2013:346–50.

⁵²All of which seem to presuppose the former existence of an oblique-case stem allomorph ($*-akan-$ denoting something like ‘sharpness’.

⁵³On the other hand, Gk. *ἄκων* m. ‘javelin, dart’ inflects synchronically as an *-nt*-stem and may have done so also right at the start, since *-nt*- stems can form part of Caland systems; see, e.g., J. Rau 2009:71f.

⁵⁴For $*-ih_2$ used as possessive suffix especially in Greek, see Schindler’s findings apud Widmer 2004:37.

⁵⁵For the latter suffix, see now especially Hackstein 2002:13–9. The diminutive force attributed to Greek *-θo-* by Solmsen (1909:264) must be due to a secondary development.

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see *EWAia* 1.136 with refs., but note that **r/n*-stems are only rarely found together with Caland roots/systems⁵⁶) and/or a feminine abstract in **-n-* built from an adjective **h₂ekō-* ‘sharp’⁵⁷ (for reconstructing such a noun, note especially the presuffixal (*o*)-*on-* found in Gk. *ἀκόννη* ‘whetstone’ and Gothic *ahana* ‘chaff’).

If this analysis is correct, *aśáni-* started out as an abstract ‘sharpness’ based on a possessive adjective **aśana-* ‘provided with sharpness > sharp’, which was later concretized and denoted ‘sharp thing’. It is possible that ‘sharp thing’ was then further narrowed to ‘stone’ (a semantic specialization that in the case of **h₂ekmon-* had already occurred in PIE), but hardly able to be proved.

Abbreviations

- Ai.Gr.* 2.2 = Debrunner, Albert. 1954. *Altindische Grammatik*. Vol. 2, part 2, *Die Nominal-suffixe*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- EWAia* = Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1986–2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Geldner = Geldner, Karl Friedrich. 1951–7. *Der Rig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
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- Jamison–Brereton = Jamison, Stephanie W., and Joel P. Brereton. 2014. *The Rigveda: The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Macdonell–Keith = Macdonell, Arthur Anthony, and Arthur Berriedale Keith. 1912. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*. London: Murray.
- MW = Monier-Williams, Monier. 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. New edition. London: Clarendon.
- NIL* = Wodtke, Dagmar S., Britta Irslinger, and Carolin Schneider. 2008. *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- PW = Böhtlingk, Otto. 1879–89. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*. St. Petersburg.
- PW Nachträge = Schmidt, Richard. 1928. *Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. Leipzig.
- Rivelex* = Krisch, Thomas. 2006. *Rigveda-Lexikon: RIVELEX*. Vol. 1, *Buchstabe a*. Graz: Leykam.
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⁵⁶See J. Rau 2009:74 (“unproductive and uncommon”).

⁵⁷See Nussbaum 1998:528 n. 23 for such an **o*-adjective from the root **√h₂ek*, and Nussbaum 2005 for *n*-abstracts derived from adnominals such as adjectives.

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Hittite *kī* (*kuit*) and Vedic “*sá-figé*”

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In recognition of Jared Klein’s many contributions to our discipline and our longstanding friendship I am pleased to offer the following ruminations on two difficult problems of pronominal morphosyntax, with the hope that he will find them worthy of interest despite their speculative component.

The neuter nominative-accusative singular form *kī* of the Hittite near-deictic pronoun *kā* ‘this’ remains an anomaly without a satisfactory explanation. Kloekhorst (2008:426) regards it as an archaism, but this claim is not remotely credible. As for other PIE demonstrative-anaphoric stems, *i*-stem inflection is well attested for **kō-* (see Dunkel 2014:2.406–8), but there is no trace whatsoever of such inflection anywhere in Anatolian, and Kloekhorst gives no explanation for why such a form would not be *†kit*, like Hittite interrogative-relative *kuit*, Latin *id*, etc. (same objection in Dunkel 2014:2.397 n. 4). The stem is consistently *kā* < **kō-* in Hittite, Palaic, and both forms of Luvian, where there is notably no evidence even for “*i*-mutation” (for the exclusively *o*-stem inflection in Luvian see Melchert 2009).¹ In fact, given the discrepancy between Hittite *apiya* ‘thither, there’ versus Hittite *kā* ‘hither, here’, and the fixed Lydian *i*-stem *bi-* ‘he, she, it’, it is likely that the mostly *o*-stem inflection of Anatolian demonstrative and anaphoric **obhō-* ‘that; he, she, it’ is in fact analogical to **kō-* (differently Dunkel 2014:2.188–9).

For these reasons Dunkel (2014:2.397) follows Schmidt 1962:54–5 and Tischler 1983:457 in supposing that Hittite *kī* reflects a near-deictic *particle* that has been absorbed into the pronominal paradigm. However, neither Schmidt nor Tischler offers the slightest account of how and why such an incorporation of a particle into an inflectional paradigm might have occurred and precisely in the neuter nominative-accusative singular. Schmidt does cite as a forerunner Pedersen (1938:50), who cites an earlier 1905 study in which he argued that there was no near-deictic pronominal stem **kō-* in PIE, *only* a deictic adverb **kī*, and that all inflected forms are creations of the individual languages. Pedersen’s assumption of such an archaism faces the same objections as Kloekhorst’s and once again fails utterly to explain why the alleged archaism persisted in Hittite just in the one form of the paradigm.

I agree that Hittite *kī* represents a near-deictic adverb **kī* ‘here’ and propose that the key to its incorporation into the pronominal paradigm lies in the Hittite syntagm *kī kuit* (+noun) ‘what (is) this (X) that . . .’ The expression typically has a nuance of shock or dis-

¹The term “*i*-mutation” refers to the phenomenon widespread in Luvian and Lycian and less common in Lydian by which an *-i-* is inserted into the stem just in the common gender nominative and accusative. See Rieken 2005 with references.

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belief (see the examples cited below), but this appears to be contextual. The common denominator of all occurrences appears to be that the deixis is situational, not spatial or textual: that is, it always refers to something that has just happened in the immediate environment of the speaker.

Before setting forth my own account of the origin of this construction, I must refute an alternative analysis by Hackstein (2004a), who argues that Hittite *kī kuit* results from the grammaticalization of an original two-clause focus question: ‘what is this which ...’ There is no doubt that such a process *is* the source of many compound interrogatives (see the broader cross-linguistic treatment in Hackstein 2004b), but Hackstein’s analysis of Hittite *kī kuit* is fatally flawed.

First of all, he confuses two quite distinct constructions. Contra Hackstein 2004a:348–9 the New Hittite expressions *kī kuit* ‘as to this fact that ...’ and *eni kuit* ‘as to that fact that ...’ do not arise from interrogatives at all. They are grammaticalizations of ordinary preposed correlative *relative* constructions. Compare:

- (1) KUB 26.1 iv 3–6 (CTH 255.2.A, Instructions for Courtiers; NH)²

našma kī kuit LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} *Hatti ēšsanzi* ... *n-at* GAM NIŠ DINGIR-LIM
or this which men of-Hatti do (iter.) CONJ=it under oath
kittaru
shall-be-placed

“Or this thing that the men of Hatti are wont to do” (—“one secretly desires the lordship of someone else instead of the lordship of His Majesty”—) “let it be placed under oath.”

- (2) KUB 5.4 i 33–4 (CTH 563.2, Oracular Inquiry; NH)

kī kuit NU.SIG₅-*ta* BAL *andurza kuiški* DÜ-*yazi nu* KIN
this that was-unfavorable rebellion inside someone makes CONJ oracle
NU.SIG₅-*du*
let-be-unfavorable

“(Seeing) that this (the preceding oracle) was unfavorable, will someone make rebellion internally? Let the oracle be unfavorable.”³

In example (1) the *kī kuit* may be analyzed as a regular preposed relative noun phrase ‘this which’, which is regularly resumed in the main clause by *-at* ‘it’. However, example (2) shows *kuit* grammaticalized as a subordinating conjunction ‘(as to the fact) that’, with *kī* ‘this’ specifying the event being referred to.

²I cite Hittite passages in the usual format, by the column and line numbers of the published cuneiform autographs, giving also the text number and conventional label in the *Catalogue des textes hittites* (CTH) and finally the respective dating of the composition (OH, MH, NH = Old, Middle, New Hittite) and the manuscript (OS, MS, NS = Old, Middle, New Script). NH compositions are naturally NS. For further information on Hittite texts see <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.html>.

³Contra Ünal 1978:104–5 and Cotticelli-Kurras 1992:124–5, *kī kuit* does *not* introduce something previously unnamed. It is used entirely interchangeably with *eni kuit* to refer to the result of a previous oracular question. Whereas *eni* in this case has its usual text-anaphoric sense ‘the aforementioned’, *kī* is used in a situational deictic sense, referring to the oracular action just performed by the questioner, resulting in effectively the same meaning.

Hittite kī (kuit) and Vedic “śa-figé”

One finds the same double syntax with the matching far-deictic pronoun:

- (3) KUB 5.1 iii 19–20 (CTH 561.1, Oracular Inquiry; NH)

eni kue HUL-*uwa* SI×SÁ-*ri* *arḫa-at* *arānzi* SIG₅-*ru*
 those which evils are-determined PREVERB=them they-stop let-be-favorable
 “Those evils which are determined, shall they put a stop to them? Let it be favorable.”

- (4) *ibid.* ii 22–3

eni-kan *kuit* URU¹Talmaliyaš HUR.SAG²Haharwaza GAM NU.SIG₅-*ri*
 that=PARTICLE that Talmaliya from-Mount-Haharwa down is-unfavorable
 DINGIR-LIM¹-za TUKU-za NU.SIG₅-*du*
 god=REFL angry let-be-unfavorable
 “As to that fact that (the route via) Talmaliya down from Mount Haharwa is unfavorable, are you the god angry (about that)? Let it be unfavorable.”

Once again, in example (3) *eni kue* HUL-*uwa* “those evils which” clearly is a relative structure, properly resumed by *=at* ‘them’, but in (4) *eni kuit* has been grammaticalized to “as to that fact that . . .”

The grammaticalization of *kī kuit* ‘as to this fact that . . .’ and *eni kuit* ‘as to that fact that . . .’ from preposed relative structures is merely part of the more general grammaticalization of *kuit* (*uttar*) from ‘the matter which’ to ‘as to the matter that’. As elucidated by Holland (2011), one can observe this grammaticalization taking place in the Middle Hittite Maṣat Letters. Compare again:

- (5) HKM 3:3–4 (Maṣat Letter; MH/MS)

ŠA LÚ.KÚR=*mu* *kuit* *uttar* ḫatrāeš *n-at* AŠME
 of enemy=to-me which matter you-wrote CONJ=it I-heard
 “I heard the matter of the enemy that you wrote to me about.”

- (6) HKM 2:4–8 (Maṣat Letter; MH/MS)

ŠA ANŠE.KUR.RA.ḪI.A=*mu* *kuit* *uttar* ḫatrāeš *n-ašta* *kāšma*
 of horses=to-me which matter you-wrote CONJ=PARTICLE ADV
 ANŠE.KUR.RA.ḪI.A *karū* *parā* *nehhun*
 horses already out I-sent
 “As to the matter of the horses that you wrote to me about, I have already sent horses out.”

In (5) ŠA LÚ.KÚR *kuit* *uttar* “the matter of the enemy which” is part of a regular preposed relative resumed by *=at* ‘it’, but in (6) ŠA ANŠE.KUR.RA.ḪI.A *kuit* *uttar* cannot be so analyzed, since it is never resumed in the main clause: it has become part of a subordinate clause to which the following clause merely refers.

Suppression of the contextually redundant *uttar* ‘matter’ leads to a fully grammaticalized subordinating conjunction *kuit* ‘as to the fact that’:

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- (7) HKM 7:3–10 (Maṣat Letter; MH/MS)

kīšsan=mu kuit ḫatrāeš kāša=wa LÚ.MEŠ sapasalliēš piyenuun . . . nu=ššan
 thus-to-me that you-wrote ADV-QUOT spies I-have-sent CONJ=PARTICLE
apēdani uddanī weranza=pat ēš
 to-that matter called=EMPH be!

“As to the fact that you wrote to me as follows: ‘I have sent spies’ (further quoted speech), be fully attentive (*lit.* called) to that matter!”

The use of *kī kuit* and *eni kuit* to mean ‘as to this fact . . .’ and ‘as to that fact that . . .’ thus developed out of ordinary preposed relative structures (as confirmed by the occasional similar use of other case forms, such as common gender nominative singular *aši kuis* at KUB 5.22:19 and KBo 2.2 iii 30), as a sub-class of *kuit* ‘as to the fact that’. They have nothing at all to do with the compound interrogative *kī kuit* (+ noun), to which we will now turn. I am aware of the following examples of interrogative *kī kuit*:

- (8) KBo 22.2 Ro 2–3 (CTH 3, A Tale of Zalpa; OH/OS)

[k]ī-wa kuit walkuan ḫāšḫun
 this-QUOT what monstrosity I-gave-birth

“What (kind of) monstrosity have I given birth to?”

This passage describes the shocked reaction of the Queen of Kanish upon giving birth to thirty sons at once. This is a clear example of the *kī kuit* syntagm type, not an ordinary question *kī-wa kuit* “What is this?” (contra Hackstein 2004a:351). A further Old Hittite example in Old Script (KBo 17.23 Ro 9) is in a context too fragmentary to be of use.

- (9) KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 Vo 15–6 (CTH 16, Puḫanu-Text; OH/NS)

[kī k]uit walkuwan [išḫam]ai[šte]ni
 this what monstrosity you-are-singing

“What (kind of) monstrosity are you singing?”

This is the response of the narrator to the famous “Song of Nesa” sung by two fighters, suggesting that he did not understand the text and regarded it as gibberish (see Melchert 1986:102–4 with n. 4 on the sense ‘monstrosity’ for *walkuwan*).

- (10) KBo 3.1 i 40 (CTH 19, Edict of Telipinu; OH/NS)

[k]ī-wa iyanun kuit
 this-QUOT I-did what

“What (is) this (that) have I done?”

Despite the unusual order of the verb, this is surely another example of our syntagm. The speaker Hantili, having become frightened about his part in a regicide, expresses his remorse at having committed the deed.

- (11) VBoT 58 i 16 (CTH 323, Myth of Disappearance of the Sun; OH/NS)

Hittite kī (kuit) and Vedic “sá-figé”

apaš=a pait ^dIM-ni *tet kī kuit kišat*
he-CONJ went to-Storm-god said this what happened

“He proceeded to say to the Storm-god: ‘What (is) this (that) has happened?’”

I translate thus with Hoffner 1995:95 contra Hoffner 1998:28. The speaker, the Wind, is dismayed by the general paralysis caused by the Frost (*ḫaḫhima-*).

- (12) KBo 17.105 ii 17–8 (CTH 433, Ritual for ^dLAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*; pre-NH/NS)

nu-tta mān DINGIR.MEŠ *kiššan punušanzi kī-wa kuit ieššer*
CONJ=you if gods thus ask this-QUOT what they-were-doing
^dLAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš-wa* ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI-ya *mukišker*
tutelary-deity of-hunting-bag-QUOT Heptad-and they-were-rousing

“If the gods ask you: ‘What is this that they have been doing? They have been rousing/inciting the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag and the Heptad.’” (“You, the hearth, impart well to the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag, the Heptad and all the gods: ‘Turn for well-being to the king, queen, and princes! Give them life and health!’”)

The hearth, with whom the gods are believed to commune at night (as per the immediately preceding clause), is asked to explain to the relevant deities and all the gods why humans have been trying repeatedly to incite them to action. The *kī kuit* clause may or may not imply impatience on the part of the gods.

- (13) HKM 70:4–12 (Mašat Letter; MH/MS)

kī kuit iyaš n-ašta kāša ÉRIN.MEŠ.ḪI.A *parā tuk-pat ēšzi*
this what you-did CONJ=PARTICLE ADV troops forth you=EMPH is
kāša=za peran dameidani ANA ÉRIN.MEŠ *lamniyanza nu liliwaḫḫuwanzī*
ADV=REFL before to-other to troops named CONJ with-haste
ūnni
drive-hither!

“What is this that you have done? *You* have troops waiting (?). You have previously been assigned to other troops (*lit.* named). Drive hither with haste!”

With Güterbock and Hoffner 1995:118 and Hackstein 2004a:351, contra Hoffner 2009:226–7, I regard this entire passage as a reprimand. While the sense of the second clause is not entirely certain, the drift is clear: the addressee has been reassigned and has been dilatory in showing up at his new post.

- (14) KUB 14.12 Ro 1–2 (CTH 378.3, Third Plague Prayer of Muršili; NH)

[^d]UTU ^{URU}*Arimma* BELTI-YA Û DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-YA *kī kuit*
Sun-goddess of-A. my-lady and gods my-lords this what
D[Û-atten] *nu-kan* INA ŠÀ KUR ^{URU}*Hatti* *ḫinkan tarnatten*
you-did CONJ=PARTICLE into land of-Hatti plague you-let

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“Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and gods, my lords, what is this that you have done? You have let a plague into the land of Hatti.”

The use of *kī kuit* in the opening of this version of Muršili’s plague prayer certainly conveys a tone of anguish; it may or may not imply a reproach.

Derivation of the compound interrogative *kī kuit* from an abbreviated focus structure “What is it that . . .,” as suggested by Hackstein (2004a:350–3), is not inherently implausible. We do not know whether Hittite formed such questions, but based on our knowledge of Hittite relative and interrogative syntax, we can be reasonably sure that the full structure of “What is this that you have done?” would have been:

- (15) *kī kuit iyaš n-at kuit* (or *nu apāt kuit*)
 this which you-did CONJ=it what (or CONJ that what)
 “This that you have done, what is it/that?”

For the structure of the preposed relative see example (1) above. If the relative was resumed in the interrogative clause by enclitic *-at* ‘it’, the interrogative could only have followed. If the resumption was by the stressed anaphoric pronoun *apāt* the order would have been as given. This is shown by examples like *kī-wa kuit* “What is this?” (KBo 6.34 i 30 and passim; CTH 427, Military Oath; MH/NS). As already recognized by Hackstein (2004a:351 with n. 7), the order demonstrative followed by interrogative in sentences with ‘be’ (overtly expressed or not) is normal for so-called “*wh*-in situ languages,” i.e., those without overt “*wh*-movement.” In 2004 he and everyone else assumed that Hittite had *wh*-movement, but we now know that it actually does not, so the attested word order in such interrogative sentences is in fact the typologically expected one (on Hittite as a *wh*-in-situ language see Goedegebuure 2009 and Huggard 2011).

Suppression of the resumptive interrogative clause (not shocking in the context of emotionally charged spoken language, see Hackstein 2004a:352 n. 9) would result in an expression formally identical with a relative, but functionally with an interrogative force inherited from the complete biclausal structure.

There are, however, two features of the Hittite compound interrogative *kī kuit* that cannot be accounted for by this derivation. Readers will have noticed that all examples are limited to: (1) the neuter nominative-accusative singular; (2) the near-deictic pronoun *ka-*. Neither of these restrictions applies to the compound interrogatives formed from reduced clauses in Greek, Hebrew, Tocharian, and other languages described by Hackstein (2004b:270–83). More crucially, neither applies to the relative structures that would by this scenario have been the source of the compound interrogative. For the far-deictic pronoun we may cite nom. sg. comm. *aši kuiš* (KUB 5.22:19 and KBo 2.2 iii 30), acc. sg. comm. *uni kuin* (KBo 5.8 iii 24), nom. pl. comm. *uniuš kuiēš* (KUB 14.20 i 7), and nom.-acc. pl. neut. *eni kue* (KUB 5.1 iii 19); for the near-deictic pronoun see acc. sg. comm. *kūn kuin* (KUB 21.36:11 et alibi), nom. pl. comm. *kūš kuiēš* (KBo 2.5 ii 4), and acc. pl. comm. *kūš kuiēš* (KUB 19.6 iv 38). We would therefore expect to find at least one example like: *†kūn kuin antuḫšan ūḫḫi* “Who is this person I see?” or “What kind of person do I see?” (perhaps with an implication that the person appears strange or frightening).

On the other hand, I assert that both of these restrictions are immediately explained if we assume that *kī kuit* originated as a near-deictic adverb **kī* ‘here’ plus the interrogative *kuit* ‘what?’ As already indicated above, the deictic force of *kī* in all of the examples cited is not local in the sense of proximal versus distal, nor is it cataphoric in the sense of textual deixis. It is rather situational: it underscores that the event or action described took place in spatial proximity to the speaker *and* temporal proximity to the time of the utterance. Furthermore, the reference is not to a person or object, but to an event or action, whence the limitation to neuter nominative-accusative singular.⁴

One can in fact felicitously translate all occurrences of *kī kuit* rendering *kī* as ‘here’. Hackstein (2004a:351) quite reasonably renders example (13) as: “Was hast du da nur getan!” Likewise: “What monstrosity have I given birth to here?!” (8); “What monstrosity are you singing here?!” (9); “What have I done here?!” (10); “What has happened here?!” (11); “What have they been doing here?” (12); “What have you (plural) done here?!” (14).

I do not, of course, remotely mean to suggest that ‘here’ could have been the synchronic analysis of the *kī* of *kī kuit* by a Hittite native speaker. The incorporation of *kī* into the pronominal paradigm as the neuter nominative-accusative singular had long since taken place by our oldest attested Hittite, and ‘here’ was expressed by *kā*, both ‘here’ and ‘hither’. For Hittite speakers *kī kuit* was a fixed phrase used to form questions, often but not always rhetorical, that usually expressed puzzlement, shock, or dismay at some recent or current event.⁵

While my proposed derivation accounts for the meaning and restricted form of *kī kuit*, one may in the face of a grand total of eight examples from the entire Hittite corpus legitimately question whether its token frequency was high enough to motivate incorporation of *kī* into the pronominal paradigm at the expense of **kāt* inherited from Proto-Anatolian.

I believe that the rarity of *kī kuit* is misleading, an artifact of the nature of our available evidence. I point out first that the contexts in which it is attested are all dialogic, directly so in five instances with complete context. In the case of (8) and (10) we may speak of inner dialogue—the speaker is commenting to her- or himself on the event referred to. However, our attested Hittite texts from the state bureaucracy are mostly either narrative (annals, *res gestae*, the historical preambles of treaties, and myths) or prescriptive (laws, edicts, instructions for officials, the provision portions of treaties, and outlines of how to perform the state cult or therapeutic rituals). Opportunities for dialogue in Hittite texts are few. It is not accidental that examples (8) and (11) are drawn from myths, and (9) and (10) from Old Hittite narratives that also contain dramatic episodes. Example (13) is from a letter sent to a subordinate by a commander who permitted himself to use the *kī kuit* construction as a reprimand, but such rhetoric would likely not have been considered optimal in letters between officials.

We have many Hittite prayers, which represent dialogue, though a one-sided one, since

⁴One could object that in examples (8) and (9) the reference is to an object, the sons and the song respectively, but these are merely the results of the action referred to. It may also not be coincidental that these are precisely the two examples where *kī kuit* has been extended by the pejorative noun *walku(w)an*, which unavoidably concretizes the reference.

⁵For this pragmatic force of ‘here’ in questions one may compare English “What is going on here?” or “What is *he* doing here?”

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they represent only the words directed towards the gods, not their response. However, most Hittite prayers are either hymns of praise or are supplicatory pleas and thus are again not appropriate for the use of *kī kuit*. The sometimes argumentative and complaining tone of Muršili’s plague prayers is famously exceptional, whence our one example from a prayer, (14).

I assert, however, that Hittite children did not learn their native language from written bureaucratic documents, but rather from live informal dialogue, and I do not think it is too far-fetched to suppose that sentences like *kī kuit iyaš* “What have you done here?!” were not rare in the speech of Hittite caregivers. Genuine informational questions such as *kī kuit (kišrī) ḫarmi* “What am I holding here (in my hand)?” or *kī kuit autti* “What do you see here?” would also have been open to reanalysis as “What (is) this I am holding (in my hand)?” and “What (is) this (that) you see?” I therefore find credible the reanalysis of *kī* as neuter nominative-accusative singular ‘this’ and its incorporation into the pronominal paradigm at the expense of **kāt*.

I believe that the so-called “*sá-figé*” construction of Vedic illustrated in (16) provides a parallel for the development that I have claimed for Hittite *kī kuit*:

(16) RV 6.21.12a

sá no bodhi puraetā sugeṣu
 PART us become leader on-easy-paths
 “Become a leader for us on easy paths . . .”

Jamison (1992) convincingly refuted the claim that *sá* in this construction reflected an archaic uninflected sentence connective **só* or an ordinary anaphoric use of the *sá-/tá-* pronoun and suggested a “here and now” deictic value (1992:227). In Klein 1996 our honorand argued based on evidence assembled from half a dozen Indo-European traditions that Vedic *sá-figé* represents a deep archaism, reflecting that **só-/tó-* originally marked *second-person* deixis in a three-way deictic system like that of Latin *hic*, *iste*, and *ille*. In the “*sá-figé*” usage its function was attention-getting: *sá tvám* ‘you there!’ and simple *sá* ‘hey there!’ (ignoring the inappropriate register of the English renderings). Its more widespread use as an anaphoric pronoun was a secondary development of a typologically trivial type (although it is surely already PIE in date).

I find his proposal entirely convincing. There are two points, however, that he does not explicitly address: why is *sá* in this archaic deictic use endingless, and why was it incorporated into the pronominal paradigm precisely as the masculine nominative singular (beside or instead of expected **sós*)? I suggest that the answers are *mutatis mutandis* the same as for Hittite *kī kuit*. The second-person deictic **só* that accompanied and reinforced the second-person pronoun (which could of course be omitted, since the associated verb also marked second person) was a deictic adverb or particle and thus endingless. Since the typical addressee in Vedic hymns is a male deity, reanalysis of the particle **só* when standing alone as a subject pronoun ‘(you) the one over there’ would naturally have been as masculine nominative singular.

It is true, of course, that this reanalysis must have taken place long before Vedic, since not only the secondary development to an anaphoric pronoun, but also the incorporation

of endless **só* into the pronominal paradigm is clearly already Proto-Indo-European. And we may hardly suppose that PIE speakers preferentially addressed male deities in their daily speech. However, since in modern European languages that retained grammatical gender the masculine gender remained the “default” gender well into the twentieth century, I believe we may reasonably assume that it was the default gender in PIE. In any case, an appropriate feminine pendant **séh₂* was created by at least “Core Indo-European.”

I am well aware that the account just proposed for the origin of Hittite neuter nominative-accusative *kī* ‘this’ and PIE masculine nominative singular **só* ‘that’ (originally ‘that by you’) depends on several unverifiable steps and therefore cannot be strictly proven. However, I do maintain that the scenarios presented here are plausible, if we bear in mind the highly restricted nature of the evidence we depend on from ancient corpus languages and remember that the data we have reflects only very imperfectly the spoken language of real speakers that lies behind the texts that have come down to us.

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A Note on Latin Syllables and Anaptyxis

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1. A conspicuous issue in Latin phonology—both as regards its historical grammar and in the synchronic configuration of Classical Latin (CL)—is that of the syllabification of consonant sequences comprising an obstruent (and a stop in particular) followed by a liquid.¹

1.1. In the verse of Old Latin (OL) drama, as is well known, a stop-plus-liquid cluster (*TL*) mostly fails to “make position” after an underlying short vowel—which is to say that the whole string is syllabified as a light open syllable plus tautosyllabic *TL* (= $\check{V}.TL$):

Plautus *că.pram* (*Merc.* 229), *pă.tria* (*Amph.* 650+), *lă.crumantem* (*Amph.* 529+), *flă.grītrībae* (*Ps.* 137), etc.

In CL poetry,² on the other hand, this is much less consistent. Here *TL* is syllabifiable not only tautosyllabically ($\check{V}.TL$), as is normal in OL, but also with a divided *TL* cluster (*VT.L*)—and thus with a heavy syllable:

Vergil *pă.tris* beside *pat.rem* (*Aen.* 2.263), etc.

1.2. The apparent indeterminacy between $\check{V}.TL$ and $\check{V}TL$ that is suggested by these poetic scansions is corroborated for the language itself, as has also often been noted,³ by the evidence of word-stress placement, which famously proceeds in Latin by rules that are crucially dependent upon syllabic weight in the next-to-last syllable and, therefore, upon the syllabification of any $\check{V}CC$ sequence occurring in that position. Quintilian says that he would read *volucrēs* ‘flying’, normally *vólucrēs*, as *volúcrēs* in a verse where the meter requires the CL syllabification *uc.r* and thus creates a heavy penultima. There is also ample but conflicting evidence from Romance outcomes indicating that both $\check{V}.TL$ and $\check{V}TL$ were, at least eventually, realities in Vulgar Latin.⁴

¹See Leumann 1977:20, 22, 150, 242–3 and especially Weiss 2009:67–71 (Chapter 8, paragraph III). See also Sen 2006. For this last reference I thank Andrew Byrd. I also gratefully acknowledge the comments and advice of my colleague Michael Weiss on too many points to note individually. I claim full credit, however, for everything that still needs improvement.

²The chronology is not as clear-cut as this description implies. See, e.g., Weiss 2009:68 with n. 27.

³See especially Weiss 2009:68 with n. 30.

⁴See again Weiss 2009:68–9 with nn. 31–3.

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1.3. Much earlier than literary OL, however, the language underwent the set of sound changes known as “medial vowel weakening,” by which the five distinct etymological short vowels were eventually reduced to three in non-initial, non-final syllables.⁵ In this reduction, moreover, the outcome is determined, more often than not, by whether the syllable in question was open or closed. In open syllables, the default result for all the *Ń*s (but see §2.3 below) is *ĩ*, while in closed syllables **ĩ* remained *ĩ*, but **ę* and **ũ* merged as *ę* and **ũ* and **õ* merged as *ũ*:

<i>*redĩ.tu-</i> = <i>reditus</i> ‘a return’	<i>*hospõ.tiũ-</i> > <i>hospitium</i> ⁶ ‘entertainment of guests’
<i>retę.nē-</i> > <i>retinēre</i> ‘hold back’	<i>*manũ.kā-</i> > <i>manica</i> ‘manacle’
<i>rekā.pi-</i> > <i>recipere</i> ‘get’	

but

<i>*remĩs.so-</i> > <i>remissus</i> ‘sent back’	
<i>antĩs.tet-</i> = <i>antistes</i> ‘priest’	
<i>retęn.to-</i> > <i>retentus</i> ‘restrained’	<i>*rekāp.to-</i> > <i>receptus</i> ‘gotten’
<i>skelęs.to-</i> > <i>scelestus</i> ‘criminal’	<i>*ęetĩs.to-</i> ⁷ > <i>vetustus</i> ‘old’
<i>redũk.to-</i> > <i>reductus</i> ‘brought back’	<i>*ęĩõn.tem</i> > <i>euntem</i> ‘going’ (m. acc. sg.)
<i>enār.mi-</i> > <i>inermis</i> ‘unarmed’	<i>*meditõl.ũĩõ-</i> > <i>meditullium</i> ‘inland region’

1.4. An inconsistent state of affairs surrounding the syllabification of *ŃTL* in Old, Classical, and Vulgar Latin might therefore be expected to be matched by an inconsistent pattern of medial weakenings of *Ń*s before *TL* sequences. And this is not made less likely by the consideration that the syllabification rules in force at the time of medial reduction need not be identical to those that were synchronically productive during the later periods when OL (not to speak of CL) verse was produced, or those—yet different—of the much later era of Vulgar Latin. And it proves to be the case that such inconsistency in medial reduction products is observable—at least at first glance. In some cases, it is the *ŃTL* division of syllables that seems to be reflected in the reduction product:

**entag.ro-* > *integrum* ‘whole’ (OL+)

Elsewhere, however, the weakened short vowel implies *ŃTL* in the preform:

**loidę.klo-* > *ludicrum* ‘an entertainment, source of fun’ (Catul.+)⁸

⁵See Leumann 1977:79–91, Meiser 1998:67–71, Weiss 2009:116–21.

⁶The final-syllable *e* vocalism of the nom. sg. of the underlying *hospes* (obl. *hospit-*) is analogically remade (on the model of other agentives like *perpes*, *perpit-* ‘lasting’ < **pet-*, *antistes*, *antistit-* ‘(high-)priest’ < **stat-*) from expected *hospus* (attested in Paelignian Latin) precisely on the basis of oblique *hospit-* < **hospot-*.

⁷For the stem **ęetus-* cf. OCS *vetuxŃ*, Lith. *vėtušas* ‘old’.

⁸Despite one adjectival form already in OL (*ludicram* [Pl. Aul.]), (**ludicer*), *ludicra*, *-crum* ought to be back-formed to the noun *ludicrum*. That m. nom. sg. **ludicer* is not found, however, is a weaker argument for this conclusion than is the unlikelihood of an adjective in *-cro/-crā-* (< **tlo-/tlā-*). The older adjective to **loidęklom* seems to have been **loidękli-* (neut. sg. in adverbial *ludicrę* [Enn.]). Contrast Sen 2006:146 n. 11.

A Note on Latin Syllables and Anaptyxis

2. The inconsistent and even self-contradictory character of the indications of $\check{V}TL$ vs. $\check{V}.TL$ that are offered by the evidence of vowel reduction outcomes before TL sequences, however, may be largely an illusion.

2.1. The first important point is that forms with etymological $-Tr-$ regularly show the closed-syllable outcome of $*\check{e}$ and $*\check{a}$ and were therefore presumably $-Tr-$:

<i>fūnebris</i> ‘funereal’ < $*-ez.rī-$	<i>accipetrīna</i> ⁹ ‘rapacity’ < $*-pet.rīnā$ - ¹⁰
<i>tenebrae</i> ‘darkness’ < $*-az.rā-$	<i>moletrīna</i> ‘mill’ < $*-et.rīnā$ - ¹¹
<i>cerebrum</i> ‘brain’ < $*-az.ro-$	
<i>scatebra</i> ‘gush of water’, etc. < $*-eb.rā-$	<i>impetrāre</i> ‘successfully entreat’ < $*-pat.rā-$
(< $*-d^hrab_2-$) ¹²	
<i>fulgetrum</i> ‘lightning’ < $*-et.ro-$	<i>obstetrīx</i> ‘midwife’ < $*-stat.rīk-$
<i>triquetrus</i> ‘three-cornered’ < $*-kue.t.ro-$ ¹³	<i>cōnsecrāre</i> ‘dedicate’ < $*-sak.rā-$
	<i>integrū</i> ‘whole’ < $*-tag.ro-$

Exceptions are of two kinds:

a. Instances in which an especially robust (i.e. word or compound) boundary induced $-Tr-$ instead:

reciprocus ‘moving back and forth’ < $*rek^{(w)}e.prok^w o-$ = $*rek^{(w)}e + prok^w o-$.¹⁴

b. Dubious cases (none convincing as evidence for Latin $-Tr-$ at reduction time) like:¹⁵

⁹Pl. *Bac.* 274. See *TLL* s.v.

¹⁰Oblique *accipitr-* to *accipiter* ‘hawk’ has *i* in *-pitr-* by leveling with the nom. See n. 34 on *enubro* ‘inhibenti’, also with an analogically leveled second-syllable vowel.

¹¹*Meretrīx* ‘courtesan’, however, is non-probative with respect to $-Tr$ vs. $-Tr$. It could have etymological $*mere-$ (Weiss 2009:238–9) and medial *e* by the “*alacer/sepeleō* rule” (like *meretod* on both counts; see Sommer–Pfister 1977:89, Weiss 2009:118–9). So also, possibly, *genetrīx* ‘mother’ (despite *genitus*). For if *genitor* does not continue $*\check{g}enb_1-tor-$ but is instead a derivative of *genitus* (*auctus* : *auctor*, etc., etc.), the preform would be $*genetor-$, since *genitus* is an innovation with fairly widely generalized $*-eto-$, the inherited $-to-$ participle to this root being $*(g)nātus$, of course. It might be expected that there would be numerous $-itrīc-$ forms analogically made to verbs with $-itum$ and $-itōr$ -masc. agents. But the only one attested from OL through the Augustan period is *domitrīx*, not found before Vergil.

¹²To *scatēre* (OL) : *scatebra* cf. *terere* : *terebra* ‘drill’, *vertere* : *vertebra* ‘joint’. To *scatēre* (OL, CL) : *scatebra* cf. *latēre* : *latebra* ‘hiding-place’. The formant in *palpebrae* ‘eyelashes’ will scarcely be different. See Serbat 1975:105–11. On \bar{e} , *il-*, *pel-lecebra* ‘means of enticing’ see n. 26 below.

¹³L. $*-kue.tro-$ < $*-kue.tro-$ (and on Latin *dr* > *tr* in general see, e.g., Sommer–Pfister 1977:172, Leumann 1977:198, Meiser 1998:123, Weiss 2009:163). For the root cf. Gmc. $*hwata-$ > OHG *hwaz* ‘sharp’, etc.

¹⁴See de Vaan 2008 s.v. *re-*, *red-* with the reference to Dunkel 1979. See also Forssman 2014:15–6 and passim.

¹⁵The case of *arbiter*, *arbitr-* ‘witness, judge’ (Pl.+) with derivatives *arbitrium*, *arbitrari*, etc. is useless for our purposes. The pre-reduction quality of the the second-syllable vowel is unknown, and the $-i-$ that appears there might even have arisen in the open syllable of the (preform of) nom. sg. *arbiter*—if medial weakening followed at least one episode of $-Crās$ > $-Cās$ > $-Cer$ reduction in final syllables, as is possible. Cf. nn. 10 and 34.

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calcitrāre ‘kick’, *calcitrō*, *-ōn-* ‘that kicks’ and *tālitrūm* (or *-us*) ‘a knuckle-strike’ (: *tālus* ‘knuckle’)¹⁶ *tonitrus* ‘thunder’¹⁷ *ianitricēs* ‘brothers’ wives’¹⁸ *pullitra* ‘young hen’¹⁹

2.2. When it comes to *-V̄TIV-*, however, there seem to be no examples of closed-syllable weakening of the *V̄*.²⁰ Examples of what we do find—i.e. open-syllable treatments—are (with idealized preforms):

<i>vehiclom</i> ‘conveyance’ < * <i>uehe.klo-</i> ,	<i>ūtib(i)lis</i> ‘serviceable’ < * <i>oite.bli-</i> ,
<i>curriculum</i> ‘course’ < * <i>korre.klo-</i> , etc.	<i>terrib(i)lis</i> ‘frightening’ < * <i>terre.bli-</i> , etc.
	(* <i>-dʰli-</i>)
<i>lūdicrum</i> ‘source of fun’ < * <i>loide.klo-</i>	<i>prostib(u)lum</i> ‘prostitute’ < * <i>-sta.blo-</i>
	(< * <i>-dʰlo-</i>) and <i>prostib(i)lis</i> ‘available as a
	prostitute’ < * <i>-sta.bli-</i> (* <i>-dʰli-</i>)
<i>lūdibrium</i> ‘plaything’ < * <i>loide.blijo-</i>	<i>difficilis</i> ‘difficult’ < * <i>-fa.kli-</i>
(* <i>-dʰlijo-</i>)	

The evidence divides in three for present purposes: (1) **-V̄klo-*, (2) the **-V̄TIV-* sequences **-V̄kli-* and **-V̄bIV-*, and (3) **-V̄pIV-*.²¹

2.2.1. The nouns in *-iculum* are a convenient enough place to begin.

a. It is first of all possible to conclude that the *-i-* in this morphological class does not

¹⁶Virtual hapax *tālitrūm* ‘a knuckle-strike’, represented only by abl. *talitro* in Suetonius (until its accusative *talitrum* occurs once in Erasmus), has no independent value, since it is practically inevitable that its *-itr-* repeats, in one scenario or another, that of earlier and much better attested *calcitrāre* (Cic.+) ‘kick’ (plus *calcitrō*, *-ōn-* [Pl.+]) ‘that kicks’. The derivational history and morphology of *calcitrā-* and *calcitrōn-*, however, are not at all clear themselves. In theory, it could be—since they are derivatives of 3rd-declension *calc-*, *calc-* ‘heel’ (etymology and original stem unclear [LEW 1, DELL and de Vaan 2008, all s.v. *calc-*])—that they had *-i-* in their second syllable all along (though the alleged gen. pl. *calcium* [TLL 3.195 col. 42] is obviously insufficient to establish the word as an actual *i*-stem). It is also possible, however, to make a case for more than one scenario in which the *-i-* would represent a reduction *-i-* in a form that was either remodeled or syncopated long after vowel weakening to give the *calcitr-* that we see here. More than that cannot be accommodated right now. Contrast Sen 2006:153–4.

¹⁷It is positively unlikely that *tonitrus* (Pac., Pl.+) continues a pre-reduction *-V̄trV-*. It may easily represent an already weakened *tonitru-* (: *tonere*) reshaped as *tonitru-* in assimilation to *fulgetrum* ‘lightning’—and cf. acc. pl. *tonitra* (Acc.) pointing to (**tonitrum* (a more thorough imitation of *fulgetrum*)).

¹⁸Since the inherited word was a **-ter-* and not a **-tr̥(k)-* stem (cf. Hom. ε(ι)νάτερες, Ved. *yātar-*, OLith. *jentē*), a **iana-ter-* > **iani-ter-* and a consequent **iani-tēr*, **iani-tr-*, with analogical oblique, may easily have been the basis for the derivation of **ianitr̥-ik-* > *ianitricēs* (gl., lex.). Cf. *māter*, *mātr-* : *mātr̥-ik-* (*mātr̥ix* ‘dam’).

¹⁹Since this word (*hapax* in Varro) is evidently a contrastive term meaning ‘on the young side’ (“...potius uetulis quam pullitris”), what is assumed to be a *-tra* is probably syncopated from *-tera*: cf. relatively frequent *dextrum*, *dextram*, etc. vs. relatively infrequent *dexterum*, *dexteram*, etc. ‘on the right’ in Republican Latin. If, therefore, the *-i-* of *pullitra* is a reduction product at all, the reduction would have preceded the syncope.

²⁰Cases of surface *Tl* in which the *T* ends one compound member and the *l* begins the next (e.g. *abluere* with a heavy first syllable) are, of course, specially conditioned and therefore do not qualify as evidence for *Tl* itself. See Weiss 2009:68 n. 28.

²¹The question of vowel weakening in *-V̄dIV-* sequences is mooted by the assimilation of inherited **-dl-* to *-ll-* (*sella* ‘seat’ [Pl.+]) < **sed-lā-*, etc.; Sommer–Pfister 1977:173, Leumann 1977:199, Weiss 2009:165, etc.). There was regular anaptyxis in *-V̄glIV-* (and in **-nglo-*: *singulī*, *-ae*, *-a* ‘individual’ < **siy-glo-* < **sem-gno-*, *cingulum* ‘belt’, etc.), but the *V̄* before the *-gl-* sequence is in the initial syllable (*fragilis* ‘breakable’) or is long (*coagulum*) or historically a diphthong (*iūgulāns* beside *iūglāns* ‘walnut’) or more than one of these (*rēgula* ‘ruler’) in the available examples. See Sommer–Pfister 1977:112 and especially Leumann 1977:102–3. The fate of **-V̄zl-* in medial syllables is unknown. Examples are lacking, since, e.g., a plausible case for *s*-stem derivatives in **-ez-lā-* as the origin of the Latin nominal *-ēla* type (*loquēla* ‘speech’ [Pl.+], etc.) cannot be made. See also Leumann 1977:312.

reflect an etymological short **i*. For although that would be in accord with the applicable sound laws, it is effectively excluded because no *-iō/-ī-* present (type *capiō*, *capere*) makes an *-iculo-* derivative; and there is no other plausible source of a pre-reduction **-ī-* in these nouns, including the verbal nominals (perf. pass. ptcpl. and “supine”) in *-itum*.²² This, in turn, means that the *-ī-* must be a reduction product.

b. It can also be shown that *-ī-* must have been in place before the advent of the anaptyxis that operated on *-klom* to produce **-kālom* (> *-colom* > *-culum*). Guaranteed Plautine forms like *periculum* (As. 388+), *pōculum* (Cu. 359), *saeculi* (Tru. 13), and *vehicula* (Aul. 167+) beside equally guaranteed *periculum* (Poen. 633+), *ridiculum* (Tru. 263+), and *cubiculum* (Cas. 965+) show that this anaptyxis operated relatively recently and therefore long after medial vowel weakening.^{23, 24}

c. This leaves only the question of whether OL *-iclom* (1) reflects **-ēklom* > *-iclom* by regular open-syllable reduction (i.e. of **-ē.klom*) or (2) in all examples shows an *-ī-* that has been analogically extended to these nouns from elsewhere on the model(s) provided by, e.g., OL *-āt* : *-āclom* (e.g. *piat* : *piāculum*, etc.) = *-īt* (e.g. *vehit*) = X, which would produce *vehiclom* > *vehiculum*, of course. Against the second hypothesis is that it is entirely arbitrary to insist—without any evidence pointing to *-ŷk.l-* at reduction time—that the whole *-iculum* category, which is not very productive in attested Latin,²⁵ arose only after weakening produced *-īt*, etc. from **-ēti*, etc. and then relatively quickly became unproductive. It is consequently preferable to suppose *-ē.klom* > *-iclom* > *-iculum*.

d. This chronology is in any case confirmed, on the face of it, by *lūdīcrum* ‘source of fun’ (whence the back-formed adj. [**lūdicer*,] *lūdīcrā*, *-crum* ‘done in fun’ [Pl. Aul. 626+]) if it continues **loidēklo-*. This form would seem to have undergone (1) open-syllable reduction and then (2) *l...l* > *l...r* dissimilation, since original **ē* would have remained before a *-kr-* (= *k.r-*; cf. §2.1). It would also show that *l...l* > *l...r* preceded *-klom* > **-kālom*, of course. Once again it could be asked whether the *-ī-* of *lūdīcrum* could be analogically transferred here (cf. §2.2.1c just above), but it would also once again be arbitrary to adopt that view.

2.2.2. This brings us to the unique case of *difficilis* ‘difficult’.

²²These go back to **-ēto-* and **-ētu-*. See Weiss 2009:238–9.

²³Additionally noted in this connection is, e.g., the interjection *hercle* beside standard *Herculēs*. See Leumann 1977:102, Meiser 1998:89, Weiss 2009:82 n. 15. Also perhaps worth mention is *Patricolēs* (Enn., Cic. +) < Πατρικολῆς, which could show an open-syllable reduction of an *-ō.kl-* borrowed from Greek before an anaptyctic *-ol-* that is presumably no older than that of *Herc(u)lēs* and *vehic(u)lum*, etc. That some Greek names and other words were borrowed early enough to be subjected to Latin medial reduction is well established; see, e.g., Leumann 1977:74.

²⁴Anaptyxis in *-kl-* is also more constrained. Unsurprisingly, word-initial *kl-* was practically never affected when it became medial in compounds: *proclivis*, etc., *praeclavium*, etc., *reclūdō*, etc. (though we may note for its pure oddity *triclinium* [Varro RR 3.13] for usual *triclinium* ‘dining furniture, dining room’ [: *clīnō* ‘lean’]). Nor did medial *-kl-* get anaptyxis in some unanalyzable words: *cocles*, *coclit-* ‘one-eyed’ (Enn. +), *coelia/coclea* ‘snail’ (Pl. +)—which, even if old Greek loanwords, would have been borrowed in time for the *-kl-* > *-kāl-* that applied to *vehiculum*, etc. It may also be that *-kl-* > *-kāl-* anaptyxis only affected a *-kl-* that preceded the final syllabic nucleus of a word. This would explain *periculum*, *pōculum*, *ridiculum*, *saeculum*, *vehiculum*, etc. and *Herculēs* and *facilis* (§2.2.2), etc. beside the denominative *periclitārī* ‘put to the test, risk’ (Pl. +), *coelia*, and *cocles*, *coclit-* (where the non-anaptyxis would have been generalized to the nom. sg. from all the other forms). Consistent with anaptyxis only before the final syllable is that a *-kŷl-* sequence earlier in a word than that can even be syncopated: *calātor* (Forum Inscr. +) vs. *nōmencātor* (Cic. +) ‘name-reminder’, *nuculeus* (Pl., Cato +) vs. *nucleus* (Cato +) ‘nut kernel, pit’. This positional constraint would also provide a second explanation of the general failure of compounds like *proclivis*, etc., as just above, to show anaptyxis, of course.

²⁵See Serbat 1975:125.

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a. Since the *-fic-* of this familiar form represents etymological *-fāk-* (**fāk-li-* > *facilis*, **fāk-li-* > *difficilis*), it is obvious from the outset that it exhibits a weakening product.

b. It is also clear that this is not a weakening product that has been analogically transplanted here—or not without further doubtful hypotheses like, for example, a synchronic rederivation of anaptyctic *facilis* (as if *faci-li-*) from *facit* (= *faci-t*) and a consequent rederivation of *difficilis* from *X-ficit*, despite the absence of a **difficit*.

c. In the case of **-kli-*, however, it is not possible to demonstrate decisively that medial vowel reduction preceded anaptyxis. Frequent *facilis* ‘easy’ (Enn., Pl. +) and *difficilis* (Pl. +) never have to scan with the disyllabic shape of their preform **(-)fakli-* in OL (which, e.g. in Plautus, shows only *facilem*, *facile*, *facilia*, *facilius*; *difficilest*). And a chronology (unlike that of **-ē.klom*) in which **fakli-* > **fa.kali-* > *-ficili-* is therefore not immediately contradicted by anything—even if there is still no positive evidence at all of *-ųk.li-* at reduction time.

d. But if anaptyxis really predated weakening here (**-fākli-* > **fākali-* > *-ficili-*), it is necessary to assume that anaptyxis in *-klom*, which did not apply before OL, came long after medial reduction, while **-kli-* anaptyxis actually preceded it. That, in turn, could only be aligned with a linguistic reality by an appeal—itself conjectural for this purpose—to the two different allophones of Latin /l/, inasmuch as the relevant classes of forms had *-klom* (with “*l pinguis*”) vs. *-kli-* (with “*l exilis*”). Even that will not work well in the end, however, because of the indications offered, as discussed just below, by the nouns in **-blo-/ *-blā-* (> *-bulum/-bula*) and the adjectives in **-bli-* (> *-bilis*).

e. The result that emerges for *difficilis* is therefore that the economical choice is to adopt the solution predicting the actual form directly (**fā.kli-* > **fikli-* > **fikali-* > *-ficili-*) without marked assumptions about relative chronology that lack positive motivation in any event. And while this entails granting that *-kli-* was apparently subject to earlier anaptyxis than was *-klom*, it does not demand that the interval separating them was centuries long.

2.2.3. As just indicated, the next set of relevant forms comprises the nouns in **-blo-/ *-blā-* (> *-bulum/-bula*) and the adjectives in **-bli-* (> *-bilis*).²⁶

a. For these too, it can be shown that the *-ī-* of the *-ibulum/-ibula* substantives and *-ibilis* adjectives is an open-syllable reduction product.²⁷ That much is clear from instances like *infundibulum* (Cato +) ‘funnel’ (< **fundē-blo-*: *infundere* ‘pour’), *prostibulum* (Pl. +) ‘prostitute’ (< **stā-blo-*: *pro-stitum* ‘offered for sale’ < **stā-to-*), *prostibilis* (Pl.) ‘available as a prostitute’ (< **stā-bli-*), *terribilis* (Enn. +) ‘frightening’ (< **terrē-bli-*: *terrītus* ‘frightened’ < **terrē-to-*), *vendibilis* (Varr. +) ‘marketable’ (< **uēn[om]dā-bli-*: *vendītus* ‘sold’ < **uēn[om]dāto-*) and so forth.

b. It is, to be sure, theoretically possible once again—because monosyllabic **-blo-/ *-blā-* and **-bli-* are nowhere metrically confirmed—to assume anaptyxis before medial reduction, which is to say *-ųbliV-* > *-ų.balV-* > *-ībalV-*. But this makes it necessary to assume both

²⁶On the *-bilis* adjectives see first and foremost Leumann 1977:348–50.

²⁷See Serbat 1975:34. On *ē-*, *il-*, *pel-lecebra* ‘means of coaxing, alluring, enticing’ (Pl. +), which goes with the *-ī-* present *laciō*, *-ere* (simplex P.F. only, but cf. *il-liciō*, *-licere*, *-lexī*, *-lectum/-licitum*, etc. and *laccēsō* [OL+]) see especially Serbat 1975:105–7. The *-ebr-* of *-lecebra* is obviously not a closed-syllable reduction outcome of underlying *laci-*, but rather represents the **-ē-* of **-ēto-* (*-licitum*) suffixed with **-brā-* (cf. *terrītus* : OL *terrīculum/-a* ‘bogey’). Note too, however, that *-lec-* in these nouns does not come from a regular open-syllable reduction either. It would seem that while *-ebra* in these words took its cue from perfectum/supine *-(lic)itum*, as just proposed, the root vocalism *-lec-* was transferred from the alternative form *-lec(tum)*.

(1) that every *-VbIV-* anaptyxis predated medial weakening, which undermines all chance (§2.2.2d) of making *l*-quality responsible for earlier anaptyxis in **-kli-* than in **-kto-*, and (2) that *lūdibrium* ‘object of derision’ (Pl. +) does not show what it would seem to show (i.e. **loidē.blijo-* > **loidiblijo-* dissimilated to **loidibrijo-*), but instead has an *-i-* imported from *lūdi-crum* and/or *lūdi-ficārī*, etc.—an idea that is disfavored by the fact that *lūdibrium*, as the only Latin word with suffixal *-brijo-* (representing **-bli-* or **-blo-* plus *-ijo-*), obviously cannot be regarded as trivially derived from one of these other items on a model provided by analogous pairs of forms.²⁸

c. To mitigate, though still not do away with, the difficulty attaching to an analogical *-i-* in *lūdibrium*, while still assuming *-b.l-*, for whatever reason, at reduction time, it might be supposed that *-ibulum/-ibula* and *-ibilis* all show a weakening product *-i-* analogically transferred from elsewhere (*infundit*, *prostitutum*, *territus*, etc.). But this amounts to the claim that none of these three categories contains a single example of a pre-reduction *-VbIV-* that has simply undergone the sound law(s) which would have applied to the relevant sequence. And that, in turn, would imply the surprising and suspect conclusion that there were no **-blo-/*-blā-* and **-bli-* derivatives to *-V* bases before medial vowel weakening.

d. Once again, therefore, the economical solution is the one that predicts, without extra assumptions, the forms that are in fact found, while encountering no exceptions to explain away. And that, once more, is the theory that the sequence *-VbIV-* was syllabified *-V.bIV-* when medial vowels were reduced.

2.2.4. For **-VplV-*, the picture is largely like what is presented by **-VklV-*. Once again, forms without anaptyxis occur in OL.²⁹ We find, for instance, *-pl-* and *-pul-* side by side in *manipulus/maniplus* ‘handful, (military) company’ (Pl. +) and its derivatives.³⁰ An especially familiar case, moreover, may be that of *populus* ‘populace’ (OL, CL) beside *poplos* (OL only). Here again, it would seem that the anaptyxis was late enough to be definitively dated after medial reduction.³¹ If, then, *dēcipula* (Laev. +) ‘trap’ (: *dēcipiō*, *-ere* ‘deceive’) is a *nomen instrumenti* in simple **-lā-* (type **sed-lā-* > *sella* ‘seat’) and thus reflects **-kap-lā-*, it would

²⁸This view of the matter is not seriously challenged by alleging P.F. *alebria* ‘bene alentia’, i.e. ‘nourishing’ (beside *alibilis* [Varr.] ‘id.’), as an example of a closed syllable outcome of **-ē-* before a *-br-* dissimilated from *-bl-*. It would first of all be unique as such among *-Vbli-* stems (if that is what it is; see below), whether eventually dissimilated or not. In addition, it is apparent that *-ebrā-*, at least, has been very marginally generalized as an innovated unitary derivational formant: cf. *palpebrae* (Caecil. +) ‘eyelashes’ (: *palpāre* ‘stroke’) as in n. 12 above. But the type *alut* (< **-ē-ū-*), *alutum* (< **-ē-to-*) in the perfectum of *alere* ‘nourish’ means that the *-ebr-* of *alebria* can either directly reflect **-ē-bro-/*-ē-brā-* (< **-ē-θro-/*-ē-θrā-*), whence derived **-ē-brijo-*, or be modeled on some other *-itum* : *-ebrum/-ebra* pair that really does reflect this. Leumann (1917:122) traces the form back to an **ales-lī-*. But there is no support for the required **ales-*, and even so, an original **ales-ri-* (type **founes-ri-* > *fūnebris* ‘deadly’) seems no less possible, especially since it cannot be shown that **alesli-* would have dissimilated to **alesri-* before the regular treatment of word-internal **-zl-* (whatever that may have been; cf. n. 19) occurred.

²⁹See Sommer–Pfister 1977:173, Leumann 1977:103, Meiser 1998:89.

³⁰Pl. *Mo.* 1048 guarantees *maniplaris* and *Ps.* 188 *maniplatim*, e.g., while *manipularis* is metrically necessary in *Tru.* 491, e.g.

³¹It may also be noted that anaptyxis in *-pl-* is simply less regular than in *-kl-*: *extemp(u)lō* ‘at once’ (Enn. +), vs. *templum* (Liv. And. +), *exemplum* (Acc., Pl. +), *amplus* ‘abundant’ (Liv. And. +), e.g. The failure of anaptyxis in *poples*, *poplit-* ‘(back of the) knee’ (Acc. +), however, may be comparable to the same failure in *cocles*, *coclit-* (n. 22 above). For a substantive discussion of this point see Fortson 2008:61–4.

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represent **-kǎ.plā-* > **-kipla* > *-cipula* and therefore argue for **-ǃ.plV-* when medial vowel weakening applied.³²

2.3. In the immediately preceding sections (§§2.2.1–2.2.4) evidence of the open-syllable reduction product *ǃ* in medial syllables before *Tl* sequences has been introduced and discussed, with the conclusion drawn on that basis that Latin, at the time when medial weakening occurred, syllabified *-ǃTIV-* as *-ǃ.TIV-*, even while *-ǃTrV-* was realized as *-ǃTrV-* (except when *-ǃ+TrV-* of the right kind conditioned *-ǃ.TrV-*).

But it is a familiar further detail of Latin vowel reduction that a second outcome of medial *-(C)(C)___* is observable as well. As is generally maintained,³³ a *ǃ* in a medial open syllable /___[+labial] became *ǃ* in the first instance.³⁴ This weakening product, spelled both <i> and <u> early on, merged mostly with *ǃ*, but often with *ǃ*:

- *ponti-faks* > *pontufex* (*pontifex* later) ‘priest’, **ǃiti-parā-* > *vituperāre* ‘find fault’, **te(r)stimonijō-* > *testumōnium* (*testimōnium*) ‘witness’, *Λυσίμαχος* > *LVSVMACVS* (*CIL* I² 2393 beside *LVSIMACVS*), etc.
- *mone-mento-* > *monumentum* ‘monument’, **autem-ā-* > *autumāre* ‘mention’, etc.
- *op-kapā-* > *occupāre* ‘grasp’, **man-habijā-* > *manubiae* ‘money from booty’, etc.
- *optomo-* > *optumus* (*optimus*) ‘best’, **kon-tomāk-* > *contumāx* ‘abusive’,³⁵ **uelomos* > *volumus* ‘we want’, etc.

In addition, a back vowel in the initial syllable of the word favors, though does not guarantee, *ǃ* > *ǃ* as the ultimate outcome of such reduced vowels:³⁶

³²It would be illegitimate, of course, to claim that the FCM-final *-i+* of such forms as *multiplex* (: *multus*) ‘numerous’ (Pl. +), *contortiplicatus* (: *contortus*) ‘compounded in an involved fashion’ (Pl.) or *largifluus* (: *largus*) ‘flowing widely’ (Lucr.) shows an open-syllable reduction outcome of *-o-* before *-TIV-* and thus demonstrates that *-ǃTIV-* was in general syllabified *-ǃ.TIV-*. The *-i+* of compounds like these (discussion offered in Lindner 2002:13–22, with a collection of examples 39–42) does in part reflect the open-syllable reduction of stem-final *-ō-* (*armi-ger*, etc.) and *-ū-* (*mani-festus* beside *manu-*)—plus *-i-*, of course (*parti-ceps*, etc.). But Latin has generalized the *-i+* of that (and probably at least one other) origin as the default stem-final of FCMs in general, substituting it for *-ā-* (*libri-pēns*, etc.) and adding it to *C*-stems (*pedit-sequitur*, etc.). As such, a default, *-i+* appears before any number of CC-initial SCMs, including those that start with a CC- sequence that is known to have syllabified medially as *-C.C-* when left to its own devices (*mani-pretium* [Cato +], *ferri-tribūx* [Pl.], *tardi-gradus* [Pac. +], *privi-gnus* [Cic. +], *lecti-sternium* [Pl. *lectisterniator*], etc.). And cases like *multi+plac-* are thus useless as evidence for Latin *-ǃ.TIV-* at reduction time.

³³See Leumann 1977:87–90, Meiser 1998:68, Sommer–Pfister 1977:82 and 88, Weiss 2009:118.

³⁴It is improbable that *ǃ* /___[+labial] > *ǃ* is exemplified also as a closed-syllable weakening. Certainly *manubrium* ‘handle’ (Pl. +) cannot qualify as a case. For although it evidently reflects **man-habrijo-* (= *-(h)ab.ri-*), P.F. (109) *inebrae* ‘inhibitory’ (*inebrae aves, quae in auguriis aliquid fieri prohibent*) makes it clear that the regular treatment of **-hab.ra-*, as expected, was *-(h)ebra-* (while P.F. [76] *enubro* ‘inhibenti’, recording a masc. and neut. form of the same adjectival **enhab-ro-*, simply shows the generalized open second-syllable outcome of masc. nom. sg. **enhabros* > **enhabr(r)* > **enuber*). This means that **man-habrijo-* would have yielded **manebrium*, and that this was reshaped to *manubrium* in simple assimilation to ubiquitous derivational and compositional (and often phonologically unmotivated) *manu-* (itself supported by simplex *manu-* ‘hand’), while its by-form *manibrium* was analogically redone after, e.g., *manicula* ‘handle’ (Pl. +). Cf. n. 10 and contrast Sen 2006:149, 151, 153, 156.

³⁵In addition not only to *contumēlia* ‘abuse’, but to *cortumio* ‘(augural term)’ as well. See especially García Ramón 2007:passim.

³⁶It may be that *ǃ* > *ǃ* was also produced as an open-syllable reduction where it was immediately preceded by *Pol* (P = labial consonant). This hypothesis would make it possible to account for *molucrum*, insofar as it denotes a part of a mill (Festus 141 M), as the reflex of a **molē-tlo-* (: **molē-to-* > *molitum* and cf. nn. 12 and 27 above). And that would imply, in turn, a **ǃolǃ-tli-* (= **ǃolǃ.tli-*) for *volucer*, *volucr-* ‘flying, swift; bird’ (Pac. +), though it would be impossible

auceps, *aucup-* ‘bird-catcher’ vs. *princeps*, *prīncip-* ‘chief’ (both < *-kap-)
monumentum ‘monument’ vs. *alimentum* ‘nourishment’ (both < *-e-mentom)

In the following sections (§§2.3.1–2.3.3) a few cases will be highlighted in which a medial *-ūTL-* sequence may plausibly be explained as an etymological *-Ū.TLV-* of one kind or another that shows the open-syllable $\check{V} > \# > \check{u}$ type of medial vowel weakening

2.3.1. One possible example of this phonological configuration and consequent development may be found in *lūcubrāre* ‘work by lamplight’ (Varr., Cic. +; cf. *lūcubrātiō* [Cato +]). The verb can hardly be anything but denominative to a (*)*lūcubrum* ‘lamp’, which seems to be attested, but very late.³⁷

a. This *lūcubrum*, in turn, is not likely to be a deverbative in *-bro-* (< *-d^hro-) to *lūcēre* ‘shine’,³⁸ since *latēre* ‘hide’ : *latebra* ‘hidden place’ (Pl. +) and *scatēre* ‘gush’ : *scatebra* ‘bubbling spring’ (Acc. +) would appear to show that derivatives of this kind from *-ē-* presents followed a different and more easily explicable pattern.

b. The question would then be whether *lūcubrum* might not reflect a denominative **loukos-ro-*, a reconstruction frequently seen.³⁹ This would be entirely in order from the phonological point of view.⁴⁰ But it creates the problem of accounting for **-os-ro-* here as against the **-es-ri-* presupposed by *fūnebris* ‘funereal, deadly’ (**founes-ri-*).⁴¹ If, perhaps tellingly, *faenus*, *faenor-* ‘interest’, an **-o/es-* neuter that has gone over to *-us*, *-or-* inflection, has *faenebris* ‘lent at interest’ (Liv. +) as its derivative, it would appear that derivation *via* **-ri-* from **-o/es-* neuters used the *-es-* allomorph of the basis until the type became non-productive altogether. A different behavior in putative **-ro-* derivatives of **-o/es-* neuters would be purely conjectural. Most importantly, however, independent evidence of **leuko/es-* in Italic/Latin is entirely lacking.⁴²

c. The analysis of *lūcubrum* as a dissimilated *-bro-* (< **-blo-* (< **-d^hlo-*)) stem derived from *lūcēre* ‘shine’, on the other hand, is perfectly thinkable. It is admittedly not to be adopted without further ado, since deverbatives in **-blo-*, rare in any event (except from *-ā-* presents [type *exōrābula*, *-ōrum* ‘entreaties’ (Pl. +)]), include almost none from *-ē-* presents.⁴³ Nev-

to say whether the vowel reduction took place in a (**uolŭ.tli->*) **uolŭ.kli-* (whence *volucris-*) or in nom. sg. **uolŭ.kar(z)* (< **uolŭ.kris*). Compare and contrast Sen 2006:148–9. It could also be that *colubra* ‘snake’ (OL+) is an example of this treatment if it reflects **k^wolŭ-*, but the etymology and preform are not settled (LEW 1.248, DELL 133–4, Serbat 1975:132–3) and a **k^wolŭ.-blā-* would produce the form without assuming *Polŭ- > Polū-*.

³⁷Isidore (Or. 20.10.8). This evidence of *lūcubrum* is suspect not only because the supposed derivative *lūcubrāre* appears so much earlier than its supposed basis, but also because the gloss given by Isidore is clearly a folk etymology (DELL 373, e.g.). It will not do, however, to conclude that Isidore’s lemma *lucubrum* exists but is independent of *lūcubrāre* (LEW 1.827 with no reason given, Serbat 1975:114), since that would leave its creation inexplicable except by conjecture. Nor is it convincing to support this separation by insisting (Serbat 1975:114) that the **lūc-* of Romance **lūcubrāre* (REW 5150) was original in a **lūcūbrum* (and cf. rather *lūcerna* ‘lamp’ [Pl. +]?).

³⁸De Vaan 2008 s.v. *lūx*.

³⁹See, e.g., LEW 1.287.

⁴⁰See, e.g., Sommer–Pfister 1977:172, Leumann 1977:206–7.

⁴¹The problem of **-os-* vs. **-es-* as the **-o/es-* stem allomorph used for denominal derivation is not solved by the observation that both are found in other cases too, not only in Latin but elsewhere as well—e.g. in **founo/es-* (*fūnus* ‘obsequies’) → **founes-to-* (*fūnestus* ‘funerary, grievous’, etc.) vs. **ono/es-* (*onus* ‘burden’) → **onos-to-* (*onustus* ‘burdensome’).

⁴²**louksmen* (> *lūmen*), **louks(m)nā* (> *lūna*) do not qualify as such evidence: **smen-*, etc. exist independent of *s-* stem derivation (cf. [ex]-*āmen* ‘swarm’ < **ag-smen* [: *exigere* ‘drive out’], etc.; Leumann 1977:114, 208, etc.).

⁴³See Serbat 1975:26–36 and especially 33–6 (on *-ib[u]lum*). From *-ē-* presents are only *patibulum* ‘fork, gibbet, prop,

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ertheless, there would be nothing inherently incongruous about a **loukě-blo-* which was syllabified **loukě.blo-* and developed regularly (*via* weakening and then dissimilation) to **loukubro-*, with the *-u-* furthermore retained as in *vituperā-*, *monumento-*, *occupā-*, *optumo-*, etc. above (§2.3).

d. An account of *lūcubrum* that is more circumstantially satisfying in some ways might base itself on the observation that **-blo-* (> *-bulum*, *-bula* and dissimilated *-brum*, *-bra*) made a certain number of denominative derivatives, at least descriptively speaking, in Latin.⁴⁴ From the point of view of the semantics of certain subgroups of these, however, it is notable that (*)*lūcubrum* ‘lamp’ is highly reminiscent of such apparent denominatives as:

candēlābrum (Cato +) ‘candle stand’ (: *candēla* ‘candle’ [Hem. +]) *tūrībulum* (Cic. +) ‘censer’ (: *tūs*, *tūr-* ‘incense’ [Pl. +])
ignītābulum (P.F.) ‘ignis receptaculum’ (cf. *ignītus* [A. Gell. +] ‘containing fire’)⁴⁵

There would consequently be something to be said for explaining *lūcubrum* as a denominative. Under that heading, **louki-blo-* derived from an *i*-stem **louki-* would come to mind first. In support of recognizing such an *i*-stem, we may point to the expression *luci claro* ‘openly’ (Pl. +)—vs. *prima luce* ‘at dawn’ (Cic., Sall., Varr. +)—which is probative in this regard not because of the abl. ending *-ī*, but because a **louki-* ‘light’ beside the root noun behind *lūx* ‘light’ explains the difference in gender between *lucī* and *luce* while simultaneously providing the most immediate possible source of the *ū* of *lūx*, which, as an *e/zero* root noun from a root in *-EIC*, would very much be expected to have generalized its zero-grade allomorph.⁴⁶ The preform **louki-blo-*, syllabified **loukě.blo-*, would, like **loukě-blo-* above, develop regularly to **loukubro-* > *lūcubrum*. The drawback would be, however, that we cannot be sure that denominatives in *-bulum/ -brum* existed in pre-reduction Latin.

e. Consequently, we might even consider tracing *lūcubrum* back, if somewhat adventurously, to a compound of the form **louki-bro-* (< **-bʰr-o-*) ‘φωσφόρος, giving light’, a verbal governing compound with a descriptively active second compound member (SCM) of the morphologically well paralleled type *R(zero)-o-*.⁴⁷ The *i*-stem first compound member (FCM) presupposed by this hypothesis can be supported by way of *luci claro*, as just above. The SCM **-bʰr-o-* reappears in Latin in **pro-bʰr-o-* > *probrum* ‘reproach’. In *probrum* it has passive or verbal abstract value, but as a general matter, the same compositional morphologies that produce active verbal governing compounds (VGCs) can also characterize passive ones⁴⁸—as well as verbal abstracts, especially when, as here, the FCM is a preverb.⁴⁹ The proposal is therefore that of a **louki + bro-* ‘illuminer’ and thus ‘lamp’—in effect the original

bar’ (Pl. +), if this is really from *patēre* ‘extend’, which is semantically anything but compelling, and *latibulum* ‘hiding-place’ (Cic.) to *latēre* ‘be in hiding’, which, given the failure of *l...l* dissimilation, is patently a neologism for *latebra*.

⁴⁴Serbat 1975:37–42, 43–69.

⁴⁵It seems that *-ābulum* became somewhat productive in its own right: *acētābulum* (Cato) ‘vinegar cruet’ (: *acētum*).

⁴⁶See Nussbaum 1999:403.

⁴⁷Wackernagel 1905:174, Debrunner 1954:69–81 (examples mixed in among simplex *R(zero)-o-* cases), Duchesne-Guillemin 1936:22 (§36) and 66 (§96c), Schwyzler 1939:449, Leumann 1977:394–5, Weiss 2009:272.

⁴⁸Wackernagel 1905:175–6, Scarlata 1999:738–9 and *passim*.

⁴⁹Wackernagel 1905:176–7, Debrunner 1954:73 (e.g.), Scarlata 1999:734–7.

form, substantivized, of *lūcifer*, *-era*, *-erum* ‘light-bearing’ (Acc. +), which is shown to be secondary by its internal *-f*.

Phonologically, the **-ibro-* of this **louki-bro-* should have been syllabified **-ib.ro-* (§2.1). But if there was still a synchronically perspicuous compound boundary at the crucial moment, **louki+bro-* would have conditioned **louki.bro-* (§2.1a) and **-i.bro-* would have developed in well-paralleled fashion to *-u.bro-*, with the *-u-* furthermore retained, again as in *vituperā-*, etc. (§2.3).

2.3.2. What is potentially a second example of the suggested phonology just outlined is supplied by the adjective *lūgubris* ‘mournful’ (Enn. +). Once again, a denominative derivative of an *s*-stem—this time of the shape **lougos-ri-*, to be precise—has been proposed and would encounter no phonological objection.⁵⁰ But also once more, setting up **lougos-ri-* beside **founes-ri-* with no account of **-os-* vs. **-es-* in this corner of the morphology cannot be entirely convincing, and is especially troubling in this case, where **lougos-ri-* and **founes-ri-* not only should be morphologically parallel, but are even close semantic neighbors. In addition, independent evidence of **lougo/es-* in Italic and/or Latin is again missing.⁵¹

As a result, there is good reason to prefer the alternate analysis, in which *lūgubris* is the continuator of **louge.bli-*, which would be a normal deverbative *-b(i)li-* (< **-d^bli-*) adjective to *lūgēre*. Closely comparable to *lūgēre* ‘mourn’: *lūgubris* ‘at which one mourns’ would be, for example, *horrēre* ‘shudder’: *horribilis* ‘at which one shudders’, etc.

Phonologically, this entails the theory that vowel weakening preceded *l...bl > l...br* dissimilation, as was supposed earlier (§2.2.1d, 2.2.3b); and since *l...bl > l...br* dissimilation clearly preceded *-bl- > -bal-* (*-bilis*, *-bulum*) anaptyxis, vowel weakening preceded *-bl- > -bal-*. In accordance with this chronology, **lougebli-* would have been **louġe.bli-* from the start, and **-ġ.bli-* developed to **-#.bli-* as expected. In addition (or in the meantime), however, **-bli-* dissimilated to *-bri-* in this *l*-initial word, and the *#* of eventual **lougubri-* could ultimately merge with *u* (> *lūgubri-*) because dissimilated *-bri-* dissociated this item from the rest of the **-bli-* adjectives, in which a short vowel before the formant was consistently merged with *ĭ* (whence familiar *-ib[i]li-*).

2.3.3. A final instance worth considering of *-Ÿ.TIV-* (with labial *T*) > *-#.TIV-* > *-ŷ.TIV-* requires a discussion of its own, which cannot be accommodated here.⁵² The outlines of the proposal, however, are that Latin *locuplēs* ‘wealthy’—unlikely on various grounds to be a compound, as traditionally maintained, of *locus* ‘place’ and a nominalization of *plē-* ‘fill’ with a meaning like ‘replete with land(s)’—is better traced back instead to an inherited compound of which the FCM was an *i*-stem substantive reconstructable as **(h_s)loġki-* ‘abundance (of goods, property)’ (> Ved. *rāśi-* ‘id.’); the SCM, as in the traditional etymology, was a derivative of **pleh₁-* ‘fill’; and the meaning was simply ‘replete with an abundance (of goods, property)’.

On the basis of what has emerged from the present discussion, it would seem justified

⁵⁰ See LEW 1, DELL and (more agnostically) de Vaan 2008, all s.v. *lūgēō*.

⁵¹ So too Leumann 1917:122. LEW (1.830) remarks that *lūgubris* is “cher aus **lugos-ris* [recte: **leugos-ris/ *lougos-ris*] als aus **lūge-blis* [recte: **louge-blis*], vgl. Leumann -lis 52. 122.” But no argument is offered against Leumann’s actual—and perfectly cogent—contention, which is that “...*lūgubris* versteht sich eher als instrumentale Ableitung auf *-bilis*, *-bris* von *lugere*, denn als Ableitung von einem unbelegten Neutrum **lugus*...”

⁵² This is given in Nussbaum 2016.

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to suppose that an early, pre-reduction **loki+plēt-*, with not only a presumable default *-pl-* but also as a morphological **loki+plēt-* with a compound boundary before synchronically transparent *-plēt-* (: *-plē-* ‘fill’), would have been syllabified **loki.plēt-*. This, in turn, would have been eligible for the *CV̆. > C#.* treatment before the markedly labial and rounded sequence *pl* (i.e. *p* plus “*l pinguis*”) and thus to have resulted in *lok#*. The eventual merger of *#* in this word with *ŭ*, as happened also in *vituperā-*, *occupā-*, *manubiae*, etc., as above (§2.3), would naturally have been favored by the first-syllable back vowel of *locu-* as well.

3. The results of the discussion just presented can be summarized as follows.⁵³

3.1. Since etymological *-V̆TrV-* sequences regularly show the closed-syllable Latin reduction outcome, there seems little doubt that they were syllabified as *-V̆TrV-* at the relatively early moment when medial short vowels underwent weakening (§2.1): *integrum*, etc.

3.2. It appears to be rather clear, on the other hand, that *-V̆kV-* was syllabified *-V̆.kV-* for purposes of medial reduction, thus got the normal open-syllable treatment in its initial *-V̆-*, and was subjected to *-kV- > -kəV-* (> *-colV-* > *-culV-*) anaptyxis only much later (§§2.2–2.2.1): *vehic(u)lum*, etc.

3.3. The less extensive evidence bearing on *-V̆pV-* suggests that the developments were parallel to those observed for *-V̆kV-* (§2.2.4), which is to say *-V̆.pV-* syllabification, open-syllable reduction to *-#pV-*, and later—though less regular—anaptyxis to *-#pəV-* (> *-ūpəV-* / *-īpəV-* > *-ūpuV-* / *-īpuV-*): *manip(u)lus*, etc. But the situation is less clear because of the absence of any sizable morphological class of *-V̆pV-* forms comparable to the one constituted by the *-V̆kV-* nouns. Reliable instances of *-V̆pli-*, moreover, seem to be lacking.

3.4. The least perspicuous groups of cases are those showing etymological *-V̆kli-*, *-V̆bli-*, and *-V̆btV-* (§§2.2.2–2.2.3): *difficilis*, *prostibilis*, *infundibulum*, etc. For although these classes of instances show no closed-syllable weakening products at all in their initial *V̆*s, it is not possible to rule out decisively a chronology in which anaptyxis actually preceded medial

⁵³The question of Latin *TL* was addressed relatively recently in Sen 2006. Sen’s discussion, which considers much of the evidence and provides very useful accounts of previous analyses (especially Bernardi Perini 1974 and Hoenigswald 1992), proposes that Latin had default *TL* for purposes of vowel weakening, while *+TL* was syllabified *.TL* instead.

In the end, however, there is, as we have seen, no outcome to attribute to *T/* at all, and no case of *+Tr → .Tr* (as few as such supposed cases are in the first place) that it is not easy or even tempting to explain in other and simpler ways—i.e. (a) as showing etymological **-t-* rather than reduction *-t-* or (b) as showing a dissimilated *Tr* that was *.TL* at the relevant moment or (c) as resulting from a latter-day rearrangement of a form that has ordinary reduction *-t- < -V̆- / __.CV-* or (d) as analogical in some other way.

The account advocated here is briefly raised as a possibility (Sen 2006:155–6), but is set aside as lacking phonological motivation. This seems to reflect an implicit preference for what might be expected in the phonological abstract over what yields the simplest and most economical solution (so too Sen 2006:155–6 [§4.3]). This choice, moreover, is combined with a disinclination to consider alternatives to the conventional morphological analyses, and thus the preforms, habitually offered by the handbooks for the Latin forms crucial to this problem. The consequence is an overall picture that includes an “*R-reduction*” rule (Sen 2006:157–8) that is not only unnecessary (as above), but also lacks immediate plausibility (Sen 2006:157) unless it is further constrained (Sen 2006:158), and even then appears not to account for all the data (with *manu/i.brium* and *tālī.trum* vs. *palpe.bra* in the analyses offered [Sen 2006:158]). It also requires an ability to distinguish more synchronically robust purely suffixal morpheme boundaries from others that are less so in a way that cannot be convincingly done for reduction-time Latin—or at least not by projecting indications of synchronic analyzability from attested Latin back to the moment when vowels weakened (Sen 2006:157), and still less if the argumentation also appears to need things both ways in some respects (Sen 2006:156–7). But the idea of “*TL* unless *+TL* (in which case *.TL*)” is all but ruled out in any case, if I see things aright, by the case of *difficilis* (§2.2.2 above), which certainly reflects *-kl-*, but also *-k+l-*.

vowel weakening—and thus a scenario in which the consistent open-syllable reduction simply happened in a straightforwardly open syllable created by anaptyxis (e.g. *-ŷbli-* > *-ŷbali-* > *-ibili-*). This early-anaptyxis chronology does have drawbacks (§§2.2.2d, 2.2.3b–c), however, and it is at least simpler (§§2.2.2e, 2.2.3d) to operate with *-ŷkli-*, *-ŷbli-*, *-ŷblV-* syllabification; open-syllable weakening to *-ikli-*, *-ibli-*, *-iblV-*; and then anaptyxis, as was demonstrably the syllable division and development in *-ŷklV-* and *-ŷplV-* in any event. Finally, moreover, *-ŷblV-* > *-iblV-* would be assured if *lūgubris* and the (*)*lūcubrum* of *lūcubrāre* reflect **longē.bli-* (§2.3.2) and **loukē.blo-* (§2.3.1c), respectively.

Abbreviations

- DELL* = Ernout, A., and A. Meillet. 1959. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*. 4th ed. Paris: Klincksieck.
- LEW* = Hofmann, J. B. 1938–54. *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Heidelberg: Winter.
- REW* = Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. 1935. *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Sommer–Pfister = Sommer, Ferdinand. 1977. *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*. Vol. 1, *Einleitung und Lautlehre* by Raimund Pfister. Heidelberg: Winter.
- TLL* = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Stuttgart and Leipzig (1900–1999), Munich and Leipzig (2000–).

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Altindisch *Agní-* ‚Feuergott‘ und hethitisch ^d*Agni* / ^d*Akni-**

N O R B E R T O E T T I N G E R



1. Über den Feuergott *Agní* wird in Rigveda 1.140,2 folgendes gesagt:

*abhi dvijānmā trivṛd ānnam rjyate samvatsarē vāvṛdhe jagdhām ī pūnaḥ anyāsyāsā
jibhṛya jényo vṛṣā ny ānyena vanīno mṛṣta vāraṇāḥ*

„Der, der zweifache Geburtsstätte hat, wird ausgestreckt auf dreifältiges Essen. Nach dem Jahresablauf ist das, was (von Agni) gefressen worden war (*jagdhām*), wieder nachgewachsen. Mit dem Mund, der Zunge des einen ist er der häusliche Stier. Nieder streicht mit dem anderen der wilde (Elefant) Waldbäume mit sich.“¹

1.1. Witzel und Gotō (2007:702) sind, wie schon Sāyaṇa, der Meinung, *dvijānmā* ‚zweifache Geburt habend‘ beziehe sich darauf, dass der Feuergott durch zwei Reibhölzer hervorgebracht wird. Es bezieht sich aber, trotz des vordergründigen Zahlenspiels mit ‚zwei‘ und ‚drei‘, wohl vor allem auf die im letzten Teil der Strophe geschilderte zweifache Natur dieses Gottes als häusliches Herdfeuer hier und Waldbrand dort. Diese beiden Naturen, nämlich die vom Menschen beherrschte als Zentrum des Hauses und die unbeherrschbare als Buschfeuer, werden im Rigveda überaus oft beschrieben. Textstellen für die erstere Funktion² sind über den Sachindex bei Geldner 1951–7 leicht zu finden, und eine Aufzählung hier würde den Jubilar als echten Kenner des Rigveda vermutlich nur langweilen. Auf die letztere werden wir noch zurückkommen.

2. Wenden wir uns aber nun dem Hethitischen zu, wo ein Gott existiert, dessen Wortstamm in der Keilschrift ^d(*A-*)*ag/k-ni-(i)*-³ geschrieben wird. Das Schriftzeichen AK/G ist ambivalent, weshalb man den Gott in *Scriptio continua* wahlweise als ^d*Agni-* oder ^d*Akni-*

*Für wertvolle Hinweise danke ich Peter Jackson und Craig Melchert. Die Verantwortung für das Geschriebene liegt natürlich bei mir.

¹So nach Witzel und Gotō 2007:261, ähnlich Jamison und Brereton 2014:314.

²Ein Beispiel aus vielen ist die Bezeichnung von *Agni* als Gast im Hause (*ātithir duronē*) RV 5.4.5.

³Für die Belege s. van Gessel 1998:8. Es sei darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die Schreibungen ein Paradigma mit Sg.Nom. ^d*A-ag/k-ni-iš*, Gen. ^d*Ag/k-ni-ia-aš* und Dat. ^d*Ag/k-ni-i* zeigen. Daher ist das Wort offenbar im Hethitischen in den Fortsetzer der idg. amphikinetischen Flexion eingeordnet worden. Die Flexion war also: Sg.Nom. /āgnis/, Dat. /agní/. Nebenbei zeigt dies, dass dieser Flexionstyp im 15. Jahrhundert noch produktiv war, denn früher kann das Wort nicht ins Hethitische gelangt sein; s. im Folgenden.

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wiedergeben kann, je nachdem, welche Lautung man für die wahrscheinlichere hält. Aus Gründen, die sich im Folgenden ergeben werden, ist m.E. die erstere Lautung wahrscheinlicher. Für die Funktion des Gottes relevanten Kontext bieten vor allem zwei einander sehr ähnliche Textstellen von Omina, von denen nur der erstere etwas besser erhalten ist; vgl. Riemschneider 1970:44f. Sie lauten:

KUB 8.28 Vs. 14–6:

ták-ku I-NA ITU¹.9.KAM AN-ni-in-ga-aš ni-ni[-ik-zi]

[KU]R-e ku-it¹ Û-UL za-ab-bi-ia-at-ta-ri []

[]na-at ⁴A-ag/k-ni-iš ka-ra-a-pí

„Wenn im 9. Monat erscheint², das Land, das nicht in den Krieg zieht[], das wird Agni fressen.“

KUB 8.28 Rs. 6–7:

ták-ku-za I-NA ITU¹.10.KAM [AN-. ša-ki-ia-ab-zi]

⁴A-ag/k-ni-iš k[a-ra-a-pí]

„Wenn im 10. Monat [. ein Vorzeichen gibt]; Agni wird fr[essen].“

Dardano (2006:156f.) transkribiert KUB 30.55 Rs.³ 6 als: I ṬUP-PU ⁴ŠUR-ga-aš ni-ni-in-ku[-ua-aš. Sie übersetzt: „Eine Tafel: (Vom) Losbrec[hen] des göttlichen Regens[⁴]. KUB 8.28 Vs. 14 (s.o.) transkribiert sie als: *ták-ku I-NA UD¹.IX^{KAM} ⁴Ni-in-ga-aš ni-ni[-ik-zi]* und übersetzt: „Wenn im 9. Monat der göttliche Regen losbri[cht]. . .“ (Dardano 2006:159).

Sie betrachtet also ⁴Ningas als hethitische Lesung von ⁴ŠUR-gas, dem göttlichen Regen. Man kann annehmen, dass es beim Ausbruch eines Gewitters, bei dem es ja heftig blitzte, zu Waldbränden kam. Zu Recht übersetzt Dardano *ninikzi* mit ‚bricht los‘ und nicht im Sinne von Puhvel 2007:116 mit ‚(rainstorm) soaks‘. Das Verbum *ninink-* hat semantisch nichts mit Flüssigkeit zu tun. Das Auftreten dieses Verbums im Kontext mit ⁴Ninga- dürfte auf einem Wortspiel beruhen.⁴

3. Für Verwandtschaft von ⁴Agni mit ai. *Agni* sprach sich Mayrhofer aus (vgl. Riemschneider 1970:43), gegen sie Kammenhuber (1968:154). Durch den Vergleich mit babylonischen Omina kam dann Riemschneider zu der Annahme, dass der hethitische ⁴Agni in Omina dem babylonischen Gott *Nergal* entspreche, der kein Feuergott gewesen sei, und folgerte daraus: „Seine Herleitung vom altindischen Feuergott *Agni* ist damit als unwahrscheinlich anzusehen“ (1970:48). Noch einen Schritt weiter ging dann Kammenhuber in ihrem *Hethitischen Wörterbuch*:⁵ „⁴Akni- . . . ohne Beziehung zu ai. *agni* ‚Feuer(gott)‘“. Haas erwähnt ⁴Agni in seiner über tausend Seiten umfassenden *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Haas 1994) gar nicht. Nergal ist unter anderem Gott der Seuchen und später Herr der Unterwelt (1994:366). Und in der Tat könnte auch der hethitische ⁴Agni diese Funktionen gehabt haben; vgl. das Ritual KBo 11.14 II 20–I (13. Jh.):

⁴Freundlicher Hinweis von Craig Melchert.

⁵Friedrich und Kammenhuber 1975– (sub verbo).

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^{NA}ARÀ-za-kán GIM-an kap-pí-iš iš-pár-ti-i-e-iz-zi (21) EN.SISKUR-kán ^dA-AG/K-NI KA×U-za QA-TAM-MA iš-pár-ti-id-du

„Wie eine Kleinigkeit dem Mahlstein entkommt, so soll der Opfermandant dem Mund *Agnis* entkommen!“

(Der Text fährt fort: „Wie das Hinterrad das Vorderrad nicht einholt, so soll der Unheilstag den Opfermandanten nicht finden!“)⁶ Da es sich um ein Ritual gegen „schwierige Jahre“ des Opfermandanten handelt, dürfte *Agni* hier entweder als Krankheitsgott oder Unterweltsgott fungieren. Der Gott ist also im Sinne einer *Interpretatio anatolica* mit Nergal gleichgesetzt worden.

Wie aber steht es mit weiteren Funktionen der beiden? B. Hrozný, den Riemschneider (1970:48 Anm. 66) auch nennt, hatte darauf hingewiesen, dass *Nergal* in einem zweisprachigen sumerisch-akkadischen Hymnus als akk. *girru ezzu* = sum. [^dGIŠ].bar.ra.šúr.ra ‚wütendes Feuer‘ bezeichnet wird. Diese Charakterisierung Nergals ist auch nicht so isoliert, wie Riemschneider annahm, denn der obermesopotamische *Nergal* ist unter anderem auch Gott der Sonnenhitze (Haas 1994:366). Zur Sonnenhitze aber passt in Obermesopotamien und Nordsyrien durchaus das „wütende Feuer“, nämlich der Busch- und Steppenbrand, wie wir noch sehen werden. In den Omina könnte es sich daneben auch um den von eindringenden Feinden gelegten Brand von Dorf und Feldern handeln. Wenn aber *Nergal* einerseits dem hethitischen ^d*Agni* entspricht und andererseits als „wütendes Feuer“ erscheinen kann, dann kann das auch für ^d*Agni* selbst gelten. Vgl. auch oben §2 zum Auftreten von Waldbrand als Folge von Gewitter. Wir haben nun die Wahl: Entweder wir nehmen an, dass ^d*Agni* nur die beiden Funktionen eines Seuchengottes und Unterweltsgottes besaß, oder dass ihm auch die dritte Funktion des Nergal, nämlich das „wütende Feuer“, eigen war. Angesichts der Identität des Namens (*Agni*) zwischen Anatolien und Indien ist letzteres wohl wahrscheinlicher. Ein zusätzliches Argument ergibt m.E. die Phraseologie. Kehren wir deshalb noch einmal zu den heth. Textstellen zurück, um festzustellen, mit welchen Subjekten das Verbum, zu dem die dortige Verbalform *karāpi* ‚frisst, verschlingt‘ gehört, sonst noch vorkommt.

4. Da gibt es zunächst den metaphorischen Gebrauch wie im sprachlich althethitischen Telipinu-Erlass Vs. II 70–3, wo gesagt wird: „Wenn wieder jemand Böses tut . . . , so verzehrt (*karipten*) ihn euch mit den Zähnen!“ (Hoffmann 1984:38) und Vs. I 21f. „Als aber später die Diener der Prinzen falsch wurden, begannen sie deren Haushaltungen aufzufressen“ (*karipūwan dāir*; vgl. Hoffmann 1984:38, 17). Da der Verzehr menschlicher Eingeweide als unmenschlich bzw. tierisch galt, wurde auch er durch *karap/karep*- ‚fressen‘ bezeichnet,⁷ so etwa in der Vorstellung, dass die übertretenen Eide im Inneren des Eidbrüchigen fressen sollen⁸ (*karipandu*). Darüber hinaus finden sich nur noch Kontexte wie die folgenden:⁹ Ein Wolf frisst, ein Hund frisst,¹⁰ Ameisen fressen, Heuschrecken fressen (die Ernte), eine

⁶Vgl. Collins 2013:66f. ^dA-AG/K-NI KA×U-za ist akkadoide Schreibung und verkürzt für ŠA ^dA-AG/K-NI KA×U-za, hethitisch gesprochen: /Agniās issaz/.

⁷So z.B. in KUB 30.49 IV 22–4.

⁸KUB 6.24 III 23, sprachlich mittelhethitisch; s. Oettinger 1976:13. Das Objekt stand möglicherweise in der Lücke.

⁹Belege bei Puhvel 1997:72.

¹⁰Diskussion bei Neu 1996:177.

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Krankheit frisst die Ernte, die Landbevölkerung frisst die reife Ernte (auf). Vgl. auch „Vor Hunger hätten euch die Hunde gefressen“ (*man... karēpir*) KBo 14.1 Vs. 11 (Madduwattas).

5. Die Tätigkeit von heth. *karap/karep-* ‚fressen‘ wird also vor allem von Tieren ausgeübt, aber, abgesehen von den personifizierten Eiden, nicht von Göttern. Insofern ist also der Gott Agni hinsichtlich seines „Fressens“ isoliert, erinnert aber andererseits an den vedischen Agni, wie er in RV 1.140,2 (s.o. 1.) sowie auch in RV 6.6,2 beschrieben wird:

yāh pāvakāh purutāmah purūni pṛthūny agnir anuyāti bharvan

„... Agni, der Lautere, der unter Vielen der Erste die vielen, breiten (Flächen) fressend entlang zieht“ (Geldner 1951–7:II,98); „... the pure one, the latest fire of many, who travels along many broad expanses as he devours.“ (Jamison und Brereton 2014:II,779).

Der vedische und der hethitische Agni sind also beide Fresser des Landes.

Nun könnte man gegen die Idee eines Gottes des Waldbrandes in Anatolien vielleicht einwenden, dass dort der Waldbrand nie eine so zentrale Rolle gespielt haben kann wie im ursprünglich großenteils von Urwald bedeckten Indien. Aber auch in Indien ging es nicht nur um Waldbrand, sondern auch um den von Gras und Feldern. Vgl. RV 3.29,6 (an Agni): „Unaufhaltsam wie der prächtige (Wagen) der Aśvin auf der Fahrt, verschont er die Steine, das Gras verbrennend“ (Geldner 1951–7:I,362; ebenso Witzel in: Witzel, Gotō, und Scarlata 2014:50); ferner RV 6.6,4 (an Agni) „Your flaming flames, o possessor of flame (*śuciṣmah*), which shear the earth...“ (Jamison und Brereton 2014:II,799) sowie RV 5.7,7, ebenfalls an Agni gerichtet: „Denn die Steppe (*dhānvan-*), das bewohnte Land, mäht er wie ein Mäher...“ (Scarlata in: Witzel, Gotō, Scarlata 2014:227). Der indische Agni ist also auch der Gott des Steppenbrandes. Damit entfällt auch dieses letzte potentielle Argument gegen die Verwandtschaft des hethitischen Agni mit seinem vedischen Namensvetter.

6. Ist somit die Tatsache der Verwandtschaft selbst gesichert, so bleibt noch ihre Art zu bestimmen. Laroche (1973:184) betrachtete Agni als hethitisches Erbwort aus der indogermanischen Grundsprache, während Mayrhofer (1982:78) sich zu der Frage, ob der Gott ererbt oder letztlich aus dem Indo-Arischen von Mit(t)anni entlehnt sei, so äußerte: „Es scheint mir richtig, das Problem offenzuhalten.“ Wenden wir uns daher dem Indogermanischen zu.

Während manche Forscher für das in ai. *agnī-* fortgesetzte Wort mit einem idg. akrostatischen Paradigma Nom.Sg. **h₁ógni-s*, Gen. **h₁égni-s* ‚Feuer‘ rechnen,¹¹ haben andere darauf hingewiesen, dass sich lit. *ugnis* f., lett. *uguns* m./f. und aksl. *ognь* m. ‚Feuer‘ besser erklären lassen, wenn man uridg. **H₂gn^m-* ansetzt, das sich dann zu urbaltoslavisch **ungni-* entwickelt hat.¹² Wenn man von diesem m. E. wahrscheinlichsten Ansatz ausgeht, so zeigt sich schnell, dass der hethitische Agni nicht aus dem Indogermanischen ererbt sein kann, weil ein

¹¹Vgl. die Lit. bei Klockhorst 2014:157 mit Anm. 68, der aber selbst für den Ansatz **h₁gn^m-* plädiert.

¹²Hamp 1970. Weitere Lit. bei Derksen 2008:364. Auf einen neueren Artikel von G.-J. Pinault zum Thema weist mich Sergio Neri dankenswerterweise hin (Pinault 2012). Dort wird unter Einbeziehung der hochlettischen Dialektvariante *guns* neben lett. *uguns* ‚Feuer‘ ein ehemaliger Gen.Sg. **kn-ēj-s* von der Wurzel **ken-* ‚schlagen‘ angesetzt, der sich lautgerecht weiter zu **gn-ēj-s* ‚des Feuers‘ (vgl. ai. *agnēh*) entwickelt habe (Pinault 2012:217–2). Eine solche lautliche Entwicklung wäre allerdings relativ ungewöhnlich.

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**Hng^wni-* je nach Akzent zu heth. **ā(n)g^wni-* oder **a(n)g^wnī-* geführt hätte, was **a-(an)ku-ni-* oder **an-ku-ni-i-* bzw. **a-ku-ni-i-* geschrieben worden wäre. Wäre das Wort aber im Luwischen ererbt, so wäre es graphisch als **a-ú-ni-* wiedergegeben worden. Daher kann der *Agni* Anatoliens nicht ererbt, sondern nur aus dem Mitanni-Arischen entlehnt sein.¹³

7. Auch in semantischer Hinsicht ist die Annahme von Entlehnung unproblematisch, da nichts dagegen spricht, dass die Mitanni-Arier einen aus dem Osten mitgebrachten Gott des Steppen- bzw. Buschbrandes im trockenen Obermesopotamien und Nordsyrien beibehalten und an die Luwier weitergegeben haben. Diese vermittelten ihn dann an die Hethiter. Auf diesem Weg dürfte übrigens auch das zweite sichere Lehnwort aus dem Mitanni-Arischen gewandert sein, nämlich heth. ^{LÚ}*sapasalli-* ‚Späher‘ samt dem Verbum *sapasije-* ‚als Späher tätig sein‘. Wäre dieses Substantiv mit genuin hethitischen Mitteln der Wortbildung von mitanni-arisch **spas*‘ (ai. *spas*) ‚Späher‘ abgeleitet, so würde es wahrscheinlich **sapasāla-* geschrieben werden. Jedoch weist ^{LÚ}*sapasalli-* ein luwisches Suffix auf, was den Weg der Entlehnung deutlich macht.

8. Als Lehnwort aus dem Mitanni-Arischen gilt auch ^{LÚ}*āssussanni-* ‚Pferdetrainer‘.¹⁴ Etymologisch trifft dies zu, wofür auch das Hinterglied des mitannischen Personennamens *Biriassuwa-* < **priya-asva-* ‚liebe (gepflegte) Pferde besitzend‘ bei Schmitt (1967:244) zu vergleichen ist. Jedoch findet sich dieses mit einem hurritischen Suffix gebildete Wort ausschließlich im Text des Hurriters Kikkuli, eines Pferdetrainers aus Mitanni, dessen Titel es offenbar darstellte. Es handelt sich also gar nicht um ein echtes Lehnwort in einer anatolischen Sprache.

9. Das Lehnwort *sapasije-* ‚als Späher tätig sein‘ findet sich bereits in hethitischen Briefen aus Tapigga (Maşat Höyük)¹⁵ am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts und dürfte daher in der gleichen Zeit wie auch ^d*Agni* übernommen worden sein. Es ist entweder erst im Luwischen vom postulierbaren mitannischen Wurzelnomem **spas*‘ abgeleitet worden, oder man hat direkt ein mitanni-arisches Verbum **spasya-* ‚spähen‘ übernommen. Letzteres ist aber weniger wahrscheinlich, weil gerade bei diesem indoiranischen Verbalstamm das *s*-mobile nicht bezeugt ist; vielmehr lautet ‚er späht‘ im Vedischen *paśyati* und im Avestischen *pasīēiti*, also ohne *s*-. Wahrscheinlich war also nur **spas*‘ ‚Späher‘ selbst ins Luwische entlehnt worden. Wäre dies bereits viel früher geschehen, was aber aus historischen Gründen ohnehin ausgeschlossen ist, so würden die betreffenden Ableitungen *^{LÚ}*pasalli-* und **pasije-* lauten, weil die Anlautgruppen aus *s* plus Obstruent im Urluwischen ihr *s* verloren haben.

Die Übernahme des Gottes Agni dürfte durch die luwische Bevölkerung von Kizzuwatna, der kilikischen Ebene, zur Zeit der Herrschaft von Mitanni stattgefunden haben. An seiner Funktion als Gott des Herdfeuers hatte die anatolische Religion offenbar kei-

¹³Die heth. Schreibungen, wie sie bei van Gessel 1998:8 belegt sind, weisen auf ein Paradigma mit Nom.Sg. ^d*Ag-ni-iš*, Gen. ^d*Ag-ni-ia-as* und Dat. ^d*Ag-ni-i*. Offenbar ist das Wort in den Fortsetzer der amphikinetischen Flexion eingeordnet worden, also mit Nom.Sg. /āgnis/, Dat. /agnī/. Daraus ergibt sich, dass dieser Flexionstyp im 15. Jahrhundert noch produktiv war, denn früher können die Anatolier mit diesem Gott nicht bekannt geworden sein.

¹⁴Vgl. Melchert 1994:234, Kloekhorst 2008:726.

¹⁵Alp 1991:399.

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nen Bedarf, während er als Gott des Steppenbrandes ins hethitische Pantheon integriert wurde, wenn auch nur als Außenseiter, dessen Herkunft aus dem Südosten immer deutlich blieb.

10. Kehren wir nach Indien zurück. Im Rigveda wird von der Göttin *Idā*, der personifizierten Opferspende, gesagt, dass sie Butterschmalz in der Hand hat (*gytāhastā* RV 7.16,8). In Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa I.8.1,7 wird sie als junges Mädchen beschrieben, in dessen Fußspuren sich Butterschmalz sammelt. Dem rigvedischen *idāyas padé* ‚in der Fußspur der *Idā*‘ entspricht altavestisch *padāiš* ... *ižaiiā* ‚durch die Fußspuren der *Īžā*‘ Yasna 50.8.¹⁶ Wahrscheinlich war der Adressat der Schmalzspende schon in urindoiranischer Zeit der Gott Agni gewesen. Bei ihm ergibt nämlich diese Art von Opfer am meisten Sinn, weil er dadurch sichtbar aufflammt. Im Avesta wird Agni nirgends erwähnt, auch nicht, wie andere ehemalige Götter, in der Gruppe der Daēvas. Daraus folgt, dass dieser ursprüngliche Feuergott im Iranischen schon früh aufgegeben wurde. An seine Stelle trat Ātar, ein Wort für das Feuer von ursprünglich wohl neutralem Genus.

Wenn wir diesbezüglich das Urindogermanische betrachten, so finden wir dort eine Dichotomie zwischen einem Wort mit neutralem Genus, nämlich **póh₂u_r* (oder **péh₂u_r*) ‚Feuer‘, das in heth. *pahhur* usw. fortlebt, und einem geschlechtigen, maskulinen **H₂g^{wni}*. Parallel dazu stehen das neutrale **uód₂* ‚Wasser‘ und das geschlechtige, feminine **h₂óp-*, von dem ai. *āp-* f. ‚fließendes Gewässer, Fluss‘ abstammt. Im neutralen Genus finden wir also jeweils vom Menschen beherrschte Elemente, nämlich das Gebrauchswasser bzw. das Herdfeuer, im Maskulinum oder Femininum dagegen vom Menschen nicht beherrschbare Naturgewalten, nämlich das fließende Wasser in Form von Fluss oder Überschwemmung und das sich fortbewegende Feuer in Form von Wald- oder Steppenbrand. Naturgewalten waren in früher Zeit immer göttliche Gewalten. Die Bezeichnungen für die vom Menschen beherrschten Elemente haben also neutrales Genus, die anderen sind geschlechtig. Daraus ergibt sich, dass wahrscheinlich **h₂óp-* f. ursprünglich nur den Wasserlauf und die Flussgöttin¹⁷ und **H₂g^{wni}* m. nur den Gott des Wald- und Steppenbrandes bzw. dessen Wirken bezeichnete. Die Übertragung der zusätzlichen Bedeutung ‚Herdfeuer, häusliches Feuer‘ auf den Fortsetzer von **H₂g^{wni}* dürfte daher erst in urindoiranischer Zeit erfolgt sein. Das bedeutet nicht, dass das Herdfeuer nicht auch schon vorher in bestimmten Situationen als göttlich betrachtet werden konnte. Dafür spricht allein schon die etymologische Verwandtschaft der Göttinnen lat. *Vesta* und gr. *Ἑστία* ‚Herdfeuer‘. Aber diese waren ursprünglich sozusagen nur Situationsgottheiten, denn sie besitzen keine eigene Mythologie.

11. Zusammenfassend ergibt sich, dass der Feuergott **Agni-* wahrscheinlich bereits in urindoiranischer Zeit neben seiner Funktion als Gott des Wald- und Steppenbrandes auch diejenige als Gott des Herdfeuers mit übernommen hatte. Der Teil der Indoiranier, der zur Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausends in Obermesopotamien und Nordsyrien das Reich von Mitanni gründete, brachte den Kult des Gottes dorthin mit. Im 15. Jahrhundert dürfte er dort von Luwiern übernommen worden sein, und zwar wahrscheinlich in Kizzuwatna, der

¹⁶Vgl. Humbach 1991:II,218.

¹⁷So werden im Altavestischen die *āpō* ‚Wasserläufe‘ göttlich verehrt und auch als *ahurānīs* ‚Herrinnen‘ bezeichnet.

Altindisch Agni- ‚Feuergott‘ und hethitisch ^dAgni/^dAkni-

kilikischen Ebene. Dadurch erscheint er als ^dAgni- in hethitischen Texten, wo er offenbar mit dem babylonischen Gott *Nergal* gleichgesetzt ist. Es gibt Hinweise auf seine Funktion als Gott des Steppenbrandes, dagegen nicht als Herdfeuer. Die Möglichkeit, dass die Hethiter oder Luwier den Gott direkt aus dem Urindogermanischen ererbt haben, besteht aus lautlichen Gründen nicht.

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Zarathustra and the Needle’s Eye of Etymology

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1 *Zarathustra*-, the humble prophet

The name of the legendary founder of Zoroastrianism, Av. *Zarathustra*-, has a long history of etymological speculation the minutiae of which I will refrain from discussing in this brief note where only a few new suggestions will be presented. In Mayrhofer’s etymological treatment (*EWAia* 1.237f.), both the meaning and morphological role of the first member of this obvious compound and the etymological origin of the final member **(h)uštara*- ‘camel’ are considered obscure: “Weiteres bleibt unklar.”¹

However, pace Tucker (2002:423), the most likely interpretation would still be ‘the one with old camels’, a pejorative name reminiscent of a case like *Karasāspa*- = Skt. *Kṛśāśva*- ‘the one with lean horses’, as argued by Schlerath (1971, 1977) and substantiated by Thieme (1981:122) with textual evidence from the Gathas where Zarathustra describes himself as *anaēša*- ‘incapable’, *kamnāna*- ‘with few men’ and *kamnaššuuuā*- ‘with few heads of cattle’, cf. Y.46.2:

vaēda tat yā, ahmī mazdā anaēšō
mā kamnaššuuā, hiiatcā kamnānā ahmī
gərəzōi tōi, ā it auuaēnā ahurā
rafədrəm caguuā, hiiat friiō friiāi daidit

“I know that (reason) because of which I am powerless, Wise One: by my condition of having few cattle, as well as (that) I am a person with few men. I lament to Thee. Take notice of it, Lord, offering the support which a friend should grant to a friend.” (tr. Insler 1975:81)

2 *Zarat*- ‘old’

The compound would thus be a bahuvrīhi whose first member is the adjective **zarat*- ‘old’, an *nt*-stem related to Ved. *jārant*-/jurat-’, Oss. *zārond*, Gk. *γέρων*, -οντος (probably Myc.

¹Mayrhofer (1977:1.105f.) prefers the alternative interpretation of *zarant*- as ‘driving’, cf. Bailey 1953, adducing Av. *zarš*- ‘to drag’ with a suggested translation “who is driving (i.e. can manage) camels” or “who is fostering/cherishing camels”: “Semantisch ist allerdings verbales **zara(t)°* (etwa ‘treibend’, bzw. ‘fördernd’... etwas glaubhafter als die alte Deutung mit **zarant*- ‘alt’ (ved. *jārant*- u.a.).” In his vindication of the older interpretation of *zarat*- (*zarath*-) as ‘old’, Schlerath (1977) merely maintains that the ‘old camel’ interpretation is a valid alternative to the Bailey–Mayrhofer analysis.

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ke-ro-t^o).² Synchronically its function seems to be that of an occasionally substantivized adjective, but from a historical point of view the matter is a little more complicated. The derivational basis is hardly a thematic adjective **ǵerh₂o-* as in Arm. *cer*, *-oy* ‘old’ (if this is not analogical, e.g. to *hin* (o-st.) ‘old’ < **séno*) because deadjectival *nt*-stems seem to be more or less limited to Anatolian, e.g. Hitt. *maklant-* ‘thin, slim’, *warkant-* ‘fat’, *marlant-* ‘foolish’, *paprant-* ‘dirty’ (Melchert 2000:70),³ and especially because the thematic vowel of the basic adjective should not be subject to ablaut. On the other hand, as argued by Tucker (2002:420), a participle of the present stem is not a good solution either since Ved. *járatī* has the transitive meaning ‘let reach old age’ in its oldest attestations (cf. also Gotō 1987:151–3); besides, as noted by Peters (1980:193), the Vedic feminine is *járatī-*, not **jārantī-* as would be expected from a participle based on a thematic verbal stem. Peters supports his alternative suggestion (l.c.) of a participle of an acrostatic root aorist, semantically comparable with e.g. *οἱ θανόντες* ‘the dead’ (i.e. ‘those having died’), where the long vowel would be matched by the *s*-stem *γηράς* ‘old age’ beside *γέρας* ‘gift of honour’. This is, however, isolated in Greek and *γηράς* may be explained by influence from the *s*-aorist.⁴ While an analogy of this kind may seem far-fetched, a clue to the linking between verb and noun may be found in a Homeric passage, Il. 17.196–7: *ὁ δ’ ἄρα ᾧ παιδὶ ὄπασσε γηράς· ἀλλ’ οὐχ υἱὸς ἐν ἔντεσι πατρὸς ἐγήρα* ‘he gave it to his son *when he had grown old*, but the son *did not get old* in his father’s armour” where the *s*-aorist participle *γηράς* is seen in juxtaposition with the corresponding finite form *ἐγήρα*. Here *γηράς* may lead to a possible understanding of the long root vowel of *γηράς*: by the principle of internal derivation/contrastive accent, the adjectival participle *γηράς* ‘having grown old’ may have triggered the root-accented substantive *γηράς* ‘someone who has grown old, an old person’, and under the influence of the archaic *s*-stem noun *γέρας* < **ǵérās*,⁵ characteristically preserved in the secondary meaning ‘gift of honour’, the inflection was substituted with that of the *s*-stems.

Still, the idea of Ved. *jārant-/jūrat-*,⁶ Gk. *γέροντ-*, Oss. *zäronǝ* and Av. *zarat-* as a participle is not necessarily abortive. As suggested by Rasmussen (2002:345), an obvious historical possibility is a basic stative verbal stem which would be semantically quite as satisfactory, i.e. **ǵérh₂-h₁-ont-*, gen. **ǵérh₂-h₁-nt-ós* ‘being old’, or perhaps rather ‘having grown old’,⁷ morphologically connected with OCS *zbrěti* ‘be ripe’ and a potential parallel of **b^hṛǵ^h-h₁-ént-* (→ **b^hṛǵ^h-h₁-ónt-*), gen. **b^hṛǵ^h-h₁-nt-ós* ‘tall, high’, cf. Ved. *brhánt-*, gen. *brhatáh*, Av. *br̥azant-*, Arm. pl. *barjunk* (< **ontes*) and the Hittite extended stative verb *parkess-* ‘become tall’.⁸

²Cf. also Arm. *ceruni* ‘old person’, probably from **ǵerh₂ontiah₂-*, cf. Olsen 1999:610f.

³Cf., however, Oettinger 1997 on the Avestan thematicized *mar̥m̥ta-* ‘naked’ from *mar̥na-* ‘id.’.

⁴Cf. Barton 1982 and Hardarson 1993:72–6.

⁵Throughout the text, I note the marginally phonemic vocalized variants of the sonants, **ǵ*, **ǵ̃*, **m̃*, **ñ*, with a subscript. Similarly, the “vocalic” laryngeals that have a similar status are noted **ǵ₁*, **ǵ₂*, **ǵ₃* respectively, though their nature is somewhat different, the schwa vowels probably being anaptyctic vowels rather than genuine vocalizations.

⁶The alternation *jārant-/jūrat-* reflects the strong stem form **ǵérh₂(h₁)ont-* vs. the weak **ǵṛh₂(h₁)nt-*, later substituted by the analogical *jārat-*.

⁷This would fit, semantically as well as formally, with a participle from the aorist rather than the imperfective (“**j-*present”) stem of the stative verb, matching Pāṇini’s definition (2.2.104) of *jārant-* as being connected with *jūryati* (RV *jūryati* < stative present **ǵérh₂-h₁-jé-ti*) ‘get old’ and at the same time having preterital meaning as mentioned by Gotō (1987:153): “*jūryater atrn* . . . Nach „*jūryati*“ . . . kommt *atrn* (Suffix *-at-*) in der Bedeutung der Vergangenheit vor.”

⁸Cf. also Oettinger 1997, Olsen 2004:218, and Wodtko, Irslinger, and Schneider 2008:469 with references for a discussion of Ved *māhánt-* etc. ‘big, large’ (trisyllabic stem).

Concerning the ablaut difference between the apparently amphidynamic **ǵérh₂-h₁-ont-* and the hysterodynamic **ǵ₁ǵ₂-h₁-ónt-*, Rasmussen (l.c.), much in line with Peters' explanation, assumes that **ǵérh₂-* was an original “Narten-type” root, but since γήρας, as argued above, is better considered a secondary Greek creation, there seems to be nothing further to corroborate this view. On this background, it may once more be justified to consider reaccentuation and corresponding secondary full grade of the root in a substantivization, i.e. adjectival participle **ǵ₁ǵ₂-h₁-ént-* (*-ónt-*) ‘(having grown) old’ → **ǵérh₂-h₁-ont-* ‘someone (having grown) old’, i.e. ‘an old person’, comparable to the mechanism of the adjectival passive participle **ǵ₁h₁-tó-* ‘born’ → substantivized **ǵén₂to-* > Germ. **kenþa-* > OHG *kind* ‘(that which is born’, i.e.) ‘child’. Incidentally Gk. γέρων is simply a substantive ‘old person, old man’ while Ved. *járant-* at first sight seems to be used indiscriminately in both functions. However, judging from the oldest evidence, the substantival use may well be the primary: the two attestations of the strong stem *járant-* in the Rígvēda⁹ as well as the two attestations of the original weak stem *jurat-* < **ǵ₁ǵ₂-h₁-nt-*¹⁰ are all compatible with a translation ‘old person, old man’, while the analogical weak stem *járat-* is sometimes incontestably an adjective.¹¹ The Iranian evidence is formally ambiguous: both the Avestan *zarat-* as in *Zarathuštra-* and the Ossetic *zāron* may represent **ǵ₁ǵ₂-(h₁)-Vnt/nt-* as well as **ǵérh₂-(h₁)-Vnt/nt-*, so it is at least possible that the expected zero grade of the root in the basic adjective is preserved in Iranian.

Apparently there are no exact Vedic parallels to Av. **zarat-* ‘old’ in *Zarathuštra-*. The closest we get seems to be RV 10.80.3: *agnír ha tyám jarataḥ karṇam āvāgnír adbhyó nír adahaj jarūtham* “Agni helped this Jaratkarna [ear of the old man]; Agni burned Jarūtha out from the waters” where *jarataḥ karṇam* is assumed to be “aufgelöstes Kompositum für *jaratkarnaṁ*” as reported by Sāyaṇa (Geldner 1951–7:3.262). Though this compound is undoubtedly a bahuvrīhi ‘having the ear of an old man’, the first member is rather a substantive than an adjective ‘old’, and where we do find the adjective in later formations like *jarad-kakṣa-* ‘old brushwood’ (TB) we are dealing with determinative compounds.

3 Excursus on Vedic *jarás-* and *jarádaṣṭi-*

A special case of interest is *jarádaṣṭi-* ‘reaching old age’, attested in the marriage hymn RV 10.85.36: *gr̥bhñāmi te saubhagatvāya hástam máyā pátyā jaradaṣṭir yáthāśaḥ* “I grasp your hand for good fortune, so that with me as your husband you will reach old age,” and in the more obscure passage of RV 7.37.7: *úpa tribandhūr jarádaṣṭim ety ásvaveśam yám kṛṇávanta mártāḥ*

⁹RV 1.117.13 (acc.sg.): *yuvám cyāvānam áśvinā jarāntam pūnar yūvānam cakratuḥ* “You, o Ásvins, made the aging Cyavāna a youth” (translations of the Rígvēda by Jamison and Brereton 2014) where *jarāntam* is opposed to *yūvānam* ‘a youth’ which makes a translation ‘old man’ as least as plausible as an adjective “aging”; and RV 1.161.7 (acc.du.): *yá jarāntā yuvaśā tá kṛnotana* “You have made those young who were the aging pair [= two old persons].”

¹⁰RV 7.68.6 (dat.sg.): *utá tyád vām juratē áśvinā bhūc cyāvānāya pratítyam havirdé* “And again, Ásvins, this is your recompense to Cyavāna, the giver of offerings, who was growing old,” probably better rendered “... Cyavāna, the giver of offerings, the old man,” particularly in consideration of the similar coupling of *cyāvāna-* and *járant-* in RV 1.117.13 (n. 7); and RV 2.34.10 (gen.pl.): *yád vā nidé návamānasya rudriyās tritām jarāya juratām adābhyah* “or when (they have set) Trita [the third (heaven)] to scorning (as does) a rarer [thunder], (set him) to aging (as do) those who age, you undecivable sons of Rudra,” where again the substantival *juratām* “those who age” is equivalent to “the old ones.”

¹¹E.g. RV 10.34.3. (gen.sg.): *ásvasyeva jarato vásnyasya náhām vindāmi kitavāsya bhógam* “I find no more use for a gambler than for an old nag up for sale.”

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“that man of triple kin-bonds draws near to him [= Indra who is] one who reaches old age— (even a man) whom (other) mortals would render bereft of his own clansmen.” As argued by Tucker (2002:420–2), the first member of this compound has a different character from that of the *nt*-stem ‘old (person)’: here *jarad-* is an abstract noun in composition with *-aṣṭi-* < **h₁n̥kti-* ‘reaching’, so one would rather have expected the *s*-stem *jarás-* with the meaning ‘old age’ in this position: “the hypothetical IE form would have been **ǵ(e)rH₂-és-H₁n̥k-ti-*.” The accent on the initial member would mark the compound as a bahuvrīhi with the basic meaning ‘whose reaching is old age’.

Beside Vedic *jarás-*,¹² the Indo-European status of an *s*-stem ‘(old) age’ based on the root **ǵerh₂-* is secured by Gk. γέρας < **ǵérās* and Khot. *ysare* < **zarāh* < **ǵérh₂ōs* (Emmerick 1968:347), the joint evidence pointing to an alternating paradigm nom.acc. **ǵérās₂-s*, loc. **ǵerh₂-és-i*, collective **ǵérh₂-ōs*. However, as illustrated by forms such as *náma-ūkti-* ‘expression of reverence’ from *námas-*, *śrava-ēśā-* ‘quest for fame’ from *śrávas-* and *uśā-ūśas* ‘at every dawn’ from *uśás-*,¹³ *jarád-* would not be the usual compositional form of *jarás-* before a vowel or laryngeal + vowel. Tucker’s attempt to overcome the phonological difficulties and maintain the idea of an initial *s*-stem in *jarádaṣṭi-* seems rather forced, involving an analogical remodelling where at least the semantic justification is unclear (2002:422): “a first element **jará-* (deriving historically from *jarás* or its Indo-Iranian preform), but interpreted as a deverbative first element, was remodelled to *jarát-* before its final *-á* contracted with the initial *a-* of the second element *aṣṭi-*.” On the other hand, the basic morphological identification of *jarád-* as a variant of *jarás-* is most likely correct.¹⁴

One peculiar feature of the *s*-stems that leaps to the eye in this connection is a sporadic sandhi phenomenon where we find *-d-* before the *bh*-endings in a few paradigms: *uśádbbhiḥ* from *uśás-* ‘dawn’ (RV 1.6.3); *svá-tavadbhyas* from *svá-tavas-* ‘self-strong’; *mādbbhiḥ* and *mādbhyāḥ* from *mās-* ‘month’; and active perfect participles such as *jāgrvādbbhiḥ* ‘having awakened’.¹⁵ While these few forms have the appearance of relics in relation to the usual development of **-as-bh-* > **-az-bh-* > *-o-bh-* with external sandhi in e.g. *āpobbhiḥ*, *āpobhyaḥ* from *āpas-* ‘work’, and a specific phonetic development is usually assumed, it still remains noteworthy that the evidence is restricted to these particular case forms. If *jarád-aṣṭi-* is now included in the group of “irregular sandhi” of *-s-*, the possibility of an internal Old Indic phonetic explanation is practically excluded. The picture is further complicated if we add *anad-váh-* ‘ox’¹⁶ as a compound of *ánas-* ‘cart’ (cf. Lat. *onus*, *-eris* ‘burden’) and the root noun *vah-* ‘convey’ for **anad-váh-* where the retroflex *-ḍ-* must be due to a metathesis of **anad-ud/t-* (loc.pl. *anadútsu*, RV 3.53.18) in the weak cases. Without going into the details of the scenario proposed by Jamison (1991),¹⁷ we have to acknowledge the remarkable coincidence of three different phonetic contexts with unexpected *-d-* (or secondarily *-ḍ-*) for **-s-*: before *-bh-* (*uśádbbhiḥ* etc.), before *-a-* (*jarádaṣṭi-*) and before *-v/-u-* (RV *anadvāham*,

¹²E.g. RV 7.71.5: *yuvám cyāvānam jaráso ’mumuktam* ‘You two released Cyavāna from old age.’

¹³In *nāma-ūkti-*, *-a-ū-* indicates diacresis. Similarly for **śrava-ēśā-*, *uśā-ūśas-*.

¹⁴Cf. also Tucker’s reference to two attestations in the Atharvaveda where acc. *jarádaṣṭim* is immediately preceded by dat. *jaráse* (2002:422 n. 13).

¹⁵Cf. Macdonell 1910:36 and Wackernagel 1896:179ff.

¹⁶As opposed to both the external sandhi of *anavāhá-* ‘drawing a cart’ and the internal sandhi of *anásvant-* ‘having a cart’ (Jamison 2002:79).

¹⁷Cf. also Wackernagel 1896:339.

anaḍvāhan, anaḍutsu). For economical reasons a common explanation of these cases would be preferable, and incidentally they are united by a morphological common denominator: in all of them, an initial *s*-stem or an original alternating “*s/t*-stem” is involved.

At least in the perfect active participles and the word for ‘month’ we have evidence for paradigms with both an “*s*-stem” and a “*t*-stem” alternant as illustrated by e.g. fem.sg.nom. Ved. *vidiṣī*, Gk. *idūia*, Gk. nom.acc.sg.neut. *ειδός* ‘knowing’ vs. Goth. acc.sg.masc. *weitwōd*, gen.pl. *weitwōde* ‘witness’, Gk. acc.sg.masc. *ειδότεα* ‘knowing’, and Ved. *māh* ‘moon, month’ beside Goth. *mēnōþs* ‘month’.¹⁸

As for the “real” *s*-stems, *uṣās*-, *tāvas*-, *jarās*- and *ānas*-, we have no direct evidence for *t*-stem alternants or synonymous *t*-stems in these particular examples, but as suggested by the parallel existence of cases Ved. *srāvas*-, Gk. *ῥέος* (n.) beside Ved. *sravāt*- ‘stream, river’; Gk. *τέγος* (n.) ‘roof’ beside Lat. *teges*-, *-etis* ‘covering’; Av. *raocah*- beside Goth. *liuhab* ‘light’; Gk. *μῆδεα* (neut.pl. < **-es-a*) beside Goth. *mitaþs* ‘measure’; or Ved. *jráyas*- ‘expanse’, Av. *zraiiāh*- ‘sea’ beside Hitt. *karaitt*- ‘flood, inundation’, the two types were probably intimately related at some point.¹⁹ On this background, the suggestion by Debrunner (1954:160), “Steckt in V. *jarād-aṣti*- „Langlebigkeit, langlebig“ ein **jarát*- „Alter“ . . . ?”²⁰ seems very sensible. Tucker’s objections (2002:420) that “it has the disadvantage that it involves the ad hoc reconstruction of another noun meaning ‘old age’” and that “the postulated **jarát*- does not belong to the rather limited semantic field represented by the few certain examples of the suffix *-át*-” miss the point that we would be dealing with a morphological relic with stray continuations in several Indo-European languages. Though it is true that some of the Vedic examples of simplex *t*-stem such as *sravāt*- and *vahāt*- share a meaning ‘river, stream’, perhaps partly by secondary association, the evidence from the related languages does not point to a specific semantic field, so apparently this is a question of morphology, not semantics. Accepting the possibility of a competing *t*-stem in our examples, we may thus consider the potential parallelism between the following pairs:

Ptc.fem. * <i>-us-ih</i> ₂ (Ved. <i>-iṣī</i> , Gk. <i>-ūia</i>), etc.	inst.pl. Ved. <i>-vādbbhīh</i> , etc.
Ved. nom.sg. <i>māh</i> , Av. <i>mā</i> , etc.	Ved. inst., dat.abl.pl. <i>mādbbhīh</i> , <i>mādbbhīh</i>
* <i>sréuos</i> (Ved. <i>srāvas</i> -, Gk. <i>ῥέος</i> (n.))	* <i>sreuet</i> - (Ved. <i>sravāt</i> -)
* <i>tégos</i> (Gk. <i>τέγος</i> (n.))	* <i>tegét</i> - (Lat. <i>teges</i> -, <i>-etis</i>)
* <i>téuḥ</i> ₂ <i>os</i> (Ved. <i>tāvas</i>) ²¹	* <i>teuḥ</i> ₂ <i>ét</i> - (Ved. <i>svā-tavadbhīyas</i>)
* <i>h₂éusōs</i> (Lat. <i>aurōr-a</i> , etc.)	* <i>h₂usét</i> - (Ved. <i>uṣādbbhīh</i>) ²²
* <i>ǵér₂s</i> (Gk. <i>ῥέρας</i>)	* <i>ǵerh₂ét</i> - (Ved. <i>jarād-aṣti</i> -) ²³

¹⁸Cf. Beekes 1982, Rasmussen 1994, and Olsen 2004 and 2014 with references and discussion. Alternatively, Rau (1998) assumes secondary mergers of originally independent paradigms.

¹⁹In a deeper historical perspective, the most likely solution seems to be an original alternating *s/t*-stem paradigm, similar to that of the active perfect participle and the word for ‘moon, month’, as the common origin of the two types under the assumption of an underlying morphophoneme, perhaps a palatalized dental stop (cf. Rasmussen 1994, Olsen 2004, and Olsen 2014:265 for a discussion of the original distribution).

²⁰Cf. also *EWAla* 1.575.

²¹Also *tāviṣī*- (f.) ‘strength’, based on the *s*-stem with regular zero grade in the suffix, **téu₂s-*.

²²It remains unknown whether the original paradigm was amphidynamic (or probably better holodynamic, cf. loc. *uṣāsi*) as proposed by Schindler (1975, i.e. Ved. gen. *uṣāh* < **h₂us-s-ós*) or proterodynamic (gen. *uṣāh* < **h₂us-és-s*) as suggested by Rasmussen (1978:105 and 2001:23).

²³*jarās*- with analogical accent, perhaps from the original locative.

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**h₃énh₁os* (?)²⁴ (Ved. *ánas*, Lat. *onus*)

**h₃(e)nh₁ét-* (Ved. *anaḍ-váh-*)

Summing up, it seems possible to unite the cases of unexpected *-d-* (*-ḍ-*) in Vedic sandhi as continuations of **-t-* in stems closely related to, and in a further historical perspective probably alternating with *s*-stems. Thus, the compound *jarádaṣṭi-* may well be important for the understanding of Indo-European *s*-stems and their allomorphy, but it has no direct relevance for the analysis of *Zaraθuštra-*.

4 (*h*)*uštra-* ‘camel’

The final member of the compound *Zaraθuštra-* is generally agreed to be identical with the Avestan simplex *uštra-* ‘camel’, but further details are unclear apart from the obvious match of Vedic *úṣtra-* ‘camel’ (*EWAia* 1.237f. with references).²⁵ Here the word is mostly attested in the 8th book of the Rígvēda, known for its connections with Iranian-speaking communities²⁶ which would be close to the geographical homeland of *Camelus bactrianus*. If we are not dealing with a non-Indo-European loanword²⁷ it is therefore worth considering if the word is of common Indo-Iranian descent or borrowed from Iranian into Old Indic as assumed by Humbach (1974:193). At any rate, in order to connect the name *Zaraθuštra-* with *uštra-* in a convincing manner we have to account for the occurrence of *-θ-* instead of expected *-t-* in *zarat-* ‘old’. In case of an Indo-European background a plausible explanation would involve an initial voiceless laryngeal which could be expected to aspirate a preceding voiceless stop **-t-*. This naturally means a limitation of the inventory of acceptable roots,²⁸ and including morphological as well as semantic considerations none of the etymologies proposed so far has managed to gain general acceptance.

There is, however, one root, registered in *LIV* (294) as “? **H₂uēt-* ‘ziehen, führen’”,²⁹ that meets both our formal and semantic criteria. The recorded material is here restricted to Hittite *huett-* ‘draw, pull, pluck’ (2.sg.prs.midd. *huezta*; *ia*-present *huittiyati*), but according to Melchert (1984:88), the Hittite evidence points to a preform “*h_{2/3}weTh_x-*” where “the non-assibilation of *-tt-* before *y* demands another laryngeal after the dental stop.” Consequently, he suggests a derivation from **h₂uēdh₂-* which would be identical with what is traditionally reconstructed as “**uēdh₂-*” (*LIV* 651) with continuations in Av. *vāḍaiieiti* ‘leads’, OIr. *fedid* ‘leads, carries, brings’, Goth. *ga-wīdan* ‘connect’, OCS *vedq* ‘lead’, Lith. *vedù* ‘lead; marry (of the man)’ and the nominal derivative Ved. *vadhū-* ‘bride’; incidentally a proto-form **h₂uēdh₁-* with an aspirating root-final **-h₁-* would seem equally possible. Kloekhorst’s

²⁴For a discussion of the root, cf. Olsen 2010:93-120 with references, and Yakubovich 2010 for a different view on Hitt. *aniya-* ‘to do’.

²⁵Cf. Hoffmann 1940 on the Vedic attestations, all compatible with a meaning ‘camel’ rather than ‘buffalo’.

²⁶RV 1.138.2, 8.5.37, 8.6.48, 8.46.22, and 8.46.31. Cf. Hoffmann (1975:14): “Die nach Iran weisenden Anzeichen in rgvedischen Büchern (besonders II, IV und VIII) ...”

²⁷According to Lubotsky (2001:306) the word belongs to the substratum of Indo-Iranian.

²⁸Cf. *EWAia* l.c.: “IIr. (∼ iran.?) **uštra-* geht, wenn idg., auf **(H)us-tRo-* oder ... auf **(H)uk-tRo-* zurück.” According to a widespread but rather counterintuitive opinion discussed by Schlerath (1977), *Zaraθuštra-* is a substitution for *Zaraṭuštra-* with rendering of the implosive *-ṭ-* as *-θ-* which, to the Sassanian editors of the holy texts, would have sounded closer to the original than *-t-*.

²⁹The alternative reconstruction with **h₃-* would work for Anatolian, but must be excluded as a candidate for **-huštra-* since the voiced **h₃* has no aspirating effect.

objection (2008:352) that the absence of Winter's Law in the Baltic and Slavic verbs “clearly point to $*-D^h-$ ” (i.e. not $*-d-$) is invalid if $*-d-$ + $-h_2-$ or $*-d-$ + $-h_1-$ is perceived as an aspirated entity similar to or identical with $*-d^h-$ in Core Indo-European, which would be compatible with a pronunciation [x] and [h] of $*h_2$ and $*h_1$ respectively.³⁰ On the other hand, a different treatment in Hittite would imply that a merger between $*-d^h-$ and $*-d-$ + $h_{1/2}-$ had not yet been completed before the separation of Anatolian.

If thus the joint evidence of Hittite and Core Indo-European entitles us to reconstruct a root $*h_2uēdh_1-$ or $*h_2uēdh_2-$ ‘draw, lead’, a new interpretation of Av. $(-h)uštra-$, Ved. $uṣtra-$ presents itself: a thematic derivative $*h_2udh_{1/2}-tlo-$ ‘drawing; leading’ → substantivized $*h_2udh_{1/2}-tlo-$ ‘draught animal’, based on the stem of the agent noun $*h_2udh_{1/2}-tér-$, would yield Iranian $(-h)uštra-$, lexicalized in the meaning ‘camel’, whence the Old Indic loanword Ved. $uṣtra-$.³¹ Most likely, the basic agent noun $*h_2udh_{1/2}-tér-$ > Ir. $*uṣtar-$,³² borrowed into Vedic as $uṣṭár-$, perhaps with a more general meaning ‘draught animal’,³³ is attested as a hapax in RV 10.106.2: $uṣṭāreva phārvareṣu śrayethe$ ‘like plow oxen [?] you are fixed [to] the pharvara.’³⁴

Summing up, I see no reason to reject the analysis of the name *Zarathuṣtra-* as a regular bahuvrīhi compound “Old-Camel” where both members have an Indo-European origin: the first would be an adjectival participle, presumably based on the stative stem, $*ǵerh_2-h_1-nt-$ or $*ǵrth_2-h_1-nt-t-$ > *zarat-* ‘old’, while the final noun $(-h)uštra-$ ‘camel’ looks like a thematized agent noun $*-h_2udh_{1/2}-tlo-$ based on the root $*h_2uēdh_{1/2}-$ ‘to lead, draw’.

³⁰ Cf. Olsen 2014:n. 25 on aspiration by laryngeal, and Kümmel 2007:327–37 for a discussion of the pronunciation of Indo-European laryngeals.

³¹ Cf. Debrunner 1954:708 and Olsen 2010:57ff. on the not very common type of zero-grade derivatives of agent nouns in $*-ter/tor-$, e.g. Ved. $vṛtrá-$ ‘resistance’ (n.) and ‘opponent’ (m.); OIr. *déol* < $*d^h_{h_1}i-tlo-$ ‘sucking’; Lat. *culter* ‘knife’, probably dissimilated from $*k_{t'}-tro-$.

³² The development of such clusters in Indo-European is a complicated matter, and it is hardly possible to specify the details of the development in this particular case. Ideally we would expect the cluster $*(-C)-dh_{1/2}-t(V)-$ to undergo metathesis to $*-dth_{1/2}-$, with voicing assimilation further to $*-tth_{1/2}-$ > $*-tt^h-$, following the principle stipulated in Olsen 2014 and earlier works. However, as argued by Rasmussen (1999), there would have been several possibilities for the outcome of dental clusters in connection with the $*-tlo-$ suffix, including (1) selection of the root-final consonant, as in Lat. *sella*, OE *setl* ‘seat’ < $*sedlo/ab_2-$ < $*sed-tlo/ab_2-$, (2) selection of the suffix-initial $*-t-$ as in Goth. *maþl* ‘meeting place’ < $*matlo-$ < $*m_2tlo-$ < $*m_2d-tlo-$ vs. *gamotjan* ‘meet’, and (3) $*-T-TR-$ > $*-TTR-$ which could arise by secondary restitution as probably in ON *fóstr* ‘feeding, fosterage’ < $*pah_2t-tRo-$ and our case of $*-h_2uTTlo-$ > $(-h)uštra-$. According to Rasmussen l.c., the so-called *metron* rule is not quite as simple as usually assumed: since we expect a suffix alternant $*-tlo-$, not $*-tro-$ after a neutral root such as $*med-$ ‘measure’, the stages of the development would have been $*med-tlo-$ > $*medstro-$ (with regular $*-tro-$ after $*-s-$) > $*metro-$ > Gk. *μέτρον* (cf. Olsen 2010 on the morphophonemic alternation $*-tlo-/*-tro-$). Again, it would be possible to generalize either the suffixal $*-t-$ as in *μέτρον* or the root-final stop as in $*sed-tlah_2-$ > *sedtrah_2-* > Gk. *ἔδρα* ‘seat’. In connection with the alleged conditioned deletion of laryngeals proposed by Hackstein (2002), I may add that in my opinion at least part of the examples of “Laryngalschwund vor dem Formans $*-d^h-$ < $*-d^h_{h_1}o-$ ” would seem to be based on unlikely morphological analyses. Thus e.g. Lat. *rūbidus* would derive from a participle, whether a stative $*h_1rouḍ^h_{h_1}eth_1o-$ < $*h_1rouḍ^h_{h_1}e-h_1-to-$: Lith. *raudėti* ‘be red’ or a denominative $*h_1rouḍ^h_{h_1}ath_2o-$ < $*h_1rouḍ^h_{h_1}ab_2-to-$ ‘made red’: Lith. *raūdas*, Goth. *rauþs* (Olsen 2003:242 and 256) rather than a compound $*h_1re/ouḍ^h_{h_1}i-d^h_{h_1}o-$ ‘mit Röte versehen’, presupposing a construction $*h_1re/ouḍ^h_{h_1}(h_1) d^h_{h_1}eh_1-$ as per Hackstein (2002:13) with further reference to Nussbaum 1999. Note in particular that the root vocalism of the showpiece *rūbidus* is at variance with both the root noun $*h_1rud^h_{h_1}$ (> OIr. *ru*, *rod* ‘red colour’) and the compositional *i*-stem $*h_1rud^h_{h_1}i-$ (Ved. *rudhikrá-* ‘scattering red (blood)’). Similarly, Lat. *verbum* ‘word’ would be a substantivized participle of the type $*ǵen_2tom$ > OHG *kind* ‘child’, i.e. $*ǵerth_1o-$ < $*ǵerh_1-to-$ (root $*ǵerh_1-$ ‘speak’), rather than the somewhat more far-fetched $*ǵerh_1-d^h_{h_1}o-$ ‘Äusserung setzend’ (Hackstein 2002:14).

³³ Etymologically connected with *uṣtra-* in *EWAla* 1.237 against Debrunner 1954:672.

³⁴ Geldner: “Wie zwei Zugstiere leget Ihr Euch an die Joche (?)”.

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Abbreviations

- EWAia* = Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1986–2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- LIV* = Kümmel, Martin, and Helmut Rix (eds.). 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

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Reflecting the Divine Mansion: Vedic *amāti-*

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1. The Vedic noun *amāti-*, fem., belongs only to the ancient stage of the language, where it is not so often attested: nine occurrences in the RV.¹ This rarity explains in part why it has not yet received a convincing account, or even a unique translation which would achieve consensus among scholars. In addition, it cannot be connected easily to any Skt. root, and it lacks any cognate in Iranian. There is no necessity in reviewing again the whole literature about this word. Apart from the usual etymological dictionaries,² there have been some comprehensive philological treatments.³

Already at the beginnings of Sanskrit lexicography, this noun was felt to be a difficult one. The *Naighaṇṭuka* (3.7) classifies *amāti-* among the numerous synonyms of *rūpa-* ‘appearance, form, shape, figure’.⁴ This gloss is used by Sāyaṇa (14th c. CE) in his commentary, besides *dīpti-* ‘brightness, light, splendor’. Such renderings prefigure the translations and interpretations that can be found later: ‘Schein, Schimmer, Lichtglanz’ (PW 1.367–8), ‘Sonnen-schein, Sonnenglanz’ (Grassmann 90); ‘Erscheinung, Schein, Bild, imago, Gemälde’ (Geldner 1907:13b, and specifically ‘Vorbild, Muster’ for RV 5.69.1); ‘Gebilde’ (Neisser 1924:76); ‘image, form, appearance’ (*KEW* 1.43); ‘Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis’ (*EW* 1.95); ‘form, appearance, picture, image’ (Rivelex I 369). To be fair, one may admit that these alternative glosses are rather vague, and fail to capture any notion that would be specific to *amāti-* and different from other RVic nouns belonging to the semantic field of ‘form’ or ‘figure’, such as *rūpá-*, already quoted, *várpas-* ‘shape, figure, aspect’, *vápuṣ-* ‘beautiful form or figure, wonderful appearance’, not to speak of the many nouns which refer to a bright or shining object. It is true that most occurrences of *amāti-* are found in passages that evoke visions of light and brightness, but this does not entail that *amāti-* should have this meaning. Venkatasubbiah (1962) has chosen to highlight this component, so as to translate *amāti-* by ‘effulgence’ in most instances, since the word would be nearly synonymous to *bhānū-* ‘brightness, ray of light, lustre, splendor’, *jyótiḥ-* ‘light, brightness’ (of the sun, fire, lightning, etc.). This has been criticized by Gonda (1969) and Kuiper (1972). Nonetheless,

¹If not otherwise indicated, all quotations of texts belong to the RV = Saṁhitā of the Rgveda. Abbreviations for other texts: AVŚ = Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā, Śaunakiya recension; TS = Taittirīya-Saṁhitā.

²*KEW* 1.43; *EW* 1.95–6.

³Bergaigne 1884:123–5; Neisser 1924:76–7; Venkatasubbiah 1962.

⁴In a relatively obscure way, Yāska (*Nirukta* 6.12) formulated for this word a threefold etymological connection, with *matī-* ‘thought’, *amā* ‘home’, and *ātman-* ‘self’.

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Gonda (1969:373) retains ‘light’ or ‘luminous appearance’ as the basic meaning, with special connotations which cannot be recovered any more. As an isolated dissenting voice, one may note that Bergaigne (1884:124) preferred, albeit with some doubts, to interpret *amāti-* as a proper name referring to a mythical female. More or less in the same spirit, Hillebrandt (1913:80 n. 8, ad RV 5.62.5) assumed that it was an alternative designation of the dawn, as ‘luminous appearance’.

2. The renderings given by the prevalent translations of the RV point mostly to the notions of ‘figure’ and ‘image’, or even ‘picture’. The question amounts to deciding if *amāti-* designates a shining object which is a source of light by itself or rather an image or figure which reflects an object that shines, either naturally or metaphorically. Geldner translates *amāti-* rather consistently (7×) by ‘image’ (G. ‘Bildnis’), except in two instances that have been much discussed: ‘Herrschererscheinung’ for *amātim kṣatṛīyasya* (5.69.1c), and consequently ‘(Herrscher)erscheinung’ in a previous hymn to Mitra and Varuṇa (5.62.5a) from the same family. The notion of ‘image, effigy, reflection’ is also assumed by Renou, under a variety of renderings: “l’image (même du soleil)” (1.73.2c, cf. *EVP* 12.19), “son image” (7.45.3c, cf. *EVP* 15.31), “l’image célèbre (et) vaste” (5.62.5a, cf. *EVP* 5.78), “l’image” (5.69.1c, cf. *EVP* 5.82), “la figure d’or” (7.38.1b, cf. *EVP* 15.28), “ta large (et) vaste figure” (7.38.2c, cf. *EVP* 15.28), “comme le reflet-lumineux” (1.64.9c, cf. *EVP* 10.17), “le symbole” (3.38.8b, cf. *EVP* 17.81). From Renou’s notes of commentary, one may extract the gist of further discussions: *amāti-* would refer to an image or a figurative prototype, as distinguished from the god himself (*EVP* 15.28), but the underlying notion would be ‘construction, body’ rather than ‘image’ (*EVP* 16.107 ad 5.45.2a).

Concerning the two passages from hymns to Mitra and Varuṇa in the 5th maṇḍala, Renou has longer comments, where he gives alternative glosses of *amāti-*: “représentation visuelle d’un être divin,” “le prototype lumineux du *kṣatṛīya* son emblème, sa *śrī*” (*EVP* 7.41 ad 5.62.5a), “l’*amāti* du *kṣatṛīya*, le prototype ou emblème du tenant-du-pouvoir-temporel n’est autre que le *kṣatṛá* même” (*EVP* 7.50 ad 5.69.1c). In other words, *amāti-* would be a visible sign or image that points by its shape and its symbolic power to another notion or being, i.e., an emblem. This may have contributed to the translation by ‘emblem’ (6×) or ‘ensign’ (2×), which has been used by Jamison–Brereton for most occurrences, except for 5.62.5, where they prefer ‘banner’; but one can admit that a banner is effectively an ensign. By comparison, the renderings given by the authors of the recent German translation are not so consistent: “Erscheinung” with question mark for 1.64.9 (Witzel–Gotō I 121), 1.73.2 (Witzel–Gotō I 133), “Offenbarung” for 5.45.2 (Witzel–Gotō II 281, but “Erscheinung” 578), “das goldene Bild” for 3.38.8 (Witzel–Gotō II 73); somewhat differently, “Wahrzeichen” for 5.62.5 and 5.69.1 (Witzel–Gotō II 312, 319), which is nearly identical to ‘emblem’.

3. The etymological approach has been unsuccessful, which is not surprising in the absence of any ascertained meaning. The connection with the root *am-* in the sense ‘to attack, press on’ is related to the mistaken interpretation of the phrase *amātim kṣatṛīyasya* (RV 5.69.1c), since it seems to allow an interpretation of *amāti-* as ‘might, power, prowess’. For this single occurrence, Grassmann has the meaning “Wucht, Gewalt,” which is assumed as the original

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one.⁵ The shift to ‘sunlight’, ‘brightness’ is rather tortuous: the ‘Sonnenschein’ would be “der mit der Macht seiner Glut herandringende” (sic, Grassmann 90). This has been unfortunately taken up by Mayrhofer (*EWAia* 1.96) and Katsikadeli (in Rivelex I 369). According to the latter account, the basis would be a participial stem of the root **h₂emh₃-* (*LIV*² 265), from which would be derived an *-i*-stem **h₂em(h₃)-nt-i-*: “zum Anpackenden/Wuchtigen gehörig” > “die wuchtige Erscheinung, Bildnis.” I fail to understand this kind of semantic evolution, which reminds me—unfavorably, I confess—of Heideggerian prose. There is not any notion of power or prowess in the uses of *amáti-*, and this noun had no obvious connection in RVic times whatsoever with the verb *amí-*, nor with the derivatives of this root: *áma-* masc. (RV 14×), action noun, ‘onslaught, attack’, and *ámivā-* fem. (RV 21×) ‘disease, illness’, as “the attacking one, the seizing one.”⁶

Oldenberg has reformulated this etymological connection through the notion of ‘impetus’ (1897a:479), since *amáti-* occurs mostly in connection with Savitar, which gives impetus (*saví-*) to the beings. Hence his somewhat synthetic (and half-etymological) translation by “impetuous splendour” (sic!) in 1.73.3 (1897b:88).⁷ This does not make sense. From the derivational point of view, there are some ancient Ved. *°ati*-stems which go back to abstracts in **-nt-í-*, based on verbal adjectives, all of feminine gender: *am̐hatí-* ‘distress’, *vasatí-* ‘nest, dwelling’, *°dhr̥ajatí-* ‘swiftness’, *dr̥satí-* ‘look, appearance’.⁸ One should note that they are all accented on the final syllable, by contrast with *amáti-*.

As further cognates of *amáti-*, the Vedic nouns (AV) *vyāmā-* and *samāmā-* have been quoted together,⁹ because they were long taken as referring to width and length.¹⁰ Actually, they are derived from the root *amí-*, with preverbs, in the sense ‘to swear’: *vyāmā-* ‘abjuring’ and *samāmā-* ‘oath’. This meaning is based on the gesture of grasping an object while swearing.¹¹ The semantic development has been completed in the related Greek verb ὅμνῶμι ‘to swear’, and it may be assumed for the PIE root **h₂emh₃-* ‘to grasp, seize’. It would be quite speculative to imagine that *amáti-* referred to an object seized by the hand and endowed with some supernatural power.¹² This is far from probable, since *amáti-* never occurs as a ritual object which was used for taking an oath. In any case, *v(i)yāmā-* (AV+) ‘fathom, measure of two extended arms’ is based on *vī-yam-* ‘to stretch out, extend widely’,¹³ and is devoid of any connection with the root *amí-*, nor with any root of similar shape. Because Neisser wants to define the ultimate underlying notion as ‘measure, constructed figure, construction’ (“messende Hand, Maßgabe, Gestaltung, Bildung”), he set up a root **am-*, which would be the equivalent of *mā-* ‘to measure’, hence ‘to form, fashion, build’.¹⁴

⁵As a matter of fact, Thieme (1957:43) still hesitated between ‘might’ and ‘splendour’, albeit with question marks, for the translation of *amáti-* in 5.69.1c.

⁶*EWAia* 1.98.

⁷Compare ‘mighty splendour’, as per Macdonell 1897:32.

⁸Pinault 2014. Previous account by Debrunner (1954:628 §466c).

⁹Both nouns occur in AVŚ 18.4.70; see also *samāmyā-* and *vyāmyā-*, both occurring in AVŚ 4.16.8.

¹⁰Neisser 1924:77, followed by Liebert (1949:183–4) and *KEWai* (1.43 and 3.275); refuted by Minard (1955:37–8).

¹¹Hoffmann 1969:197–210; *EWAia* 1.97.

¹²MW 981b; *KEWai* 3.275. Attested for the first time in AVŚ 6.137.2.

¹³As per Scarlata (in Witzel–Gotō II 578), supporting the traditional etymology: “was mit dem Sinnen zu fassen ist und worauf man auch allenfalls schwört.” This amount to playing with the uses of the German verb *fassen*.

¹⁴Neisser 1924:77.

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This is better left aside, even though it points to a semantic parameter which is definitely relevant: the *amāti-* is not an abstraction, but a concrete thing, which has size and shape.

4. The notion of image or emblem remains however somewhat problematic. First of all, an emblem or ensign is by definition a symbolic representation of something. The construction of *amāti-* with genitive occurs only in 5.69.1c (*amātim kṣatṛīyasya*) and it can be inferred¹⁵ for the parallel passage 5.62.5a. One would expect more instances of the construction “the emblem of X.” If one assumes an object similar to a banner or standard, the nouns for ‘banner, flag’ in the RV are *dhvajá-* masc. and *drapsá-* masc., which are not so frequent. It stands to reason that the emblem of Agni (cf. 1.73.2) was his flame: there exists a word for this notion, namely *ketú-* masc. ‘beacon’, as luminous ensign. In addition, the god Agni is the personified and divinized fire (*agní-*), so that the relationship between its external form (*rūpá-*) or ‘body’, so to speak, and his person is not based on an emblematic correspondence. As for Savitar, the most fitting emblem would be his raised golden arms (2.38.2, 4.53.3.4, 6.71.1.5, and passim).¹⁶ This concrete detail is close to sketching an effigy of Savitar, at least in the imagination of the poets and of their audience. In that case, the syntactic contexts of *amāti-* in the hymns to Savitar do not support the notion of a reference to the image of Savitar himself.

There is a more general objection to the understanding of *amāti-* as an ‘image’ of sorts. The Vedic cult in its oldest stage did not resort to images of gods.¹⁷ Therefore, one should depart from the notion of *rūpá-* in the sense of ‘figure’ or ‘effigy’. Although the occurrences of *amāti-* are not numerous, some common features can be identified that are more significant than the general reference to brightness. As an indication that *amāti-* is a concrete object, one can note that it occurs in similes (1.64.9, 1.73.2, 5.45.2). An *amāti-* is ‘visible, striking the eye’ (*darśatā-* 1.64.9c), ‘real’ (*satyá-* 1.73.2c), ‘wide, broad’ (*urvī-* 7.38.2c, 5.62.5a, *urūcī-* 7.45.3c), ‘large’ (*pr̥thivī-* 7.38.2c), ‘high, lofty’ (*ūrdhvā-* AVŚ 7.14.2c), and ‘famous’ (*śrutā-* 5.62.5a, *puruprasastā-* 1.73.2c). Since it belongs to the motifs of the hymns to Savitar, who has golden hands, golden arms, golden eyes, and a golden tongue,¹⁸ his *amāti-* is also ‘golden’ (*hiranyāyī-* 7.38.1b = 3.38.8b). Most important, it occupies some space that is under the protection of the gods or that belongs to the divine sphere.

5. Let us start¹⁹ with the passages where a meaning such as ‘dwelling, home, mansion’ can be inferred without difficulty from the phraseology. The first passage belongs to the account of the myth of Vala, told mostly in the injunctive²⁰ in the stanzas 5.45.1–3. In brief, Vala is a demon, who personifies the dark cave where he guards the cows as well as other goods

¹⁵Cf. Geldner ad loc.; Renou, *EVP* 7.41.

¹⁶Macdonell 1897:32; Oberlies 2012:160. This gesture as well as the brilliance during the night may suggest that the Milky Way was the cosmic manifestation of Savitar, as proposed by Falk (1988:17–22).

¹⁷Oberlies 2012:244–9. Explicit references to temples and images of gods are found in a few texts of the later Vedic age. The usual terms for ‘image, statue, picture’ to be worshipped are *pratimā-* (once in RV 10), *arcā-* (MW 90a), originally ‘worship’, and *bimba-* (MW 731c), originally ‘disk, mirror, reflected form’.

¹⁸Macdonell 1897:32.

¹⁹Hereafter I give the translation of all occurrences of *amāti-*. I will refer to the most recent translation of the RV, which provides the basis of the renderings proposed here except for *amāti-*. Some additional divergences on my side will be occasionally mentioned.

²⁰See Hoffmann 1967:173–5 with previous literature.

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that make life possible, such as horses, rivers, gold, sun, moon, etc.²¹ With the help of the Aṅgirasas, Indra (alternatively Bṛhaspati, the chief of the Aṅgirasas) opens this cave and releases the cows, simultaneously dispelling the darkness, by unloosing the dawn, the sun, etc.:

5.45.2

*vī sūryo amātim nā śrīyaṃ sād, ōrvād gāvām mātā jānatī gāt /
dhānvarṇaso nadyāḥ khādo-arnāḥ sthūneva sūmitā dṛṇhata dyaūḥ //*

“The sun unlooses his beauty like [one opens] a mansion; the mother of the cows [= Dawn], recognizing (the way), comes here from the pen. The rivers (of light) have floods (broad and high) like plains, have floods that chew (their banks). Heaven becomes firm like a well-fixed pillar.”²²

This stanza celebrates the liberation of the sun, which will now enjoy his broad and bright mansion that is the luminous sky of the day, by contrast to the gloomy cave where it was concealed, which was also the pen of the cows and the reservoir of waters. As a consequence, the world emerges from the primeval chaos and takes the shape of a well-structured and illuminated cosmos, where heaven is separated from earth, making a free path for the sun. Heaven is evoked here as a kind of propped-up construction. The verb *vī-sā-* ‘to unbind, unloose’ has a meaning close to *vī-ṛ-* ‘to open’, a verb which is often used for the opening of the cave of Vala, and, by way of metaphor, for the dispelling of darkness at sunrise.

The next passage contains a comparison of Agni with the god Savitar (pāda a), and one may assume that the simile involving *amāti-* (pāda c) is the sequel to that. In addition, there is a component proper to the series of hymns to Agni composed by Parāśara (65 to 73 of the 1st maṇḍala). Among the many similes found therein, Agni is compared or identified to a peaceful abode or dwelling, see *kṣitīr nā pṛthivī* (1.65.5b) “like a broad place of peaceful dwelling,” *kṣēmo nā sādhuḥ* (1.67.2a) “like peace that brings prosperity,” *ōko nā ranvāḥ* (1.66.3b) “delightful like a home,” *sādmeva dhīrāḥ sammāya cakruḥ* (1.67.10cd) “the clever men have made some kind of seat [= the fire-altar], having measured it completely.” There is nothing surprising about this metaphor: Agni is present as the domestic fire in every house (*gr̥hē-gr̥he*, *dāme-dame*), hence he is the householder (*gr̥hāpati-*), enjoying the house (*dāmūnas-*), and the guest (*ātithi-*) par excellence.²³ He can be identified with the home itself, the place of hospitality for gods and men:

1.73.2

*devō nā yāḥ savitā satyāmanmā krātvā nīpāti vṛjānāni vīśvā /
puruprasastō amātir nā satyā ātmēva sévo didhiṣāṇyo bhūt //*

“Whose thoughts become reality like god Savitar’s, who protects all ritual communities according to his will, lauded by many [and] really present like a mansion, agreeable like one’s own self, he has become desirable to install.”²⁴

6. A majority of the occurrences of *amāti-* are found in hymns to Savitar or in passages hav-

²¹Oberlies 2012:200–7.

²²Cf. Jamison–Brereton 719.

²³Macdonell 1897:90, 95; Oberlies 2012:113–20.

²⁴Cf. Jamison–Brereton 198.

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ing some connection with Savitar. This god is responsible for impelling or compelling all beings to their various activities, at sunrise and especially at the beginning of the night. He then has an immense domain including all spaces—heaven, air, and earth—, which he illuminates. With his golden limbs he measures out (*vī-mā-*, 5.81.3, see also *mā-* in AVŚ 7.14.2c) the spaces. Then, his ‘dwelling’ can be the whole world which he helps to organize. He is celebrated as a generous lord, and often associated with Bhaga, the god of fortune (*bhāga-*), who distributes riches appropriately.²⁵ In his ‘dwelling’, he provides treasures (7.38.1d) and nourishment for the mortals (7.38.2d, 7.45.3d). Generosity and mastery over a house are definitely connected:

7.38.1

*ūd u syā devāḥ savitā yayāma hiraṇyāyīm amātim yām āśisret /
nūnām bhāgo havyo mānusebhīr vī yó rātnā purūvāsū dādātī //*

“This god Savitar holds up the golden mansion which he has fixed firm. Now is Bhaga to be invoked by the sons of Manu—he of many goods who distributes treasures.”²⁶

7.38.2

*ūd u tiṣṭha savitaḥ śrudhy āsyā hiraṇyapāne prābhṛtāv ṛtāsya /
vy ūrvīm pṛthvīm amātim sṛjānā ā nṛbhyo martabhójanam suvānāḥ //*

“Stand up, Savitar. Listen, o golden-palmed one, at the (ritual) presentation of this truth, releasing your mansion wide and broad, impelling mortal’s sustenance here for men.”

7.45.3

*sā ghā no devāḥ savitā sahāvāsāvisad vāsupatir vāsūni /
viśráyamāno amātim urūcīm martabhójanam ādha rāsate naḥ //*

“The overpowering god Savitar will impel good things here as the lord of goods. Spreading wide his broad mansion, he will then grant to us the sustenance for mortals.”²⁷

AVŚ 7.14.2

*ūrdhvā yasyāmātir bhā ādīdyutat sāvīmani /
hiraṇyapānir amimūta sukrātuḥ kṛpā sūvaḥ //*

“He, whose lofty mansion has shone as a splendor under his impelling, —he, gold-handed, having good resolve, fashioned the heaven with beauty.”²⁸

The pāda 7.38.1b has been inserted in the cosmogonic hymn 3.38, dedicated to Indra, and loosely connected through the mention of the ‘impeller’ (3.38.8a), who is the agent (homonymous with the name of Savitar) of the first creation, which will be followed by a creation due to the speech of the primeval poets:

²⁵Macdonell 1897:32, 33; Brereton 1981:308–14; Oberlies 2012:159–60.

²⁶Cf. Jamison–Brereton 933.

²⁷Cf. Jamison–Brereton 940.

²⁸Cf. Whitney–Lanman 1.398, where *amāti-* is translated by ‘light’, which is somewhat redundant, since it is the subject of the reduplicated aorist of *dyut-*, intransitive. This mantra, together with the preceding verse, occurs in later Samhitās, see for instance TS 1.2.6.1, thus translated by Keith (1914:25): “He at whose impulse the resplendent light shone high, / The golden-handed sage hath measured the heaven with his form.”

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3.38.8

*tād in nv āsya savitūr nākir me hiranyāyīm amātim yām āśisret /
ā sustutī rōdasī viśvaminvā āpīva yōṣā jānimāni vavre //*

“This [= creation] was just his, the impeller’s, (it was) nothing of mine, —the golden mansion that he fixed firm. But it is through (my) good praise hymn that the two world-halves set everything in motion here. He has swaddled the generations, like a young woman her children.”²⁹

In the above-quoted passages, *amātim* is direct object of *śri-* ‘to install, fix, set’, *vi-śri-* ‘to release’, here ‘to extend widely by generative power’, and *vi-śri-* ‘to set open’. This supports and even ensures the identification of the object as a dwelling or house, see 10.18.12b *sahāsram mīta ūpa hī śrāyantām* “let a thousand (house)posts be fixed [in the earth].” In particular, there is a formulaic use of the verb *vi-śri-* with the doors (*dvāraḥ*) as subject in the reflexive middle, especially in Āprī hymns, e.g. 5.5.5a *dēvīr dvāro vi śrayadlvam* “Divine doors, gape open!”³⁰ A commonplace metonymy accounts for the transfer of setting open (*vi-śri-*) the doors to ‘opening the house’.³¹

7. The meaning ‘dwelling, home, mansion’ also fits the next three passages, even though the semantic path is not so straightforward. The Maruts are a troop of young warriors who drive all over the intermediate space (*antārikṣa-*), producing thunderstorm and rain, associated with lightning: they run between the two world-halves (*rōdasī-*, neuter dual). The name of their location has been personified as a female entity, named *rodasī-*, through accent shift. As a beautiful young woman, she is the consort of the Maruts and accompanies them on their chariot (1.167.5, 5.56.8, 6.66.6).³² The following stanza plays on the formal and gender contrast of *rōdasī-* and *rodasī-*, shifting from the former (a) to the latter (cd).³³

1.64.9

*rōdasī ā vadatā gaṇasriyo nṛṣācaḥ śūrāḥ śāvasāhimanyavaḥ /
ā vandbhūreṣv amātir nā darsatā vidyūn nā tasthau maruto rāthēṣu vaḥ //*

“Salute the two world-halves [= *rōdasī*], you who are splendor in a flock, who accompany the superior man [= Indra], heroes with your strength, you whose fury is great. She [= *Rodasī*], lovely to look at as [her] mansion on the chariot-boxes, has mounted your chariots, as the lightning [which is installed on them], o Maruts.”³⁴

The noun *amāti-* reinforces this poetical play because it is of feminine gender, like *vidyūt-* ‘lightning’, a phenomenon which also constantly accompanies the Maruts. There is very likely an allusion to the wedding journey³⁵ where *Rodasī* is transported by her bridegrooms

²⁹Cf. Jamison–Brereton 523, see also the introduction, 521–2.

³⁰See further 1.13.6, 1.142.6, 2.3.5, 7.2.5, 10.70.5, 10.110.5, all in Āprī hymns, and 7.17.2, to Agni.

³¹Compare this phrase with the verbs *vi-ṛ-* and *āpa-ṛ-* for ‘opening the doors’ of the dark abode, said of Dawn (1.48.15, 4.51.2, 7.79.4, etc.), and of course for opening the rock of Vala (2.24.5, 6.17.6, 6.62.11, etc.)

³²Macdonell 1897:78; Jamison–Brereton 99.

³³Geldner 1.85; Renou, *EVP* 10.66; Jamison–Brereton 184–5.

³⁴Cf. Jamison–Brereton 186. I have replaced their translation “with a snake’s fury” for *āhi-manyu-*, which is traditionally accepted (cf. Grassmann 167). I have tried to show (Pinault 2006) that *āhi-* in the three bahuvrīhi compounds *āhi-manyu-*, *āhi-bhānu-*, and *āhi-māya-* was originally the weak allomorph of *māhi-* ‘great’.

³⁵See the wedding hymn 10.85 (mythological marriage of Sūryā and Soma), stanzas 12, 14, 20, 26.

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on their chariot to her new home (*amāti-*), hence this bold image. In some sense, the wife makes the home real. The notion of ‘dwelling’ adds an argument to the pun of this stanza, whereas ‘image’ or ‘brightness’ would be almost irrelevant and meaningless.

The whole world is the domain controlled by the Ādityas. The two major ones, Mitra and Varuṇa, are conceived as universal kings (*samrāj-*) who maintain the order at every level (social, ritual, ethical, cosmic).³⁶ As sovereigns over the world and protectors of justice, they make the counterpart of earthly kings, belonging to the *kṣatriya*-class (cf. 5.64.2, 8.25.8) and possessing the royal power (*kṣatrá-*). One may then conceive their place of sojourn as a mansion centered on a throne, *gárta-*, cf. 5.62.5 below (and also 5.62.7,8), 5.68.5, 7.64.4, and built with pillars, *sthūnā-*, or based upon a pillar. These two concrete things could be the emblem of the kingship. The seat of their power, imagined as a royal abode, is reinforced by the observance of the right order:

5.69.1

*trī rocanā varuṇa trīm̐r utá dyūn trīṇi mitra dhārayat̥ho rājāmsi /
vāyrdhānāv amātim̐ kṣatriyasaya + ānu vratām̐ rākṣamānāv ajuryām̐ //*

“The three realms of light and the three heavens, the three airy spaces do you two uphold, o Varuṇa and Mitra, strengthening the mansion of [your] lordship, protecting your unaging rule.”³⁷

5.62.5

*ānu śrutām̐ amātim̐ vārdhad urvīm̐ barbīr iva yājuṣā rākṣamānā /
nāmasvantā dhṛtadakṣādhi gárte mitrásāthe varuṇēlāsv antāḥ //*

“Guarding (the rule) that strengthens your famous [and] broad mansion, as if guarding the ritual grass with a yajuṣ-recitation, you sit upon the throne amid the libations, o Mitra and Varuṇa of firm skill, receiving homage.”³⁸

This hymn mentions the pillar: 7a *hīranyanirṇig āyo asya sthūnā* “Gold-cloaked metal [is] the pillar of this [throne],” also referring to the *kṣatrá-*, 6d. The compound *āyah-sthūna-* is epithet of the throne in a later stanza, 8: “You two mount (*ruh-*) the throne possessing golden color at the break of dawn, possessing a metal pillar at the rising of the sun. From there you observe guiltlessness and guilt.” The *kṣatrá-* (5.62.6c) as well as the seat, *sādas-* (2.41.5) of Mitra and Varuṇa is ‘thousand-pillared’ (*sahāsra-sthūna-*), hence very well-established.³⁹ This presupposes the reference to a heavenly abode (*amāti-*), imagined as a palace, from which the gods as kings watch over the humans.

7. The poets conceived the *amāti-* as a place controlled by the gods, a part of the cosmos which was their dwelling place. It remains to be explored if this semantic definition of *amāti-* as ‘abode, dwelling, mansion’ allows a meaningful derivational and etymological

³⁶Macdonell 1897: 23–4; Brereton 1981:108–10, 277–87.

³⁷Cf. Jamison–Brereton 751. I prefer to translate *vratā-* as ‘rule, law’, rather than ‘commandment’; more on this point (not relevant for the present discussion) in a different context.

³⁸Cf. Jamison–Brereton 744.

³⁹Because of the concentration and consistency of these architectural metaphors in hymns to Mitra and Varuṇa, especially in the 5th maṇḍala, I do not believe that *amāti-* refers only here to the rain as the ‘banner’ of the kingship of these gods, as per Jamison–Brereton 743.

analysis. Inside the Vedic language, one can see immediately a connection with the adverb *amā* ‘at home, in the house’ (RV 10×),⁴⁰ ablative *amāt* ‘from nearby’ (RV 2×), OP *amata* ‘from there’ (with distant deixis, actually). These forms have long⁴¹ been connected with the demonstrative pronoun *āma-* featuring 1st-person deixis, and cognate with pronominal forms showing the same orientation (PIE **émo-*). This stem fell almost completely out of use in early Indo-Aryan, and it surfaces only in the wedding formula (AVŚ 14.2.71) *āmo ’hām asmi sá tvám* ‘I am he, thou art she.’ Therefore, it has been claimed that RV *amā* ought to have an independent source.⁴² The ablative *amāt* can be disposed of as a secondary form based on the frozen form *amā*, understood as an instrumental. Now, we may understand *amā-ti-* as a denominative collective abstract, of feminine gender, on a stem **amā-* ‘home, dwelling’. This pattern is perfectly established, see *yuva-ti-* ‘young woman’ (< **youth*) from *yívan-* ‘young’, *vṛká-ti-* (personified) ‘wolfishness’ from *vṛka-* ‘wolf’, *sapta-ti-* ‘seventy’ from *saptá* ‘seven’, *ara-ti-* ‘spoked wheel’ (< **crown of spokes*) from *ará-* ‘spoke’, etc.⁴³ If one looks for further connections, an appealing one indeed would be with Lat. *nemus* nt. ‘wood, sacred grove’, Gk. *νέμος* ‘wooded pasture’, OIr. *nemed* ‘sanctuary’ (originally ‘hallowed object or being’), Gaul. *nemeto-* ‘sacred enclosure’, from the root **nem-* ‘to allot’ (LIV² 453), see also Ved. *námas-*, Av. *nəmah-* nt. ‘worship, homage’.⁴⁴ In our present case, the ‘dwelling’ would be an allotted place: *amāti-* is the abode ascribed to the gods, comparable to a sacred place. Since *amā-ti-* can be explained by a purely Indo-Aryan derivational process, it is not necessary to trace it back to a **nm-ét-i-* or the like equatable with the **nem-et-o-* reflected by the Celtic noun.⁴⁵

8. As a theoretical possibility, Indo-Ar. **amā-* could go back to a zero-grade thematic derivative meaning ‘allotment’, **nm-ó-*, which would be totally isolated. The most economical scenario would be to see in it the nasal stem that resulted from the restructuring of the heteroclitc neuter **nóm-ṛ/*ném-n-*, reflected (through leveling of the root vocalism) in Hitt. *lammar*, gen. sg. *lamnaš* ‘moment, instant’ (< **allotment* [of time]).⁴⁶ The expected reshaping of the weak stem was **nm-én-*, or **nm-n-*, hence before consonant **nm-ṇ-* > Ved. **amā-*. Alternatively, this stem **nm-n-* could belong to the internally derived hysterokinetic stem **nm-én-* (nom.-acc. sg. **nm-én*), weak stem **nm-n-*.⁴⁷ This was the original collective neuter ‘dwellings’, hence acc. **nm-én* with directive value > Ved. *amā* ‘towards home’, and finally ‘at home’.

This scenario would be gratuitous if there were not a further reflex of this nasal stem (**nm-én-*) in Indo-Iranian, the existence of which has remained unsuspected till now. It is found in the name *aryamán-*, masc., nom. sg. *aryamā*, acc. sg. *aryamánam*, gen. sg.

⁴⁰This is the basis of *amātya-* masc. ‘housemate’ (RV) and later ‘minister’. See also the compound *amājūr-* fem., said of the spinster ‘aging at home’ (RV 3×).

⁴¹EWAlia 1.95; see also Minard 1956:73 §173a.

⁴²Correctly Schmidt 1978:49, 85 n. 133, see also Dunkel 2014:2.507–8. But Schmidt’s extremely speculative idea of a relationship of **amā-* with *dāma-* ‘house’ can no longer be upheld.

⁴³Debrunner 1954:639–41; Thieme 1949:27–9.

⁴⁴EWAlia 2.16.

⁴⁵Vine 1998:19 n. 41.

⁴⁶Rieken 1999:296–7.

⁴⁷Cf. OCS *seme*, OPr. *semen* (<< **s(e)h₁-mēn*, nt.) vs. Lat. *semen* < **sēh₁-m₂*, nt. as per Nussbaum 1986:118–20.

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aryamñás, etc. This noun is routinely interpreted as an abstract in *-man-* based on *aryá-* ‘hospitable’,⁴⁸ even though this is not compatible with the normal patterns of derivation. Ved. *aryamán-* does not fit the denominative *-man-* abstract type of masculine gender, e.g. *varṣmán-* ‘height’, *prathimán-* ‘breadth’, *mahimán-* ‘greatness’.⁴⁹ Those pattern with Caland-derivatives and follow a different inflection (acc. sg. *-mán-am* < **-mon-m*, etc.). On the other hand, the concept of the Ādityas⁵⁰ entails that *aryamán-* (and Av. *airiāman-*) was a personified abstract, parallel to *mitrá-* masc. ‘god of alliance’ vs. *mitrá-* nt. ‘alliance’. If this god is, as demonstrated thoroughly by Thieme, the personified notion of hospitality, its closest connection would be rather with *arí-* ‘stranger’ and potentially ‘guest’. Therefore, I propose to segment *ary-amán-* < **ari-amán-* ‘who has (and gives) a dwelling for the stranger’, hence ‘the hospitable one’. This does not exclude that a neuter was secondarily back-formed from the masculine. This analysis of the noun of the god Aryaman has broader implications that I shall reserve for a further occasion.

Abbreviations

- EVP* = Renou, Louis. 1955–69. *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*. 17 vols. Paris: Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
- EWAia* = Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1986–2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Geldner = Geldner, Karl Friedrich. 1951. *Der Rig-Veda: Aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen*. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Grassmann = Grassmann, Hermann. 1872–5. *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*. Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Jamison–Brereton = Jamison, Stephanie, and Joel P. Brereton. 2014. *The Rigveda: The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- KEWAi* = Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1956–76. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Winter.
- LIV*² = Kümmel, Martin, and Helmut Rix (ed.). 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- MW = Monier-Williams, Sir Monier. 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- PW = Böhtlingk, Otto, and Rudolf von Roth. 1855–75. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. 7 vols. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Rivelex I = Krisch, Thomas. 2006. *RIVELEX: Rigveda-Lexikon*. Vol. 1, *Wörter beginnend mit “a”*. Graz: Leykam.
- Whitney–Lanman = Whitney, William Dwight. 1905. *Atharva-Veda Samhitā*. Rev. and ed. by Ch. R. Lanman. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Witzel–Gotō I = Witzel, Michael, and Toshifumi Gotō. 2007. *Rig-Veda: Das heilige Wissen. Erster und zweiter Liederkreis*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Weltreligionen.

⁴⁸*EWAia* 1.121, after Thieme 1938:101, 106, 134–5 and 1957:76–81; Brereton 1981:150–81. See the reservation of Debrunner 1954:764 §607.

⁴⁹Debrunner 1954:754–5; Melchert 1983:17–8.

⁵⁰Thieme 1957:72; Oberlies 2012:103–5.

Witzel–Gotō II = Witzel, Michael, Toshifumi Gotō, and Salvatore Scarlata. 2013. *Rig-Veda: Das heilige Wissen. Dritter bis fünfter Liederkreis*. Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen.

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- tinger a collegis et amicis dicatum*, ed. by H. Craig Melchert, Elisabeth Rieken, and Thomas Steer, 262–75. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave.
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Stressful Conversions: Internal Derivation within the Compositional Approach*

JOSEPH RHYNE AND ANDREW MILES BYRD



In the most widely accepted analysis of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) athematic nominal morphology (Schindler 1972, 1975), noun classes are divided along morphological lines, through shifts in accent and ablaut within the root, suffix, and ending. This system, which today is often called the paradigmatic approach (PA; Kiparsky 2010:2), typically proposes four basic classes: acrostatic, proterokinetic, hystero-kinetic, and amphikinetic. While all of the paradigms show a morphophonemic alternation between strong and weak stems,¹ each shows a different pattern for which morpheme receives the accent and vocalism:

	Acrostatic	Proterokinetic	Hystero-kinetic	Amphikinetic
Strong	ó Ø Ø	é Ø Ø	Ø é Ø	é o Ø
Weak	é Ø Ø	Ø é Ø	Ø Ø é	Ø Ø é
Strong	* <i>póts</i>	* <i>méntis</i>	* <i>páh₂tér</i>	* <i>dʰéǵʰōm</i>
Weak	* <i>péts</i>	* <i>mntéis</i>	* <i>páh₂trés</i>	* <i>dʰǵʰmés</i>

Since different accent/ablaut classes are essentially different paradigms, this is—at its core—a morphological analysis. But as Kiparsky (2010, forthcoming) points out, the PA is not without problems: (1) it is a system found solely in the athematic nouns;² (2) it is typologically unusual with few if any comparable systems in other languages;³ and (3) it is only descriptive in nature⁴ and therefore is not predictive nor falsifiable.

To address these problems, Kiparsky has worked on an alternative for nearly half a century (cf. Kiparsky 1973). It is a framework that is mindful of both phonology and morphology within the PIE grammar, and one which he believes will lead to a more typologically

*It is with great joy that we honor our friend, Jared Klein, who has made substantial contributions to the field of Indo-European linguistics, both in scholarship and teaching. As his students, one former and one current, we hope that he finds pleasure in reading this article. We are indebted to Jessica DeLisi, Ryan Sandell, Delphine Tribout, Mark Wenthe, and Tony Yates for their extremely helpful comments; all mistakes are our own.

¹Cf. Fortson 2010:114.

²See Keydana 2013 for further discussion.

³See also Keydana 2012 and Kim 2013.

⁴Moreover, as Ryan Sandell points out to us (p.c.), the PA is not even descriptively adequate, as it predicts the presence of non-existent forms (such as *méntis* ‘mind’ [nom.sg.] vs. reconstructable *mntís*) and must assume a perhaps unhealthy amount of analogy to account for attested accent placement (for instance, the accent in Skt. *rājñas* ‘king [gen.sg.]’ [← **h₃reǵnós*] is explained as being analogical to **h₃reǵō[n]* ‘king [nom.sg.]’).

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viable and accurate reconstruction of PIE. Kiparsky’s framework, known as the Compositional Approach (CA), makes four basic assumptions:

- (1) Morphemes are underlyingly accented, unaccented, or trigger accents on other morphemes.
- (2) Morphemes are either dominant or recessive.
- (3) Only one accent surfaces in pronunciation, which is called the ictus.
- (4) Certain rules must be assumed to delete and insert accents to result in a single ictus.

As is typical of his scholarship, Kiparsky goes to great lengths to ensure that these assumptions have parallels in other languages. To cite a well-known example, in Northern Bizkaian Basque (Gussenhoven 2004:170–84), the majority of roots are unaccented, such as /sagar/ ‘apple’ and /ama/ ‘mother’, but there are also accented roots, such as /arbóla/ ‘tree’ and /léku/ ‘place’. In addition, there are unaccented suffixes (such as the allative /-ra/) and pre-accenting suffixes (such as the instrumental /’-gas/), which trigger an accent on the previous morpheme.

Morphemes may be dominant or recessive in their accentual properties: dominant morphemes impose their accentual properties on other morphemes within the word, whereas recessive morphemes do not affect other accents. For instance, in the Gernika dialect of Northern Bizkaian Basque, the word *sagárretatik* is composed of the unaccented root /sagar/ ‘apple’, the plural morpheme /’-ata/, and the ablative ending /’-tik/. While both suffixes are pre-accenting, only one accent surfaces, as the left-most accent is by default the dominant one in Gernika. Similarly, while *lékuetara* derives from /léku/ ‘place’ + /’-ata/ (pl.) + /-ra/ (all.), which has two underlying accents, only the accent of the root surfaces, as it is the leftmost one (Gussenhoven, *ibid.*).⁵ Note that these examples illustrate the third and fourth assumptions in our list above, namely that there may only be one surface accent, the ictus, and that phonological rule(s) will eliminate certain underlying accents to create that single ictus. Kiparsky’s assumptions for PIE are therefore typologically grounded.

Kiparsky assumes a number of phonological rules that control the accent in PIE. The first is the OXYTONE RULE (OR), whereby a final accent is assigned to all inflected polysyllabic stems:

- (1) OXYTONE RULE

$$\sigma \rightarrow ' \sigma / [\dots \sigma]_{\text{Stem}} \text{ Infl}$$

The effects of the OR can be seen in the curious difference of accentuation in Sanskrit *ṛt-ā* ‘turning’ vs. *tri-ṛt-ā* ‘threefold’, where *-ā* is an inflectional ending. The stem in *ṛt-ā* is

⁵For another instance of accentual dominance, cf. Tokyo Japanese (Tsujimura 1989):

Root	Rec. <i>-te</i> ‘gerundive’	Dom. <i>-(y)oo</i> ‘informal tentative’
<i>tao</i> ‘fall’	<i>tao-re-te</i>	<i>tao-re-yoo</i>
<i>nao</i> ‘mend’	<i>nao-t-te</i>	<i>nao-r-oo</i>
<i>ok</i> ‘get up’	<i>ok-i-te</i>	<i>ok-i-yoo</i>

In each case the roots are underlyingly accented. But whether that underlying accent surfaces depends on the morphemes added. When one combines the root with the recessive gerundive ending *-te*, it does; however, if one adds the dominant suffix *-(y)oo*, then the underlying accent of the root is erased, with the surface accent appearing on said suffix.

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monosyllabic, and consequently the OR does not apply. However, the stem of *tri-vṛt-ā* is polysyllabic, and hence the OR applies, resulting in an accent on the final syllable of the stem.

Kiparsky’s second rule should be a familiar one for Indo-Europeanists: VOWEL SYNCOPE (VS),⁶ which states that a short mid vowel is deleted before an accented morpheme:⁷

- (2) VOWEL SYNCOPE (Final)
 */e, o/ → Ø / __M̃.

We may see VS in action through the comparison of PIE */ph₂ter-s/ → *pāh₂tér (nom.sg.) and */ph₂ter-és/ → *pāh₂trés (gen.sg.). In the latter form, the accented gen.sg. ending -és triggers VS when it is added, thereby creating the weak stem *pāh₂tr-.⁸ On the other hand, the nom.sg. ending -s is unaccented,⁹ and therefore syncope does not occur.

The final rule within the Compositional Approach, the BASIC ACCENTUATION PRINCIPLE (BAP), is perhaps the most salient one. It consists of two parts, one which erases accents to create a single ictus, and one which inserts an accent should there be no underlying ones:

- (3) BASIC ACCENTUATION PRINCIPLE
 a) The leftmost accented syllable of a domain retains the accent, while all other accents are deleted.
 b) If there is no accented syllable in the word, place the ictus (surface accent) on the leftmost syllable.

The BAP enforces the requirement that there *must* only be one ictus in the surface form: accent(s) may be erased if there are multiple underlying accents and an accent may be inserted if there are no accents in the underlying form. We may observe the second part of this principle in the aforementioned stem */urt-/: PIE */urt-m/ > Skt. *vṛtam*. Both the root and the suffix are underlyingly unaccented, but, because of the BAP, an accent is placed on the leftmost syllable, hence the Sanskrit form. Working in tandem within the PIE grammar, the OR, VS, and the BAP successfully derive the correct forms for PIE for both unaccented and accented roots. As an illustration, note the complete derivations for the accent root */b^hréh₂ter-/ and the unaccented root */ph₂ter-/ (Kiparsky forthcoming):

⁶I.e., Ø-grade.

⁷Cf. Byrd 2015:34–40, 162–77.

⁸For the assumption of schwa epenthesis as laryngeal vocalization, see Byrd 2015:27–34.

⁹Note, however, as Ryan Sandell reminds us (p.c.), Kiparsky (forthcoming:15 ex. 22) assumes that the nom.sg. *-s is preaccenting, though we fail to see why this is a necessary assumption. It is simplest to assume that the suffix was unaccented.

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(4) Derivation of “brother” and “father”¹⁰

(i) Accented Root

	*/b ^h rēh ₂ ter-/		
Inflection	b ^h rāh ₂ ter-m̐	b ^h rāh ₂ ter-éh ₁	b ^h rāh ₂ ter-sú
Oxytone	b ^h rāh ₂ tér-m̐	b ^h rāh ₂ tér-éh ₁	b ^h rāh ₂ tér-sú
Ø-grade	—	b ^h rāh ₂ tr-éh ₁	b ^h rāh ₂ tṛ-sú
BAP	b ^h rāh ₂ ter-m̐	b ^h rāh ₂ tr-eh ₁	b ^h rāh ₂ tr-su
(Sanskrit	<i>bhrātaram</i>	<i>bhrātrā</i>	<i>bhrātṛsu</i>)

(ii) Unaccented Root

	*/ph ₂ ter-/		
Inflection	pəh ₂ ter-m̐	pəh ₂ ter-éh ₁	pəh ₂ ter-sú
Oxytone	pəh ₂ tér-m̐	pəh ₂ tér-éh ₁	pəh ₂ tér-sú
Ø-grade	—	pəh ₂ tr-éh ₁	pəh ₂ tṛ-sú
BAP	—	—	pəh ₂ tṛ-su
(Sanskrit	<i>pitāram</i>	<i>pitṛā</i>	<i>pitṛsu</i>)

As has been demonstrated above, the Compositional Approach is a typologically grounded hypothesis. However, as we will discuss in this article, it remains to be seen if the same holds true for Kiparsky’s analysis of Internal Derivation (ID). As is well known, the traditional paradigmatic approach assumes that both athematic and thematic nouns may create a derived nominal form by shifting the accent/ablaut class.¹¹ Thus, thematic nouns may shift from barytone to oxytone (*tómh₁os ‘a cut’ → *tomh₁ós ‘cutting’); acrostatic nouns may shift to proterokinetic (*krót-u- ‘power’ → *krét-u- ‘strong’); proterokinetic nouns may shift to hysterokinetic (*síēuh_x-m̐ ‘band’ → *síuh_x-mén- ‘membrane’); and acrostatic, proterokinetic, and hysterokinetic nouns may shift to amphikinetic (*uódh₁ ‘water’ → *ued-ór- ‘water (collective)’, *kréuh₂-s ‘raw meat’ → *kréuh₂-os- ‘gore’, *pəh₂tér- ‘father’ → *h₁su-pəh₂tór- ‘well-bred’).¹² Of course, for Kiparsky (ibid.), no such shift in accent/ablaut class exists, as the classes themselves did not exist. For him, ID is a process whereby a “dominant unaccented null suffix erases the inherent accent of its barytone stem.” In other words, internal derivation is triggered by a *silent* morpheme, whose only phonological content is its dominant accentual property. Recall that dominant morphemes “trump” recessive morphemes. As Kiparsky argues, it is its dominant status that creates the shift in accent within the internally derived form. Thus, returning to many of the examples cited above, we find that in Kiparsky’s analysis, the zero morpheme first erases the original accent of the stem, with the BAP and Oxytone Rule applying to give the final surface accents: *tómh₁-o-s ‘a cut’ →

¹⁰The table is based on Kiparsky 2010:146. Regarding the application of zero grade to accented syllables, Kiparsky (2010:145) writes that zero grade “applies both to accented and unaccented syllables, provided an accented morpheme follows, no matter where the ictus falls in the word.”

¹¹Nussbaum 1986, Widmer 2004.

¹²Kim 2013.

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**tomh₁-o-Ø-s* → **tomh₁-ós* ‘cutting’, **uód-r* ‘water’ → **uod-(o)r-Ø* → **ued-ór-* ‘water (collective)’, **sieu_h-men-* → **sieu_h-men-Ø* → **siu_h-mén-* ‘membrane’, **pah₂tér-* → **pah₂ter-Ø* → **h₁su-pah₂tór-* ‘well-bred’.

A number of questions arise in the proposal of such an analysis. To begin with, is such a silent morpheme even learnable by speakers of a language? One could perhaps determine learnability by conducting actual experiments, examining whether humans today would be able to learn the proposed features of our reconstructed language. Unfortunately, we have neither the time nor resources to conduct such an undertaking at present, though we hope that there will come a point in the near future of our field when such experiments are undertaken to bolster one’s hypotheses. As such, we can only look to parallels in other languages, leading us to the second question: does a dominant zero morpheme have any typological parallels? As argued above, Kiparsky’s claims have all been well-supported through cross-linguistic analysis. But is this true of a dominant zero morpheme? In the remainder of this article, we will explore the possible typological parallels and subsequently reach a verdict on the likelihood of the existence of a dominant zero morpheme within PIE.

Let us begin with the first, and perhaps most obvious solution: internal derivation was a productive case of conversion. Conversion is a morphological technique that is parallel to affixation and is a process that either links lexemes derivationally or creates a new derivative with the same form as its base (Bauer and Valera 2005a). To cite a familiar example: the verb *convert* (with unexpected accentuation) is created via conversion from the noun *convert* (with expected accentuation). There are three basic types of conversions in the world’s languages: **root-**, **stem-**, and **word-**based. Languages may utilize all three as we find in Italian (Manova and Dressler 2005:67–71):

Root-based: *ritard-a* ‘he delays’ → *ritard-o* ‘delay’

Stem-based: *revoc-a-re* ‘to revoke’ → *la revoc-a* ‘revocation’

Word-based: *sapere* ‘to know’ → *il saper-e*, *i saper-i* ‘knowledge’

Inflecting languages (such as Italian) tend to have more instances of root- and stem-based conversion, whereas isolating languages (such as French and English) employ more word-based conversion: (*to*) *jump* (v.) → (*a*) *jump* (n.). Since PIE was a highly inflectional (fusional) language, one would expect there to be mostly root- and stem-based conversions.

In general, the majority of instances of conversion involve a change in word-class, most commonly from noun to verb or from verb to noun. Of course, this is not always true of internal derivation, which may derive a noun into another noun. Though less common, cross-linguistically conversion may trigger changes in secondary word-class, of the types which are semantically closer to what we see in PIE. For instance, in Macedonian (Vaneva 2013) a countable singular noun such as *jabolko* ‘apple’ (5) may be converted into an uncountable plural as in (6):

- (5) Zdravo e da se jade po edno jabolko na den
 healthy be.PRES.3SG TO PART eat on one apple on day
 “It is healthy to eat one apple a day.”

Without any change in form, *jabolko* may be parsed as an uncountable plural.

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- (6) Imaɛ sok ɔd jabolko
 have.PRES.IPL juice of apple.NONCOUNT
 ‘We have apple juice.’

Compare this with an internally derived amphikinetic collective in PIE: **uódōr* ‘water’ (sg.) → *uédōr* ‘water’ (coll.). There are of course additional semantic functions of internal derivation, which include the shift from an abstract to a concrete noun (Skt. *bráhman-* (nt.) ‘sacred formulation’ → *brahmán-* (m.) ‘priest’, Gk. *ψεῦδος* ‘lie’ → *-ψευδής* ‘lying’)¹³ and the shift from a noun to an adjective (Gk. *τόμος* ‘cut’ → *τομός* ‘cutting’; Ved. *yásas-* ‘splendor’ → *yásás-* ‘splendid’).¹⁴ We therefore find that there are certain semantic commonalities between internal derivation and conversion.

In order to determine that one word has been converted from another, the two words must be “related in meaning to a sufficient degree” (Bauer and Valera 2005:13). For this reason, we cannot predict what the exact meaning of a converted word will be, only that it will be sufficiently semantically related. We thus may contrast (a) *hammer* ~ (to) *hammer* with (a) *plane* ‘aircraft’ ~ *to plane* ‘to smooth a piece of wood’. Despite being phonetically (and phonologically) identical, the latter pair is not linked by conversion, as they are not sufficiently semantically related. Additionally, while by no means common, there are certain phonological parallels to internal derivation in conversion, in which we observe accentual shifts and/or vocalic alternations. We may see both processes in the aforementioned pair *cónvert* ([^hkʰən.vɹɪt]) ~ *convért* ([^hkʰɪ.vɹɪt]), with vowel reduction triggered by an accentual shift. For a more complex example, observe that for certain speakers of the Baltimore dialect of American English, the singular of ‘police’ is [^hpʰɔ̃.lis] (referring to one police officer), with a collective [^hpʰlis], with the vowel of the first syllable being lost and accentual shift (cf. **uódōr* ~ *uédōr*).¹⁵ It is important to note, however, that while the vowel is not synchronically predictable within certain cases of ID within PIE, in cases of vowel reduction/shift via conversion, it is *always* so. Thus, the reduction to a syllabic nasal in the first syllable that occurs in the shift from *cónvert* ([^hkʰən.vɹɪt]) to *convért* ([^hkʰɪ.vɹɪt]) makes sense, but one would never create a form such as [×]*canvórt* ([^hkʰæn.vɔ̃ɪt]), comparable to what one finds in the conversion from **uódōr* to **uédōr*. As far as we can tell, such change in vocalism is not motivated by any synchronic rule within reconstructable PIE. In short, while conversion provides an excellent semantic parallel to internal derivation, it does not provide a very good phonological one, if the phonological variation is in fact driven by synchronic phonological rules.¹⁶

If phonology is indeed relevant here, perhaps our solution lies in processes of deaccentuation, whereby an accented morpheme loses its accent within the derivation. Kiparsky himself emphasizes the erasure of accent in ID: “the dominant null suffix erases the inherent accent of its barytone stem” (Kiparsky forthcoming). We may informally define deaccentuation as the deletion of an underlying or derived accent that would otherwise surface as the

¹³As Tony Yates reminds us (p.c.), it is likely that simplex *s*-stem adjectives were back-formations from compounds; see Meissner 2005:206ff.

¹⁴Kiparsky 2010:27–9.

¹⁵For other types of phonological alternations triggered by conversion (including changes of vocalism, insertion of consonants, etc.), see Tribout 2010.

¹⁶Moreover, one should note that the phonological changes that occur in these classes in PIE are restricted to nominal and adjectival bases, which would be surprising if internal derivation were strictly phonological.

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ictus in the output. Typically in intonational languages like English, deaccentuation functions as a process to indicate new and given information within a sentence (Gussenhoven 2011). However, this is unlikely to be relevant here, as there is no indication that ID had a pragmatic function in PIE.

Perhaps more relevant is the use of deaccentuation to avoid stress clash. For example, when uttered in most contexts, one of the authors will proclaim that he hails from the state of *Tennessee*. However, in certain sequences the original primary stress is lost, with the secondary stress becoming primary: *Tennessee* ¹*Titans* (Zsiga 2013:358). Of course, given that PIE was a pitch accent language (cf. Weiss 2009:108), it is very likely that only one pitch accent (the ictus) could be realized in the surface form, and it is for this reason that secondary stress is not reconstructable.¹⁷ Moreover, instances of stress clash in examples such as *Tennessee* ¹*Titans* occur across a word boundary, and processes of deaccentuation in ID are strictly found within the confines of the word.

However, certain rules can trigger deaccentuation within a word, a property that is often restricted to certain morphological formations. For example, in English one finds the process of INITIAL ACCENT DELETION, where all accents (both primary and secondary) are deleted except for the last one, occurring in compounds and before certain derivational affixes. This leads to contrasts such as: *un*¹*kind* ~ *un*¹*kindness*, *Rembrandt* ~ *Rembrandt*¹*tesque*, *Kilimanjaro* ~ *Mount Kilimanjaro*, and *sixty*¹*one* ~ *Route Sixty*¹*one*. It is especially common for deaccentuation to occur within compounds. For instance, in Japanese, a compound containing *gogaku* + *kyooshi* results in *gogaku* *kyooshi* ‘language teacher’, while *hitori* and *musume* results in *hitori* *musume* ‘single daughter’ (Itô and Mester 2006:3). Cf. also Modern Greek: *spirto* ‘match’ + *ku*¹*ti* ‘box’ results in *spirto*¹*kuti* ‘match box’ (Nespor and Ralli 1993:201).

As is the case in English, Japanese, and Modern Greek, deaccentuation also occurs in PIE compounds (Kiparsky forthcoming), a process continued faithfully by Sanskrit. For instance, in bahuvrihi compounds the accent is erased in the second member via the BAP, as the accent of the leftmost member is the dominant one: /sahásra/ + /dákṣiṇa/ → *sahásra*-*dakṣiṇa*- ‘worth 1000 (cows)’, /gó/ + /vápūs/ → *gónapus*- ‘having the form of a cow’. Moreover, dominant suffixes such as pre-accenting /-ta/ will erase any underlying accent, as seen in *aprajásta*- (← /á/ + /prajás/ + /ta/) ‘lack of progeny’ and *ādityádevata* (← /ā́ditya/ + /devá/ + /ta/) ‘having the sun as a deity’, with accent assignment via the OR. Clearly deaccentuation processes are at work here in Sanskrit and PIE—there is no other way to explain the single accent within the compound forms. That said, after an extensive typological survey, we have been unable to find a single language with a silent, dominant, unaccented derivational suffix that alters words in the ways proposed by Kiparsky.¹⁸ Uncharacteristically, he

¹⁷Though, as Jessica DeLisi points out to us (p.c.), it is conceivable that multiple icti were allowed within a single PIE word due to tonal sandhi, as in Gk. *ἄνθρωποι τε θεοί τε* ‘both men and gods’.

¹⁸Mark Wenthe suggests to us (p.c.) that languages such as Etsako with “floating” tones (Katamba 1989:201) may provide useful comparanda to Kiparsky’s proposed zero dominant morpheme. In Etsako one finds certain constructions such as [àmèθa] ‘father’s water’, which are best analyzed as àmè ‘water’ + H ‘of’ + èθà ‘father’, where the morpheme signifying ‘of’ is devoid of any phonological content aside from a high tone. Note that this is quite different from the PIE situation, as a high tone contains some phonetic information (leading to the creation of a contour tone in the second syllable of [àmèθa]), whereas Kiparsky’s zero dominant morpheme is devoid of any such information—it simply “reboots” the accentual assignment within the stem.

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himself offers no parallel examples from other languages of the zero dominant morpheme. All of this leads us to a firm conclusion: internal derivation must have been rooted (at least in part) within the morphology.

As discussed above, the traditional approach assumes that all accent/ablaut shifts were completely localized in the morphology. Supporters of the compositional approach have pushed back against this notion, demonstrating there to be a number of good reasons for the shifts to occur in the phonology. However, in our research we have been unable to find any phenomena in the world’s languages that is comparable to Kiparsky’s view of ID, leading us to conclude that synchronically there was no such thing in late PIE as a dominant zero morpheme. In the absence of an overt phonological trigger governing these shifts, we conclude that the process of ID was governed in late PIE completely by the morphology. As such, the forms and alternations would need to be memorized. Speakers simply learned the pattern that nouns of the shape **tómh₁os* may form a derivative **tomh₁ós*, just as English speakers have memorized the pattern *cónvert* → *convért*.

One might view our assertion that late PIE speakers memorized these forms to be an inelegant one, though one must recognize that memorization is a component entrenched in all human languages. Consider Sanskrit as a case in point. The declension of the Sanskrit noun is incredibly complex, with eight cases, three genders, three numbers, and multiple declension types (Stump 2015). And within these declensions, each noun may undergo an alternation in stem, depending on the case and number of the form in question. While many of these alternations may be explained within the phonology, such as /rājan/ → *rājñ-* ‘king’ (illustrating VS), a number of stem alternations, such as /vidvāms/ → *vidus-* ‘knowing’ and /pratyāñc/ → *pratic-* ‘westerly’ (Stump, *ibid.*), cannot. Since many of these alternations cannot be predicted synchronically by phonological rule, they would have had to be memorized as morphological alternations, as in our interpretation of ID.

This of course does not discredit the compositional approach entirely; indeed, we believe it to be the most sensible approach to Indo-European morphophonology, as it is more explanatory, more typologically grounded, and more easily falsified than the paradigmatic approach.¹⁹ Our assertion that ID was purely morphological is entirely compatible with the

¹⁹While it is likely that a zero dominant morpheme did not exist in late PIE, this does not mean that ID was always a morphological process. Indeed, we may find the diachronic solution within Kiparsky’s own analyses, where external derivation and compounds are constructed in nearly the same way as his proposed internal derivation. Most compounds are subject to the BAP, such as *bahuvrihi*s (Skt. *parjányaretas* ← *parjánya-rétas*) ‘from Parjanya’s seed’) and *tatpuruṣas* (*sarvā-rohita*). In external derivation and synthetic compounds, affixes are added (Kiparsky forthcoming), which determine the accentual properties of the word. In external derivation, all the morphemes used are dominant morphemes: cf. the accent erasure of the stem in Skt. *pitár* ‘father’ → *pitṛmánt-* ‘having a father’, as *-mánt-* is a dominant accented morpheme. Synthetic compounds behave the same way, though not limited solely to dominant morphemes. In Sanskrit, [[sóma][pī]thá] → *somapīthá* ‘soma-drinking’, *-thá* is a dominant accented morpheme (Kiparsky, *ibid.*). Also in Sanskrit, we have [[sóma][pe]ya] → *somapéya-* ‘soma-drinking’, where *-ya-* is a dominant pre-accenting morpheme. The proposal of a dominant morpheme governing ID is straightforward, but a *zero* morpheme behaving in such a way is not typologically compelling. This leads us to the tentative hypothesis that at one point in PIE, internal derivation was governed by an *overt* dominant morpheme, which we may call **-X-*, behaving just as the compounds cited above. While we are of course unable to ascertain the precise phonological makeup of this morpheme, we may assume that it underwent some phonological change whereby it was deleted or reanalyzed. After its loss internal derivation was in turn completely morphologized.

The morphologization of a lost suffix is not an outlandish proposal. To cite an example closer to home, Pre-Old English class 2 weak verbs had a stem-formative verbal suffix **-a/oj-* (Kastovsky 2005:44–5): **/wund-o-d-e/* ‘wounded’

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CA. In fact, we believe that it is the interaction between the morphology and phonology that creates the actual reconstructed forms. Internal derivation was merely a morphological shift of vocalism within the root in the underlying form, comparable to the nonconcatenative morphology of Arabic (though of course on a much smaller scale). Consider plural formation in Egyptian Arabic nouns (Winchester 2014). While nouns are typically marked for number suffixally (cf. *darf-a* ‘leaf of door’-F.SG → *darf-aat* ‘leaf of door’-F.PL), there is a minor but productive plural formation known as the broken plural. Broken plurals are “characterized by internal stem modification through the infixation of interweaving vowels, which vary in both vowel quality, length, and position between the consonantal roots of the stem” (Winchester 2014:3). These forms are much less predictable and would need to be memorized in much the same way that “irregular” plurals would need to be memorized in English (*man/men, goose/geese, ox/oxen*, etc.), as the broken plurals may not be associated with any one set pattern. We see many different patterns, the majority of which cannot be predicted phonologically in the synchronic grammar (Hammond 1988:253):

SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
ǰundab	ǰanaadib	‘locust’
sulṭaan	salaatiin	‘sultan’
ʕankabuut	ʕanaakib	‘spider’
xaatam	xawaatim	‘signet ring’
ǰaamuus	ǰawaamiis	‘buffalo’
saaʕiq(at)	sawaaʕiq	‘thunderbolt’
šayṭaan	šayaatiin	‘devil’
ǰaḥmariš	ǰaḥaamir	‘lazy old woman’
namuuḏaǰ	namaaḏiǰ	‘type’

In our mind, such a complex shift of vowels mirrors, in a way, what we see in internal derivation, especially for our proposed morphologized interpretation. While attempts have been and are still being made to understand the acquisition process of these unpredictable alternations (see Hammond 1988, McCarthy and Prince 1990, Kim 2006, Winchester 2014), one cannot overcome the notion that these are simply memorized morphological patterns.

Of course, these morphological variants are fed into the phonology and undergo all of the phonological rules of Arabic. In much the same way, we propose that our morphological envisioning of internal derivation is wholly compatible with the phonological rules assumed by Kiparsky. In other words, the Oxytone Rule (OR), Vowel Syncope (VS), and the BAP still apply for the individual morphological forms; they just do not govern those morphological shifts. For example, one might envision a synchronic rule for PIE such as “Root accented stems adopt the vocalism /e-o/ in the collective.” This rule would direct the vowel alternations: **/uódor/* → **/uedor/*. As per the compositional approach, accent assign-

3rd sg. preterite. Since there were no remnants of a stem-formant in the present tense, the morpheme *wund-* was relexicalized as a verbal root, and it is likely for this reason that already in attested Old English the derivational stem-formative **-o-* had been reanalyzed as part of the preterite marker: *wund-od-e*. In much the same way, the tentatively proposed affix **-X-* was reanalyzed with its original function ultimately lost: Pre-PIE **/uéd-or-/* (later **uódor*) → **/uéd-or-X-/* > **uéd-ór-X-* > PIE **uéd-ór-*. The loss of the affix led to the morphologization of internal derivation, and therefore the forms and alternations would need to be memorized.

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ment and VS take place: $*/\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{ódr}/ \rightarrow */\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{ódr}/$ and $*/\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{edor}/ \rightarrow */\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{edór}/$ (with accent assignment via the OR). The morphology first shifts the vocalisms within the underlying forms, and then the phonology acts upon those forms in assigning the accent, syllabification, etc.:

Morphology	$*/\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{ódr}/$	\rightarrow	$*/\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{edor}/$
	\downarrow		\downarrow
Phonology	$*\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{ódr}$		$*\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{edór}$

To conclude, while a zero dominant morpheme works neatly within the compositional approach, it is not a typologically compelling solution. It is for this reason that we should not rely on such a suffix to generate a purely (morpho-)phonological analysis of ID but should instead accept that some parts of the grammar can only be viewed as morphological, which may be viewed as a set of instances of a number of productive types of conversion.²⁰ A reconstruction that focuses on the interaction between the two is the one that will be most successful. With these changes, we have made the compositional approach more plausible. Yet we maintain that the core assumptions of the compositional approach are both descriptively and typologically valid, as there is still much to be gained through its use in the analysis of Indo-European.

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²⁰Note, however, if conversion does not require converted forms to be phonologically identical (or similar), as argued by Tribout 2010, it may be characterized as a derivational process that lacks an overt derivational morpheme. As the conversion of $*\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{ódr}$ to $*\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{edór}$ involves the replacement of one set of theme vowels with another, this would indeed hold true. It is in this way that internal derivation may be viewed as a type of conversion.

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Repetition und Variation in den hethitischen Gebeten

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Die sprachliche Ausgestaltung literarischer Textsorten hat in der Hethitologie erst seit Kurzem einiges an Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen.¹ Dies steht ganz im Gegensatz zur Erforschung des Rigveda, dessen sprachlicher Reichtum die Philologen und Sprachwissenschaftler immer schon in ihren Bann zog und um dessen Erschließung an der Schnittstelle von Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft sich Jared Klein seit vielen Jahren verdient gemacht hat. Die Ausdrucksvielfalt des Rigveda spiegelt sich in zahlreichen Tropen und Figuren wider, unter denen die kohäsionsstiftende Wiederholung von Elementen (Phonemen, Morphemem und Lexemen) eine prominente Stellung einnimmt und das besondere Interesse des Jubilars gefunden hat. Deshalb sei die folgende bescheidene Studie, die den Einsatz und Umgang mit dem Stilmittel der Repetition durch die hethitischen Schreiber zum Thema hat, Jared Klein zu seinem 70. Geburtstag gewidmet—in der Hoffnung, dass auch sie sein wohlwollendes Interesse finden wird.

1. Die hethitischen Gebete stellen für eine Untersuchung von Stilmitteln ein gut geeignetes Korpus dar, denn der betende Mensch, der sein existentielles Anliegen—seinen Rechtsfall—der richtenden Götterversammlung oder seiner zürnenden persönlichen Gottheit zur Entscheidung vorlegen will, wird seine Worte mit großer Sorgfalt setzen. Er wird, wenn er die Möglichkeiten dazu hat, sein Gebet—d. h. die Darlegung seines Falls—so gestalten, dass es die bestmögliche Wirkung entfaltet. Dazu gehören bei den Hethitern nicht nur auf der inhaltlichen Seite „Anrede, mit Epitheta, hymnisch erweitert, Selbstvorstellung, Klage, Tun des Beters, Bitte und Gebetsschluss“ (Wilhelm 2010:34), sondern auch auf der formalen Seite der sprachliche Ausdruck. Die Gebetstexte im Auftrag des Königs solcherart auszugestalten und sogar zu schmücken, ist die Aufgabe des gelehrten Schreibers, der sich im Rahmen seiner langjährigen Ausbildung die Beherrschung unterschiedlichster Textsorten angeeignet hat.

Nun enthalten die hethitischen Gebete bekanntermaßen nur wenig aus der urindogermanischen poetischen Sprache, die den Rigveda so stark geprägt hat (anders Justus 1993a und 1993b). Vielmehr speist sich die Textsorte der Gebete hethitischer Könige seit mittel-

¹De Vries (1967) bietet die erste systematische Untersuchung „episch-mythischen“ Stils in den hethitischen Mythen mit starkem Rekurs auf die aus dem nordsyrischen Raum übernommenen Texte. In neuerer Zeit vermittelt Haas (2006) einen guten Eindruck anhand vieler Beispiele stilistischer Techniken. Francia (2007, 2010, 2012, 2013a und 2013b) behandelt verschiedene hethitische Textsorten wie Briefe, die direkten Reden und Parabeln der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue, die Historiolae oder einzelne Rituale. Für das nah verwandte Luwische s. Melchert 2006.

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hethitischer Zeit aus zwei verschiedenen Quellen: Eine ist die Überlieferung des hethitischen Staatskults, wo seit althethitischer Zeit kurze und sehr kurze Gebetspassagen in die Beschreibungen der Festrituale eingebaut sind (vgl. Singer 2002:13f.); eine andere besteht seit mittelhethitischer Zeit in der Adaption mesopotamischer Hymnen und Gebete, aus denen Passagen unterschiedlicher Länge als Übersetzungen oder Paraphrasen übernommen wurden (zuletzt Metcalf 2011, 2015a und 2015b aufbauend auf Güterbock 1974 und 1980).

2. Ausgedehnte Wiederholungen sind in Ritualbeschreibungen ausgesprochen üblich, insbesondere wenn der Reihe nach mehrere Gottheiten Opfer erhalten und durch Gebete angerufen werden. Ein Gebet aus althethitischer Zeit, das in einen solchen Ritualkontext eingebettet ist, bietet CTH 371. Es wird mit Recht von Singer (2002:22) als „simple and repetitious invocation“ bezeichnet. Die folgende Passage aus CTH 371 wird nach ihrer Ausführung für die Schutzgottheit der Sonnengöttin der Erde sechsmal für andere Gottheiten—mit Austauschung des Namens—wiederholt:

- (1) CTH 371 (KBo 7.28 + KBo 8.92 Vs. 17'–21', mh. NS)
duwaddu taknāš ^dUTU-*aš* ^dLAMMA-ŠU
 DI-*ma tuēl ēštu*
nu zi[k] azzikkī akkuški
nu taknāš ^dUTU-*i peran* LUGAL-*un āšš[u] memiški*
n-ašta ŠUMMI LUGAL taknāš ^dUTU-*i peran āššu tar(a)ški*
 [takku] ABU-ŠU AMA-ŠU ŠEŠ-ŠU NIN-SU ^{LÚ}*gainas-šiš* ^{LÚ}*aras-šiš kušduwāezzi*
z[i]g-an lē tarnatti
 „Gnade, Schutzgottheit der Sonnengöttin der Erde, die Rechtsangelegenheit soll deine (Sache) sein! D[u] iss (jetzt) (und) trinke! Vor der Sonnengöttin der Erde sollst du (dabei) vom König posit[iv] sprechen. Vom Namen des Königs sprich (dabei) positiv vor der Sonnengöttin der Erde. [Wenn] sein Vater, seine Mutter, sein Bruder, seine Schwester, sein angeheirateter Verwandter (oder) sein Freund [ihn] verleumdete, lass d[u] (scil. Schutzgottheit) ihn nicht!“

Freilich ist die Wiederholung offensichtlich auch dem Schreiber lästig geworden, denn mehrfach sind die letzten Sätze durch *parā-ma QATAMMA memai* „weiter aber spricht er desgleichen“ (Vs. 23' und 26') oder einfach durch KI.MIN „desgleichen“ (Rs. 37', 38' und 39') ersetzt. Was sich der Schreiber bei der Niederschrift erlauben konnte, war bei der Durchführung des Gebets natürlich nicht möglich.

Ebenso wie die Wiederholung ganzer Paragraphen tritt auch die Wiederholung von Teilsätzen auf. Dasselbe Gebet (CTH 371.1) auch hierfür ein Beispiel:

- (2) CTH 371.1 (KBo 7.28 + KBo 8.92 Vs. 6'–10')
takku-a[n attas]-šiš kušduwāet
zig-an lē istamašši
ta[kku-an] ann[as-šiš kušd]uwāet
zig-an lē istamaš[š]i
takku-an [ŠEŠ-ŠU] kušduwāet
zig-an lē istamašši

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*takku=an NIN-SU kušd[uwāet]
 zig=an lē ištamašši
 takku=an ^{LU}gainasšiš ^{LU}arasšiš[š] kušduwāet
 zig=an lē ištamašši*

„Wenn sein [Vater] ih[n] verleumdet hat, dann höre du ihn nicht! We[nn seine] Mutter[er ihn verl]eumdet hat, dann hör[e] du sie nicht! Wenn [sein Bruder] ihn verleumdet hat, dann höre du ihn nicht! Wenn seine Schwester ihn verle[umdet hat], dann höre du sie nicht! Wenn sein angeheirateter Verwandter (oder) sei[n] Freund ihn verleumdet hat, dann höre du ihn nicht!“

In Beispiel (1) ist demgegenüber diese Passage in einem einzigen Satz zusammengefasst. Es ist daher mehr als wahrscheinlich, dass die Repetition hier mehr dem Bedürfnis nach Vollständigkeit als dem Bemühen um einen geschmückten Text entsprungen ist.

3. Die Gestaltung der hethitischen Gebete ändert sich schlagartig mit der Einführung der mesopotamischen Hymnen und Gebete, die als ein Teil der Schreibergelehrsamkeit nach Ḫattuša gelangt sind. Sie gehören zu denjenigen Textgattungen, die darüber hinaus am Königshof der Hauptstadt bei konkretem Anlass Anwendung fanden. Durch diese Vorbilder erhielten die hethitischen Schreiber erstmals eine Vorstellung davon, wie man ein Gebet an eine Gottheit durch Tropen und Figuren schmücken kann. Die frühen Sonnengottgebete CTH 373 und 374 sowie CTH 372 sind sowohl hinsichtlich ihrer Makrostruktur als auch in der Mikrostruktur genau durchgeplant und zeichnen sich durch unzählige einander durchkreuzende Gliederungsprinzipien, durch Assonanzen, Merismen, Chiasmen etc. aus (Daues und Rieken, demnächst). Repetitionen der oben (§2) beschriebenen Art treten in den Gebeten jedoch fast nicht mehr auf. Im Gegenteil: Sie werden recht konsequent vermieden. Sind Wiederholungen von Strukturelementen aus inhaltlichen oder gliederungstechnischen Gründen tatsächlich notwendig, so wird darauf geachtet, dass sie nicht häufiger als zweimal unverändert vorkommen, sondern dass ihr erneutes Auftreten mit einer Variation der Ausdrucksweise verbunden ist.

Ein klares Beispiel findet sich im Gebet Ḫattušilis und Puduḫepas (CTH 383.1) an drei Textstellen, in denen jeweils zuvor von einer Schuld früherer Könige die Rede ist und im Anschluss eine Unschuldsbeteuerung erfolgt. Die Funktion der betreffenden Formulierung ist also jeweils dieselbe, nämlich die Verantwortung für das Geschehen der Sonnengöttin von Arinna zuzuschieben; sie erscheint aber jeweils in leicht variiert Form:

- (3) a. CTH 383.1 (KUB 21.19 + I 23–5)
 [n-at tuēl ANA Z]I DINGIR-LIM GAŠAN-YA and[a k]uiš šakta
 [ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL-a-tta tepn]um[ar mān Z]I-anz(a) ēšta
 [mān UL ZI-anz(a) ēšta
 „[(Du bist es), d]ie du [in deiner,] der Gottheit, meiner Herrin, [See]le wusstest,
 [ob die Dem]üt[igung der Königin dein Wu]nisch war [(oder) ob sie nicht dein Wu]nisch war.“
- b. *Ibid.* I 43'–5'
 [m]ān ZI-anz(a) [ēšta]
 [mān=ma-ta UL Z]I-anz(a) ēšt[a]

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[*n-at tuēl A-NA ZI*] *kwiš anda šakta*

„[O]b es (dein) Wunsch [war], [(oder) ob es aber nicht dein Wu]nsch wa[r], (du bist es), die du [es in deiner Seele] wusstest.“

c. *Ibid.* I 59'–II 2

ŠA ¹*danuḥepa=ma ḥargaš* ANA ⁴UTU ^{URU}PÚ-*n*[*a* GAŠAN-*YA*] *mān ZI-anz(a) ēšta*
mān-ši-aš UL ZI-anz(a) ēšta

nu=kan apadd-aya ANA ZI DINGIR-LIM GAŠAN-*YA* *anda UL kwiški šakta*

„Ob der Untergang der Danuḥepa aber der Sonnengöttin von Arinn[a, meiner Herrin,] ein Wunsch war (oder) ob er nicht ihr Wunsch war, auch das wusste niemand über die Seele der Gottheit, meiner Herrin.“

Im Unterschied zu (3a) wird in (3b) die Reihenfolge der indirekten Fragesätze und des Matrixsatzes vertauscht; in (3c) kehrt der Schreiber wieder zur Reihenfolge von (3a) zurück, nun wird aber statt des Wissens der Gottheit die Unwissenheit der Menschen in den Vordergrund gestellt.²

Ein zweites Beispiel für dasselbe Phänomen bietet die Variation der Stützillokutionen für die Bitten im „Ersten“ Pestgebet Muršilis (CTH 378.1). Denn Bitten werden in den hethitischen Gebeten zum einen durch erklärende oder motivierende Äußerungen gestützt und zum anderen durch kooperationssichernde Illokutionen vorbereitet, indem der Betende z. B. sein Erscheinen ankündigt oder um Gehör, Besänftigung oder gütige Gesinnung bittet. In CTH 378.1 gibt es fünf Stellen mit solchen kooperationssichernden Bitten, von denen nur die (4b) und (4c) sehr wahrscheinlich identischen Wortlaut haben, während sonst Auswahl und Anordnung der Stützillokutionen variieren:

(4) a. CTH 378.1 (KUB 14.14 + Rs. 14'–6')

nu ANA DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN^{MEŠ}-*YA* ZI-anz(*a*) *namma war(a)šdu*

nu=mu DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN^{MEŠ}-*YA* *gin*[*z*]*u* *namma datten*

nu-š[*maš-k*]*an uwaḥḥaru*

nu-šmaš *kuit memiškemi*

n[*u*]=*mu ištamašten*

„Der Sinn soll sich (euch) Göttern, meinen Herren, wieder beruhigen! (Ihr) Götter, meine Herren, nehmt mir (gegenüber) eine gütige Gesin[n]ung an! Ich will (vor) e[uch] erscheinen! Und was das betrifft, dass ich (jetzt) zu euch spreche: Hört mich!“

b. *Ibid.* Rs. 21'f.

nu=mu DINGIR^{MEŠ} *BELU*^{MEŠ}-*YA* *ginzu* *namma datte*[*n*]

*nu*³-*šma*³[*š*]³-*kan uwaḥḥaru*

„(Ihr) Götter, meine Herren, neh[m]t mir (gegenüber) eine gütige Gesinnung an! Ich will (vor) euch³ erscheinen!“

c. *Ibid.* Rs. 30'

[*nu=mu* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *BELU*^{MEŠ}-*YA* *ginzu* *namma*] *datten*

²Eine vierte Passage (II 27f.) bietet möglicherweise ein weiteres Glied dieser Variation, doch weicht der Kontext insofern ab, als der Progression der Inhalts gemäß nun Verdienste des betenden Königs behandelt werden, auf die dann die Formel folgt. Adressaten sind jetzt außerdem die Götter, und leider ist der Matrixsatz zerstört, so dass die Zugehörigkeit zur oben beschriebenen Variation offen bleiben muss.

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nu=šmaš-kan uwahḫaru

„[(Ihr) Götter, meine Herren,] nehmt [mir gegenüber eine gütige Gesinnung ein]! Ich will (vor) euch erscheinen!“

d. *Ibid.* Rs. 36'

ANA KUR^{URU} Ḫatti=ma gi[nzu namma] datten

„Nehmt aber dem Land Ḫatti (gegenüber) [wieder] eine gütige Gesi[nnung] ein!“

e. *Ibid.* Rs. 37'f.

*namma ammuqq-a=šmaš-kan^{LÚ} SANGA-KUNU ARAD-KUN[U] uwahḫaru
nu=mu ginzu datten*

„Ferner möchte auch ich, euer Priester, eue[r] Diener, (vor) euch erscheinen! Nehmt mir (gegenüber) eine gütige Gesinnung ein!“

Beim ersten Auftreten der Stützillokutionen in (4a) wird das gesamte Sortiment eingesetzt, eine verkürzte Form mit den beiden Kernbestandteilen erscheint in (4b) und wird in (4c) wiederholt. Die weiter verkürzte Form (4d) ergibt sich von selbst aus dem Bezug auf das Land, aber in (4e) wird die Repetition von (4b) und (4c) vermieden, indem die beiden Bestandteile in vertauschter Reihenfolge verwendet werden.

Ein drittes Beispiel bietet das Gebet Muwatallis an den Wettergott von Kummanni (CTH 382). Es gleicht mit seiner Liste von möglichen Ursachen des göttlichen Zorn recht stark dem oben (§2) zitierten althethitischen Gebet CTH 371.1. Die betreffenden Strukturelemente sind freilich umfangreicher, weil ihnen jeweils unmittelbar die kooperationssichernde und die zentrale Bitte folgen. Auch im Übergang von der Reihung der Anrufungen zur Ankündigung des Gebets erscheint bereits dieselbe kooperationssichernde Bitte (5a), mit versöhnlichen Augen zu schauen. Aber anders als in CTH 371.1 bemüht sich der Verfasser nach der zweiten Repetition in (5c) um die Variation des Ausdrucks:

(5) a. KBo II.1 Vs. II

kinuna takšulit IGI^{HIA}-it anda au

„Jetzt³ schau mit versöhnlichen Augen darauf!“

b. *Ibid.* Vs. 15

nu^{dIO} KUR-TAM anda takšulit IGI^{HIA}-it namma au

nu-kan ŠÀ KUR-TI āššu takšul āššu[l miy]atar iyatar 4tarāwiy[āš kišaru]

„Und du, Wettergott, schau das Land wieder mit versöhnlichen Augen an! Im Inneren des Landes [soll] (materielles) Gut, Friede, Güt[e, Wac]hstum, Fülle (und) tarawiya- [entstehen].“

c. *Ibid.* Vs. 17

nu-kan^{dIO} EN-YA KUR-TAM anda takš[ulit IGI^{HI}]-it namma au

[nu-kan] ŠÀ KUR-TI KI.MIN kišaru

„Und du, Wettergott, mein Herr, schau wieder [mit] versöhn[lichen Auge]n auf das Land! [Und] desgleichen soll im Inneren des Landes geschehen.“

d. *Ibid.* Vs. 27f.

nu-kan DINGIR^{MEŠ} KUR-TAM anda takšulit IGI^{HIA}-it uwandu

³*kinuna* als Variante zu *kinun* nach Hoffner und Melchert 2008:395.

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nu-kan ŠÀ-BI KUR-TI āššū ʔtarāwian takšul aššul miy[atar]r-a iyandu

„Und die Götter sollen mit versöhnlichen Augen das Land anschauen! Im Inneren des Landes sollen sie (materielles) Gut, *tarawia*-, Frieden, Güte und Wach[stum] schaffen!“

e. *Ibid.* Vs. 30f.

nu-kan ^dIO EN-ŶA KUR-e anda takšuli[t IGI^B]^{LA}-it namma au

nu-kan ŠÀ KUR-TI āššū takšul miyatarr-a kišaru

„Wettergott, mein Herr, schau das Land wieder mi[t] versöhnlichen [Aug]en an! Im Inneren des Landes soll (materielles) Gut, Friede und Wachstum entstehen!“

f. *Ibid.* Vs. 39

ANA KUR-TI=ma-at-kan lē anda šan(a)ḫti

nu-kan ^dIO EN-ŶA KUR-e anda āššawīt IGI^{HLA}-i[t namma au]

„Am (ganzen) Land aber sollst du es nicht rächen! Und, Wettergott, mein Herr, [schau] das Land [wieder] mit gütigen Augen an!“

g. *Ibid.* Vs. 43f.

nu-kan ^dIO EN-ŶA [KUR-e anda āššawīt IGI^{HLA}-it namma au]

[nu-kan ŠÀ KUR-TI āššū] takšul aššul tar[ā]wi[y]aš miyatarr-a [kišaru]

„Und (du), Wettergott, mein Herr, [schau das Land wieder mit gütigen Augen an! Im Inneren des Landes sollen] (materielles) Gut, Frieden, Güte, *tar[ā]wi[y]a*- und Wachstum entstehen!“

h. *Ibid.* Rs. 18'

n=[a]t lāttaru

nu-kan ^dIO EN-ŶA KUR ^{URU}kummanni ašawīt IGI^{HLA}-it au]

„Und es soll gelöst werden! Und Wettergott, mein Herr, [schau] das Land von Kummanni mit gütigen Aug[en an]!“

In (5b) erscheint zum ersten Mal die formelhafte kooperationssichernde Bitte um versöhnlichen Blick gefolgt von dem vollständigen Segenswunsch, (5c) bietet die Bitte ein weiteres Mal, wobei in der Ausführung des Gebets der Wunsch ungekürzt zu sprechen ist. Diese Repetition ist ebenso wie die Reihung der Anrufungen noch im Stile der Gebete in den Festritualen gehalten. Im dritten Vorkommen von (5d) beginnt nun die Variation, indem sich die Bitte jetzt an die Götter richtet und indem der Segenswunsch als transitive Formulierung mit den Göttern als agentivem Subjekt gestaltet ist. (5e) kehrt zum Schema von (5b) zurück, beinhaltet aber einen verkürzten Segenswunsch. In (5f) ist die Reihenfolge von kooperationssichernder Bitte und zentraler Bitte vertauscht, die dieses Mal keinen allgemeinen Segenswunsch, sondern eine konkrete Aufforderung darstellt. Außerdem werden in der kooperationssichernden Bitte von (5f) an nicht mehr versöhnliche, sondern gütige Augen eingefordert. (5g) ist stark zerstört, enthält aber im Unterschied zu (5b) wohl die Bitte um gütige Augen. Schließlich ist in (5h) wieder die Abfolge vertauscht und das Land Kummanni nun erstmals namentlich in der Bitte um gütige Augen genannt.

Dass der Ersatz der „versöhnlichen Augen“ durch die „gütigen Augen“ Teil des Konzeptes der Variation ist, zeigt das gleichartige Vorgehen des Schreibers im „Zweiten“ Pestgebet Muršilis (CTH 378.2). Dort konstatiert der betende König dreimal, dass er die Schuld seiner

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Vorgänger bekannt habe, und bekräftigt dies im Anschluss durch die folgenden Äußerungen:

- (6) a. CTH 378.2 (KUB 14.8 Vs. 41')
ešzi(y)-at
iyawēn=[a-at]
 „Es ist (so) [un]d wir haben [es] getan.“
- b. *Ibid.* Rs. 15'
ešzi(y)-at
iyawen-at
 „Es ist (so). Wir haben es getan.“
- c. *Ibid.* Rs. 29'
ašān-at
īyanun-at
 „Es (ist) wahr. Ich habe es getan.“

Der Kontext, in dem diese Äußerung geschieht, ist jedes Mal derselbe, aber—abgesehen von dem geringfügigen syntaktischen Unterschied zwischen (6a) und (6b)—wird die Variation bei der dritten Verwendung in (6c) vorgenommen und durch eine lexikalische Ersetzung realisiert.

4. Das Prinzip der Variation gilt auch für umfangreichere Strukturelemente, so wieder in CTH 383.I. Bei der Thematisierung der Schuld der Amtsvorgänger des betenden Ḫattušili, nämlich Muršili und Muwatalli, lassen sich die folgenden inhaltlichen Einheiten feststellen:

die Darstellung der Schuld,
 das Wissen und die Verantwortung der Sonnengöttin (s. o.),
 die Unschuld des Ḫattušili,
 der Hinweis auf die bereits abgegoltene Schuld,
 die Argumentation, dass eine bereits abgegoltene Schuld zu bestrafen nicht recht sei,
 die zentrale Bitte, die abgegoltene Schuld nicht erneut zu bestrafen.

Eine Auswahl aus den ersten vier Elementen erscheint für jedes der fünf beschriebenen Vergehen Muršilis und Muwatallis, mit einer Ausnahme aber stets unterschiedlich. Auch der Abschluss variiert:

- (7) Muršili (KUB 21.19 + I 15–40):
 Schuld – Unschuld
 Schuld – Wissen – abgegoltene Schuld – Unschuld
 abschließend: Bitte – Argumentation

Muwatalli (*Ibid.* I 41–II 22'):
 Schuld – Wissen – Unschuld
 Schuld – Unschuld
 Schuld – Wissen – Unschuld – abgegoltene Schuld

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abschließend: Bitte – Argumentation – abgegoldene Schuld

Man würde dies wohl für einen Zufall halten, wenn nicht aus anderen Gebeten deutlich würde, welche Sorgfalt die Schreiber in die Anfertigung dieser Texte investiert haben und wie sie dabei das Ziel, unter Zuhilfenahme der Variation wörtliche Wiederholungen zu vermeiden, nach bestem Können verfolgt haben.

5. Eine eklatante Ausnahme zu den oben erkannten Prinzipien bietet das Gebet der Puduḫepa für Gesundheit und Leben ihres Gatten Ḫattušili (CTH 384.1). Viermal bekräftigt hier die Betende die Wahrheit ihrer Darstellung von Vergehen der Amtsvorgänger Ḫattušilis und dessen eigenen Verdiensten, z. B.:

- (8) CTH 384.1 (KUB 21.27 + I 16)
n=at ^aUTU ^{URU}PÚ-*na* GAŠAN-*YA* [*š*] *akti*
 „Das [w]eißt du, Sonnengöttin von Arinna, meine Herrin.“

Von den anderen Belegstellen zeigt I 29f. mit dem Fehlen von *nu* eine vernachlässigbare syntaktische Abweichung, I 43 ist wortwörtlich identisch, und dasselbe gilt wohl auch für I 45f., obgleich der schlechte Erhaltungszustand einen Nachweis nicht erlaubt. Der Grund für die vom Üblichen abweichende Vorgehensweise ist nicht klar. Denkbar ist ein Paradigmenwechsel gegen Ende der Regierungszeit Ḫattušilis, falls der Text tatsächlich aus dieser Zeit stammt. Möglich ist auch, dass der Schreiber, der der Königin zur Verfügung stand, nicht denselben Kompetenzgrad hatte, wie die Schreiber des Königs. Am wahrscheinlichsten erscheint aber die Annahme, dass Puduḫepa selbst verstärkt in die Formulierung des Textes eingegriffen hat und sich hier die ihrem Charakter entsprechende Diktion widerspiegelt. Damit bewegen wir uns bereits im Bereich nicht mehr streng wissenschaftlicher Spekulation, aber umgekehrt machen diese Belege sehr deutlich, dass die Hethiter sehr wohl in der Lage waren, Phrasen auch in Abständen mehrfach in genau demselben Wortlaut anzuwenden. Dass dies nicht häufiger geschieht, ist als Reflex eines gewollten und signifikanten Gestaltungsprinzips bei der Komposition der Gebetstexte zu werten – ein Ergebnis, das umso bemerkenswerter erscheint, als in anderen Textsorten wie Ritualen und Mythen (dazu de Vries 1967:93–103) Repetition ein viel genutztes stilistisches Gestaltungsmittel darstellt.

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The Nature of the South Greek Dialect Group

D O N R I N G E



It is fitting and pleasant to honor a senior Indo-Europeanist who is both an excellent linguist and an extraordinarily helpful colleague, and I feel privileged to be able to participate. While I doubt that our honorand will find this note very instructive, I hope that he will at least find it entertaining.¹

Recently Holt Parker has demonstrated that the “Aiolic” subgroup of Ancient Greek dialects is a mirage (Parker 2008). It therefore seems worthwhile to reexamine the evidence for other groupings that have been proposed. Possibly the proposal of greatest interest is “South Greek” (SG), the subgroup that is claimed to include Attic-Ionic (AI), Arkadian, Cypriote, and the “Mycenaean” dialect written on the Linear B tablets (Risch 1955). This paper will briefly review the evidence for SG. I will adduce only probable *innovations* shared by the dialects in question, since common retentions of inherited material do not prove shared history.²

The clearest SG innovation is the sound change, or rather sequence of sound changes, by which the inherited sequence **τι* became *σι*. By itself such a sequence of changes is not impressive evidence for subgrouping, since it can be shown to have occurred many times in languages widely separated in time and space (cf. e.g. Ringe and Eska 2013:257–8). However, the morphological and lexical distribution of that change is complex and irregular in SG. For instance, word-final **-τι* > *-σι* when not immediately preceded by *σ* (cf. *ἐσσι*) in the following categories (in which the unshifted forms are attested in various West Greek dialects):

- (1) 3sg. endings, e.g. AI, Lesbian *τίθησι* < *τίθητι*;
- (2) 3pl. endings, e.g. AI *φέρῃσι*, Lesb. *φέρουσι* < *φέροντι*; Arkadian *καθ-έρπονσι* < *ἔρποντι*; Cypriote *ε-ke-so-si* /ékso:si/ < *ἔζοντι*; Ark. *ἐσλελοίπασι* < **ἔξλελοίπατι* (< **-ητι*, cf. Northwest Greek *γεγόνατι*);
- (3) ‘twenty’, AI, Ark. *εἴκοσι* ← *εἴκατι* (development of initial syllable unclear);
- (4) ‘last year’, AI *πέρυσι* < **πέρυτι* (cf. Skt. *parut*);
— but not in *ἔτι*, *ἀντί*, *ἄρτι*.

Further, suffixal **-τι-* > *-σι-* in the following categories:

- (1) hundreds, e.g. AI *τριᾶκόσιοι*, Ark. *τριᾶκάσιοι* < *τριᾶκάτιοι*;

¹The substance of this note was part of the J. H. Gray lectures delivered at Cambridge in May 2014. I am grateful to the Faculty of Classics of the University of Cambridge for inviting me to give those lectures.

²Examples are taken from the standard handbooks listed in the references.

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- (2) adjectives and adverbs, e.g. AI *πλούσιος* < *πλούτιος*; AI, Lesb. *ἐνιαύσιος* < *ἐνιαύτιος*; AI *πλησίον*, Lesb. *πλάσιον* < *πλάτιον*; Mycenaean *ko-ri-si-jo* /korinsios/ < *Κορίνθιος* (re-derived [or borrowed?]) in 1st-millennium AI, but cf. Attic *Προβαλίστιος* < **Προβαλίνθιος*);
 — but not e.g. in Homeric *ἀντίον*, *νηπύτιος*, *ἐσχατίη*, etc.; conversely, this change is pan-Greek in *βάσις*, *στάσις*, *φθίσις*, *φύσις*, *κάθαρσις*, *τέρψις*, *δίωξις*, etc., with only a few lexical exceptions such as *φάτις*.

Though the sequence of changes summarized as “*τι > σι” could easily reflect parallel innovation, it is reasonable to argue that its complex and irregular conditioning could not; thus this is plausible evidence for a SG clade. However, note that Lesbian participates fully in this SG innovation (cf. Parker 2008:443 and see further below).

In two proclitics prevocalic **-τι* > *-ς* in the SG dialects,³ namely:

- AI, Lesb. *πρός* and Ark., Cypr. *πός* (also to be restored in Homer, since “*πρός*” seldom makes position, whereas *πρ-* otherwise usually does) < **προτι* and **ποτι* < *πρωτί* (also Homeric but not Ionic) and *ποτί* (West Greek, but also Homeric), cf. Skt. *práti* vs. Av. *paiti*, OPers. *patiy*;
 Cypr. *ka-se* /kas/, early Ark. *κάς* < **κατι* < **κατί*, cf. Hom. *κασί-γνητος* ‘co-gnatus’ = Thes-salian *κατί-γνειςτος*, Hitt. *katti* ‘with’ (but elsewhere *καί* by dissimilation < **κατί* before τ . . . , cf. Argive, Delphian *ποί* < *ποτί* in the same environment).

The second example survives only in Arkadian and Cypriote, but the first is shared not only by AI but, once again, by Lesbian.

In a few words intervocalic **-τι-*, **-θι-* with no internal morpheme boundary > AI *-σσ-* > *-σ-*, Ark. *-σ-*, Myc. *-ς-*, but in other dialects this cluster merges with *-σσ-* or *-ττ-* of other origins (corresponding to Att. *-ττ-*, Ionic invariant *-σσ-*):

- AI, Ark. *ῥσος*, *μέσος*, AI *πόσος*, *τόσος*, *πρόσω* (> *πόρρω*), *ὀπίσω*,
 but Lesb. *ῥσος*, *μέσος*, *τόσσουτος*, Thessalian *ῥσσα*, Boiotian *ὀπόττος*, *μέττος*, Delphian *ῥσος*, *ὀπισσοδόμωι*, Heraklean *ῥσος*, *μέσος*, Argolic *ῥσος*, *μέσος*, Cretan *ῥττος*, *ὀπόττος*, *μέττος*, etc., etc.

Further, dental + **-σ-* gives the same result after a short vowel in the same dialects:

- AI, Ark. *δικάσαι*, *δάσασθαι*,
 but Lesb. *κατεδικασσαν*, Boiot. *ἐψαφίττατο*, Heraklean *κατεδασσάμεθα*, Argolic *ἐδικασσαν*,
 Koan *δικασσέω*, Cretan *ἀποδάτταθθαι*, etc., etc.

Note that in these cases Lesbian agrees with Thessalian and West Greek rather than with AI and Arkadian. For that reason Parker suggests that the agreement of Lesbian with SG in the first class of cases is the result of parallel development (Parker 2008:443). But the only thing

³For comprehensive discussion of these forms see Lüttel 1981.

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that Lesbian fails to share with SG is the simplification of geminate $\sigma\sigma$ to single σ before it could merge with the other voiceless cluster resulting from palatalization (which must have been approximately [ts] or [tʃ] until then), and that simplification occurred so late that it is only partially reflected in our text of Homer; thus Lesbian could have shared with SG the earlier changes that yielded */ss/ when the other cluster was still an affricate.

There might also be morphological evidence for a SG clade, as follows.

The active ipl. ending is $-\mu\epsilon\nu$ both in AI and in Lesbian, but $-\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ in West Greek. Unfortunately we have no reliable data from the other dialects. There is no Cypriote evidence at all, and the lone Arkadian form $\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota$ is too damaged for certainty: Hiller von Gaertringen read $\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ (IG V.262 line 18), but Schwyzler gives $\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ (DGE 661 line 18), citing (ibid. p. 320) Comparetti’s statement that no sigma was visible on the stone. Thesalian and Boiotian inscriptions have $-\mu\epsilon\nu$, but all the material is late and might exhibit koiné influence. In any case the difference between $-\mu\epsilon\nu$ and $-\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ probably reflects leveling of an inherited secondary or primary ending to all active ipl. forms, and such a change ought to be repeatable.

The default active infinitive endings are more interesting. We find reflexes of several alternatives in the following pattern:

	AI, ARK., CYPR.	LESB.	THESS., BOIOT.	WEST GREEK
them.	*-ε- <i>h</i> εν	*-ε- <i>h</i> εν	-έ- <i>μ</i> εν	*-ε- <i>h</i> εν
athem.	-(*) <i>h</i> έναι (→ Att. -ναι)	-μ <i>ε</i> ναι	-μ <i>ε</i> ν	-μ <i>ε</i> ν (→ -μ <i>ειν</i> /-μ <i>ην</i>)

The crucial question is which endings are inherited and which are innovations. Certainty is of course unattainable, but a comparison with Vedic infinitive endings suggests a plausible solution. There are Vedic dative infinitives in $-mane$ and $-māne$, but no corresponding locatives in “ $-māni$ ”; conversely, there are locative infinitives in $-śāñi$, but no corresponding datives. The presence of the hic-et-nunc particle $-i$ in the latter form, as opposed to its absence in pre-Greek $*-hen$, is a trivial difference, and the fact that the latter was added to aspect stems rather than to roots (as in Vedic) is a consequence of the remodeling of infinitives in Greek. That Vedic dative $-e$ is comparable to Greek $-αι$ is much less obvious; the Greek forms should reflect old allatives (like Homeric $\chiαμαι$ ‘to the ground’), so if the endings are historically connected there must have been some semantic reinterpretation in at least one of the languages. Nevertheless the pattern of the Vedic forms makes it reasonably, though not overwhelmingly, probable that the inherited Greek endings were thematic $*-ε-*h*εν$ and athematic $-\mu*ε*ναι$. If that is true, only Lesbian preserves the original situation (which fits the assessment that Lesbian is in some respects conservative, Parker 2008:459); athematic $-(*)*h*έναι$ must then be a SG innovation which Lesbian does not share.

Finally, though lexical evidence for SG is elusive,⁴ the distribution of forms of the verb ‘to want’ might offer support for SG. Some dialects have an σ -grade root in this verb, others an ϵ -grade root:

⁴On the dialect distribution of particles see Parker 2008:440–1 nn. 32, 37; the basic problem is that it is difficult to establish significant shared innovations.

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Ark., West Ionic *βόλεσθαι* (also 3× in Homer),⁵ otherwise Att.-Ion. (including Homeric) *βόλεσθαι*, Lesb. *βόλλεσθαι*,
but Thess. *βέλλεσθαι*, Boiot. *βείλεσθαι*, West Greek *δέλεσθαι* or *δήλεσθαι* (depending on the dialect).

There is also a derived noun meaning ‘will, advice, plan, council’:

Lesb. *βόλλᾱ*, AI (including West Ionic) *βολή*, otherwise *βολᾶ* or *βωλά* (depending on the dialect; the latter in Arkadian).

Though the etymology of this verb is obscure, the ablaut and other formal relations are not at all what we would expect. Given the meaning of the verb, the forms with double sonorant or the first compensatory lengthening might reflect a fossilized desiderative in **-hε-* ~ **-hο-* (Chantraine 1958:311),⁶ and in that case an *ε*-grade root is expected; but even if they reflect a stem in **-νε-* ~ **-νο-*, as is usually assumed, an *ο*-grade root is a surprise, whereas an *ε*-grade root is not. The derived noun probably reflects **γ^ωολῆᾶ* or **γ^ωολῆᾶ*, a root-derivative of a very common type with the present-tense suffix intruded by lexical analogy. The difficulties are the *ο*-grade root of the verb in some dialects and the scattered attestation of *βόλεσθαι* (without the stem-forming suffix).

The most recent attempt to disentangle part of this complex seems to be Peters 1986:310–1 (with references), whose solution is adopted by Kümmel and Rix (2001 s.v. **g^ωelh₃-*). Peters suggests that *βολε-* is in origin an athematic mediopassive Narten present with the usual metathesis of **-εRo-* to *-oRe-* (thus e.g. full-grade 3sg. **g^ωelh₃toy* > **γ^ωέλοτοι* > **γ^ωόλετοι*), possibly attested without thematization in Pamphylian *βολεμενυς* (on which see further below) and with thematization in *βόλεσθαι*, and that the other attested forms of this verb are innovations. The strongest point in favor of this analysis of an unetymologizable verb is that it explains the discontinuous distribution of *βόλεσθαι* effortlessly.

But Peters’ hypothesis makes it very difficult to explain the *ε*-grade forms, which (as Kümmel and Rix note loc. cit.) would have to have been constructed in such a way as to eliminate the root-final *-ο-* at some point before metathesis of the vowels occurred.⁷ I therefore conclude (with some hesitation) that an explanation similar to that offered by Frisk (1960–72 s.v. *βούλομαι*) is still preferable. We must start from a present **γ^ωελ-λε/ο-* or **γ^ωελ-νε/ο-* and a perfect **γ^ωε-γ^ωολ-* (Frisk, loc. cit.), which is probably attested indirectly in the Homeric hapax *προβέβουλα* ‘I prefer’ (*Iliad* A 113). If the present was originally a desiderative, the perfect might actually have been the unmarked stem of the verb. In any case, the *ο* in the present

⁵It is not clear to me how seriously we should take the Hesychian gloss *σί βόλε· τί θέλεις, Κύπριοι* (Bechtel 1912–4 I.430–1).

⁶This is a reasonable suggestion, in spite of Slings’ characteristically intemperate censure (Slings 1975:3), so long as the root itself did not originally mean ‘wish’. For instance, a development **try to aim at* → **aim (to do)* → ‘want (to do)’ is plausible; cf. e.g. Skt. *rákṣati*, Gk. *ἀλέξει*, both ‘protects’ ← **h₂lék-se/o-* ‘try to protect’. Nor is the phonological development of **-ls-* to **-lh-* impossible in such a stem (pace Ruijgh 1960:315–6). The contrast between Att. *ῥρος* < **ῥρος* ‘arse’ and *ῥρά* ‘tail’ (orig. collective **backside*) shows that **s* became **h* after **r* if the preceding vowel was unaccented, and since the recessive accent of (most) Greek finite verb forms almost certainly shows that they were originally accentless main-clause forms (as in Vedic), development of **-ls-* to **-lh-* might actually be expected.

⁷I cannot credit the surface-based proportional analogies suggested in Slings 1975:7–8, and I am not surprised that Kümmel and Rix do not mention them.

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stem in some dialects is most plausibly explained as having spread from the perfect (Frisk, loc. cit.); that it spread from the derived noun is perhaps not inconceivable but is certainly less likely.⁸ If this scenario is even approximately correct, we also have an explanation for the sporadic appearance of *βόλεσθαι* in SG: as the innovation spread through the dialect continuum, speakers of some dialects simply replaced the root-syllable of the present with the **-γ^wολ-* of the perfect, while speakers of other dialects retained the stem-forming suffix, creating a hybrid form.

Sporadic levelings of this sort are preeminently irregular changes, borrowable but fairly unlikely to be repeated completely independently; so it seems reasonable to regard this as a SG innovation—and once again Lesbian participates.

The evidence for a SG dialect group, while not overwhelming, seems reasonably strong. However, note the pattern of dialect participation in SG innovations:

	ARK.	CYPR.	AI	LESB.
<i>*τι > σι</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>π(ρ)ός</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>μέσος</i> etc.	yes	yes	yes	maybe
<i>-έναι</i>	yes	yes	yes	no
<i>*γ^wόλ(h)εσθαι</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes

Evidently Lesbian is a borderline member of SG. But Parker has shown that the “core” members of SG, as well as the West Greek dialects, all underwent an innovation, the first compensatory lengthening, which Lesbian and Thessalian did not. Since it seems very likely that the SG innovations spread from some point(s) in the Mycenaean culture area in the Bronze Age, the presence of some of them in Lesbian implies that they spread across at least one already existing dialect boundary. Thus SG cannot be a clade *sensu stricto*.

A final observation might be made at this point. Though its attestation is much poorer than that of Lesbian, it appears that Pamphylian too might just possibly be a marginal member of SG. While it shows no trace of the special SG sound change **τι > σι*, it does have an athematic active infinitive in *-έναι*, namely *ἄφιέναι* (Brixhe 1976:123–4, 168, 173). Pamphylian forms etymologically related to ‘want’ are harder to judge. Aorist 3sg. *ἐβόλᾱσεν* (Brixhe 1976:168) might be a denominative of the noun *βόλᾱ* comparable to AI *βόλεσθαι*; so might the present ptc. *βόλεμενος*, if it is an athematically inflected form of a contract verb (see the discussion of Brixhe 1976:118). If it is instead a form of the basic verb, and if Peters’ hypothesis is not to be preferred (see above), Pamphylian would share a lexical innovation with SG.

These findings reinforce Parker’s contention that the Ancient Greek dialect situation AT ALL LEVELS reflects geographically overlapping patterns of innovation, not a *Stammbaum*.

⁸Cf. Slings 1975:7, who suggests that the verb was actually backformed to the noun. I am not convinced; why not simply derive a verb from the noun using the regular machinery of derivational morphology, as was certainly done at a later date?

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Abbreviations

Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* = Hiller von Gaertringen, Friedrich. 1913. *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Vol. 5, *Inscriptiones Laconiae, Messeniae, Arcadiae*. 2nd fasc., *Inscriptiones Arcadiae*. Berlin: Reimer.

Schwyzler, *DGE* = Schwyzler, Eduard. 1923. *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*. Leipzig: Hirzel.

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The Kaṭhapaniṣad and the Deconstruction of the Fire Altar

CALEY CHARLES SMITH



Among the Upaniṣads of the Black Yajurveda, it is the Kaṭhapaniṣad (KaṭhU) that holds a special position for scholars of Hindu religion.¹ It has been interpreted as the earliest Upaniṣad to conceive of *ātman* and *brahman* in a form recognizable to the Vedānta of Śaṅkara. I argue, however, that the KaṭhU is best understood as a product of its intertextual history; the text once functioned as the capstone to a Kaṭha canon² and presupposes knowledge of the ritual actions of a Black Yajurvedic *adhvaryu* and *pratiprasthātar*. The first chapter of the Kaṭhapaniṣad reformulates a Brāhmaṇa narrative between Naciketas and Death; I will demonstrate that the rhetorical agendum of the first *valli* ‘creeper’ of the KaṭhU is to pile a fire-altar in reverse, in order to deconstruct the fire-altar to its metaphysical foundation. The text teaches the Black Yajurvedin not *how* to do the ritual,³ but rather *why* the ritual works.

I What constitutes a Black Yajurvedic canon

Let us first consider the contents of the Kaṭha canon by the late Vedic period. From the Kaṭha Saṃhitā (KaṭhS), the Vedic student learns the mantras used to build the fire-altar with some prose commentary. The livelihood of priests, however, is shaped by constant competition both for a temporary position as one of the sixteen *ṛtvij*⁴ of a sacrifice and for the coveted position of tenured house priest, *purohita*.⁵ The texts depict an environment in which whoever can demonstrate their mastery of the arcane lore of the sacrifice, gains the material support of a wealthy patron.⁶ In response to this need, the various Vedic *śākhās*, or schools, began orally composing and committing to memory appendices to the Saṃhitās which provided exegetical commentary on the ritual.

¹Witzel 1977:139.

²Olivelle (1998:372) points out that the manuscripts themselves frequently divide KaṭhU into two halves. Witzel (1977) argues that the first three chapters, or *vallis*, belong at the end of an unknown Kaṭha-Śikṣā-Upaniṣad (KaṭhŚU), and the last three *vallis* are an addition. He notes that the designation Kaṭhavallyupaniṣad is used to distinguish this text from a larger Kaṭhapaniṣad which may refer to the KaṭhŚU and the first three *vallis* of KaṭhU as a whole.

³In fact, it presupposes this knowledge.

⁴The two *ṛtvij* positions which are referred to in this paper are the *adhvaryu* who is in charge of construction of the fire-altar, pouring oblations, and the *pratiprasthātar* who is his assistant.

⁵See Lopez (2010:123), who argues the inclusion of two hymns to the *rājasūya* waters is motivated by agonistic aspects of the hieratic traditions: “The absence of this hymn in the Śaunaka Saṃhitā exposes the aim of Paippalādins versifiers to create royal rituals that would require a Paippalādin as *purohita*, the house priest of the king.”

⁶Yājñavalkya’s gaining the patronage of Janaka in the Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad is the *Paradebeispiel*.

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These texts, called Brāhmaṇas, are especially concerned with variations, exceptions, and substitutions in order to complete the student’s mastery of ritual action, but at no point is a systematic theory of ritual the goal of the Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa (KaṭhB). The Brāhmaṇas conceive of the sacrifice as a re-enactment of the first sacrifice. A ritual variant, therefore, refers to some primordial precedent in order to maintain the fidelity of the re-enactment. While a certain piecemeal metaphysics surfaces in the KaṭhB in the form of individual homologies,⁷ I will argue that the thesis of KaṭhU is a more holistic presentation of Vedic ritual theory.

Kaṭha learning survived, although no one manuscript contains the entire canon. The KaṭhS survives as does the closely related Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha Saṃhitā. To this date, only one manuscript of the Kaṭha Āraṇyaka (KaṭhĀ) has been found.⁸ Other canonical texts that have survived in their entirety include the Kaṭha Gṛhyasūtra, the Cārāyaṇīya-Mantrārśādhyāya, and the Viṣṇu-Smṛti. The KaṭhU survives due to its inclusion in collections of Upaniṣads. The Kaṭha-Śikṣā-Upaniṣad (KaṭhŚU) and the KaṭhB might have been lost altogether, but survive as fragments.⁹ Another school of the Black Yajurveda, the Taittirīya śākhā, borrowed passages from the KaṭhB and added them to their own Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka.¹⁰

2 The convergence of Kaṭha and Taittirīya canons

Five times the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (TB) borrows a passage from KaṭhB commenting on variations of the *agnicayana* fire-altar.¹¹ Both the Taittirīya and the Kāṭhaka schools belong to the Black Yajurvedic tradition, and began with very similar textual materials. Both schools were evidently in sustained close contact, allowing for the possibility of borrowing between Kaṭhas, situated on the west side of Kurukṣetra, and their eastern neighbors the Taittirīya, situated in Pañcāla country. The Taittirīyas would have been in competition with both the westerly schools of the Black Yajurveda as well as their neighbors to the east, the Mādhyandina and the Kāṇva schools of the White Yajurveda.¹² A Taittirīya priest needs to demonstrate his arcane knowledge of the fire-altar in order to outcompete his rivals, and it is most likely this pressure which motivated the borrowing of passages from KaṭhB.¹³ There is evidence that passages from the KaṭhB were added to both TB and the Taittirīyas Āraṇyaka (TĀ). Even if the borrowing were not from the Kaṭhas to the Taittirīyas, but hypothetically in the opposite direction, the similarities between the Taittirīyas Upaniṣad (TU) and KaṭhŚU¹⁴ suggest a convergence in canons during the late Vedic period. In other words,

⁷These homologies, called *bandhus*, establish two things as underlyingly equivalent, and thus a valid ritual substitute. This equation is typically based on etymology or mythology.

⁸Witzel 2005 treats this manuscript.

⁹Witzel (2005:xiii) provides a full list of fragments.

¹⁰Witzel 2005:xii.

¹¹Sāyaṇa’s introduction to the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka designates certain passages as *aṣṭau kāṭhakāni*. Indeed, Witzel (1977:139) notes these Kaṭha borrowings differ linguistically from the properly Taittirīya passages (e.g. *svār* instead of *sīvar*).

¹²Witzel (1987) includes a map.

¹³Explicitly stated in the final sentence of a passage borrowed from the KaṭhB: *yā evāṃ veda / prā hānyāṃ vlmāti* “He who knows this crushes (his) rival” (TB 3.11.8.8).

¹⁴Witzel 1977:141.

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from the perspective of the KaṭhU, Kaṭha and Taittirīya canonical materials are best treated as an organic whole.¹⁵

3 Evidence of intertextuality

The first chapter of the KaṭhU features a dialogue between Naciketas and Death on the subject of the *nāciketa* fire-altar. I will closely examine the language of KaṭhU for evidence of learned allusions to the piling of the fire-altar and, more specifically, any Black Yajurvedic accounts of the *nāciketa* fire-altar.¹⁶ By “learned allusion” I mean both intertextual references to Black Yajurvedic texts as well as references to actions performed by Black Yajurvedins on the ritual ground. These references are not spurious, but suggest the composers of this *vallī* presupposed the relevance of Black Yajurvedic knowledge and practice to the thesis of the text. Thus understanding why these references are deployed crucially contours our understanding of the text as a whole. I will argue that three scenes in KaṭhU allude to three phases of the construction of the fire-altar: the installation of fire on the altar, the pacification of the altar, and the piling of bricks atop a golden disc.

4 A note on oral narrative

The texts from the Vedic period are orally composed and transmitted, and subsections of texts are recalled by citation of the *pratīka* or incipit. The KaṭhU is a metrical text,¹⁷ but the first *vallī*, or chapter, opens with a prose passage identical to the beginning of the TB 3.11.8.1.¹⁸ Hearing such a *pratīka* would immediately bring to mind the relevant passage KaṭhB. After KaṭhU quotes KaṭhB, it adds an *anuṣṭubh* verse:

- (1) *pītodakā jagdhatṛṇā / dugdhadohā nirindriyāḥ / anandā nāma te lokāḥ / tān sa gacchati tā dadat //* (KaṭhU 1.3)

Whose water is drunk and grass eaten, whose milk is dry, and whose (wombs) are barren, he who gives these (cows) goes to these worlds (which are) called ‘joyless’.

The opening verse introduces the problem of a sacrifice whose result is *ananda loka* “a joyless world.” Undesirable qualities in sacrificial cattle yield the same undesirable qualities in worlds gained by sacrifice. In TB 3.11.7.4–5, however, we learn that the *nāciketa* fire-altar leads to an *ananta loka* “an endless world.”

- (2) *anantāṁ ha vā apārām akṣayyām lokām jayati / yò 'gnīm nāciketām cinutē / yā u cainam evām veda // ātho yāthā rāthe tisthan pākṣasī pāryāvartamāne pratyāpekṣate / evām abhorātrē pratyāpekṣate / nāsyābhorātrē lokām āpnutaḥ / yò 'gnīm nāciketām cinutē /*

¹⁵An investigation of Maitrāyaṇi materials to ascertain if there is a general Black Yajurvedic convergence in late Vedic period would be a desideratum.

¹⁶Which is essentially TB 3.11, the Taittirīya account of the *nāciketa* fire-altar. One passage, TB 3.11.8, contains the dialogue between Naciketas and Death and is supposedly borrowed from the lost KaṭhB.

¹⁷Alsdorf (1950:625, 636) suggests it was originally composed in a Prakrit-like Sanskrit because sometimes the meter dictates that *bhavarati* be read *bhoti*.

¹⁸*uśān ha vāi vājaśravasāḥ sarvavedasām dadau / tāsya ha nāciketā nāma putrā āsa / tāñ ha kumārāñ śāntam / dakṣiṇāsu niyāmānāsu śraddhāviveśa /* (TB 3.11.8.1 = KaṭhU 1.1) “Uśān Vājaśravasa gave away all his possessions. His son was named Naciketas. Although just a young boy, Śraddhā entered him while the gift-cattle were being led away.”

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sá u cainam evám véda // (TB 3.11.7.5)

He who knows this, he who builds the *nāciketá* fire (altar), he conquers an endless world: boundless and undecaying. Like standing in a chariot which is turning around, he looks down at both sides; thusly he looks down at day and night. He who knows this, who builds the *nāciketá* fire (altar), day and night cannot obtain his world.

The text relies on the shared *pratīka* to juxtapose both discourses; the phonetic similarity of *ananda* and *ananta* emphasizes their semantic antonymy and frames the topic of the discourse: How does one avoid a joyless world? How does one achieve its opposite, an endless world? In both texts Naciketas travels to the house of Death. The terse Brāhmaṇa focuses on Naciketas’ three nights of fasting and his reward: knowledge of the *nāciketa* fire-altar. The Upaniṣadic narrative glosses over these three nights, but vastly expands on the dialogue which follows after.

5 Transportation of fire to the altar

This dialogue is replete with references to the fire-altar:

- (3) *vaiśvānaraḥ praviśaty / atithir brāhmaṇo gṛhān / tasyaitām śāntim kurvanti / hara vaivasvatodakam //* (KaṭhU 1.7)

(Agni) Vaiśvānara enters the houses as a Brahmin guest. They are doing his pacification; bring water, O son of Vivasvat!

Vaiśvānara is the form of fire internal to a person. He is also the addressee of TB 3.11.6, which the *adhvaryu* recites while touching the completed *nāciketa* fire-altar after the ritual kindling.¹⁹ The recitation in TB 3.11.6 is a collection of five verses from the Ṛgveda (RV). In TB 3.11.6.2–3 (RV 7.12.1), the newly kindled fire is referred to as *yáviṣṭham* “the youngest” and *sāmiddhaḥ své duroné* “kindled in his own house.” The Vedas frequently refers to the fire-altar as the house of Agni. Fire being transported from the new *gārhapatya*²⁰ eastwards to the fire-altar is likened to a guest leaving his terrestrial house to visit a heavenly one. Here Death is referred to by a solar epithet—Vaivasvata—a choice which emphasizes his heavenly aspect.²¹ Through the image of the young boy Naciketas who has left his father’s house to visit the house of Death, the KaṭhU perhaps alludes to a variant of the *agnipranayana* in which the newly kindled fire is transported from the domestic altar to the sacrificial altar. While the precise ritual details are not clear, the passage seems to depict fire on the altar as a guest.

¹⁹Covered in TB 3.11.5.

²⁰The old *ābhavaniya* of the *vedī* is converted into the new *gārhapatya* in the *mahāvedi*, although this may not be the case for the *nāciketa* altar. TB 3.11.9 tells us the *nāciketa* is piled on the *uttaravedī*. It is not clear how similar the *nāciketagnicayana* was in this respect to the *agnicayana* as depicted by later Black Yajurvedic *śrautasūtras*.

²¹RV 9.113.8 describes Yama as Vaivasvata or the son of the Sun.

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6 Pacification of the altar

After the construction of a fire-altar, it must be pacified. KāṭhU 1.7 likens fire to a guest thirsty for water, but the pacification of this thirst, *śāntim kurvanti*,²² may refer to the ritual pacification of the fire as well. Staal (2010:508) remarks: “It is believed that if the *adhvaryu* steps on the altar, he will die. The completed altar is now ferocious (*krūra*), vibrating with power, and dreadful (*ghora*). Its powers have to be channeled and it has to be pacified and made to be at peace (*śānta*).” To pacify the *nāciketa*, the *adhvaryu* addresses Agni with litanies from TB 3.11.2–5.²³ During the *agnicayana*, Agni is instead pacified with water by the *pratiprasthātar*.²⁴

The theme of pacification continues in KāṭhU 1.11, when Naciketas asks that his father be *śāntasamkalpaḥ*, one whose “intention is pacified.”

- (4) *śāntasamkalpaḥ sumanā yathā syād vītamanyur gautamo mābhi mṛtyo / tvatprasṛṣṭam mābhivadet pratīta / etat trayāṇām prathamam varam vṛṇe //*
yathā purastād bhavitā pratīta / auddālakir āruṇir matprasṛṣṭaḥ / sukham rātrīḥ śayitā vītamanyus / tvam dadṛśivān mṛtyumukhāt pramuktam // (KāṭhU 1.10–1)

That it would be like the scion of Gotama were free of wrath, kind to me, and his intention pacified, O Death, (when) returned to, he would greet me (being) released from you—this I choose as the first wish of three.

The one returned to will be like before; scion of Uddālaka Aruṇi, you are released from me. He will lie happily at night, free of wrath, having seen you released from the jaws of Death.

With his father’s anger pacified, Naciketas is released from the jaws of Death.²⁵ These jaws may have an equivalent in the pacification of the *agnicayana*. While the *pratiprasthātar* finishes sprinkling water, the *adhvaryu* begins the *sarpābhuti*. He begins by addressing Agni as the black snake of the eastern quarter. He changes deities and quarters, but ends by addressing Yama in the center. After addressing Agni, the *adhvaryu* says: *té yam dviṣmó yás ca no dvéṣti / tam vām*²⁶ *jāmbhe dadhāmi svāhā //* “He whom we hate and who hates us, that one we place into your jaws—svāhā!”²⁷ He does not repeat this phrase after addressing gods in the other directions,²⁸ but does repeat it after addressing Yama. In other words, the pacification of the *agnicayana* concludes by redirecting the dangerous energies of the fire-altar towards enemies, placing them into the jaws of Death.

²²Renou (1954:111): “*śāntikarman*: ensemble des rites d’apaisement à la suite des funérailles.”

²³With each litany, the *adhvaryu* offers four ladles of clarified butter. He cannot touch the altar until completing these litanies, after which he touches the altar and recites TB 3.11.6. The Āpastamba Śrautasūtra portrays these litanies as substitutes for the *śatarudrīya* and *vasorlbhārā* used to pacify the standard *agnicayana*.

²⁴Staal 2010:534.

²⁵In TB 3.11.8, Death gives Naciketas boons, but his father’s anger is not present. Rather he wishes to return to life and see his father again.

²⁶Both the deity-as-snake and the eastern quarter are perhaps what is intended by the dual pronoun.

²⁷Translation of TS 5.5.10.1 from Staal 2010:535.

²⁸Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, and Bṛhaspati in the south, west, north, and zenith respectively. The parallel passage in TB 3.11.5 also sets up guardians but without the snake aspect. It ends in a homology which equates *puruṣa* with *dik*.

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7 Piling the fire-altar on a golden disc

In KaṭhU 1.12–3 Naciketas expresses his wish for an eternal heavenly existence beyond fear, and Death teaches him how to build the fire-altar:

- (5) *pra te bravīmi / tad u me nibodha svargyam agniṃ naciketah prajānan anantalokāptim atho pratisthām u viddhi tvam / etam nihitam gubhāyam //* (KaṭhU 1.14)

I will explain to you, heed this (speech) of mine, O Naciketas: you understand the fire (altar) is a heavenly one which attains of an endless world, but know (its) foundation and know this (fire)²⁹ is set in a cave.

In KaṭhU 1.14, Death responds that the fire (altar) has a *pratisthā* ‘foundation’ which obtains an *anantalo*³⁰ — the opposite of the *ananda loka* of KaṭhU 1.3. This fire is *nihita* ‘deposited’ in a *gubhā*, a ‘cave’ or a ‘hidden place’ which is understood to mean within the heart.³¹ TB 3.11.7.3 also mentions the *pratisthā* of the fire-altar.

- (6) *hiraṇyam vā agnér nāciketāsya āyātanaṃ pratisthā / yā evaṃ veda / āyātanaṃ bhavati / gācchati pratisthām //* *yō ha vā agnér nāciketāsya śārīraṃ veda / śāsarīra eva svargam lokam eti / hiraṇyam vā agnér nāciketāsya śārīraṃ / yā evaṃ veda / śāsarīra eva svargam lokam eti //* *ātho yāthā rukmā ūttapto bhāgyāt / evam eva sā téjasā yāsasā / asmīnś ca lokē ’mūsmiṃś ca bhāti //* (TB 3.11.7.3–4)

The foundation of the *nāciketā* fire (altar) is a golden place, he who knows that becomes one who has a place; he goes to the foundation. He who knows the body of the *nāciketā* fire (altar) goes to the heavenly world with his own body. The body of the *nāciketā* fire (altar) is golden, he who knows this goes to the heavenly world with his own body. Then, just as a heated up golden disc would glow, he would glow with radiance and fame in this world and in yonder one.

The *āyātana*, ‘place’ but often ‘fireplace,’ is equated with the *pratisthā*, the base of the *nāciketa* altar. It is described as *hiraṇya* ‘golden,’ which may refer to the circle of twenty golden bricks surrounding a twenty-first golden brick.³² TB 3.11.7.3 likens this golden foundation, as well as the *yajamāna*’s golden body, to the *rukma* used during the *agnicayana*. The *rukma* is a gold plate worn on the chest of the *yajamāna*, the beneficiary of the sacrifice, during his initiation.³³ It is then buried at what will be the base of a new fire-altar. When the *yajamāna*

²⁹Note *etam* is masculine, not feminine like *pratisthām* suggesting *viddhi* has two objects coordinated by the two *u* particles. I suggest that *etam* resumes *agniṃ*, but an internal fire as opposed to a *svargya* ‘heavenly’ one. Thus this diptych should be read: **atha#u (viddhi) pratisthām u viddhi tvam etam (agniṃ)*.

³⁰In exact agreement with TB 3.11.7.

³¹See Bodewitz 1985:11 for a summary of treatments of *nihita gubhāyam*. The ‘cave’ seems to indicate the self. In the context of the *agnicayana* SBM 7.4.1.1 states *ātman agniṃ grhṇīte* “he grasps the Agni in himself.”

³²Dumont (1951:646) directs the reader to ĀpŚ 19.14.2 for the placement of twenty-one pieces of gold at the base of the altar. TB 3.11.9 offers numerous arrangements of twenty-one bricks.

³³A feature common to both White and Black Yajurvedic traditions. Eggeling (41:266) translates ŚBM 6.7.1.3 “And as to why he puts on and wears the gold plate; — that plate is yonder sun, and man, in his human form, is unable to sustain that fire: it is only in this (solar or divine) form that he bears that (divine) form.”

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‘goes to the foundation of the altar’ *gacchati pratiṣṭhām*. The deposited *rukma* medallion,³⁴ once on the *ātman* ‘torso’ of the *yajamāna*, is now in the *ātman* of the altar.³⁵

- (7) *āpa punarmṛtyūṃ jayati / yò ’gnīm nāciketām cinutē / yā u cainam evām véda // prajāpatir vái prajākāmas tāpo ’tapyata / sá hīraṇyam údāsyat / tād agnau prāsyat / tād asmai nācchadayat / tād dvitīyam prāsyat / tād asmai nāivācchadayat / tāt tṛtīyam prāsyat // tād asmai nāivācchadayat / tād ātmān eva hṛdaye ’gnau vaiśvānaré prāsyat / tād asmā acchadayat / tasmād dhīraṇyam kaniṣṭham dhānānām / bhūñjāt priyātāmam / hṛdayajāñ hī / sá vái tām eva nāvindat / yāsmāi tām dākṣiṇām ānesyat / tām svāyaivā hāstāya dākṣiṇāyānayat / tām pratyagbhnāt //* (TB 3.11.8.6–7)

He who knows this, who builds the *nāciketā* fire, evicts re-death. Prajāpati, desirous of children, heated a heat. He expelled ‘gold’ and cast it into the fire (altar). It was not pleasing to him. He cast it a second time. It was not pleasing to him either. He cast it a third time. That was not pleasing to him either. He cast it into the Vaiśvānara fire (altar), which is in his very own heart. Therefore, gold, even if it is the smallest of treasures, is the most dearly pleasing for it is born in the heart. He did not find one to whom he would lead the sacrificial fee. He led it to his own right hand and grasped it.

This narrative explicates what it is the *yajamāna* is doing when he deposits this golden plate. The *nāciketa* fire-altar is gold which was offered into Agni Vaiśvānara in the heart of Prajāpati.³⁶ Prajāpati is the primordial sacrificer; the portrayal of Prajāpati is the normative model for the *yajamāna*.³⁷ The relationship between Prajāpati and Agni Vaiśvānara is mapped onto the *yajamāna* and his *rukma*. The Black Yajurvedic accounts of the *nāciketa* fire-altar place great importance on this golden foundation, as it is the *yajamāna*’s contact with gold that connects him personally to the altar. If KaṭhU shares the same set of metaphysical commitments as the Brāhmaṇa, we would expect Death to reveal that a gold disc is in fact what is *nibhitam guhāyām*:

- (8) *lokādim agniṃ tam uvāca tasmai / yā iṣṭakā yāvatīr vā yathā vā / sa cāpi tat pratyavadaḥ yathoktam athāsya mṛtyuḥ punar eva āha tuṣṭaḥ // am abravīt priyamāṇo mahātmā / varam tavehādya dadāmi bhūyaḥ / tavaiva nāmnā bhavitāyam agniḥ / sṛṅikām cemām anekarūpām grhāṇa //* (KaṭhU 1.15–6)

He told him about that fire-altar which was at the beginning of the world. Which bricks, how many, how they are arranged, and (Naciketas) repeated it exactly as it was said. Satisfied, Death again spoke; pleased, the great-hearted one replied: Here I grant you today one wish more. This fire-altar will be by name yours alone. And take this glittering disk of gold!

³⁴See Bodewitz 1985:15–6 for chariot imagery associated with the *rukma*; imagery very much alive in TB 3.11.7.5, RV 10.135 and in the third *valli* of KaṭhU.

³⁵A feature common to both White and Black Yajurvedic traditions. Eggeling (41:266) translates ŚBM 6.7.1.3 “And as to why he puts on and wears the gold plate;—that plate is yonder sun, and man, in his human form, is unable to sustain that fire: it is only in this (solar or divine) form that he bears that (divine) form.”

³⁶Perhaps to be associated with the twenty-first piece of gold encircled by twenty other pieces.

³⁷Gonda (1978:376): “Dadurch, daß der mit Agni (dem Agnicayana-Ritus) und Prajāpati identifizierte und den Mittelpunkt des Ritus bildende Yajamāna dieses Ritual durchführen ließ, konstruierte er sich ein Selbst, das vor der Vergänglichkeit sicher ist.”

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After describing the piling of the bricks, Naciketas repeats the instructions precisely. Naciketas’ precise repetition makes him the very model of Vedic studentship. Not only is Naciketas a model student, but Death is a model teacher and authority figure.³⁸

Death becomes *prīyamāṇa* ‘pleased’ just as Prajāpati was pleased by the gold tossed into the fire in his heart in TB 3.11.8.7. Immediately after this, Death presents Naciketas with a *śṛṅkā*. Bodewitz argues that this *śṛṅkā* is a golden ornament of some kind, as it is described as *anekarūpa*. When *rūpa* is the final member of a compound it seems to refer to glitter or color³⁹ rather than form or shape, and words like *jātarūpa* or *viśvarūpa* refer to gold. Out of context, the *śṛṅkā* is a strange item for Death to give away, but by doing so KaṭhU recapitulates the content of the TB account: a golden disc connects the sacrificer, the fire-altar, and an endless world beyond the Sun.

8 The deconstruction of the fire-altar

When these learned allusions are collected *in toto*, a curious pattern emerges. The transportation of fire to the altar, the pacification of the fire-altar, the piling of the bricks upon a golden disc constitute the construction of the altar in *reverse* order. The narrative then begins at the end of a failed sacrifice which resulted in an *ananta loka* “joyless world.” The text deconstructs the fire-altar through this dialogic poem, undoing the failed sacrifice to discover what makes an altar successful. Beneath the fire, beneath the waters of pacification, beneath the bricks, Death tells the secret of a golden disc which obtains an *ananta loka*. The first chapter of KaṭhU does not merely presuppose knowledge of ritual actions, but it presupposes knowledge of the sequence of those ritual actions such that their inversion is meaningful.

Under close investigation, we see other items in reversed sequence. In KaṭhU 1.15, after Death is pleased, he speaks to Naciketas again. That the verse contains *mṛtyuḥ punar* can hardly be chance since avoiding *punarmṛtyu* ‘re-death’ is “the obsession of the Brāhmaṇas.”⁴⁰ During the *śarpābhūti* the priest places the hated one *into* the jaws of Death.⁴¹ Naciketas, on the other hand, is released *from* the jaws of Death.⁴²

This reverse sequence rhetorically unmakes the *agnicayana* to its metaphysical foundation, allowing Death to lecture on the significance of the golden disc:⁴³

- (9) *triṇācīketas tribhīr etya sandhīm / trikarmakṛt tarati janmamṛtyū / brahma jajñam devam idyam viditvā / nicāyemām śāntim atyantam eti //* (KaṭhU 1.17)

He whose *nācīketa* is threefold—uniting with the three, doing rituals triply, he crosses birth and death. Knowing *brahman* being born as the god to be praised, discerning this golden disc to be that, he attains endless peace.

³⁸As Death says in KaṭhU 2.21 *mad anyo jñātum arhati* “(who) should know besides me?”

³⁹Bodewitz 1985:16.

⁴⁰Bodewitz 1985:6.

⁴¹TS 5.5.10.1.

⁴²KaṭhU 1.11.

⁴³It stops here, making no mention of the lotus leaf upon which the golden plate is deposited, which is evidently not considered the foundation of the sacrifice.

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Olivelle reads *imām* as referring to the golden *ṣṛṅkā*. It is this golden disc which is identified as *brahman*. Rau (1971:162) takes the *brahman* being born in KaṭhU 1.17 as referring to the Sun rising in the east. He cites an Atharvavedic hymn whose *pratīka* is *brāhma jajñānām* as a parallel.⁴⁴ This verse is spoken during construction of the fire-altar, but it is not exclusive to the Atharvaveda. It is also found in TS 4.2.8.2 and KaṭhS 16.15 in sections pertaining to the placement of the golden disc.

9 An introduction to Black Yajurvedic ritual theory

Bodewitz writes, “In my view *tribhir etya sandhim* refers to the three levels of the identificatory system: *adhiyajñyam*, *adhidaivam*, and *adhyātmam*.”⁴⁵ Bodewitz is referring to three corresponding realms of action: the sacrifice, the heavens, and the person, respectively.⁴⁶

The term *śānti* resurfaces here; as we saw earlier with forms such as *śāntim kurvanti* and *śāntikarman*, pacification seems to be formulated as *śānti* + $\sqrt{kṛ}$. In this verse the one who is *trikarmakṛt* ‘doing the triple rite’ crosses life and death. Death may be suggesting a kind of triple action is necessary to attain this endless world. He who is *trīṇācīketa* ‘possessing three *nācīketa* (fire-altars)’ piles and pacifies three altars connected by the golden disc: Vaiśvānara in the heart of the *yajāmāna*, the *agnicayana* on the ritual ground, and the Sun in heaven.

The ideology of fire, self, and Sun is not an invention of the Upaniṣads,⁴⁷ Brāhmaṇas,⁴⁸ or even the early Saṃhitās.⁴⁹ In this article I am not investigating the ideology of fire in Vedic⁵⁰ or Indo-Iranian⁵¹ but returning KaṭhU to the context of its composition, as

⁴⁴*brāhma jajñānām prathamām purāstād vi śimatāḥ surico venā āvaḥ / śa budhmyā upamā asya viṣṭhāḥ satās ca yonim āsatās ca vi vaḥ* // (Śaunaka Saṃhitā 4.1.1).

⁴⁵Also known as the mesocosmos, macrocosmos, and microcosmos.

⁴⁶He is no doubt correct, as the second *vallī* KaṭhU 2.12 mentions the *adhyātmamayogādhibigama* “the mastery of the connection to the microcosmos.”

⁴⁷Bodewitz (1985:12) notes that in addition to KaṭhU, both Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad and TU are concerned with the internalization of the fire-altar, and all three are schools of the Black Yajurveda.

⁴⁸The idea that the Sun is disassembled into the *agnibhotras* when it sets and is reassembled in the morning is clear from Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa 1.7–8, see Bodewitz 1976:163.

⁴⁹Proferes (2007:23–76) demonstrates that the power of the Kuru king over the loosely allied *viś* ‘clans’ was portrayed as the sovereignty of the Sun over terrestrial fires. The fire of clan alliance, Agni Vaiśvānara, was also sovereign over the fires of the individual clans. In short, there is evidence that in the proto-*agnicayana* of the very early Vedic period, the *yajāmāna* was the Kuru king. The unity of (royal) self, the ritual fire, and the Sun reflects Kuru ideals of kingship.

⁵⁰See Jurewicz 2010.

⁵¹The ideology of the fire of ritual performance being connected to the Sun seems to be attested already at the Indo-Iranian level since it is found in both branches:

ātaraš vōi mazdā aburahiiā abī / mainiiuš vōi abiiā spēmīštō abī / hiiat vā tōi nāmanam vāzištəm / ātarə. mazdā. aburahiiā. / tā. θ3ā pairijasāmaidē // (Y37.3)

You are the fire of Ahura Mazda, you are his most life-giving conception, yours is the most powerful of names, O fire of Ahura Mazda, because of that we circumambulate you.

sraēštəm aṭ tōi kōhrpēm kōhrpəm / āuuāēdaiiamahī mazdā. ahurā / imā raocā / barəzištəm barəzimanam auuat / yāt buuəvə auuācī //

(Y37.6) We proclaim yours to be the most beautiful body of bodies, O Ahura Mazda, these lights (and) yonder one, the highest of the high, which is called the Sun.

The proximal deictic *imā* suggests these ritual fires here while the distal deictic *auuat* refers to ‘that’ heavenly fire, the Sun. Elsewhere *spēmīštō mainiiuš* “life-giving conception” seems to refer to poetic inspiration, perhaps conceived of an internal form of the fire of Ahura Mazda.

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a system of metaphysics intended specifically for the technicians of the fire-altar. I have argued that learned allusions to Taittirīya and Kaṭha texts and the tasks of the *adhvaryu* and *pratiprasthātā* suggest KaṭhU is best understood as presupposing knowledge of Black Yajurvedic canonical materials of the late Vedic period. Witzel (2005:xii) argues that the KaṭhŚU “formed the end of Veda study in this Śākhā,” but it appears that the old Vedic world order was not yet in its twilight. The KaṭhU, despite its late date, is committed to the ontological and metaphysical concerns of the Vedic world. While the KaṭhU utilizes the narrative of TB 3.11.8 as its vehicle, it is engaged in a broader undertaking than the Brāhmaṇa is. It explains *why* a proper Black Yajurvedic *agnicayana* can transport sacrificers to heaven. The *nāciketa* altar differs in various details from the *agnicayana*. Different gold items are buried under the different fire-altars,⁵² but the KaṭhU abstracts from these multifarious altars a general principle which connects the *yajamāna* to the fire-altar and to heaven. Returning KaṭhU to its original context tells us that Vedic sacrificial industry was vital and creative in a period which is typically thought of as one of closed canons and the rise of new philosophical movements which rejected ritual wholecloth. In fact, this is not at all the case, and investigating the other early Upaniṣads for their canonical commitments may yield a far more individuated view of late Vedic ideologies.

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⁵² See Staal 2010:405 for a map of the many objects buried under the *atirātra agnicayana*.

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Indicating Path: Evidence from New Testament Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic

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I Introduction

Many linguists are drawn to the intricacies of spatial semantics in the hopes of gaining a better understanding of human cognition (Talmy 1983, Levinson 1996, Luraghi 2003, Bohne-meyer and Stolz 2006). Spatial notions are usually viewed as basic building blocks that provide solid foundation for more complex abstract notions that appear due to the metaphorical capacities of the human mind. Location, Goal and Source are among the most studied basic spatial semantic domains (den Dikken 2010, Pantcheva 2010). Studies of Path, on the other hand, are not that common and primarily completed on the basis of modern languages.

Talmy (1991) suggested a typological division of languages depending on their choice of lexicalization when it comes to Path.¹ He proposed that languages differ as to how they codify manner of motion and path of motion: verb-framed languages (e.g., Semitic languages, Japanese, Tamil, etc.) mark Path by a main verb in a sentence and leave manner of motion for an optional constituent, while satellite-framed languages (e.g., Indo-European languages, with the exception of the Romance subgroup) lexicalize manner in the main verb and specify Path through various satellites (affixes, verb particles, verb complements, etc.). To illustrate his proposition, Talmy uses the English sentence *The bottle floated out* and its Spanish counterpart *La botella salió flotando* (Talmy 1991:486–7) where the English satellite *out* corresponds to the Spanish verb *salir* ‘to exit’.

The purpose of this study is to examine how Biblical Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic encode Path. Our choice of the old Indo-European languages is partially influenced by the desire to create the substantial and consistent grounds for further linguistic studies that would aim to examine how Path encodings develop historically.

In light of the cross-linguistic encoding tendencies discussed above, we assume that the selected languages (as satellite-framed ones) reserve prepositional phrases and derivational

¹Talmy defines Path rather broadly as “the relating function that associates the figural entity with the ground elements among which the transition takes place” (Talmy 1991:483). Our take on Path is narrower: it is based on the definition given by Luraghi (2003:22), where Path is viewed as the semantic function indicating that an object moves along/through/across a landmark. However, this theoretical difference does not prevent us from following Talmy’s typological division since it still applies, but in our case to a smaller set of instances.

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prefixes for this function. Our goal is to determine which notions are salient for Path encodings and how they are marked in these languages. We would like to determine whether there is a tendency to reserve special markers for this purpose or languages prefer to use satellites that are typically employed to denote more basic spatial meanings (Location, Goal, and Source) and simply extend their semantics to the denotation of Path. In case such semantic extensions are found, the goal is to check for any possible predispositions. The second goal of this study is to analyze the correspondences between the languages and identify the strategies used, especially in those instances where satellite inventories vary from language to language or where Path situations are viewed differently.

2 Corpus

Our data comes from the PROIEL corpus (<http://foni.uio.no:3000/>, <http://www.hf.uio.no/ifikk/english/research/projects/proiel/>), developed at the University of Oslo, Norway. This source provides a solid parallel corpus of the Greek original of the New Testament and its translations into Latin, Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic. The corpus offers thorough annotations on the level of morphology, syntax, semantics, and information structure. The texts are automatically aligned at sentence and token levels.

Several words have to be said about the translational nature of our corpus. It might be viewed by some as not a valid source for our study, in the case of Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic, since we are dealing with the renditions of the Greek text and not original texts. One might say that the findings may have nothing or little to do with the actual nature of the matter in the examined languages, but rather demonstrate outcomes of various translational styles of the corresponding authors or, even worse, simply reflect the linguistic particulars of the Greek original (particularly in the instance of the Gothic version). However, several previous investigations that examined various linguistic realia using the translated materials in question show that even though in a number of cases translators imitated Greek constructions and produced Greek calques, in most of the instances they coped with the need to render alien constructions much better and strived to produce a translation that would be as close to their native language as possible (Klein 1992a, 1992b; Dawson 2000; Eckhoff, Thomason, and de Swart 2013). For this reason, while we do not deny the fact that an original text usually has a great influence on a translated version, we believe that the selected translated versions provide a valid source that could be used to make judgments about the idiomatic nature of the languages in question. What is more, the nature of the New Testament text, where the same stories are retold in different Gospels, is beneficial for our investigation, since we can control for authorship: in those parallel instances where there is no variation in Path encodings, we can talk about general tendencies, and in those where we find disparity, we can attempt to determine its reasons.

It should also be noted that there exist certain restrictions when it comes to the translated versions. The Old Church Slavic manuscript includes only the Gospels, while the Gothic variant is a much more fragmented version of the Gospels (even though it includes some of the Pauline epistles). This naturally restricts our correspondence sets only to those instances where a Greek Path encoding has a counterpart in all three languages: Gothic, Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic. However, we did not want to lose any data that could be

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crucial for understanding tendencies in Path encodings for each language in question. As a result, we compiled two different data sets: one where all Path encodings for each examined language were accounted for and another that included only those correspondences which were comprehensive for all four languages. Looking ahead, we should state that the analyses of both sets yielded results which were very close and differed quantitatively and not qualitatively. To be consistent, we used the first set for the analysis of the encodings in each particular language and the second for the analysis of general trends in correspondences.

3 Path domain

3.1 Path domain in Greek

Figure 1 demonstrates that the prepositional phrase *dia* + Gen² accounts for 43% of all Path encodings in New Testament Greek. This construction regularly expresses causal meanings, but the designation of Path is as common (especially in the Gospel of John). In such instances *dia* + Gen has perlocative value and indicates that a motion continues all the way through, across, or along all parts of a landmark.

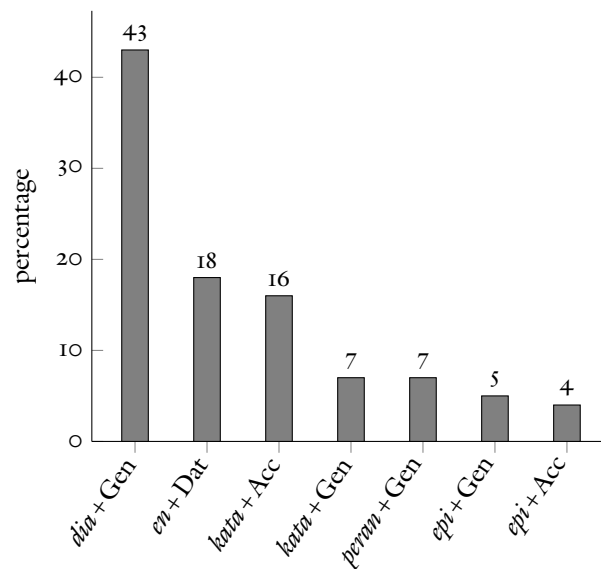


Figure 1. Path domain in Greek.

The landmark in such instances could be multiplex, consisting of several objects, e.g. several fields (1), or uniplex, e.g. a temple (2). The notion of Path is sometimes reinforced through a preverb *dia-* (2).

²In this paper all prepositional phrases are referred to in the following format: preposition + the case governed. Thus in this instance, the preposition *dia* governs the genitive case.

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- (1) *En ekeinōi tōi kairōi eporeuthē ho Iēsous tois sabbasin dia tōn*
 At that time went the Jesus the Sabbath through the-GEN
sporimōn
 grainfields-GEN
 “at that time Jesus went through the grain fields on the Sabbath” (Matthew 12:1)
- (2) *Kai ouk ēphien hina tis dienenkē skeuos dia tou hierou*
 and not allow that anyone carry vessel through the-GEN temple-GEN
 “and he would not allow anyone to carry a vessel through the temple” (Mark 11:16)

We see no lexical or syntactic restrictions when it comes to *dia* + Gen. Perhaps the only exception here is those instances where *dia* governs *mesos* ‘middle’ and encodes the meaning ‘among, in the middle of’. The landmark once again could be uniplex or multiplex. We find variations in such passages: *mesos* could be either in its genitive or accusative form. In any case, the construction *dia mesou* (*meson*) is obviously idiomatic and only adds to the frequency and multifunctionality of *dia*.

The situation is different with the rest of the prepositional constructions that are employed to mark Path. Thus we see a case of lexicalization with *en* + Dat: this phrase encodes Path only on two conditions: it should have either *hodos* ‘road, way’ as its nominal dependent (3) or a toponym (4), and this toponym should have a modifier *holos* ‘whole, all’ that specifies that a trajector moves along all parts of a landmark. Since the preposition *en* is regularly associated with internal space, it is safe to assume the notion of interiority is stressed here also: going along the road is viewed as moving within the boundaries of the road.

- (3) *kai poreuomenōn autōn en tēi hōdōi eipen tis pros auton*
 and were.going they along the-DAT road-DAT said someone to him
 “and as they were going along the road someone said to him” (Luke 9:57)
- (4) *kai periēgen en holēi tēi Galilaiāi*
 and he.was.going along whole the-DAT Galilee-DAT
 “and he was going throughout all Galilee” (Matthew 4:23)

Constructions with *kata* are rarely used in the New Testament with spatial meanings (its primary semantics express manner of actions and has strong ties with the idea of distribution). Instances where this preposition encodes Path are sparse, but reflect the original semantics of *kata*—a downward direction. Due to the scarcity of the data it is hard to describe the semantic difference between *kata* + Acc and *kata* + Gen. Both of these phrases are primarily found in the Gospel of Luke.³ But it is probable that these constructions do not continue the distinction suggested by Luraghi (2003:197–8), who examines the material from Ancient Greek and notes that *kata* + Acc tends to mark a downward motion that is extended along the whole area of the landmark, whereas *kata* + Gen specifies only the endpoints of such motion. We actually find the opposite situation in New Testament Greek. Compare (5) and (6):

- (5) *kai autos diōdeuen kata polin kai kōmēn*
 and he journeyed down city-ACC and village-ACC

³Outside of the canonical gospels, one also finds instances of *kata* + Acc and *kata* + Gen in the Acts of the Apostles.

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“and he journeyed down [every] city and village” (Luke 8:1)

- (6) *kai hōrmēsen hē agelē kata tou krēmnon eis tēn limnēn*
and rushed the herd down the-GEN cliff-GEN into the lake
“and the herd rushed down the cliff into the lake” (Luke 8:33)

Thus in (5) *kata* + Acc marks the ending (or intermediary) points of a journey—a city and a village—whereas in (6) *kata* + Gen designates that the action is a continuous motion throughout all parts of the cliff.

Passages with *peran* + Gen present a borderline situation. It is hard to make a safe judgment on whether this prepositional construction marks Path or Goal of motion. Compare (7) and (8):

- (7) *ērkhonto peran tēs thalassēs eis Kapharnaoum*
they.were.going across the-GEN sea-GEN to Capernaum
“they were going across the sea to Capernaum” (John 6:17)
- (8) *erkhetai eis ta horia tēs Ioudaias kai peran tou Iordanou*
he.comes into the region of.the Judea and beyond the-GEN Jordan-GEN
“he comes into the region of Judea and beyond the Jordan” (Mark 10:1)

English translators vary in their renditions and translate *peran* + Gen as either *across*, *over* (meanings which are often associated with Path) or *beyond*, *to the other side of* (a type of Goal). *Peran* + Gen is restricted to those passages where a governed noun designates a river or sea, i.e. a landmark that has clear borderlines or sides. The preposition *epi* continues its original semantics and appears only in those passages where it is imperative to emphasize that an object moves on the top of or over the surface of a landmark. Lexicalization accounts for the difference in governance: *epi* + Gen is found only in combination with *thalassa* ‘sea’ (9), while *epi* + Acc demonstrates more flexibility in collocations as long as a noun’s meaning is connected with the concept of surface (10).

- (9) *erkhetai pros autous peripatōn epi tēs thalassēs*
he.comes to them walking on the-GEN sea-GEN
“He comes to them walking on the sea” (Mark 6:48)
- (10) *Petros periepatēsen epi ta hudata*
Peter walked upon the-ACC waters-ACC
“Peter walked upon the waters.” (Matthew 14:29)

Thus our data shows that New Testament Greek allocates *dia* + Gen as a primary marker of Path. This phrase has no restrictions as far as the type of the landmark goes, or any preferences for a nominal dependent. The rest of the Path encodings are restricted either semantically (e.g., *peran* + Gen) or through lexicalization (e.g., *en* + Dat). As far as the origin of these encodings is concerned, we see that the semantics of *dia* + Gen is continuously centered on the denotation of Path whereas meanings of other prepositional phrases are extended from other spatial meanings (e.g., *en* + Dat, *epi* + Dat/Acc).

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3.2 Path domain in Gothic

As Figure 2 displays, our Gothic text also has a preferred construction for Path encoding: *pairh* + Acc. This prepositional construction accounts for 44% of all instances where denotation of Path was found (cp. with 43% for Greek *dia* + Gen). The correspondence check shows that *pairh* + Acc is the most common counterpart of *dia* + Gen, but not the only one. Just like its primary Greek counterpart, *pairh* + Acc regularly has perlocative function and extends its semantics to causative functions.

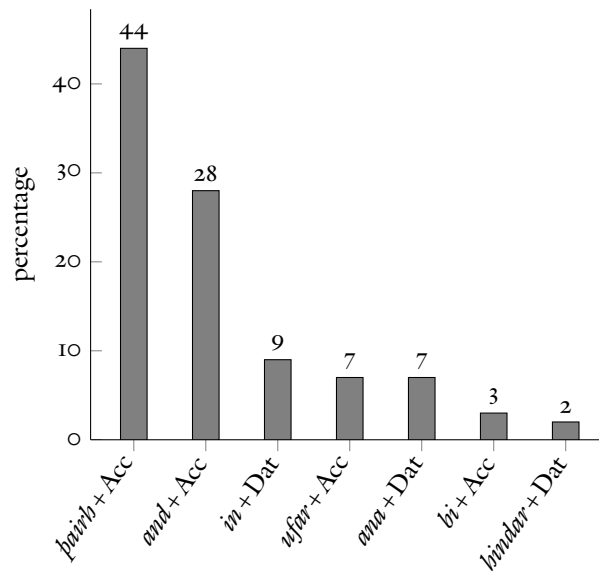


Figure 2. Path domain in Gothic.

We see that Gothic answers with *pairh* + Acc even in those instances where Greek *dia* + Gen(Acc) is combined with *mesos* ‘middle’, but it does not reflect the differences in case governance that have been noted for the Greek original earlier. Gothic basically mirrors the Greek text here and uses the construction *pairh midja* (*midjans*) ‘among, through the midst of’. Just like in the case of Greek *dia* (cf. [2]), *pairh* is sometimes duplicated as a preverb to reinforce the Path semantics (II). In the case of preverbs, the correspondences are not that straightforward: if one finds *dia* in the Greek original it does not necessarily entail that the Gothic variant has *pairh* as a preverb, and vice versa.

- (II) *jah ni lailot ei was pairhberi kas pairh þo alh*
 and not allow that anyone should.carry vessel through the-ACC temple-ACC
 “and he would not allow anyone to carry a vessel through the temple” (Mark 11:16)

The second most frequent marker of Path in Gothic is *and* + Acc (24% of all Path encodings in this language). This prepositional construction can encode Direction and Location, but more regularly translates Greek *kata* + Acc and *kata* + Gen where they mark a downward

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Path. It renders those instances where the focus is on ending points of Path (12) as well as those where a motion throughout all parts of a landmark is emphasized (13) (cf. Greek [5] and [6]). The notion of a downward direction in Path is lost in the Gothic variants.

- (12) *jah is wratoda and baurgs jah haimos*
and he journeyed through cities-ACC and villages-ACC
"and he journeyed through [every] city and village" (Luke 8:1)
- (13) *jah rann sa wripus and driuson in pana marisaiw*
and rushed the herd through cliff-ACC into the lake
"and the herd rushed through the cliff into the lake" (Luke 8:33)

The distributive notion proves to be salient for the semantics of *and* + Acc. In many instances this preposition is combined with a form of the pronominal adjective *alls* 'whole, every' or the indefinite pronoun *hwarjizuh* 'each one, every one' which specify that a motion covers every part of a landmark (14).

- (14) *jah usiddja þata waurd and alla Iudaia bi ina*
and went this rumor through all-ACC Judaea-ACC about him
"and this rumor about him went throughout all Judaea" (Luke 7:17)

In such passages *and* + Acc becomes a counterpart of Greek *dia* + Gen, *en* + Dat and *epi* + Acc: the Gothic construction appears to ignore the specifics of the Greek prototypes (e.g., contrast between surface and interior) and promotes its distributive semantics. These instances add to the pool of evidence for the idiomatic nature of the Gothic translation.

On the other side, all passages where Gothic *in* + Dat encodes Path present cases of faithful observance of the Greek original. *In* + Dat translates only those instances where Greek *en* + Dat is lexicalized in combination with the noun *hodos* 'road, way' (15).

- (15) *laistida in wiga Iesu*
following along way-DAT Jesus
"following Jesus along the way" (Mark 10:52)

The idiomatization appears to be even stricter in Gothic, since we do not see *in* + Dat in combination with toponyms. *And* + Acc is found in this case (cf. [14]). It is likely that, just as in the case with its Greek counterpart, *in* + Dat is chosen here for its preference for interior meanings. Passages that encode the meaning 'along the way' demonstrate the interplay between interior and surface meanings in Gothic, because in some of them *in* + Dat renders Greek *en* + Dat (15), but in some it is actually *ana* + Dat (16), a prepositional phrase that typically marks Location specifying that an object is on the surface, on top of a landmark.

- (16) *jah ana wiga frab siponjans seinans*
and along way-DAT he.asked disciples his
"and he asked his disciples along the way" (Mark 8:27)

In addition, *ana* + Dat takes care of those Greek passages with the phrase 'along the way' where the semantics of surface is encoded by *epi* + Gen/Acc. There is one more rendition of the meaning 'along the way' in Gothic: *bi* + Acc. Greek has *kata* + Acc in this passage (17).

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- (17) *ni mannanbun bi wig goljaip*
 no man along way-ACC salute
 “salute no man along the way” (Luke 10:4)

Bi + Acc generally encodes topic (often with verbs of speech), but sometimes denotes spatial concepts where it promotes the notion of proximity. In (17) *bi* + Acc does not express the downward Path as does its Greek counterpart; it rather specifies that an action should not happen in close proximity to the road.

Gothic picks up on the semantic complexity of Greek *peran* + Gen and matches the Greek construction with two prepositional phrases—*ufar* + Acc and *hindar* + Dat—in an attempt to separate Path (18) and Goal (19). Compare Greek (7) and (8) with the following Gothic correspondences:

- (18) *iddjedunuh ufar marein in Kafarnaum*
 they.went across sea-ACC to Capernaum
 “they went across the sea to Capernaum” (John 6:17)
- (19) *gam in markom Iudaias hindar Iaurdanau*
 he.came into area of.Judea beyond Jordan-DAT
 “he came into the area of Judea beyond the Jordan” (Mark 10:1)

Denotation of Path is primary for Gothic *ufar* + Acc. This prepositional phrase specifies that a landmark is crossed over and a motion goes beyond a landmark (18). *Hindar* + Dat accentuates the directional idea ‘behind, beyond’. It identifies that a mentioned landmark is left behind when a motion is completed (19). In passages where Greek *peran* is used nominally it is also rendered with *hindar* + Dat, thus directionality is emphasized here once again.

Thus the suggested analysis demonstrates that even though the general distribution of the semantic load in the Gothic Path domain is reminiscent of the Greek one, we should not speak of the slavish nature of the Gothic translation. The Gothic choice of a counterpart is not always straightforward or predictable based on a Greek prototype (cf. different renditions of the meaning ‘along the way’). The translation reflects semantic specifics of the Gothic prepositional system (e.g., distributive semantics of *and* + Acc) and sometimes presents a more refined gradation (cf. interpretations of Greek *peran* + Gen).

3.3 Path domain in Classical Armenian

The Classical Armenian data is especially intriguing since this is the language with the fewest prepositions in our sample. The expectation is that the paucity of the prepositional system is compensated for by morphosyntactic properties of the prepositions. Figure 3 demonstrates that Armenian also has a designated marker for Path: *md* + Acc. It accounts for 51% of all Path encodings (cp. with 43% for Greek *dia* + Gen and 44% for Gothic *pairh* + Acc).

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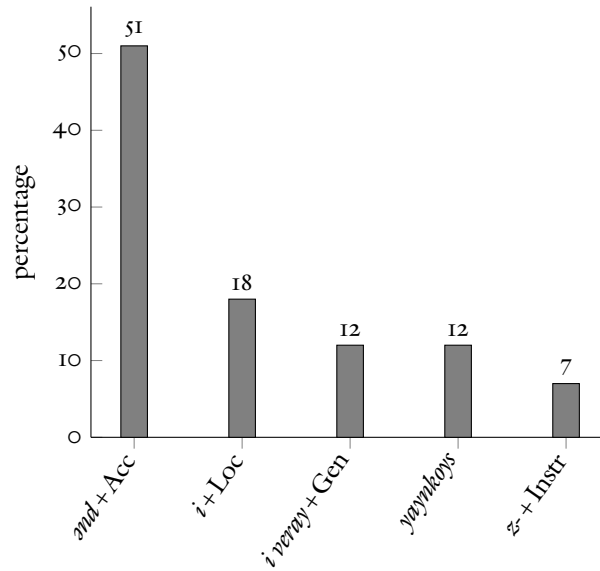


Figure 3. Path domain in Classical Armenian.

As expected, the preposition *and* surpasses Greek *dia* and Gothic *pairh* in governance: it governs six different cases, whereas its Greek counterpart takes only two and the Gothic preposition only one. This morphological feature of *and* is important for our analysis because this preposition extends its semantics to causal functions just like its Greek and Gothic equivalents. But it prefers to separate causal meanings from Path encodings by means of different cases: locative and accusative, respectively. This separation is fundamental and *and*+Loc never encodes Path, even though it sometimes denotes Location. We find a similar method in the case of Greek *dia*: causal meanings are regularly marked by *dia*+Acc, while Path is designated by *dia*+Gen. But this division is not absolute in Greek, since *dia*+Gen also extends its semantics to causal functions (but *dia*+Acc is never used to encode Path). There is another difference that sets Armenian *and* apart from Greek *dia* and Gothic *pairh*. Its semantics include encodings of other spatial meanings (Location and Goal). Such extensions are not found for its Greek and Gothic counterparts. *and* originates from IE **H₂enti* ‘in front and facing’ (Sihler 1995:439) and is actually cognate with Greek *anti* and Gothic *and*. Traces of its original meanings could be seen in locational usages of this preposition where it means ‘against, on the opposite side’. However, it is hard to identify them in those instances where *and*+Acc encodes Path (20),⁴ if only in those passages where a landmark is multiplex and the expressed meaning could be rendered as ‘among/between’ (21).

- (20) *ew oc' t'okoyr et'e ok' anawt' inc' anc'owc'anic'e and tačar -n*
 and not allow that anyone vessel anything carry through temple-ACC the
 “and he would not allow anyone to carry a vessel through the temple” (Mark 11:16)

⁴It is also important to note that *and*+Acc is not used to translate Greek *peran*+Gen which is regularly associated with the meaning ‘an opposite side’.

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- (21) *šrji and anjrdi -n telis*
 it.goes through/among dry-ACC the places-ACC
 “it passes through the dry places” (Luke 11:24)

Armenian seconds Gothic in its treatment of the Greek construction *dia meson* and produces a parallel construction *and mej*+Gen ‘among, through the midst of’. The phrase *and*+Acc (just like its Gothic cognate *and*+Acc) also translates Greek *kata*+Acc/Gen, but it disregards the feature of these Greek constructions to mark a downward direction and specifies only that Path extends through all parts of a landmark. In addition, *and*+Acc becomes a counterpart of Greek *en*+Dat on those passages where it governs a toponym (22).

- (22) *ew šrjēr ʾYS and amenayn kotmn Galileacʿwocʿ*
 and was.going Jesus through entire region-ACC of.Galilee
 “and Jesus was going throughout the entire region of Galilee” (Matthew 4:23)

But *and*+Acc does not correspond to Greek *en*+Dat where it is lexicalized and expresses the meaning ‘along the road’. The Armenian translator prefers to use either *i*+Loc (the cognate of Greek *en*+Dat and its most frequent counterpart) (23) or *z*+Instr⁵ (24).

- (23) *Ew minčʿdeř ertʿayin nokʿa i čanaparhi. asē omn cʿ -na*
 and when were.going they along road-LOC says someone to him
 “and as they were going along the road someone says to him” (Luke 9:57)
- (24) *z- handerjs iwreancʿ taracanein z- čanaparhaw -n*
 ACC garments their spread along road-INSTR the
 “they spread their garments along the road” (Luke 19:36)

I+Loc specifies the interior meaning of the construction because this denotation is at the core of the semantics of the preposition *i*. In *z*+Instr, it is most likely the semantics of the instrumental case and not the preposition itself that influenced the selection, since historically when the instrumental case encodes spatial meanings it has a perlocative value and indicates a general route where a movement takes place (Meier-Brügger 2003:268–9). The Armenian preposition *i* also appears as a counterpart of Greek *dia*+Gen and *kata*+Gen (as in [6]). In such passages it governs the ablative case. Here the Armenian variants disregard the Path encodings of the Greek original. *I*+Abl marks a point of a landmark from which a certain motion begins and is often combined with an adverb *anti* ‘from there’ that intensifies this meaning (25). Usually in such passages one finds another prepositional construction that marks an ending point of a motion.

- (25) *ew dimeacʿ eramak -n i gabē anti i covak -n*
 and rushed herd the from hill-ABL from.there into lake the
 “and the herd rushed through the cliff into the lake” (Luke 8:33)

Technically, *i*+Abl (unlike *i*+Loc) is not part of the Path domain in Armenian, but we believe that it should be included in our discussion, since it shows that the same preposition

⁵We also find one instance where the Greek construction *en tē hodo* ‘along the road’ is rendered with the instrumental alone; however, Path is expressed metaphorically in this instance. For this reason we do not include this correspondence in our discussion.

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is extended to the denotation of several spatial notions, in this case Source and Path. It also evidences closeness of these concepts, since the Armenian translator saw nothing wrong in interpreting the Greek Path encodings by a Source marker (in combination with a Goal encoding).

Armenian recognizes the importance of the surface notion for Path and uses *i veray* + Gen to emphasize that a motion continues throughout the exterior part of a landmark (26). *I veray* + Gen translates Greek *epi* + Acc and *epi* + Gen.

- (26) *gay ar̄ nasa gnalov i veray covow -n*
 he comes.to them walking along sea-GEN the
 “He comes to them walking on the sea” (Mark 6:48)

The construction *yaynkoy*s + Gen ‘behind, beyond’ concludes our discussion of the Armenian Path domain. All occurrences of this phrase correspond to Greek *peran* + Gen. Unlike the Gothic text, the Armenian version disregards the semantic complexity of the Greek construction and picks up only its directional value (27).

- (27) *gayin yaynkoy covow -n i Kap'arnaowm*
 they.were.going onto.the.other.side.of sea-GEN the to Capernaum
 “they were going across the sea to Capernaum” (John 6:17)

The preposition *yaynkoy*s is actually a compound *y-ayn-koy*s ‘onto that side’. It acts just like Gothic *hindar* + Dat ‘behind, beyond’ and signifies that a certain landmark is left behind when a motion is complete. One may argue that we are dealing with directional usages and not with Path encodings in Armenian.

Thus the analysis demonstrates several specifics of the Path domain in Classical Armenian. The morphosyntactic specifics of this language determine a smaller inventory of the prepositional constructions that are used to encode Path. The particulars are not only in quantity, but also in a more restrictive encoding. The domain is dominated by *and* + Acc whose perlocative semantics overshadows others (e.g., in those instances where it corresponds to Greek *kata* + Acc/Gen or *en* + Dat). *I* + Loc and *i veray* + Gen appear only in those passages where it is important to stress the interior or exterior parts of a landmark, respectively. We also find the expected interplay between the prepositional and case semantics (*z-* + Instr).

3.4 Path domain in Old Church Slavic

Just as in the case with Classical Armenian, we expect to see differences in the Old Church Slavic (OCS) Path domain due to the morphosyntactic specifics of this language: intricate prepositional governance and interactions between the prepositional and case semantics. Figure 4 demonstrates that in most instances it is *po* + Dat that marks Path, but this prepositional construction is not an obvious leader this time and accounts for only 32% of all Path encodings (cp. with 43% for Greek *dia* + Gen, 44% for Gothic *pairh* + Acc and 51% for Armenian *and* + Acc).

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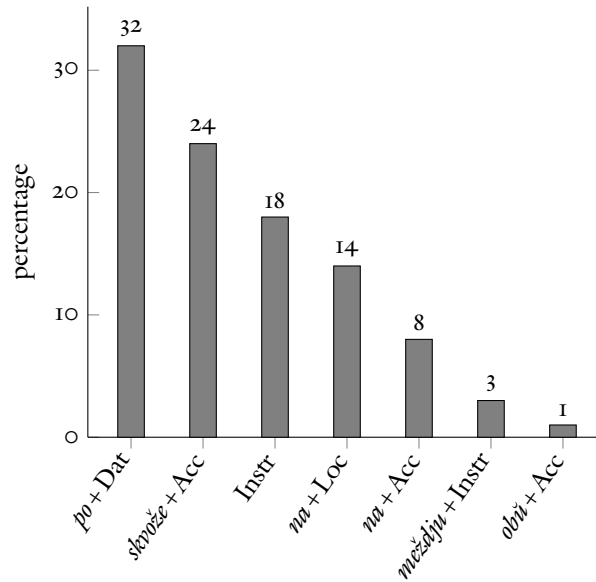


Figure 4. Path domain in Old Church Slavonic.

Like Armenian *mal*, OCS *po* governs several cases (the dative, accusative and locative), but allocates only *po + Dat* for Path encodings. This prepositional construction can also express causal meanings, but they are not as common. The denotations of Goal and Location (specifying either a distributive sense or the meaning ‘behind, beyond’) are regular functions of *po + Dat*. These spatial notions are actually more common for this phrase than Path encoding. *Po* emphasizes the distributive notion in all spatial usages: it marks that a motion occurs on every part of a landmark (28). This is reminiscent of Gothic *and + Acc* that also promotes the distributive semantics.

- (28) *i vĕstĭ izide po vĕsei straně o njemĭ*
 and rumor.went.out across whole-DAT country-DAT about him
 “and rumor went out across the whole country about him” (Luke 4:14)

Po + Dat becomes a regular counterpart of Greek *en + Dat*, *epi + Acc/Gen* and *kata + Acc/Gen* when they mark Path. In this way the OCS translation disregards several Greek instances of lexicalized *en + Dat* (see the discussion of the construction ‘along the road’ in §3.1) and fails to express the semantic particulars of Greek *epi + Acc/Gen* (cf. [29] and [9]) and *kata + Acc/Gen*—the denotation of the exterior part of a landmark and a downward directionality, respectively. Instead, it underscore to highlight the perlocative values of the OCS *po + Dat*.

- (29) *pride kŭ nimŭ po morju xode*
 he.came to them along sea-DAT walking
 “He came to them walking on the sea” (Mark 6:48)

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We do not claim that OCS has no means of marking the exterior part of a landmark; in fact it does. The prepositional phrase *na* + Loc regularly encodes this meaning (30). We find this construction to be a regular counterpart of the lexicalized instances of Greek *en* + Dat (3) and there is even one instance where Greek *epi* + Gen (10) is rendered with OCS *na* + Loc.

- (30) *drugŭ kŭ drugu bo sŭtędzaše na pŭti, kto estŭ bolei.*
 one with another for they.argued along road-LOC who is the greatest
 “for on the way they had argued with one another about who was the.greatest” (Mark 9:34)

Generally, in such passages it is not a motion that is at the focus of the passage but rather another action that happens while a motion takes place. The construction ‘along the road’ can even be analyzed as having a temporal value along with a spatial one (i.e., *while* on the road).

Sk(v)ozě + Acc and the instrumental case alone are the other two constructions that compete with *po* + Dat in Path encoding. Both phrases are regular counterparts of Greek *dia* + Gen and have similar frequencies in our manuscript. *Sk(v)ozě* + Acc specifies that an object does not simply pass a landmark, but moves throughout its inner parts (31). The instrumental case is used with its perlocative function and indicates an area where a certain movement takes place (32). In both instances an object moves through an interior portion of a landmark.

- (31) *vŭ to vrěmę pride Iisusŭ vŭ sŭbotŭ skvosě sęjanŭja*
 at that time came Jesus on Sabbath through fields-ACC
 “at that time Jesus came through the fields on the Sabbath” (Matthew 12:1)
- (32) *dostoęaše že emu proiti skozě Samarijŭ*
 it.was.necessary and to.him to.pass through Samaria-ACC
 “and he had to pass through Samaria” (John 4:4)

It is important to note that none of these constructions corresponds to Greek *dia mesou* (*meson*) ‘among, in the midst of’. The translator chooses to go back to *po* + Dat or uses a rare construction *meždju* + Instr in such instances, because he needs to specify that an object moves among parts of a landmark, but not through their interior. In such instances the preposition *po* is combined with the dative form of the noun *srěda* ‘middle, center, inside’ and in this way provides a construction parallel to the Greek original.

The remaining constructions in the OCS Path domain account for the translation of Greek *peran* + Gen. Just like the Armenian text, the OCS version focuses on the directional value of the Greek construction and renders the meaning periphrastically as ‘on/onto another side’. But in the case of OCS, the nominal part is combined with three different prepositions—*po* (33), *obŭ* (34), and *na* (35)—each specifying a connotation that is typical of their semantics.

- (33) *pride vŭ předěly Ijudeisky po onomu polu Iordana*
 he.came into regions of.Judea behind other-DAT side-DAT of.Jordan
 “he came into the region of Judea behind the other side of Jordan” (Mark 10:1)
- (34) *i pride vŭ předěly Ijuděisky obŭ omŭ polŭ Iordana*
 and he.came into regions of.Judea near other-ACC side-ACC of.Jordan

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“he came into the region of Judea near the other side of Jordan” (Matthew 19:1)

- (35) *po sixŭ ide Iisusŭ na onŭ polŭ morja*
 after these.things went Jesus onto other-ACC side-ACC of.sea
 “after these things Jesus went onto the other side of the sea” (John 6:1)

The prepositional phrase *po* + Dat indicates that after a motion is complete, the mentioned part of a landmark is behind a moving object. The construction *onŭ* + Acc designates that after the completion of a motion an object is placed near a landmark (notion of proximity). *Na* + Acc expresses the directional sense and specifies that an object is located on the exterior surface of a landmark. All of these passages demonstrate cases of encoding Goal in OCS (and not Path). However, they are important for our discussion as they show closeness between Path and Goal notions.

The OCS Path domain presents a division that differs slightly from the one seen in the previously analyzed languages. The leadership of *po* + Dat is not as apparent. *Sk(v)ozŭ* + Acc and the instrumental case alone are also quite frequent and take care of those passages where there is a need to indicate that an object moves through the interior portion of a landmark. The OCS version seconds the Armenian one in interpreting Greek *peran* + Gen as a marker of Goal and not Path and uses a periphrastic construction for translation.

4 Conclusions

All the examined languages have preferred Path encoding. But they differ in their selection. Designation of Path is the only spatial function for Greek *dia* + Gen and Gothic *pairh* + Acc, while Armenian *and* + Acc and OCS *po* + Dat regularly express Goal and Location in addition to their Path encodings. We notice that the notions of exterior and interior influence the choice of the prepositional means in all four languages. There is also good evidence for the semantic proximity of Goal and Path (e.g., various renditions of Greek *peran* + Gen). The presented material provides numerous examples of the idiomatic nature of the examined translations (e.g., variations in the translation of the lexicalized instances of Greek *en* + Dat). It also demonstrated how morphosyntactic particulars influence the choice of encodings (e.g., usage of the instrumental case in OCS).

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Rigvedic Root-accented Neuters in *-ana-* and Animate Forms in *-ana-/ -anī-**

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1. Neuter nouns with root accent and suffix *-ana-* constitute an extensive class in Old Indo-Aryan from the Rigveda onwards. Debrunner (1954:185) follows the Indian grammatical tradition (Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3, 3.115 and 117) by distinguishing three semantic subgroups: action nouns, words for tools, and places of activity. He suggests that all three types of meaning were inherited from Indo-Iranian. However, examples with certain Old Iranian cognates are not numerous:

- RV *áyana-* n. ‘going, way’: Younger Avestan *aiiana-* n. ‘way’
- RV *samāraṇa-* n. ‘hostile encounter, battle’: Old Persian *hamarana-* n. ‘battle’
- RV *vāsana-* n. ‘clothing’: Younger Avestan *vanhana-* n. ‘clothing, garment’
- RV *skambhana-* n. ‘support’: Younger Avestan *frascimbana-* n. ‘support, prop’
- Atharvaveda *saṃgámana-* n. ‘assembly, meeting’ (RV *saṃgámana-/ī-* m/f. ‘assembler’): Younger Avestan *hanjamana-* n. ‘assembly’
- †Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa *pṛtana-* n. (RV *pṛt-*, *pṛtanā-* f.) ‘battle’: Younger Avestan *pašana-* n.(?) ‘battle’ (also *pašana-* f.)
- †Classical Sanskrit *vicaraṇa-* n. ‘movement’: Younger Avestan *vicarṇa-* n. ‘moving apart, divergence’.¹

In addition to Younger Avestan *aiiana-*, a few Old Iranian nouns which have no Sanskrit cognate refer to the place of an activity (Younger Avestan *airiio.šaiiana-* n. ‘dwelling of the Iranians’, *maēthana-* n. ‘stopping-place, house’, Old Persian *āyadana-* ‘place of worship, sanctuary’); but other semantic areas are too sparsely represented to draw any conclusions (Younger Avestan *ātrə.carana-* n. ‘fire-tool’, *aiβiiānhana-* n. ‘girdle’, *maoḍanō.kairi-* f. ‘providing pleasure’).

2. Apart from the very frequent *bhūvana-* (possibly a thematicized *n*-stem), the Old Indo-Aryan class regularly shows a full-grade root under the accent. A high proportion function simply as nomina actionis or nomina rei actae and are used in the RV in exactly the same way

*I am delighted to be able to contribute to this volume in honour of Jared Klein, and I would like to express my grateful thanks to the editors.

¹The last two comparisons are uncertain because of their relatively late date of attestation.

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as other types of verbal noun with this function, e.g. *kāraṇāni* ‘deeds’ in the same hemistich as *kārāṃsi*, and with similar meaning:

- (1) 4.19.10ab
prā te pūrvāni kāraṇāni viprāvidvāṃ āha vidūṣe kārāṃsi/
 “Knowing them I speak forth your ancient deeds, o inspired one, to (you) who know the deeds.” (Jamison and Brereton 2014).²

These action nouns appear most often in nominative/accusative and dative forms, and the datives are often used as infinitives (Debrunner 1954:187). A smaller group of *-ana-* neuters are attested mostly in locative forms, and in the case of several hapax legomena, exclusively in the locative: *dēvane* ‘at the time/place of play’ 10.43.5; *pātane* 6.20.5 ‘at the falling’ (*vājrasya*); *samānā ā bhāraṇe* ‘in the same place of bearing’ 10.31.6; *saṃvāsaneṣu* ‘in the common dwelling places’; *vésane* ‘in activity, in service’. But, for instance, *āsana-* ‘throwing’ occurs once in the locative (1.112.21) and once as an infinitival dative (1.130.4); and the frequently occurring *sāvana-* ‘(Soma) pressing’, *hāvana-* ‘invoking’ and *sādana-* ‘seat’ show a large number of locative forms but also a full range of other forms. At the most it is possible to discern in early Vedic (and perhaps also in Old Iranian) the beginnings of a specialisation of neuters in *-ana-* to designate the place of an action as well as the action itself.

3. It is the third subgroup of RV root accented nominal stems in *-ana-* (*vārdhana-* ‘strengthening, what strengthens, means of strengthening’) which will be the main topic of this paper. This is an extensive class of formations which often act as qualifiers for other substantives and show formally differentiated neuter (nom. s. *vārdhanam*), masculine (*vārdhanas*) and feminine (*vārdhanī*) forms. Modern renderings vary both in lexica and published translations of the RV as they have been characterised variously as adjectives or as nomina agentis or as nomina instrumenti. In addition to the account by Debrunner (1954), the type has been treated briefly by Thieme (1949:32–4) and Tichy (1995:170–84).

Thieme suggested that this subgroup originated from neuter nomina instrumenti, which could stand in apposition or as predicates to other nouns, and as a result could take their gender and a corresponding inflection. From the RV he cites:

upasēcana- n. ‘Mittel zum Zugiessen’ 10.76.7
kōśāsah upasēcanāsah ‘Eimer, die Mittel zum Zugiessen sind’ 7.101.4
pṛśnir upasēcanī ‘Die Kuh, die Mittel zum Zugiessen ist’ 10.105.10

In view of the form of the feminines in *-ī* (*devī-* type) and the syntax with dependent genitives (see examples below), Thieme had every reason to insist that, even though a three-gender system exists already in the early RV, from a diachronic point of view this must be a class of nouns, not adjectives.

However, Tichy (1995:174) accepts Thieme’s explanation of the origin of such formations, but prefers to characterise them as verbal adjectives because they can occur along with an agent noun in *-trī/-trī* in what she considers an attributive relationship, e.g.

²Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of numbered passages (full RV stanzas, hemistichs and pādas) are all quoted from the new English translation of the RV by Stephanie Jamison and Joel Brereton (2014), but this source is not acknowledged every time.

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5.34.6C

índro víśvasya damitā vibhīṣaṇo

“Indra ist der furchterregende Bezwinger eines jeden”

9.97.39a

sá vardhitā vārdhanaḥ pūyāmānaḥ

“So ist der Kräftiger, der für Kräftigung sorgt, . . . beim Geläutertwerden . . .”

Tichy makes the important observations that nominals in *-ana-/-anī-* only occur alongside hysterotonic agent nouns (1995:171), and that a compound such as *radhracódana-* is semantically equivalent to *radhrásya coditṛ-* (1995:183–4).

4. All the existing accounts combine RV forms with those from Vedic prose, but in what follows the focus will be exclusively on the RV evidence for forms in *-ana-/-anī-*, with a short excursus at one point into the Atharvaveda.

The root-accented masculine and feminine forms in *-ana-/-anī-* are differentiated formally³ from masculines and feminines in *-anā-/-anā-*, and also semantically as they regularly reflect a transitive value of the root whereas the latter reflect an intransitive sense.⁴ Contrast, for example, the value of *jánana-* ‘begetter’, *dóhana-* ‘milker’, *nivésana-/nivésanī-* ‘bringing to rest’, *pratárana-/pratárani-* ‘furthering, bringing forward’, *samgámana-/sámgamani-* ‘making come together, assembler’ with that of *jaraṇā-* ‘growing old, failing’, *śvasanā-* ‘snorting’, *krośanā-* ‘crying’, *vacanā-* ‘speaking, speaker’, *dyotanā-* f. ‘shining’.

A high proportion of the RV masculine and feminine forms in *-ana-/-anī-* occur as epithets of divine figures, frequently alongside other epithets, e.g.

(2) 2.21.4

anānudó vṛṣabhó dódhato vadhbó

gambhīrā ṛṣvó ásamaṣṭakāryaḥ/

radhracódāḥ śnāthano vīṭās pṛthivīr

índraḥ suyajñā usásah svār janat||

“The bull who cannot be pushed aside, the deadly blow against those raging; the deep and lofty one, whose verbal craft is unequalled; spurring on the weak, **piercing**, firmly set and wide—Indra, whose sacrifice is good, gives birth to the dawns and the sun.”

Such forms also frequently appear as predicates, e.g.

(3) *śāsani-* 1.31.11C

īlām akṛṇvan mánuṣasya śāsaniṁ

“Idā they created as **instructress** of mankind.”

³Apart from forms prefixed by privative *a-*, *su-* or *du-* where the accent invariably falls on the thematic vowel, e.g. *suvasanā-* ‘clothing finely’, *duścyavanā-* ‘hard to move’ (some of these are doublets for simple thematic forms, e.g. *suśāṇa-/suśāṇanā-* ‘easy to win’).

⁴Exception *karaṇā-* ‘working, worker’ (hapax in simile at 1.119.7, perhaps modelled on frequent *vacanā-* ‘speaker?’). The neuter substantives *rocana-* ‘the light realm’, *pravāṇā-* ‘rapid stream, waterfall’ and (hapax) *rodhanā-* ‘obstruction’ are probably substantives based on adjectives (cf. Atharvaveda adj. *rocana-*: Younger Avestan *rocana-* ‘light’).

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Compounds whose second element is a masculine or feminine form in *-ana-/-anī-* are used similarly, e.g.

(4) 7.20.5cd

prā yāh senānīr ādha nībhyo āsti
-ināh sātva gavēṣanah sā dhiṣṇīh/

“(The one) who is leader of the army-troop and is preeminent over heroes, that one is the powerful warrior, the bold one **searching for cows**.” (Klein 1985:2, 130).

(5) 10.188.3

yā rūco jātāvedaso devatrā havyavāhanīh/
tābhīr no yajñām invatu/

“The bright beams of Jātavedas **that convey the oblation** among the gods, with them let him impel our sacrifice.” (Jamison and Brereton 2014)

5. It is these typical uses of the relatively frequent animate forms that are responsible for the description of the whole class as agent nouns or adjectives. However, the latter classification is unlikely since, as observed by Thieme (1949), the uncompounded forms invariably show syntax within their noun phrase of the sort that would be expected for substantives, e.g.

(6) 7.101.2ab

yó vārdhana ōṣadbhīnām yó apām
yó vśvasya jāgato devā īṣe/

“The one who is **the increaser of plants**, who of the waters, who, as god, holds sway over the whole moving world.”

(7) 4.39.5d

dadhikrām u sūdanam mārtyāya dadāthbur mitrāvaruṇā no āśvam/

“Dadhikrā, **who makes sweetness for the mortal**, have you, o Mitra and Varuṇa, given us as our horse.”⁵

Similar syntax occurs in the rare cases where compounds are decomposed:

(8) 7.92.4

yé vāyāva indramādanāsa ādevāso nitósanāso aryāh/

“We who are **the Indra-exhilarating ones**, (exhilarating) to Vāyu, who are god-directed and lavishly overflowing for the stranger . . .”

Note also RV *yajñasādhana-* ‘making the sacrifice successful’ 1.145.3, 9.72.4 and *yajñasya prasādhana-* 10.57.2.

6. The neuter substantives in *-ana-* which were identified by Thieme as nomina instrumenti (and the starting point for this whole class) are much more problematic.

⁵Compare also 1.35.1c *brāyāmi rātrīm jāgato nivésanīm* “I invoke Night who makes the moving world rest”; and contrast 1.35.2b with a participle from the same prefixed root *nivésāyann amītam mārtyaṃca* “making what is immortal and mortal rest.”

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A few neuter forms appear to be employed as epithets or qualifiers of other neuters in the same manner that the animate forms are employed with masculine and feminine substantives:

(9) 3.45.4cd

vykṣám pakvám phálam anikíva dhūnuhi
-indra sampārāṇam vásu||

“As a man with a crook shakes a tree for ripe fruit, o Indra, shake (us) goods **that will get us across.**”

In addition to *sampārāṇa-*⁶ the compound *amīvacātana-* qualifies *śám* (7.8.6) and there is the puzzling form *vīravakṣaṇa-* apparently qualifying *vayúna-* (5.48.2).⁷ Compounded *-ana-* neuters which may represent nomina instrumenti are normally substantives:

karnaśóbhana- n. ‘what beautifies the ear, earring’ 8.78.3

martabbhájana- n. ‘what nourishes mortals’ 1.81.6, 7.16.5, 7.38.2, 7.45.3, 7.81.5

devahédana- n. ‘what angers the gods’ e.g. 7.60.8, 10.37.12, 10.100.7

But the meaning of *hotṛśádana-* n. ‘seat of/for the *hotṛ*’ 2.9.1, *ṛṣśádana-* n. ‘assembly of men’ 5.7.2, 7.7.5, 7.20.1, 7.97.1, 8.26.24, 10.92.7 differs unless *ṛṣśádana-* means literally ‘what seats men’.⁸

The chief problem is that neuter substantives which may have a nomen instrumenti value are difficult to distinguish from the rest of the RV neuter verbal nouns in *-ana-* because they are formally identical. If we attempt to distinguish them on grounds of meaning there is a risk of subjectivity, as can be seen from the startling lack of agreement between different translations of the RV in this area. The following does not claim to be a complete list, but it indicates some of the nouns for which this type of translation has been offered:

prāṇana- jīvana- 1.48.10 “litteralement ‘aptitude à respirer, à vivre’ (et ‘moyen de vivre’)” (Renou 1955–69:3.24)

upapārcana- 6.28.8 ‘Befruchtungsmittel’ (Geldner 1951–7)

bhójana- 2.13.2, 6; 3.44.3; 4.36.8; 5.82.1; 7.68.5, etc. ‘Erquickungsmittel, Nahrungsmittel’ (Grassmann 1873), ‘Nahrungsmittel’ 5.82.1 (Witzel, Gotō, and Scarlata 2013)

médana- 10.69.2 ‘was fett macht’ (Grassmann 1873)

⁶Many examples involving neuters are simply ambiguous, as will be discussed below. For instance, at 1.162.13 *yá pátrāṇi yūṣṇá āścanāni* “the cups for the pouring of broth...,” we clearly have a parallel case to Thieme’s example of *kósāṣaḥ upasécanaśaḥ* “Eimer, die Mittel zum Zugießen sind” (7.101.4), but as the *pátrāṇi* are neuter, the noun in apposition, *āścanāni*, does not change gender and looks like a neuter adjectival form.

Occasionally neuter substantives have been misinterpreted as ‘adjectives’ because it has not been accepted that all root-accented *-ana-* forms show a transitive value of the root, e.g. 10.1.6ab *sá tú vástrāṇy ádha pśanāni vásāno agnir nábbhā pṛthivyáḥ* must mean that Agni is wearing clothes and ornaments (*pśanāni*) with a rare use of *ádha* conjoining at subclausal level (Klein 1985:2, 127).

⁷As the sense of *vayúna-* is debated it is impossible to tell whether *vīravakṣaṇa-* is a Bahuvrīhi as its accent suggests ‘having strengthening for heroes’, or whether it represents **vīravakṣana-*.

⁸Such a meaning may be confirmed by *sádanti-* at 1.186.11 where a wish is expressed that the poem (*dādḥiti-*) should cause the gods to take their seat at the sacrifice.

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- róhana-* 1.52.9 ‘Ersteigung, Mittel zur Ersteigung’ (Grassmann 1873), ‘means of ascent’ (Jamison and Brereton 2014)
vákṣana- 6.23.6 ‘means of increase’ (Jamison and Brereton 2014)
vārdhana- n. 1.10.5; 1.52.7; 1.80.1; 2.12.14; 2.13.6; 2.39.8; 3.36.1; 6.23.6; 8.92.5; 10.69.2
‘Stärkungsmittel, Labungsmittel’ (Grassmann 1873)
1.52.7; 1.80.1; 2.39.8 ‘Stärkungsmittel’ (Witzel and Gotō 2007)
10.69.2 ‘le moyen-d’invigorer’ (Renou 1955–69:14.17)
āsécana- n. 1.162.13 ‘Mittel zum eingiessen’ (Schale) (Krisch 2012:126)

However, *upasécana-*, Thieme’s example of a RV neuter nomen instrumenti, has usually been taken simply as a verbal noun in its single occurrence, since the use of the dative followed by *kám* points to infinitival value:

- RV 10.76.7d
duhánty údhar upasécānāyā kám,
‘Sie melken das Euter, um (die Milch des Soma) aufzugießen’ (Geldner 1951–7:3.257);
‘They milk the udder, to pour it out’ (Jamison and Brereton 2014); Grassmann (1873) ‘das Zugießen (des Soma)’; Krisch (2012) ‘das Aufgiessen’.

7. The one area where there is a measure of agreement is the small group of neuters in *-ana-* which serve as terms for tools and utensils:

- náhana-* ‘door-fastening’ 10.67.3
nīkṣana- ‘meat-spit’ 1.162.13
pácana- ‘cooking utensil’ 1.162.6
prajānana- ‘(fire-)begetting stick’ 3.29.1
adhimānthana- ‘churning tool’ 3.29.1
avamāṛjana- ‘horse-grooming tool?’⁹ 1.163.5
saṃvānana- ‘horse-tack?’ 10.93.12

But the chronological profile of this subclass of neuters within the RV is late, with a particular concentration in the two Book 1 Áśvamedha hymns,¹⁰ and so they are unlikely to represent the old core of nomina instrumenti.

8. If formal criteria based on Thieme’s hypothesis are applied it turns out that there are only a limited number of examples where masculine or feminine forms in *-ana-/anī-* are built on the same stem as an attested neuter:

- saṃcārana-* n., *saṃcāranī-* f.
prajānana- n., *jānana-* m.
pácana- n., *māṃspācanī-* f.
bāndhana- n., *pūtabāndhanī-* f.

⁹But Krisch (2006) ‘(horse) watering place’.

¹⁰Other nouns in these two hymns perhaps belong to this class, e.g. *bāndhana-* 1.163.3–4 is given a cosmological significance but may it not also refer to the horse’s girths?

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bhōjana- n., ? *bhōjana-* m. (vocative, 1.44.5)
vimōcana- n., ? *vimōcana-* m. (vocative, 8.4.15–6)
vākṣana- n., *vivākṣana-* m., *vākṣanī-* f.
vārdhana- n., *vārdhana-* m., *vārdhanī-* f.
upasēcana- n., *upasēcana-* m., *upasēcanī-* f.
śāsana- n., *śāsanī-* f.
sādana- n., *sādanī-* f.

9. In connection with his characterisation as original nomina instrumenti, Thieme (1949:33 n. 5) postulated a different diachronic origin for this type of *-ana-* neuter and compared the Greek type ὄργανον and Germanic infinitives in *-an*. However, this comparison would lead us to expect OIA reflexes of IE **o*-grade root vocalism, but it is hard to find much evidence for this. To include the neuters *sādana-* ‘seat, abode’ and *pravācana-* ‘announcement’ in the class would involve circular argumentation.¹¹ Two of the words for tools, *nāhana-* and *pācana-*, have diachronic open root syllables¹² but they do not show the expected Brugmann’s Law lengthening. However, as indicated above, the distribution of the terms for tools may point to recent creations and their vocalism may have been levelled so as to correspond with the present stem of the verb (this appears the only possible explanation for *avamārjana-*).¹³ In the list of stems which show corresponding animate forms, *saṃcārana-* and *sādana-* have an open root syllable but show no lengthening,¹⁴ and the four nouns which have been interpreted as nomina instrumenti by some translators, *bhōjana-*, *vākṣana-*, *vārdhana-*, and *upasēcana-*, all show ambiguous full-grade vocalism.

10. Thus a diachronic origin from an IE **o*-grade class cannot be confirmed but on the other hand it cannot be completely ruled out. However, it will be argued that it is not necessary to reconstruct a distinct class of nomina instrumenti with a separate IE diachronic origin in order to accept Thieme’s theory of ‘Motion’ from neuter substantives. It will be suggested instead that there was a development within prehistoric Old Indo-Aryan, and this is why there are no comparanda from Old Iranian for a three gender system. There is RV evidence which suggests that some neuter verbal nouns of the action noun type could have come to be understood as nomina instrumenti/‘neuter agent nouns’, or even adjectives, as a result of their frequent employment as predicates. For instance:

(10) 8.92.5ab

¹¹In both these cases there are also neuters with a short vowel in their root syllable (*sādana-*, *niśādana-*, *mṛśādana-*, etc.; *nivācana-*), and it is *sādana-* on which the corresponding feminine *sādanī-* is based. For RV *sādana-* n., which invariably designates the seat of a god or *ṛtā-*, there is the possibility that it is a remodelling of the barely attested simple thematic verbal noun from the root ‘to sit’ (*sāde* 1.162.17, used as a technical term for riding a horse). This explanation is not incompatible with Debrunner’s observation (1954:195) that *sādana-* must be an old form which is replaced by *sādana-* post RV. The vocalism of the root noun *vāc-*, and derivatives from this, could have been extended to *pravācana-* (and *vivācana-* m. ‘debater’). But it must be admitted that these two isolated examples of lengthened vocalism are puzzling.

¹²Possibly also *saṃvānana-*, but, if it is from *van-* ‘to win’, it could be based on the *seṭ* form.

¹³The discrepancy between RV *nīkṣana-* and AV *nēkṣana-* may likewise be attributed to partial remodelling of the RV form’s vocalism on the analogy of the present *nīkṣati*.

¹⁴The root *śās-* regularly shows long *-ā-* in all forms where full-grade would be expected and so it is unlikely to be the result of Brugmann’s Law.

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*tām v abhī prārcatēndram sōmasya pītāye/
tād id dhy āsya vārdhanam//*

“Chant forth to him, to Indra, to drink the Soma, for that is his strengthening.”

(11) 6.23.6a

brāhmāṇi hī cakṛṣé vārdhanāni

“You have made the sacred formulations strengthening for yourself.” (Jamison and Brereton 2014)

In such sentences it can be seen that *vārdhanam* nom. sg. neuter or *vārdhanāni* acc. pl. neuter could be interpreted as ‘means of strengthening’ (nomen instrumenti) or ‘what strengthens, strengthener’ (nomen agentis). In 6.23.6, etc., *vārdhanāni* could also be taken as an adjective (with transitive value) in agreement with *brāhmāṇi*.

The same sort of ambiguity exists in most passages where neuters in *-ana-* are predicates of another neuter substantive:

(12) 2.12.14cd

*yāsya brāhma vārdhanam yāsya sōmo
yāsyedām rādhaḥ sā janāsa indrah/*

“für den die feierliche Rede eine Stärkung ist, für den der Soma, für den diese Gabe—der, usw.” (Geldner 1951–7); “whose is the strengthening formulation, is the soma, is this gift—he, o peoples, is Indra.” (Jamison and Brereton 2014)

(13) 10.69.2ab

*ghṛtām agnér vadhryaśvāsya vārdhanam
ghṛtām ānnam ghṛtām v asya médanam/*

“The strengthener of the fire of Vadhryaśvá is ghee; ghee is his food, ghee his fat-tener” (Jamison and Brereton 2014). Cf. Geldner (1951–7) “Schmalz ist Stärkung für Vadhryaśvá’s Feuer, Schmalz seine Speise, Schmalz seine Mästung.”

Thieme regarded predicative use as well as appositive use as an important factor in the creation of masculine and feminine forms via a process of ‘Motion’.¹⁵ In other words, this part of Thieme’s hypothesis is supported by the explanation advanced here. Compare:

(14) 3.32.12a

yajñó hī ta indra vārdhano bhūd

“Since the sacrifice has become your strengthener, Indra . . .” (literally “has become strengthening for you, Indra”)

(16) 10.4.7b

-iyám ca gṛhṣādām id vārdhanī bhūt/

“This song here shall always be strengthening for you”

(17) 9.31.2ab

*divás pṛthivyā ādhi
bhāvendo dyumnavārdhanah*

“Become the increaser of brilliance from heaven and from earth, O drop.”

¹⁵It seems possible from the use of *bhojana* and *vimocana* as vocatives addressing respectively Agni at 1.44.5 and Pūṣan at 8.4.15–6 that this was another way in which masculine substantives were created on the basis of original *-ana-* neuters.

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11. Yet if it is correct that the masculine and feminine *-ana-/anī-* forms with root accent were originally created on the basis of neuter substantives as a result of predicative and appositive employment, it becomes necessary to explain how these categories came to be so extensively used in the language of the RV, and how new forms were created. For, as indicated by the list given above, only a small proportion can be linked with a synchronically attested neuter. The full list of RV masculine and feminine forms, with an indication of their referent, is given below:

MASCULINE	FEMININE
<i>udañcana-</i> 5.44.13 (poet)	
<i>saṃgāmana-</i> 1.96.6 = 10.139.3 (Agni)	<i>sāṃgamanī-</i> 10.125.3 (Speech)
10.14.1 (Yama)	
<i>jānana-</i> 2.40.1 (Soma and Pūṣan)	<i>saṃcāranī-</i> 6.24.4 (Streams)
	<i>jāvanī-</i> 1.51.2 (<i>Sunrtā</i>)
<i>tāpana-</i> 2.23.4 (Bṛhaspati); 10.34.7 (dice)	
<i>pratāraṇa-</i> 1.91.19 (Soma); 2.1.12 (Agni);	<i>pratāraṇī-</i> 5.46.1 (chariot pole)
6.47.26 (Lord of the forest); 7.54.2	
(Lord of the dwelling); 8.49.4 (Indra)	
<i>tārhaṇa-</i> 7.104.4 (weapon)	
<i>nitósana-</i> 6.1.8 (Agni); 7.92.4 (we poets);	
8.25.23 (patrons); 10.60.2 (Asamāti)	
<i>vitvākṣaṇa-</i> 5.34.6 (Indra)	
<i>dóhana-</i> 1.144.2 (Agni); 8.12.32 (Indra);	
9.75.3 (Soma)	
<i>dyótana-</i> 8.29.2 (Agni) ¹⁶	
<i>vidvēsana-</i> 8.1.2 (Indra)	
<i>apiprāñī-</i> 1.186.11 (<i>dādhiti-</i>) ¹⁷	
<i>vibódhana-</i> 8.3.22 (horse)	
<i>vibhīṣana-</i> 5.34.6 (Indra)	
<i>mādana-</i> 7.31.1 (ellipsis of e.g. <i>stóma-</i> m.?) ¹⁸	
<i>mēhana-</i> m. 10.163.5	
<i>vivākṣaṇa-</i> 8.1.25 = 8.35.23, 8.21.5, 8.45.11,	<i>vākṣanī-</i> 10.64.9 (Streams)
8.49.4 (Soma)	
<i>vārdhana-</i> 1.140.3, 8.103.1, 10.91.12 (Agni);	<i>vārdhanī-</i> 10.4.7 (<i>gīr-</i>)
3.32.12 (Sacrifice); 7.101.2 (Parjanya);	
8.8.5 (Ásvins); 9.97.39 (Soma)	
<i>nivēsana-</i> 4.53.6 (Savitar)	<i>nivēsanī-</i> 1.22.15 (the Earth), 1.35.1 (Night)
	<i>śāsani-</i> 1.31.11 (<i>Ilā</i>)
<i>śnāthana-</i> 2.21.4 (Indra)	

¹⁶The god here in this Viśve Devās hymn must be ‘lighting up’ in a transitive sense. Cf. e.g. RV 1.1.7 where Agni is addressed as *dōṣāpastar*.

¹⁷Beside *sādanī-*, and probably belonging to the same class of forms: from root *prā-* ‘to fill’.

¹⁸Ellipsis of a neuter noun such as *ukthā-* is also possible, but agreement with neuters is rare.

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sādanī- 1.186.11 (*dīdhiti-*)

sādhana- 3.27.8 (poet); 9.105.3 (Soma)

prasādhana- 10.57.2, 10.91.8 (Agni)

sūdana- 4.39.5 (Dadhikrā)

svādana- 5.7.6 (Agni)

12. Compounds

gavēṣana- (Indra) 1.132.3, 7.20.5, 7.23.3, 8.17.15, (Pūṣan) 6.56.5

goājana- (*dandā-* pl.) 7.33.6

avadyagohana- (voc. addressed to Aśvins) 1.34.3

abhiśasticātana- (Agni) 3.3.6; *amīvacātana-* (Agni) 1.12.7, (*bhiṣāj-*) 10.97.6

f. *amīvacātanī-* (*āpas-*) 10.137.6

ṛṣi-, *kīri-*, *radhra-cōdana-* (Indra) 8.51.3, 6.45.9, 6.44.10, 8.80.3, 10.38.5

f. *brahmacōdanī-* (*āra-* of Pūṣan) 6.53.8

dhijāvana- 8.5.35 (Nāsatyas), 9.88.3 (Soma), 9.97.49 (Indra)

dasyutārhaṇa- (Soma) 9.47.2

amitrādāmbhana- (*rātha-* of Bṛhaspati) 2.23.3, (Agni) 4.15.4

svapnanāmsana- (Vṛṣākapi) 10.86.21

muñjanējana- (*udakām-*) 1.161.8

māṃspācanī- (*ukhā-*) 1.162.13

f. *aritrāpāraṇī-* (*nau-*) 10.101.2

f. *pūtabāndhanī-* (*matī-*) 5.44.9

indramādāna- (we priests) 7.92.4; *devamādāna-* (Soma) 9.84.1, 9.107.3, (*ūrmi-*)

10.30.7; *nṛmādāna-* (Soma) 1.4.7, 9.24.4, 9.67.2

janayōpana- (*mṛgā-*, with reference to Vṛṣākapi) 10.86.22

ukthavārdhana-, *stomavārdhana-* (Indra) 8.14.11, *dyumnavārdhana-* (Soma) 9.31.2,

nṛmavārdhana- (Soma) 2.36.5, *paśuvārdhana-* (Soma) 9.94.1, *puṣṭivārdhana-*

(Agni) 1.18.2, 1.31.5; (Tryambaka) 7.59.12

kravyavābhana- (Agni) 10.16.11; *devavābhana-* 3.27.14 (*āśva-*); *nṛvābhana-* (*rātha-*)

2.37.5; *madhuvābhana-* (*rātha-* of the Aśvins) 1.34.2, 1.157.3, 10.41.2; *vasuvābhana-*

(*vṛṣan-* with ref. to Indra) 5.75.1; *rathavābhana-* (*havis-*) 6.75.8, *havyavābhana-* (Agni,

often also *dūtā-*), 16 attestations, 8 in RV Family Books

f. *havyavābhanī-* (*rūc-* pl. of Jātavedas) 10.188.3

pitṛśṛavana- (*vīrā-*) 1.91.20

gayasādhana- (Soma) 9.104.2; *dakṣasādhana-* (Soma) 9.25.1, 9.27.2, 9.101.15;

manmasādhana- (Agni characterised as bird), 1.96.6, (*kavi-* *bōtṛ-*) 1.151.7;

yajñasādhana- (Agni) 1.145.3, (Soma) 9.72.4

f. *paśusādhanī-* (*āṣṭrā-*) 6.53.9

13. It appears that new second elements in *-ana-*/*-anī-* are replacing, or providing a metrical alternative for, older root nouns as second elements of compounds. This pattern of duplica-

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tion was observed by Debrunner (1954:180–1) and Scarlata (1999:171), and there are some exact doublets in the RV:

<i>garéšana-</i>	<i>garíṣ-</i> 4.41, 8.24.20, 10.76.7
<i>dhījavana-</i>	<i>dhījū-</i> 9.86.4
<i>haryavāhana-</i>	<i>haryavāh-</i> attested 31 times
<i>yajñasādhana-</i>	<i>yajñasādh-</i> 1.96.3, 1.114.4, 1.128.2
<i>pustivārdhana-</i> , etc.	cf. <i>rayivādh-</i> 7.91.3, etc.

14. The explanation that will be proposed here relies on an observation which is not new, namely that there appears to be a connection of some sort between the nominal suffix *-ana-*/*-anī-* and present stems built with the suffix *-áya-* (Debrunner 1954:182–3). An attempt will be made below to clarify the nature and chronology of this connection, and then to show the role it may have played in the development of this class.

A proportion of the RV animate forms, including some which appear in composition, show a root vocalism which matches that of an RV present stem in *-áya-* from the same root:

<i>samgámana-</i> , <i>samgámanī-</i>	<i>gamáya-</i>
<i>vivákṣana-</i> , <i>vákṣanī-</i> , <i>vīrávakṣana</i>	<i>vakṣáya-</i>
<i>vārdhana-</i> , <i>vārdhanī-</i>	<i>vardháya-</i>
<i>jánana-</i>	<i>janáya-</i>
<i>dyótana-</i>	<i>dyotaya-</i>
<i>vibódhana-</i>	<i>bodháya-</i>
<i>nivésana-</i> , <i>nivésanī-</i>	<i>nivésáya-</i>
<i>śnáthana-</i>	<i>śnatháya-</i>
<i>sādhana-</i> , <i>prasādhana-</i> , <i>yajñasādhana-</i>	<i>sādháya-</i>

Only compounds:

<i>radhracódana-</i> , etc.	<i>codáya-</i>
<i>janayópana-</i>	<i>yopáya-</i>
<i>pitṛśravaṇa-</i>	<i>śraváya-</i> (also <i>śrāváya-</i>)

15. However, it is clear from another large group of RV forms that the correspondence with *-áya-* presents is not regular for the class as a whole and the above agreements in vocalism may be coincidental. In the following cases the vocalism of the present in *-áya-* differs, or the root in question does not possess a present in *-áya-* at an early Vedic date:

<i>samcáranī-</i>	<i>cāráya-</i> Brāhmaṇas +
<i>javanī-</i> , <i>dhījavana-</i>	<i>jāváya-</i> Classical Sanskrit
<i>tāpana-</i>	<i>tāpáya-</i> AV +, RV 10 <i>tāpayiṣṇú-</i> ¹⁹

¹⁹ See Jamison 1983:147–8 for a discussion of the chronology.

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<i>pratārāṇa-</i>	<i>pra-tārāya-</i> AV + ²⁰
<i>tārāṇa-</i> , <i>dasyutārāṇa-</i>	transitive present <i>ṛṇédhi</i> in RV
<i>vitvākṣāṇa-</i>	no <i>-āya-</i> present
<i>dōhāṇa-</i>	<i>dohāya-</i> Brāhmaṇas +
<i>vidvēśāṇa-</i>	<i>dveśāya-</i> Classical Sanskrit
<i>vibhīṣāṇa-</i>	<i>bhīṣāya-</i> Brāhmaṇas + (secondary root <i>bhīṣ-</i>)
<i>śāsānī-</i>	no <i>-āya-</i> present
<i>sādānī-</i>	<i>sādāya-</i> RV
<i>upasēcāṇa-</i> , <i>upasēcānī-</i>	<i>secāya-</i> Sūtras +
<i>svādāṇa-</i>	<i>svādāya-</i> Epic +, <i>svadāya-</i> , <i>sūdāya-</i> in RV

Only compounds:

<i>goājāṇa-</i>	no <i>-āya-</i> present
<i>avadyagohāṇa-</i>	<i>gūbhāya-</i> and <i>gūbhāṇa-</i> Sūtras +
<i>muñjanējāṇa-</i>	<i>nejāya-</i> Brāhmaṇas +
<i>aritrāpārāṇī-</i>	<i>pārāya-</i> RV
<i>pūtabāndhānī-</i>	<i>bandhāya-</i> Brāhmaṇas +

17. Yet the present in *-āya-* is the only possible source for the root shape of a few RV *-ana-*/*-anī-* stems:

<i>sūdāṇa-</i>	<i>sūdāya-</i>
<i>abhiśāsticātāṇa-</i> , <i>amīvacātāṇa-</i>	<i>cātāya-</i>
<i>amitrādāmbhāṇa-</i>	<i>dambhāya-</i>
<i>mādāṇa-</i> , <i>indramādāṇa-</i> , etc.	<i>mādāya-</i>
<i>havyavāhāṇa-</i> , etc.	<i>vāhāya-</i>
<i>sampārāṇa-</i> (qualifies <i>vāsu</i> n.)	<i>pārāya-</i> ²¹

18. Moreover, the AV has a whole series of new *-ana-*/*-anī-* forms (i.e. *-ana-*/*-anī-* forms that do not occur in the RV). The vocalism or shape of the root in almost every case²² exactly corresponds to that of an *-āya-* present which is attested in the AV or RV. The following are found in the Śaunakasaṃhitā :

<i>sapatnakārśāṇa-</i> ‘diminishing rivals’	<i>karśāya-</i>
<i>yātu-</i> , <i>vyāghra-jāmbhāṇa-</i> ‘snapping at sorcerers, tigers, ...’	<i>jambhāya-</i>

²⁰Jamison 1983:101.

²¹If the second element of the difficult *svapnanāmsāṇa-* (10.86.21) is from root *nas-* ‘reach’, it could be based on an unattested denominative verb from RV *nāmsā-* (1.122.5, 12) ‘attaining’, where original **nāmsayāti* underwent accent retraction and so was assimilated to the *-āya-* stem class (Jamison 1983:70–7 discusses other examples of this development).

²²The exceptions are *pumsūvāṇa-* ‘giving birth to a male’ from root *sū-* ‘to give birth’; and compounds with *-kṣāyaṇa-* ‘destroying’ (*asurakṣāyaṇa-* ‘destroying Asuras’, *sapatnakṣāyaṇa-* ‘destroying rivals’, etc.); this may represent an old form, but more likely it is modelled on other second elements of this type in the absence of an *-āya-* present, because the root *kṣi-* ‘destroy’, like other roots in *-i/-ī-*, did not form an *-āya-* stem in early Vedic (Jamison 1983:111).

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<i>puruṣajīvāna-</i> ‘making a person live’	<i>jīvāya-</i>
<i>viṣadūṣāna-</i> ‘nullifying poison’	<i>dūṣāya-</i>
<i>keśadṛ̥mbhāna-</i> ‘making hair firm’	<i>dṛ̥mbhāya-</i>
<i>takma-</i> , <i>yakṣma-nāśāna-</i> ... ‘destroying fever, illness, ...’	<i>nāśāya-</i>
<i>mūlabārhāna-</i> ‘making roots swell’	<i>barhāya-</i>
<i>śapathayāvāna-</i> ‘keeping away curses’	<i>yāvāya-</i>
<i>puruṣarēśāna-</i> ‘harming a person’	<i>reśāya-</i>
<i>śepahārśāna-</i> ‘exciting the penis’	<i>harśāya-</i>

19. It seems impossible to escape the conclusion that these AV second elements of compounds and a few of the RV forms have in fact been created on the basis of the corresponding *-āya-* presents. It appears that animate forms in *-ana-/anī-* must have taken on a life of their own and the class was extended in a way that was no longer dependent on neuters in *-ana-* and their predicative or appositive employment. The transitive value of the *-ana-/anī-* forms matched that of many early *-āya-* presents. An exactly parallel innovation to the one suggested here took place in the class of inherited agent nouns in *-(i)tṛ̥-* where a new form of the suffix *-ayitṛ̥-* gained ground for forms associated with transitive verbs from the RV onwards, until this type of agent noun became moribund in the late Vedic period. In the case of the replacement of *-(i)tṛ̥-* by *-ayitṛ̥-* the source of the morphological innovation is obvious. Even if *-ana-/anī-* stems were not agent nouns in origin by the early RV they had come to function in a way that was very similar to nouns in *-(i)tṛ̥-* (cf. RV *radhracōdāna-*, *radhracodā-*, *radhrāsya coditṛ̥-*).²³ Moreover, they could fulfill some agent noun roles that were not possible for the inherited type of agent noun in *-(i)tṛ̥-*, namely they could be employed as the second elements of compounds and they could be used in three genders, not merely two.

The starting point for the process of derivation may have been the formal parallelism that happened to occur between the full-grade root of *-ana-/anī-* stems and the synchronic root shape of some *-āya-* presents (representing the outcome of an original **o*-grade in closed root syllables).²⁴ A proportional analogy can account for new *-ana-/anī-* stems:

verb stem <i>vakṣāya-</i> : nominal stem <i>vākṣāna-/vākṣanī-</i>
verb stem <i>vardhāya-</i> : nominal stem <i>vārdhāna-/vārdhanī-</i> , also in composition
verb stem <i>sūdāya-</i> : nominal stem X, X = <i>sūdāna-</i>
verb stem <i>vāhāya-</i> : nominal stem in composition X, X = <i>-vāhāna-/vāhanī-</i>

Such formal analogies appear to have resulted in a derivational process where new *-ana-/anī-* forms could be created beside any verb stem in *-āya-* simply through the substitution of the nominal suffix for that of the verb. Once this stage was reached it resulted in the creation of *-ana-/anī-* stems, some of which appear to have root vocalism that reflects an

²³Tichy (1995:180, cf. 176) uses collocations such as *vardhitā vārdhanas* (RV 9.97.39) to argue for a difference in meaning ‘der Kräftiger, der für Kräftigung sorgt’, but surely this is a case of paronomasia involving two nominal stems (cf. Klein 2000:141 and Klein 2002:240)?

²⁴By the AV there are more *-āya-* presents that could have served as pivots for the formal analogy, for instance, *bhojāya-*: nominal stem (in composition) *-bhōjana-*.

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IE **o* grade (-*vāhana-*, -*nāsana-*, etc.). However, according to our argument this is a mirage which arises from the fact that forms were created beside transitive -*āya-* presents whose own vocalism reflected that of the IE **o* grade -*éye/yo-* present class.

20. Yet in the RV the animate -*ana-/anī-* class is apparently made up of formations from two different origins: on the one hand, the older ones which arose through ‘Motion’ from neuters or were created on their model or on the basis of neuters that are by chance unattested (*tāpana-*, *dōhana-*, *tārhaṇa-*, -*ājana-*, -*gōhana-*, -*pāraṇī-*, etc.); on the other, recent formations based on presents in -*āya-* (*sūdana-*, *mādana-*, -*vāhana-*, -*cātana-*, etc.). Then there is a group where both origins are possible and the source and age of individual stems cannot be known (*dyōtana-*, *jānana-*, *sādhana-*, *nivēšana-*, -*śravaṇa-*, -*yōpana-*, etc.).

Evidence that there must indeed be two derivational processes at work in the RV comes from two sets of doublet forms: *svādāna-/sūdāna-* and (*aritra*)-*pāraṇī-/*(*sam*)-*pāraṇa-*. *svādanam pitūnām* ‘sweetener of foods, means of sweetening foods’ (acc. sg. of Agni at 5.7.6) must show either a masculine form created via ‘Motion’ from an old full-grade neuter stem **suéH₂d-eno-* or the neuter form itself.²⁵ There is no causative stem *svādāya-* at this stage of the language. But the RV possesses two -*āya-* presents from this root, *svadāya-* and *sūdāya-* (Jamison 1983:99, 159), and the latter is clearly the source of the ‘newer’ form *sūdāna-* (of Dadhikrā at RV 4.39.5: passage no. (7) above).

aritrāpāraṇī- (10.101.2) refers to a boat (*nau-*) which crosses water by means of oars, and must reflect an original neuter verbal noun **pāraṇa-*. On the other hand, *sampāraṇa-* (3.45.4: passage (9) above) describes *vāsu* ‘goods’ that cause people to cross over (obstacles). It is doubly transitive and agrees both in meaning and form with the RV present *pārāya-*.

21. Whereas there is likely to have been derivation from neuter action nouns from the earliest Rigvedic date, and probably slightly before, the derivation from -*āya-* presents is only gradually establishing itself during the periods of RV and AV composition. In at least one semantic area—the relatively recent words for tools and utensils—the neuter class itself was still being extended.²⁶ It is possible that the innovation which connected -*ana-/anī-* nominal stems with -*āya-* presents belonged to a more popular register of Old Indo-Aryan. Some of the RV forms that appear to have been created in this way belong to Atharvavedic spheres of vocabulary or occur in hymns that are repeated in both Vedas (e.g. *amīvacātana-* in RV 10.97). It is notable how the different early Saṃhitas diverge in the formations they use for transitive agent nouns: in the AV feminines in -*trī-* are virtually confined to RV repetitions, and -*anī-* feminines fulfil their role (cf. RV *nāsayitrī-* ‘destructress’, but AV *nāsānī-*, both clearly built beside the transitive -*āya-* present stem *nāsāya-*); while in the Yajurveda Saṃhitās (and the later YV), for instance, a series of forms in -*uka-* serve as both transitive and intransitive agent nouns (e.g. Taittirīyasaṃhitā *vēduka-* ‘finder’, *kāmuka-* ‘lover’, *māruka-* ‘one who is dying’; Maitrāyaṇīsaṃhitā *āgāmuka-* ‘one who arrives’).

²⁵*svādanam* has normally been taken as acc.sg. masc. in agreement with other masculine forms in the stanza, but it is an ambiguous case.

²⁶Obviously the creation of the neuter words for tools presupposes the earlier reinterpretation of a subgroup of the larger verbal noun class with suffix -*ana-* as nomina instrumenti. A few feminines in -*ī-* are substantives belonging to this semantic type (*asvājani-* ‘horse-whip’ 5.62.7, 6.75.13 *upabārhaṇī-* ‘cushion’ 1.174.7, *upasécānī-* ‘pouring ladle’ 10.21.2).

22. Jared Klein’s publications have highlighted the importance of thorough synchronic analysis of RV material. This paper in his honour has attempted to provide a detailed synchronic account, and draw conclusions from it about diachronic developments during a limited chronological period of early Old Indo-Aryan. As a result, the traditional view of an inherited tripartite class of Indo-Iranian neuters in *-ana-* has been challenged, and evidence has been presented to show that the distinct semantic types could have evolved out of a single category of neuter verbal nouns. In particular, it has suggested that the ways in which animate stems in *-ana-/anī-* grew into an extensive class can be traced in the earliest Vedic texts.

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Latin *bēs/bessis* ‘two-thirds of an *as*’*

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1. Lat. (masc.) *bēs* (Cic. +), with alternate nom. sg. *bes(s)is*, was originally a notional monetary unit equivalent to two-thirds of an *as* (or, as a unit of weight, eight of twelve *unciae*, i.e. two-thirds of a *libra*), later usable to describe two-thirds of anything.¹ Nom. sg. *bēs* is presumed to derive from earlier **bess*; cf. the word for *as*-piece itself (Cato+): Lat. *ās* (< **ass*), gen. sg. *assis*, with alternate nom. sg. *assis*. Beside *bēs*, an allegedly more archaic form “*des*” (surely *dēs*) is very weakly attested.²

According to a series of older interpretations,³ Osc. (nom. sg.) *ḍiasīis* (*ST* Po 19, *ImIt* Pompei 27), on a *mensa ponderaria*, could reflect a compound consisting of **dwei-* ‘two-’ followed by a form corresponding to Lat. *ās*; but even in that case, the form is “wahrscheinlich ohne direkten Zusammenhang mit l. *bēs*” (Heidermanns 1996:317 with n. 3), and (even if related to Lat. *bēs*) would be only “entfernt vergleichbar” (Untermann 2000:175).⁴

2. According to one prominent attitude in the literature, the background of Lat. *bēs/bessis* is unclear: thus Leumann (1977:489) writes “Unerklärt ist *bessis*, auch *bessis* (also *bē-*),” and the *OLD* etymological notice (s.v. *bēs*) simply says “[dub.],” while Meillet (*DELL* s.v. *bēs*) observes, without further comment, that “[l]es formes des noms des multiples de l’as ne s’expliquent pas bien dans le détail.” Yet despite various difficulties, the basic background of the word is in fact fairly clear, as other authorities acknowledge: thus Kent (1951:2.161) states that “*bes* is for *duo assis*, short for *duo* [sic] *partes assis*.”⁵ And the most explicit presentation of this account is provided by *WH* (s.v., following Corssen and others): “wegen der Bed. aus **duo ass(is)* ‘duae partes assis’ über **duass*, **duess*, **dwess* mit abnormer Lautkürzung infolge Funktionslosigkeit.”⁶ This explanation is undeniably attractive semantically, and it remains

*An earlier version of this material formed the first half of the paper presented as Vine 2014. I am deeply grateful for the comments and suggestions I received at that time.

¹For details, see especially *TLL* s.v. *bēs* (2.1931.47ff.). The sole derivative is the adjective *bēsālis/bessālis* (Vitruv. +) ‘comprising two-thirds’.

²Varro, *L.* 5.172 (*bēs, ut olim des*). The form “*des*” is also cited by Budé (1514, §2); but while Budé’s treatise is largely dependent on Pliny the Elder (McNeil 1975:26), Budé may well have encountered the form in Varro.

³Corssen, Bücheler, von Planta, Pisani; references in Untermann 2000:175.

⁴For discussion and interpretation of the Oscan form (which probably refers to a half-metretes, as a liquid measure), see most recently *ImIt* ad loc. (2.662–4).

⁵So also, in essence, the etymological notice in *TLL* s.v. (2.1931.47f.; Thurneysen), comparing Lat. *bi-* and *ās*.

⁶This analysis is cited by de Vaan (*EDLIL* s.v. *ās*), without comment.

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merely to elucidate some of the formal difficulties this account incorporates, principally the alleged “anomalous phonological reduction.”

3. It will be helpful to begin by clarifying the assumptions that underlie the sequence of developments just listed. First of all, “**duo ass(is)* > **duass*” implies abbreviation or ellipsis of the original phrase (*duae partes assis* → *duo assis*), followed by univerbation; this is then accompanied by (perfectly regular) elision (*du’assis*),⁷ and then (at some point, but not necessarily immediately; more on this below) truncation of the final syllable (*du’assis* > *du’ass*, if truncation occurred at this stage). The truncated form *duass* (in this version) is then reinterpreted as a new nom. sg.

In the next stage “**duass* > **duess*”, the shift to *e*-vocalism would have occurred as a result of the regular weakening of /a/ in closed syllables. But the operation of vowel weakening, in turn, implies initial stress: thus, beginning from the post-elision result of the univerbation of **dú(o) ássis* or **dú(ae) ássis* (as above), the process in question would have been **dúass* (if already truncated) > **dúess*, or (without truncation at this stage) **dúassis* > **dúessis*.⁸

With the next development—**duess* > **dwess*, “mit abnormer Lautkürzung”—we come to the heart of the difficulty. This, I suggest, is best understood as reflecting a sequence of developments, as follows (here assuming, for reasons to be specified shortly, late truncation of the final syllable):

- (i) **dúessis* (the result of vowel-weakening during the initial-stress period) > **duéssis* (with shift to penultimate stress)
- (ii) **duéssis* (the result of (i) above, i.e. [duwéssis], with transitional glide) > **dwéssis* (via “initial-syllable syncope”, more on which below)
- (iii) **dwéssis* > *bessis* (via the regular sound change **dw-* > *b-*) (with nom. sg. *bessis* partly retained, cf. §1)
- (iv) *bessis* is reinterpreted as gen. sg., whence a back-formed nom. sg. *bess/bēs* (cf. *ās*, gen. *assis* [§1])

4. Thus the sequence identified by *WH* as involving an “anomalous phonological reduction” corresponds to the early-truncation version of §3 (i)/(ii) → (iii) above: there is indeed no reason to expect that disyllabic **dúess* (or **duéss*) would be resyllabified to (monosyllabic) **dwess*, nor are there parallels for such a development.⁹ Yet the anomaly can be eliminated by assuming, first of all, that truncation of the final syllable had not yet occurred at any of the stages with initial **du-* and *e*-vocalism, and that, as already indicated schematically in §3

⁷Or, if one prefers, *duae* [partes] *assis* → elliptical *duae assis* > *du’assis*.

⁸The weakening of /a/ to /e/ in closed syllables is regular both for medial syllables (type **pérpassus* ‘endured’ > Class. *perpassus*) and for final syllables (type **artífaks* ‘craftsman’ > Class. *artífex*). As we will see shortly, though, the process here is likely to have been the medial one.

⁹Thus, from the perspective of *WH*: for OLat. *duim* ‘I may give’ (and other disyllabic forms in the paradigm: 2sg. *duīs*, 3sg. *duit*), there are no variants (**dwim* >) †*bim* etc.; nor do forms like m. *duo*, f. *duae* ‘two’ have variants (**dwō*, **dwāe* >) †*bo*, †*bae* (despite *bi-* ‘two-’ and *bis* ‘twice’ < **dwi-*, **dwis*). Beside the reflexive possessive **sewó-* of OLat. *sovo-*, Class. *suus*, and SPi. *súais* etc. (: Hom. *éōs* etc.), Ital. **swō-* (OLat. *sam*, *sās*, *sīs* [Enn., Festus, Lucr.], U. *svesu/sueso*) probably does not reflect an Italic syncope, but simply the inherited zero-grade version of this pronoun (: Ved. *swá-* etc.); cf. *LIPP* 2.751f.

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(ii) above, trisyllabic **duéssis* (the penultimate-accent avatar of **duéssis*) underwent a process of “initial-syllable syncope,” a phenomenon that (while somewhat neglected) does in fact have good parallels, both within the history of Latin and elsewhere. I first had occasion to treat the matter at the University of Georgia, in a paper presented (2008) at the 27th East Coast Indo-European Conference—an event hosted by Jared Klein with the consummate professionalism and boundless good nature that typify his every scholarly interaction. It is a pleasure to have this opportunity to repay, in a small way, not only that marvelous hospitality, but also his support and friendship over the course of many years.

4.1. Initial-syllable syncope is widely attested elsewhere in Indo-European, but perhaps most familiar (at least to English speakers) from Germanic, and especially West Germanic. Examples dating from the Middle English period include the following:¹⁰

- (i) (Lat. *corōna* ‘crown’ >) Anglo-Norman *coroune* > ME *crowne*¹¹
- (ii) (Lat. *carō* ‘flesh’ → VLat. **carōnia* ‘carrion’ >) Old Norman French *carogne* > ME *crone* ‘old hag’

As a result of later developments, with both variants remaining (sometimes with semantic differentiation), note e.g.:

- (iii) (*thoróugh* >) *through* (vs. *thorough*)
- (iv) (*spírít* >) *sprite/spright*, cf. *sprightly* (vs. *spírít*)
- (v) (*towárds* >) *t’wards* [Shakespeare+] (beside various other pronunciations with accented initial vowel)

And the process is widespread in Modern English; Jespersen cited:

- (vi) *pram* ‘baby carriage’ (< *peram*[*bulator*])
- (vii) *p’raps* (for *perhaps*)

but this is a familiar feature of (at least) American English, in pronunciations like *p’lice* (for *police*), *p’litical* (for *political*), *g’rage* (for *garage*), *b’lieve* (for *believe*), etc.¹²

Indeed, the last item recovers the most prominent type found elsewhere in West Germanic, as in High German forms derived from the unaccented prefixes *ge-*, *be-* (OHG *gi-*, *bi-*) before root-initial [l] and other sonorants:

- (viii) NHG *glauben* (OHG *gilouben*) ‘believe’, *gleich* (OHG *gilích*) ‘like’, *bleiben* (OHG

¹⁰For further detail, see Jespersen 1961:157, 274 (from which some of the examples cited here were drawn).

¹¹Cf. Elizabethan and dialectal Eng. *crowmer*, replaced by *coroner*; similarly various Germanic currency terms: Swed. *krona*, Dan./Norw. *krone*, Du. *kroon*, etc. < MLG *krūne*/*krōne*.

¹²On the basis of informal (indeed, surreptitious) field work, I can report that this feature is part of the idiolect of this volume’s honorand.

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bilīban) ‘remain’, *Gnade* (OHG *gināde*) ‘mercy’, etc.,¹³ and similarly in Yiddish for some such items: e.g. *gleibn*, *glaich*, *blaibn*, etc.¹⁴

4.2. Among documentable instances within the recorded history of Latin, the best-known involve initial sequences of velar (or labiovelar) followed by vowel and resonant (or glide, including unspelled transitional glide), as in the following:

- (i) Class. Lat. *quirītāre* ‘shout publicly’ (Lucil. +) > Late Lat. **crītāre* > Ital. *gridare*, Fr. *crier* (→ Eng. *cry*)¹⁵
- (ii) a series of forms based on *co-agere* ‘draw together’ (ptcple. *co-āctus*):
 - a. *coāgulum* ‘rennet’ > Late Lat. *quāglum*, cf. *quāglāre* ‘curdle’ (> Ital. *quagliare*, Fr. *cailler*)
 - b. Late Lat. **coācticāre* ‘pack together’ > **quācticāre* (> Fr. *cacher* ‘hide’)
 - c. QVACTILIARI ‘wool workers’ (CIL IV Suppl. 7809, 7838; Pompeii, 1st c. CE)
- (iii) Class. Lat. *inco(h)āta* ‘begun’ > INQVATA (CIL XI 4127, 3rd c. CE)
- (iv) Class. Lat. *cohors* ‘enclosure; (military) contingent’ but by Imperial Latin often monosyllabic (cf. MS spellings *chors*, *cors*, also *χώρας* in Greek sources)¹⁶

4.3. It is reasonable to suppose that, like medial- and final-syllable syncope, this syncope process could have operated not just in Late Latin, but at various stages of the language.¹⁷ Indeed, the form *quaxāre*¹⁸ < *coaxāre* ‘croak (of frogs)’ (Suet. +, cf. Gk. *κοῶξ* ‘croaking noise’), with the same phonetic profile as the items in §4.2 (ii) and (iii), provides an example of the phenomenon attested within the Classical period. It is evident for all these cases that the accentual conditioning of the syncope—i.e. the lack of accent on the initial syllable—arises from the non-initial accent determined by the Classical Latin penultimate accent rule.

Moreover, as I have had occasion to discuss earlier,¹⁹ all of this leads to the possibility that this process could shed light on a series of otherwise difficult or anomalous forms; and in the case of isolated material that cannot be explained on the basis of the Classical Latin penultimate accent, the process could have operated at a very early stage in which a different non-initial accent was available—thus a stage predating the “period of initial stress,” with the non-initial accent relatable in principle to what remained of the PIE mobile accent itself.²⁰ Indeed, analyses of this general type (though without consideration of the accentual ramifications) have already been proposed: a well-known example is OLat. *quirīt-* ‘(fellow-)citizen’, *Quirītēs* ‘citizens (of Rome)’ (→ *quirītāre*, §4.2 (i)), *Quirīnus* ‘deified Romulus; Janus’, and similar forms, all ultimately based on sequences **ko-wir-* +; e.g. *Quirīnus*

¹³The phonological environments for the process are in fact somewhat broader in German dialects, on which see Schirmunski 1962:166ff.

¹⁴On the Yiddish forms of this type, see Bin-Nun 1973:241 and Timm 1987:231f. (Warm thanks to Alexis Manaster Ramer for his advice, bibliographical and otherwise, on the Germanic material.)

¹⁵Leumann 1977:547 (with earlier reference).

¹⁶For items (ii) and (iii): Szemerényi 1959:235f., Hackstein 2011:111. Thanks to Ben Fortson for item (iv).

¹⁷On the multiple stages of Latin syncope, see e.g. Weiss 2011:122, Nishimura 2011:2 (and passim).

¹⁸F. 312.21L, P.F. 313.9L.

¹⁹Cf., provisionally, 2008, 2012a, 2013, 2014, together with Dunkel’s discussion at LIPP 2.417 n. 20.

²⁰In addition to the papers cited in the preceding footnote, see further 2006 (cf. EDLIL 9) and 2012b.

< **ko-wir-īnó*-.²¹ More recently, one may cite Lat. *grūs* ‘crane’ < Ital. **gerōwis* (Gašiorowski 2013:60ff.). And it is evident that some such proposals are weaker or more problematic than others.²² In any event, the prehistoric material of this kind, which I hope to treat elsewhere, is less important for present purposes than the existence of the process within the recorded history of Latin.²³

5. From this perspective, then, a development **duēssis* > **dwēssis* need not be viewed as one “mit abnormer Lautkürzung” (§2): it simply reflects an instance of the “late” application of initial-syllable syncope, comparable to other instances dependent on the penultimate accent (§§4.2, 4.3).²⁴ The only truly “abnormal” thing would be the weakly-attested byform “*des*” (i.e. *dēs*; §1), if in fact this virtual hapax reflects a real form at all. Insofar as the word has been noticed,²⁵ it has been placed together with a series of compound forms showing unexpected *di-* for *bi-* ‘two-’ (mainly attested in glosses and grammatical literature), of the type *diennium* (~ *biennium* ‘two-year period’), *dīmus* (~ *bīmus* ‘lasting two years, two-year-old’), *divium* (~ *bivium* ‘intersection, crossroads’), *difāriam* (~ *bifāriam* ‘twofold’), and others.²⁶ These forms are generally (and perhaps correctly) considered to be Grecizing variants of the regular Latin *bi-* forms, based on Gk. *di-* ‘two-’.²⁷ But this is not attractive for *dēs*, which (as a variant of *bēs* < **du’ass-*) would never have had a background involving *bi-* as such. As hinted at already in *WH*,²⁸ Lat. *dēs* may rather continue a remnant of the **dw-* stage, but with an irregular (perhaps allegro) reduction treatment **dw-* > *d-*, distinct from the regular treatment **dw-* > *b-*.²⁹

²¹Thus von Planta 1899:57, Kretschmer 1920, among others. De Vaan (*EDLIL* s.v. *quirīs*) rejects this etymology as “not credible phonetically (cf. *cūria*) and not very compelling semantically.” But for the first objection: whatever the background of *cūria* (original division of the Roman people, later ‘senate-house, assembly’)—i.e., whether based on original **ko-wir-* +, as traditionally (cf. Hackstein 2011:110, with reference, for some phonological details), or **ko-war-* + (Vine 1993:379ff.)—it shows *second-syllable* syncope, and thus would date from the period of initial stress. As for the semantics: I fail to see how comitative **ko(m)-* + **wiro-* ‘man’ would not provide a plausible etymon for a word meaning ‘(fellow-)citizen’.

²²Thus Lat. *quaerō* ‘ask’ < **ko(w)-als-e/o-* (: PIE **h₂eis-* ‘id.’; Ved. *icchāti* ‘desires’, etc.), desid. *quaesō* < **ko(w)-als-se/o-* (Szemerényi 1959, followed by Meiser [1998:193, 2003:126], Hackstein [2011:111], and others; cited by *LIPP* [2.423, with question mark]) can be viewed, on its face, as phonologically difficult: given *cōgō* ‘gather; compel’ < **ko-aggō*, one might rather expect **ko-ais-e/o-* to result in **kōisō* > †*cūrō*, -*ere* (barring special circumstances one may attempt to justify). See *EDLIL* s.v. *quaerō* for an entirely different account, following Nussbaum 2007.

²³In concise formulations, omitting many details, representative prehistoric examples include Lat. *focus* ‘hearth’ < pre-Lat. **θwoko-* < **θwōkō-* (or **θwōkō-kō-*) < (“*τῶμός* form”) **d^hog^{wh}-ó-* ‘burning’ plus nominalizing (Italic) **-ko-* (Fruyt 1986); Lat. *bonus* ‘good’, perhaps *‘generous’ (OLat. *dueno-*, OFal. *dueno-*) < pre-Lat. **dweno-* < **duwénó-/dowénó-* or **duwénó-/dowénó-* (: **duH-* or **dub₃-* [Ved. *dúvas-* ‘favor, gift’] or **dub₁-* [TA *tsuwā-* ‘stick together’, Go. *tewa* ‘order’; Neri 2011:144] or Ital. **dow-*, cf. OFal. *douiad* ‘shall give’); Lat. *fumus/fimum* ‘dung’ < pre-Lat. **θwimo-* < **θuwimó-* or **θuwímo-* < **dbub₂-i(-)mó-* or **d^hub₂-i(-)mo-* ‘smoking’ (: **d^hub₂-*, Lat. *fumus* ‘smoke’ etc.).

²⁴And also displaying the same (or virtually the same) phonetic environment as the prehistoric instance **duweno-* (or **doweno-*) > **dweno-* (n. 23).

²⁵It is absent from *EDLIL*, and appears even in *DELL* only as an empty lemma providing a cross-reference to the entry *bēs* (where the form goes unmentioned).

²⁶See *WH* s.v. *biennium*, with further references.

²⁷In addition to *WH* (loc. cit.) and the references cited there, see more recently Leumann 1977:132.

²⁸“Varros *dēs* ‘bes’ (wenn nicht für **dwēs*)” (s.v. *biennium*).

²⁹For **dw-* > *d-*: compare, typologically, the same development in Greek, as in *di-* itself (< **dwi-*), *δέος* ‘fear’ (< **dwéyos*), etc. (Rix 1992:93).

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6. A final point of interest is that this particular instance of initial-syllable syncope can be dated rather precisely, within about a 50-year period in the history of early Latin. The completion of the (initial-stress-based) vowel weakening (as in **dúassís* > **dúessís*) would have occurred by about 300 BCE, with the establishment of the penultimate accent around the same time.³⁰ The initial-syllable syncope, based on the penultimate accent, follows next (i.e. **du(w)éssís* > **dwéssís*), but necessarily precedes the treatment **dw-* > *b-*, which is datable to about 250 BCE.³¹

Abbreviations

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin, 1893–. [Publication details at cil.bbaw.de/cil_en/index_en.html.]

DELL = Ernout, Alfred, and Antoine Meillet. 1985. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: Histoire des mots*. 4th ed. Paris: Klincksieck.

EDLIL = de Vaan, Michiel. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*. Leiden: Brill.

ImIt = Crawford, Michael (ed.). 2011. *Imagines Italicae: A Corpus of Italic Inscriptions*. London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London.

LIPP = Dunkel, George E. 2014. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme*. Heidelberg: Winter.

OLD = Glare, P. G. W. (ed.). 2012. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ST = Rix, Helmut (ed.). 2002. *Sabellische Texte: Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen*. Heidelberg: Winter.

TLL = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Stuttgart and Leipzig (1900–1999), Munich and Leipzig (2000–).

WH = Walde, Alois, and J. B. Hofmann. 1938–54. *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.

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³⁰On the dating of these processes, see e.g. de Vaan in *EDLIL* 10.

³¹On this dating, see e.g. Weiss 2011:161.

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The Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals and the Name of Cilicia in the Iron Age*

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1. Many scholars, myself included, have endorsed the idea that the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals $*h_2$ and $*h_3$ were pharyngeals, i.e. $*h_2 = /h/$, $*h_3 = /ʕ/$ or $/ʕ^w/$.¹ The reasons for a pharyngeal reconstruction are well known: the coloring effects of the second and third laryngeals are similar to the backing effects of pharyngeals in other languages; the phonotactic patterning of the laryngeals suggests a fricative realization; the extra-Anatolian reflexes are almost exclusively vocalic and pharyngeals can be acoustically similar to vowels and are often perceived as vowels by nonnative listeners. But, as a matter of fact, the first two arguments point only to post-velar segments—uvulars may also trigger backing and uvular fricatives are quite common. It is really only the third argument that may decisively favor a pharyngeal reconstruction. In this paper I will examine evidence that I believe favors a uvular reconstruction for PIE $*h_2$, and by implication $*h_3$, a reconstruction that has already been suggested by Martin Kümmel and others.² This evidence is drawn from the intersection of the Semitic and Indo-European languages, an intersection of some interest to our honorandus. I offer this paper as a small tribute to the scholar, educator, and mensch, Jared Klein.

2. Anatolian is the only branch of Indo-European with clear consonantal reflexes of the laryngeals.³ In Hittite the reflex of $*h_2$ is spelled with the signs of the Akkadian h -series, in initial position h -, and intervocalic position normally with geminate spelling $-hh-$. In initial position the reflex of $*h_3$ is also written h -, but in medial position, when there is a consonantal reflex, the graphic singleton $-h-$ is used, which suggests this segment was voiced.⁴

*Thanks to Andrew Byrd for his valuable input on a draft of this paper.

¹Weiss 2011:50; Beekes 2011:147, et alii. As for $*h_1$, probably $/h/$ or $/ʔ/$, I have nothing further to say here.

²Kümmel 2007:327–36.

³The one possible exception to this observation would be the case of “laryngeal hardening” in Germanic. See the opposing views of Ringe 2006:68–70 and Müller 2007:116–9. It seems to me that the pro-hardening case is stronger.

⁴This is only the most basic description of the general outcomes. The intervocalic spelling with a single h is also regular for the reflex of lenited $*h_2$, which likewise points to a voiced segment. For the ins and outs see the mainly, but not entirely, agreeing accounts of Melchert 1994:64–81, Melchert 2011, Kimball 1999:379–426, and Kloekhorst 2008:75–82. The facts are similar, though not as secure, for the other Cuneiform languages, Luvian and Palaic. See Melchert 1994:212, 257–8. More attention will be given to Hieroglyphic Luvian below.

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What was the value of the Hittite segment(s) written with the Akkadian *ḥ*-series? The evidence presented in this and the next few paragraphs will converge on a velar/uvular interpretation and exclude a pharyngeal interpretation. Let us begin with Akkadian. In Akkadian the *ḥ*-series represents a velar or uvular fricative /x/ or /χ/ and that is apparently the highest level of specificity we can reach. On the one hand, Akkadian displays *k* ~ *ḥ* variation in the Babylonian dialect, which points to a velar realization of the fricative. On the other hand, there are a number of facts that are more consistent with a post-velar. First, Middle Assyrian shows *q* ~ *ḥ* variation and emphatic realizations of voiceless stops adjacent to *ḥ*, which suggest something other than a simple velar.⁵ Second, Akk. *ḥ* in syllable-final position patterns with *r* in lowering *i* to *e*, which would be consistent with a post-velar.⁶ Third, Akk. *ḥ* is the regular correspondent of Classical Arabic /χ/,⁷ e.g. **naḥīr* ‘nostril’ > Akk. *naḥīru*, Ar. *nuḥrat*-, and it is at least conventional, though perhaps not correct, to describe the Proto-Semitic proto-segment as a uvular.⁸ Perhaps both uvular and velar pronunciations were possible depending on the environment or the dialect.⁹

The Akkadian signs did not represent a pharyngeal. Akkadian eventually lost the Proto-Semitic pharyngeals and did not have a consistent way of writing them.¹⁰ Still, it cannot be strictly excluded on this evidence alone that the Hittite sounds were not pharyngeals. If the Hittite segments were pharyngeals and Akkadian had no exactly corresponding segment, the velar/uvular *ḥ*-series could have been adopted as the least bad solution. But, as the following section shows, this idea is unlikely.

3. Both Egyptian and Ugaritic made a distinction between velar/uvular fricatives on the one hand and pharyngeal fricatives on the other. In all cases it is the velar/uvular fricative signs that are used to represent Cuneiform *ḥ* in Hittite names.¹¹ Some examples from Egyptian: *Ḥarpašili* ~ *ḥrpsl* /χarpašili/, *Ḥatti* ~ *ḥt* /χati/, *Ḥattušili* ~ *ḥtsl* /χatusili/. Some examples from Ugaritic: *Ḥatti* ~ *ḥt* /xati/, *Puduḥepa* ~ *pdḥb* /puduḥeba/.¹² Hoffner and Melchert (2008:38–9) are justifiably cautious about drawing a firm conclusion, but the agreement of two only distantly related languages in interpreting the Hittite sounds as velars/uvulars, and not as pharyngeals, is strong evidence for their nature.¹³

⁵On the problem of the phonetics of *q* see below. Von Soden (1995:31) attributes these facts to Anatolian influence.

⁶Von Soden 1995:14.

⁷Sibawayh classified *q*, *ḥ*, and *γ* as *musta‘liya* ‘elevated’, a feature they share with the “emphatics.” See Bellem 2007:135. On the other hand, *ḥ* and *k* do not co-occur as radicals 1 and 2 in Arabic roots, which might be an argument for velar fricatives being original (Huehnergard 2003:110).

⁸E.g. Kogan 2011:54. Kouwenberg 2006:150, however, specifically argues for a velar realization of Akk. *ḥ*.

⁹In Dutch, south of the Rotterdam-Nijmegen line, the dorsal fricative is realized as a velar or palatal, but north of that line the fricative is post-velar or pre-uvular. See Collins and Mees 2003:191.

¹⁰For Akkadian and Eblaite in the 3rd millennium and the traces in Old Assyrian see Kouwenberg 2006. See also Huehnergard 2003 for the possible reflex of a glottalized pharyngeal fricative in Akk. *ḥ* = WS *ḥ*.

¹¹Patri 2009.

¹²Andrew Garrett (p.c.) raises the possibility that the Egyptian renderings of the Anatolian sounds might be in some way conventionalized, for example, according to a substitution rule “foreign post-velar consonant = Eg. *ḥ*,” and that it is therefore important to see how Egyptian renders pharyngeal and uvular/velar segments in Semitic loans. In fact, we see that Egyptian renders Semitic pharyngeals with Egyptian pharyngeals and NW Semitic uvulars/velars with Egyptian uvulars/velars with almost complete consistency. See Hoch 1994:411–13.

¹³Rieken (2011:39) classifies the sound(s) written by the *ḥ* series as velar/uvular. Kloekhorst (2008:18) is non-committal.

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If Kloekhorst is correct in reconstructing a labialized $*H^w$ for Proto-Anatolian,¹⁴ would this be more typologically unusual as a labialized pharyngeal or a labialized uvular? Labialized uvulars are not all that uncommon, occurring in Haida, Kabardian, Tlingit, etc. And rich inventories of secondary articulations for uvulars are found, e.g. in Tlingit with voiceless fricative, ejective fricative, labialized voiceless fricative, and labialized ejective fricative uvulars.¹⁵ Labialized pharyngeals, on the other hand, are quite rare, though they do occur—notably in the Interior Salish languages, Abaza, and Bade (Western Chadic)—and systems with more than two pharyngeals are themselves quite rare. The following table compares the frequencies of labialized uvulars vs. labialized laryngeals in the PHOIBLE database of 2155 inventories (<http://phoible.org>):

SIMPLE SEGMENT	NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES	LABIALIZED SEGMENT	NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES
ʁ	126	ʁ ^w	40
ħ	55	ħ ^w	2
ʁ	65	ʁ ^w	14
ʕ	41	ʕ ^w	3

Table 1. Frequency of occurrence of segments in the PHOIBLE inventory database.

Thus the percentage of inventories that have labialized uvular fricatives out of the total number of languages that have uvular fricatives is 28% (54/191). In contrast the percentage of inventories that have labialized pharyngeal fricatives out of the total number of languages that have pharyngeal fricatives is 5% (5/96). From this we may conclude that Kloekhorst’s labialized segment would be less unusual if it were a uvular than if it were a pharyngeal. Nevertheless, since labialized pharyngeal do occur, we cannot press this argument too far.

Variation in Hittite spelling between h signs and k signs, e.g. *hamešhant-* ~ *hameškant-* ‘spring’¹⁶ seems more consistent with a uvular/velar fricative than a pharyngeal. But since Hittite has no contrast between uvular and velar stops, the hardening phenomenon is uninformative about the uvular vs. velar question. On the other hand, the word *warmu-* ‘burn’ tr. is occasionally written *walḥnu-*, and that could be taken to point to a uvular pronunciation of both h and r .¹⁷ This example is the only certain case of this sort. This rarity could be explained if we assume that uvular r was an uncommon variant of /r/.

4. If the sound represented by h in the cuneiform Anatolian languages and the h signs in Hieroglyphic Luvian hardened into a stop, and a word having this segment was borrowed from an Anatolian language into a language distinguishing between uvular and velar stops, it might be diagnostic. A loan from an Anatolian language into one of the neighboring Semitic languages, which distinguish between the voiceless velar k and the “emphatic” q , might

¹⁴Kloekhorst’s suggestion is accepted by Melchert (2011:129) and Rieken (2010:129), but Simon (2011:544) presents some reasons to think that the development of the labialized “laryngeal” was not Proto-Anatolian but the result of parallel developments.

¹⁵World Atlas of Language Systems (WALS), Uvular consonants, Maddieson.

¹⁶See Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. for attestations.

¹⁷See Puhvel 2011:20 for some examples of this interchange.

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be informative. Of course, I am aware that most Semiticists today reconstruct the Proto-Semitic sound **q* as an ejective velar stop, rather than as a uvular stop,¹⁸ but I will sidestep this question by assuming that the emphatics had a [+guttural] feature which would also be shared by uvulars but not by velars. I will continue to refer to *q* as a uvular.¹⁹

Could the Iron-age name of *Cilicia Pedias*, *Hi-ia-wa/i-*, be the evidence we are looking for? The form *Hi-ia-wa/i-* is attested in the Hieroglyphic Luvian inscriptions of Çineköy and now Arsuz.²⁰ In the first of these inscriptions HLuv. *Hi-ia-wa/i-* corresponds to Ph. *DNNYM* = *Cilicia pedias*.²¹ In Neo-Assyrian documents the region that is undoubtedly *Hi-ia-wa/i-* is repeatedly mentioned in the form *Q(a)ue/i-*. Here are the forms in chronological order:²²

Nisba Adjective: 856 BCE [*qu-*]*ú-a-a* (RIMA 3 102.1:68'); 853 *qu-ú-a-a* (RIMA 3 102.2 i. 53); 839 *qa-ú-a-a* (RIMA 3 102.10 iv. 25 4); 839 *qa-ú-a-a* (RIMA 3 102.11 r. 5); 839 *qu-a-ia* (RIMA 3 102.12:32); 828 *qa-ú-a-a* (RIMA 3 102.16:145'); 828 *qa-ú-a-a* (RIMA 3 102.16:217); 826 *qa-ú-a-a* (RIMA 3 102.14:128, 132); 745–727²³ *qu-ú-a-a* (RINAP 3.14:11, 3.32.3, 3.35:3.8, 3.47:1. 7'); (725–705)²⁴ *qu-u-a-a* (SAA 19.152: o. 5, o. 19, SAA 1.1:5, 19, SAA 5.68:5).

Toponym: 850 BCE *qu-i* (RIMA 3 102.25.11); 839 *qa-ú-e* (RIMA 3 102.10 iv. 3); 826 *qa-a-ú-e* (RIMA 3 102.14, 101); 710 *qu-e* (SAA 1.251: r. 3); 685 *qu-e* (SAA 6.172, r. 5'); 705–681²⁵ *qu-e* (RINAP 1.77, 2.42, 3.42, 4.69, 15: v. 44, 16 v. 67, 17 iv. 67, 17 v. 53); 661 *qu-e* (SAA 7.118: r. ii. 21); 631–627²⁶ *qu-e* (SAA 12.35, r. 33, 41: r. 7', 051: o. 5'); 627 *qu-u-e* (SAA 14.155 r. 8).

Neo-Assyrian /a/ has a rounded allophone in certain contexts, mainly after a labial and before *r* in a closed syllable, but there are some cases where the preceding consonant is *q*.²⁷ It is also noteworthy that a foreign *a* before *w* is rendered as *u* also in the name *Ar-áš-tu-a*, chieftain of Amalli, ca. 880, representing an Ir. **r̥š-tauah-* ‘whose strength is right’.

¹⁸Kogan 2011:60–1.

¹⁹In any case, Huehnergard (1997:438) suggests that by Middle Assyrian times glottalization may have shifted to pharyngealization, perhaps under the influence of Central Semitic. Streck (2011:370) tentatively explains the Middle Assyrian emphasis spread as “velarization,” by which I assume he means an Arabic-like pharyngealized realization of the emphatics. Finally, the Greek adaptation of the sign for *q* as *qoppa*, used specifically in back environments, may indicate that the adapters of the Greek alphabet heard the Phoenician emphatic *q* as further back than *k*. The fact that *qoppa* is distributed on a subphonemic basis, also occurring before *λ* before a back vowel, e.g. Πρoϗλõ (Cyrene; Dobias-Lalou and Mohammed 1995:58), argues that it was not merely the name *qoppa* that suggested the principle of distribution.

²⁰Dinçol and Dinçol forthcoming, *non vidi*.

²¹Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2002:994. Perhaps also Ug. *Ḥiyawi-* (Gander 2012 is dubious) and Eg. *ḥw* (Edel 1975:64–5) but Cilicia is usually referred to by an Egyptian rendering of *Kizzuwatna*. The controversy over a possible connection with *Abḥiyawa* (contra: Hajnal 2011, Gander 2012; pro: Oreshko 2013) is not relevant for our purposes.

²²See Bagg 2007 s.v. *Que*.

²³Reign of Tiglath-Pileser III.

²⁴Reign of Sargon II.

²⁵Reign of Sennecherib II.

²⁶Reign of Ashur-etil-ilani.

²⁷Von Soden 1995:14; Luukko 2004:85.

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Although the sign <qu> is not distinctively used to write /q/, <qa-> is.²⁸ The final vowel is predominantly -e but -i in the earliest example. Variation of final -i and -e is common in Neo-Assyrian. The most archaic representation is /qawi-/. This points to a Luvian /hjawī-/.²⁹

The representation of the Luvian name of Cilicia with an initial *q* is confirmed by Phoenician QW (İncirli; Kaufman 2007) and Old Aramaic QWH (KAI 202 A 6, Ḥamath, ca. 800 BCE).³⁰ The *mater lectionis* H points to -ē or possibly -ā, but Late Babylonian *ḥumē* /ḥowē/ settles the question in favor of -ē.³¹ Regressive rounding before labials is characteristic of Late Babylonian.³²

5. In Neo-Assyrian, Aramaic, and Phoenician, all languages possessing a contrasting velar vs. uvular voiceless stop, the renderings of Luvian /hjawī-/ begin with the uvular stop. A straightforward explanation for this fact would be that the Anatolian, or at least Luvian, *h* represented a uvular fricative which, when it hardened into a stop, was realized as /q/ and was heard as such by the neighboring peoples who had a velar ~ uvular distinction.

For the obvious idea that a uvular fricative, if hardened, would become a uvular stop, compare Ahtna where the Athabaskan D-effect changes a uvular fricative into a uvular stop.³³ On the other hand, while hardening of a fricative before a glide is quite common before the labiovelar glide, e.g. Icel. *kv* < *hw*, HLuv. *kwV-* < *hwV*,³⁴ I do not know of parallel developments before *j*, nor do I know of any case of apparent blending as we might appear to have here. So a conditioned hardening before *j* is not very probable.

In fact, other cases of Anatolian *h* represented by Semitic *q* show that the environment before *j* is not relevant. Among the rulers of the Neo-Hittite states the name *Halparuntiyas* (¹TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-ru-ti-i-ia-sa CHLI Maraş 4, etc.) is attested referring to four different individuals, three kings of Gurgum, now referred to as Halparuntiyas I, II, and III, and a king of Patin. Three of these four individuals, Halparuntiyas II and III of Gurgum and Halparuntiyas of Patin, appear as *Qalparunda* in Assyrian.³⁵ The king of the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Kummuhu, Hattusili, is referred to in the annals of the Assyrian kings as *qa-ta-zi-lī* (RIMA 2 219.3, 866 BCE, Assurnasipal II),³⁶ *qa-ta-zi-lu* (RIMA 3 102.2 i. 37, 858 BCE,

²⁸Variation of *k* ~ *q* before *i* and *u* in Neo-Assyrian (von Soden 1995:32) is irrelevant.

²⁹*h* is used here to symbolize a fricative segment that is not *h*.

³⁰The King of Que joined a conspiracy of Barhadad II. The passages at 1 R. 10.28, and 2 Ch. 1.16 which mention how Solomon's horses were imported from Egypt and QWH has been seen to contain a reference to *Que*, but this is unlikely. See Gerhards 2009:152.

³¹Zadok 1985:166. The source of -ē is unclear.

³²Streck 2011:374.

³³Rice 2011:331.

³⁴Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies 1993.

³⁵*Halparuntiyas* II is referred to as *qāl-pa-ru-da* KUR.gūr-gu-ma-a-a in Shalmanessar III's account of his campaign of 853 BCE (RIMA 3 102.2.85). *Halparuntiyas* III appears as *qa-al-pa-ru-da* son of Palalam of Gurgum in an inscription from 805 BCE in the reign of Adad-Nirari (RIMA 3 104.3.17). The *Halparuntiyas* of Patin is referred to either as *Qalparunda* of Unqi or of Patin in Shalmanessar III's accounts of his campaigns of 857 (*qāl-pu-ru-un-da* of Unqi, RIMA 3 102.1.93', of Patin, restored at RIMA 3 102.2.21), 853 (*qāl-pa-ru-da* of Patin, RIMA 3 102.2.84, *qar-pa-ru-un-da*, RIMA 3 102.91) and 848 (*qāl-pa-ru-un-da* of Patin, RIMA 3 102.6.12, *qāl-pa-ru-un-di* (gen.) of Patin, RIMA 3 102.8.40', *qāl-pa-ru-un-da* of Unqi, RIMA 3 102.60). Note too the failure to represent the final -iya- of this name in Assyrian, which is reminiscent of the representation of *Hiyawī-* as *Qauē*.

³⁶This is the earliest example of *q* for *h*/*h* that I know of. Contrast the spelling of the Hittite King Hattusili III as *ḥa-at-tu-si-lī* in the Akkadian (Babylonian) version of the treaty between Ramses II and Hattusili III (Edel 1997:5).

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Shalmanessar III). The capital of Halparuntiyas of Gurgum’s state appears in Neo-Assyrian as both *Marqas* (*mar-qa-si*) and *Marḥas-* (*mar-ḥa-si*).³⁷ Finally, Yakubovich has speculatively but plausibly interpreted *grpdl* in the 8th-century-BCE Samcalian inscription of Kuttamuwa from Zincirli as a Luvian **ḥarpatali-* ‘companion, ally’, an epithet of Hadad.³⁸

The rendering of Anatolian *ḥ* as *q* is certainly not a general rule. Anatolian *ḥ* is regularly represented as *ḥ* in loanwords into Old Assyrian from Kültepe, e.g. *ḥiṣṣannum* ‘pole’ ← Hitt. *ḥiṣṣa-*,³⁹ and into Neo-Assyrian (*Kummuḥu/i/a* ~ Hitt. *Kumaḥa-*). All in all, the evidence suggests **ḥa > qa* in some variant or variants of Iron-Age Luvian.⁴⁰

6. When Greek words are borrowed into Mishnaic Hebrew the voiceless dental and velar stops are rendered with the signs for the Semitic emphatic consonants and the voiceless aspirates are rendered with the signs for the unemphatic consonants.⁴¹ Semiticists explain this pattern as due to the fact that the voiceless unemphatic stops had acquired aspiration by this period. Is it possible that allophonic aspiration was already present in a much earlier period? If so one might be able to explain the rendering of the hardened Luvian stop with *q* as an attempt to capture a putative lack of aspiration rather than some guttural feature. This theory has a number of presuppositions that require independent investigation. First, was allophonic aspiration a feature of the unemphatic voiceless stops already in 9th-century Neo-Assyrian, Aramaic, and Phoenician? There is no doubt that the voiceless stops of NW Semitic were eventually perceived as matching the Greek aspirated stops, which suggests that they had at the time an audible degree of aspiration. How early this might have been is discussed in the next paragraph. Second, how are other voiceless stops of Greek and Anatolian represented in Semitic? This is discussed immediately after the next paragraph. Third, is there reason to think the hardened fricative would be distinctively characterized by an *absence* of aspiration? This would be surprising since fricatives are high-airflow segments.⁴²

The evidence for aspiration in this period, as far as I can tell, basically reduces to one word, Gk. *χιτών* ~ *κιθών* ‘chiton’, supposedly from Ph. *ktn*. But the scrambled consonants and vowels of Lat. *tunica* suggest we are dealing with a non-Semitic Mediterranean *Wanderwort* borrowed independently into Semitic, Greek, and Latin. Other early loanwords represent Semitic unemphatic voiceless stops with Greek unaspirated voiceless stops, e.g. Gk. *κύμινον*, Myc. *ku-mi-no* ‘cumin’ ~ Akk. *kamūnu*; Gk. *κάδος* (7th cent.) ‘jug’ ~ Ug. *kd*. These loans suggest the Semitic unemphatic voiceless stops had not acquired any significant degree of aspiration in the relevant period.

Conversely, Greek names with unaspirated stops are spelled with the Akkadian unem-

³⁷Bagg 2007 s.v.

³⁸Yakubovich 2010:396. In the Old Assyrian documents from Kültepe we find already one instance of *Tarkuala* (Kt 89/k 294, unpublished, Old Assyrian Text Project) for *Tarḥuala*, but Old Assyrian had no distinctive way of writing emphatic consonants. The only counterexample that I know of where a hardened Anatolian *ḥ* would appear to be written as a *k* in a script distinguishing between *k* and *q* is the shield decoration, possibly from Zincirli, which Lemaire (2001) read as *[l]trkdy rb mšmct* “belonging to *Tarku(n)dī*, the chief of the guard.” But the first letter of the supposed name is almost entirely restored so the interpretation is far from certain.

³⁹Dercksen 2007.

⁴⁰Fricative duration tends to decrease with decreasing vowel height. Thus the environment before *a* is plausible. See Nirginiaki, Fourakis, and Chaida 2009.

⁴¹See Heijmans 2013:235–6, 316. I would like to thank my colleague Dorit Abusch for help accessing the Hebrew.

⁴²The pathway from voiceless stop to fricative often has a voiceless aspirated stop as the mid-stage.

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phatic signs: *E-ki-iš-tu-ra* = Ἀκεστωρ (King of Idalion, Prism of Esarhaddon, 673 BCE); *I-t-u-an-da-ar* = Ετεφανδρος (King of Paphos, Prism of Esarhaddon, 673 BCE). These forms provide no support for the idea that emphatic signs might be used to render foreign unaspirated stops in the Neo-Assyrian period.

Likewise Anatolian names with voiceless stops, except for the Q-type mentioned above, do not appear in Akkadian with the signs for emphatics: *Kati-* (PNAE 2.1.609), *Kurti* (PNAE 2.1.642), *Kustaspi-* (PNAE 2.1.644, possibly Iranian), *Mutallu* (PNAE 2.2.785), etc.

Thus, the evidence of early Semitic loans into Greek, and Greek and Anatolian names represented in Assyrian converge in showing that the voiceless stops of Assyrian and NW Semitic were not aspirated as early as the 9th century. In addition, there is no parallel for any voiceless stop—or really any stop at all—of Anatolian being represented with an emphatic sign. On the other hand, we find Arabic *q* is rendered with *q* in Akkadian: *Aqāta* (a personal name) ~ Ar. *mqy* ‘guard’. The only solution to the *q*-for-*h* problem that is probable is the one offered above and repeated here: Luvian *h*, which was a uvular fricative, hardened to a uvular stop in some dialect and this stop was identified with the Semitic emphatic stop *q*.⁴³

7. In conclusion, the Anatolian reflexes of **h₂* and **h₃* were not pharyngeals. They might have been velar fricatives but the choice of *q* rather than *k* to represent a result of hardening in Neo-Assyrian, Old Aramaic, and Phoenician points to guttural involvement for at least Iron-Age Luvian. If the Anatolian reflexes were uvulars, then odds are that the second and third PIE laryngeals were themselves uvulars, because directionality favors the development from uvulars to pharyngeal (Aramaic, Hebrew [eventually], Dathina) over the opposite development, which typically occurs only when there is a loss of contrast with a pre-existing class of uvulars.⁴⁴ We can have our cake and eat it too if we suppose that Nuclear Proto-Indo-European underwent a uvular-to-pharyngeal shift.⁴⁵

Abbreviations

CHLI = *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luvian Inscriptions*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999–2000.

KAI = Donner, H., and W. Röllig. 1966–69. *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

PNAE = Parpola, Simo (ed.). 1998–2011. *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. 3 vols. [Helsinki]: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

RIMA = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987–.

RINAP = *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011–.

SAA = *State Archives of Assyria*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987–2003; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2012–.

⁴³Zsolt Simon kindly shared with me a manuscript of his forthcoming publication “Der phonetische Wert der luwischen Laryngale.” His interpretations and emphases are somewhat different from mine and will speak for themselves on publication, but he too concludes on the basis of different arguments and data that the Luvian reflexes of the laryngeals were most likely uvulars.

⁴⁴Simpson 2003.

⁴⁵As Kümmel (2007:336) has already suggested.

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Ur(indo)arisches im Nūristānī: Zur historischen Phonologie des Indoiranischen*

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1. Mehr denn je scheint die Einordnung der erst Ende des 19. Jh.s bekannt gewordenen und bis heute nicht verschriftlichten Nuristan-Sprachen an den Abhängen des Hindukusch in die Geschichte der indoiranischen Sprachfamilie, der sie zweifelsfrei angehören, umstritten. Hatte die Forschung lange Zeit geschwankt, ob dieses gut ein halbes Dutzend Stammessprachen¹ einen eigenen Sprachzweig innerhalb des Indoiranischen darstellt² oder eine spezifische Form des Indoarischen ähnlich den dardischen Sprachen repräsentiert, so wird in den letzten Jahrzehnten vornehmlich darüber diskutiert,³ ob sich die für die Nuristan-

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Abkürzungen: A. = Ashkun; Aav. = Altavestisch; Adj. = Adjektiv; Aia. = Altindoarisch; Air. = Altiranisch; Akt. = Aktiv; AMg. = Ardhamāgadhī; Ap. = Altpersisch; Apl. = Akkusativ Plural; Av. = Avestisch; Da. = Dari; f. = feminin; Gpl. = Genitiv Plural; Gsg. = Genitiv Singular; Imp. = Imperativ; Ipl. = Instrumental Plural; Isg. = Instrumental Singular; Jav. = Jungavestisch; JM. = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī; K. = Kati und Kamviri; Konkr. = Konkretum; Lsg. = Lokativ Singular; m. = maskulin; Mia. = Mittelindoarisch; Mp. = Mittelpersisch; Nia. = Neuindoarisch; Np. = Neupersisch; Npl. = Nominativ Plural; Nsg. = Nominativ Singular; Nūr. = Nūristānī (→ A./K./P./T./W./Z.); P. = Prasun(/Paruni); Pa. = Pali; PE = Primärendung; Pl. = Plural; Pr. = Präsens; Sg. = Singular; Skt. = Sanskrit; T. = Tregami (mit Gambiri); Urar. = Urarisch; Uria. = Urindoarisch; Uridg. = Urindogermanisch; Urir. = Uriranisch; VA = Verbaladjektiv auf *-tō- etc.; Ved. = Vedisch; Vsg. = Vokativ Singular; W. = Waigali; Z. = Zemiaki.

¹Zusammengefasst unter der Sammelbezeichnung *nūristānī* ‘Nuristanisch’, insofern sie alle in der 2001 konstituierten afghanischen Provinz Nuristan und dem sich im Osten anschließenden pakistanischen Chitral-Gebiet gesprochen werden. Es handelt sich dabei um die folgenden miteinander nahe verwandten und dialektal stark gegliederten Sprachen: A. = Ashkun (im SW); K. = Kati (im NW) und Kamviri (im NO); P. = Prasun (bzw. Paruni [im nördlichen Zentrum]); T. = Tregami (mit Gambiri, dem im Dorf Gambir gesprochenen Dialekt [im SO]); W. = Waigali (mit dem Dialekt des Dorfes Nisheygram; s. Degener 1998 [im südlichen Zentrum]); Z. = Zemiaki (südlich des Pech).

²So etwa wieder van Driem 2001:II.1070 und 1078ff., Zoller 2005:10f. und 13–5 und 2014:125 n. xvi, Fussman 2012:72 und Kausen 2012:661ff.

³Die Grundlage für diese Diskussion wurde am 29. Oktober 1983 bei der 11. Jahrestagung österreichischer Linguisten von Manfred Mayrhofer gelegt, der dort seine von Warren Cowgill inspirierte These vorstellte, derzufolge sich die Nuristan-Sprachen “durch lautliche Merkmale als eine Vorstufe des Uriranischen erweisen lassen” (s. Mayrhofer 1984:252 [§4.1]). Diese klare Position hat Mayrhofer übrigens in seiner letzten publizierten Äußerung zu den “langues du Nouristan” (2002:106–9) wieder aufgegeben und wenige Jahre später (2001:V und 633–6) sogar die von ihm in seinem *Etymologischen Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* (1986–2001) erfassten Wortformen der “Nuristan-Sprachen” explizit dem Indoarischen (zwischen “Mittelindoarisch” und “Dardisch”) zugeordnet. — Einen knappen Überblick über die Forschungsgeschichte bieten neuerdings Cathcart 2011:2f. und Kausen 2012:662f.; vgl. auch Cardona 2003:22–5.

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Sprachen zu postulierende gemeinsame Vorstufe aus dem Uriranischen⁴ oder nicht doch aus dem Urindoarischen⁵ ausgegliedert habe.

2. Um diese Diskussion zu entscheiden, bieten sich die folgenden fünf Phänomene der indoiranischen Lautgeschichte und die sich aus ihnen ergebenden Isoglossen des (Ur-)Nūr. mit dem Uria. bzw. Aia. einer- und dem Urir. bzw. den air. Sprachen andererseits an:⁶

- (A) Affrikaten als kontextfreie Fortsetzer der uridg. Palatale
- (B) Affrikaten als kontextsensitive Fortsetzer der uridg. (Labio-)Velare
- (C) Verlust der Aspiration bei gleichzeitigem Fehlen von stimmlosen Frikativen im Bereich der Velare (und Labiale)
- (D) Bewahrung bzw. Entwicklung des ererbten Sibilanten
- (E) Entwicklung des Erbwortes für die ‘Tochter’ samt Bewahrung bzw. Fortsetzung des Laryngals im wortinternen Silbenanlaut bzw. -auslaut.

Während die ersten beiden von ihnen (A–B) das Nūr. mit den air. Sprachen zu verbinden scheinen, stellen die letzten beiden (D–E) zwei ziemlich eindeutige Isoglossen zwischen dem Aia. und dem Nūr. dar. (C) steht zurecht genau in der Mitte zwischen diesen beiden Gruppen, insofern der Verlust der Aspiration zum Iranischen stimmt, während die Absenz von velaren und labialen Frikativen vom Nūr. mit dem Indoarischen geteilt wird.

In der folgenden Tabelle findet sich diese Pentade im Überblick zusammengestellt:

URINDOGER-MANISCH	URARISCH BZW. URINDOIRANISCH	AVESTISCH/ALTPERSISCH	NŪRISTĀNĪ	AIA., VED. BZW. SKT.
(A1–3)	[kontextfrei]			
(1) palatales * <i>k̥</i>	affriziertes * <i>č</i>	<i>s/θ</i>	<i>č</i> = [ts]	<i>ś</i>
(2) palatales * <i>j</i>	affriziertes * <i>č</i>	<i>z/d</i>	<i>j</i> = [dʒ]	<i>j</i>
(3) palatales * <i>jʰ</i>	affriziertes * <i>čʰ</i>	<i>z/d</i>	<i>j</i> = [dʒ]	<i>h</i>
(B1–3)	[kontextsensitiv]			
(1) velares * <i>k</i> und labiovelares * <i>kʷ</i> vor * <i>e/ē/i</i>	palatalisiertes * <i>č</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>č</i> = [tʃ]	<i>c</i>
(2) velares * <i>j</i> und labiovelares * <i>jʷ</i> vor * <i>e/ē/i</i>	palatalisiertes * <i>č</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>j</i> = [dʒ]	<i>j</i>

⁴So bes. Parpola 2002a:44 und 85 bzw. 2002b:248ff. und 287ff., Lipp 2009:I.153ff. und 333–6 (= II.469–72) bzw. II.38ff. und Strand 2010.

⁵So etwa Degener 2002 (nachdem sie sich wenige Jahre zuvor noch, wenn auch sehr vorsichtig, für eine Verbindung mit dem Uriranischen ausgesprochen hatte; s. Degener 1998:8), Tremblay 2005:687 und Cathcart 2011:3 und 10.

⁶Vgl. zum Folgenden Degener 2002:104f., wo die “principal phonological evidence” (p. 104) in eine achtgliedrige Liste zusammengeführt wurde, die neben (A) als Einträge 3–4, (C) als 1–2 und (D) als 7 noch drei weitere Lauterscheinungen inkludiert, von denen zwei wenig aussagekräftig scheinen, insofern sie sich problemlos durch die Annahme von späteren Sonderentwicklungen erklären lassen, nml. “5 ... the absence of the RUKI rule” (p. 104; s.u. n. 8) und “6 ... several retroflexes” (p. 105); zur zweifelhaften Relevanz der letzten, i.e. “8 Dental clusters” (ibid.), s.u. n. 53. Diese Trias fehlt daher auch vollkommen zurecht auf p. 109, wo die “principal distinctive features of I[ndo-]A[ryan], Iranian and Nuristani” in einer Tabelle zusammengefasst werden, deren nunmehr sechs Kategorien unverändert mit 1–4 (= [C] + [A]) beginnen, um dann mit (E) und (D) zu enden. (B) wird erst sekundär auf p. 110–2 mitberücksichtigt.

(3) velares $*g^h$ und labiovelares $*g^{mh}$ vor $*e/\bar{e}/i$	palatalisiertes $*j^h$ j	$j = [\text{ɟ}]$	h
(C1–2) (labio)velare	[kontextsensitiv]		
(1) Tenuis bzw.	velares $*k^{(h)}$	$k \sim x$	k
(2) Media und MA	velare $*g \sim *g^h$	g	$g \sim gh$
vor $*a/\bar{a}/\bar{o}/\bar{u}/C$			
(D) $*s$	$*s$ neben $*s'$	h neben s'	s neben s'
(E) ‘Tochter’			
stark $*d^h u g h_2 t \acute{e} r-$	$*d^h u g^h H t \acute{a} r-$	$*d u g d^{h \circ 8} >$	$*d u j^{(h)} \acute{u} t^\circ > *d \ddot{u} j^{(h)} \acute{u} t^\circ >^9$
schwach $*d^h u g h_2 t \acute{r}-$ (vor C)	$*d^h u g^h H t \acute{r}-$	$*d u g d \acute{a} (/ \acute{a}) r- >$	(a) $*\ddot{u} \acute{z} \acute{u} t^\circ > p. l \acute{u} \acute{s} t$
		aav. $d u g \acute{a} d a r-$ bzw. jav. $d u r \acute{a} r-$	(b) $*d \acute{z}^{(h)} \acute{u} t^\circ > k./t./w. d u b i t \acute{a} r- / d u b i t \acute{r}-$
			$j \acute{u} (/ \bar{u}), j \ddot{u}$ (neben a. $z \bar{u}$) ¹⁰
schwach $*d^h u g h_2 t r-$ $> *d^h u k t r-$ (vor V)	$*d^h u k t r-$	$*d u x \theta r^{11} \rightarrow ap.$	
		$*d u x t \acute{a} r-$	

Das ‘Tochter’-Wort (E)

3. Die obige Rekonstruktion, die die beiden Nūr.-Formen klar dem indoarischen Zweig des indoiranischen Stammbaums zuordnet,¹² insofern der von ihnen als vollzogen vorausgesetzte Wandel urar. $*H > uria$. $*Yi/VC_CV$ spezifisch indoarisch ist, hat der Verfasser in Werba 2005¹³ in Auseinandersetzung mit den im Rahmen der bisherigen Forschung getroffenen Annahmen kritisch entwickelt und unter ausführlicher Abwägung aller Argumente bestmöglich abgesichert. Umso mehr musste es überraschen, dass Reiner Lipp wenige Jahre später¹⁴, ohne darauf auch nur im Geringsten einzugehen, ein vollkommen anderes ‘Szena-

⁷Zur Kompatibilität der Nūr.-Evidenz mit den Auswirkungen der urar. ‘RUKI’-Regel vgl. Cathcart 2011:1f. und 4ff.

⁸Mit urir. Schwund des im Urar. noch nicht ‘vokalisierten’ interkonsonantischen ‘Laryngals’ im Wortinneren (wie z.B. im Vorderglied des ap./av. Personennamens $vi/\acute{i}st \acute{a} s p a-$, dem urir. VA $*vi \acute{s} t a-$ ‘entfesselt’ [$<$ urar. $*u \acute{s} H t a-$ $>$ uria. $*vi \acute{s} Y \acute{u} t a-$ (vgl. u. n. 95) $>$ ved. $vi \acute{s} i t a-$], dem das bereits im Urar. in der ersten Silbe ‘vokalisierte’ jav. $h i t a-$ ‘gefesselt, angebunden’ als Simplex gegenübersteht; vgl. Mayrhofer 2005:119f.) – ein Schwund, welcher das unmittelbare Eintreten von BARTHOLOMAE (s.u. n. 29) bedingte. Das Verhältnis von urir. $*d u g d^{(h) \circ}$ zu uria. $*d u j^{(h)} Y \acute{u} t^\circ$ entspricht im Übrigen genau dem von av. $ast i-$ zu ved. $\acute{a} t i t h i-$ ($<$ urar. $*[H] \acute{a} t^h H t i-$; s. Mayrhofer 2005:18 [§10.10] und Werba 2005:719 n. 116).

⁹Vgl. zu der oben entworfenen Entwicklung die von Strand (2010) im Rahmen seiner Darstellung der “Evolution of the Nurestani Languages” angesetzte “Nurestān”-Phase und das dieser von ihm postulierten 5. Entwicklungsphase unter “d. Syncope” zugeordnete folgende “treatment of $*d u j \acute{u} t \acute{a}$ ”: “with early internal syncope before the loss of t in $V[\acute{a} s i - \text{vari} (= P.)]$: $*d u \acute{z} i t \acute{a} > *d u \acute{s} t a > *l \acute{u} \acute{s} t a > l \acute{u} \acute{s} t$, but with spreading of u , loss of t , and subsequent syncope in the first syllable of the other languages: $*d u j \acute{u} t \acute{a} > *d u j \acute{u} a > d^h j \acute{u} a$ [!] $>$ Tr. $j \acute{u} :$, K., Kal[$a \acute{s} - \acute{a} l \acute{a} (= W.)$] $j \ddot{u}$, and with intermediate dentalization in A.: $*d u j \acute{u} t \acute{a} > *d u j \acute{u} a > *d u \acute{z} \acute{u} a > z \acute{u} a$ [!] $> \dots z \acute{u} :$ ”. Zu Früherem s. Fussman 1972:II.166 und Lipp 2009:II.382 mit n. 74f.

¹⁰Zur ‘Spaltung’ im Rahmen des Nūr.-Paradigmas s.u. n. 35.

¹¹Direkt fortgesetzt in ap. $*d u x \theta$ ° (s. Werba 2005:711ff.), während dafür im Av. unter Durchführung des Konsonantismus des starken und der antekonsonantischen Variante des schwachen Stammes $*d u g d r-$ substituiert wurde (s.u. n. 24).

¹²So auch, ohne Werba 2005 zu kennen bzw. zu reflektieren, Carolin Schneider in Wodtko, Irslinger und Schneider 2008:126–(30). Vgl. ferner Mayrhofer 2005:35f. und 115f. und neuerdings Kümmel 2014:27, 29, 36 und 41 bzw. Byrd 2015:25, 27f., 57, 88–90, 95f., 99f., 129–31 und 262 (wo Werba 2005 einfach ignoriert wird).

¹³Das Licht der Öffentlichkeit erblickte dieser Artikel allerdings erst Ende Februar 2007, als die Festschrift, in der er publiziert wurde, endlich erscheinen konnte.

¹⁴Siehe Lipp 2009:I.167f., II.362ff. und I.348ff. = II. 484ff.

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rium’ entwarf, das sich unter Zusammenfassung seiner zahlreichen, oft modifizierten Repe-
titionen mit den vom Autor selbst verwendeten oder gar neu eingeführten Rekonstrukten
folgendermaßen darstellen lässt:

URIDG.	URAR.	URIR.	NÜR.	AIR.
* <i>d^hu_{gh}₂tér-</i> →	* <i>d^hu_{gh}²tár-¹⁶</i> →	* <i>dugtár-¹⁷</i> →	Nsg. * <i>duštā</i> > p.	altwestiran.
* <i>d^hu_{gh}₂tér-</i> =	* <i>d^hu_{gh}²tár-</i> >	* <i>ductár-</i> =	<i>lüšt¹⁹</i>	* <i>duxtar-²⁰</i> →
*[<i>d^hu_{gh}₂tér-</i>] ¹⁵ >		*[<i>duṭṭár¹⁸</i>] →		* <i>duxθr-²¹</i>
		* <i>duṭṭár-¹⁸</i> mit		
		Nsg. * <i>duṭṭā</i> >		
* <i>d^hu_{gh}₂tr-</i> →	* <i>d^hu_{gh}²tr-²²</i> →	* <i>dugdr-</i> >		aav. <i>dugadr-</i> →
* <i>d^huktr-</i> →	* <i>d^hugd^hr-</i> >			aav. <i>dugadar-</i> , jav.
				<i>duḡdar-²³</i>

4. Neben einer Reihe phonetischer *ad-hoc*-Annahmen, die in ihrer drei Jahrtausende und
mehr überspringenden Differenziertheit nur Wunder nehmen können, liegen dieser eigen-
willigen Herleitung der im Air. und im Nür. belegten Fortsetzer drei Hypothesen zugrun-
de, die allesamt mehr Probleme bereiten als sie zu lösen vorgeben, nml.

(a) dass “ein bei der urindoiranischen Laryngalkalisierung²⁴ entwickelter überkurzer
Sproßvokal /i/” (Lipp 2009:I.167) einen vorausgehenden aspirierten Tektal nach der diesen

¹⁵Von Lipp konsequent als “vor-urindoiran.” eingestuft.

¹⁶Lipp 2009:II.362, 371, 377, 401 und 485 (= I.349) werden als weitere “vor-urindoiran.” Vorstufen der folgenden
“urindoiran.” Form sogar noch “**d^hu_{gh}²tér-* > **d^hu_{gh}²tér-*” rekonstruiert. Nur auf die letztere rekurriert Lipp II.368 n.
40 und II.384 (und p. 385 gar nur auf die erstere), während p. 375f. nicht nur mit “**d^hu_{gh}²tér-*” eine weitere “Etappe”
eingefügt, sondern auch noch eine “Alternativ-Entwicklung” angesetzt wird (ähnlich p. 383f. und 386).

¹⁷Lipp 2009:II.378 als “vor-uriran.” (item p. 401) eingestuft und unmittelbar danach mit dem Hinweis “(iranischer
Schwund von ‘mittlerem Schwa’)” begründet (vgl. n. 20).

¹⁸“... zeigt ... eine präpalatale Spirans ζ infolge präokklusiver Vereinfachung der präpalatalen Affrikata $\epsilon = [t\zeta]$
in der Sequenz * $\epsilon t-$ < * $\zeta t-$, die entstanden war durch den für das Uriranische spezifischen Schwund eines bei der
urindoiranischen Laryngalkalisierung entwickelten überkurzen Sproßvokals /i/ < $\bar{H} = [H_i]$ (iranischer Schwund von
‘mittlerem Schwa’ im Gegensatz zu dessen für das Indoarische regulärer Erhaltung als Vollvokal /i/ in der ved. Form
duhitár-”) (Lipp 2009:I.167; ähnlich II.384 und 386).

¹⁹Siehe bes. Lipp 2009:II.381–3 in Verbindung mit der Annahme, dass man es bei w. *jū* etc. “mit einer der zahlreichen
Entlehnungen aus dem Bereich der unmittelbar benachbarten dardischen Sprachen zu tun” (p. 382) hätte.

²⁰“[M]it $\epsilon \leftarrow \zeta$ durch phonologische Lautsubstitution hinter μ oder in Analogie nach dem schwachen Stamm” (Lipp
2009:II.379; ähnlich p. 384, 386 und 401).

²¹Die Genese dieses neuen schwachen Stammes hätte sich nach Lipp 2009:II.378, wie folgt, abgespielt: “Im Westira-
nischen wurde der aus dem Uriranischen ererbte schwache Stamm ... nach der Lautform des Stammbildungssuffixes
des starken Stammes ... sowie der übrigen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen auf *-*tar-*/*-*tr-* [...] ... zu **dug-tr-* > **duk-tr-*
> **dux-θr-* [sic!] normalisiert” (ähnlich p. 384 und 386).

²²So lautet nach Lipp 2009:II.371 das Ergebnis einer gleichfalls als “vor-urindoiran.” postulierten analogischen Um-
gestaltung des schwachen Stammes nach dem starken (ähnlich p. 376, 385, 386, 405 und 486 [= I.350]), während dasselbe
Rekonstrukt noch p. 367f. und dann wieder p. 485 (= I.349) primär lautlich begründet wird.

²³Siehe Lipp 2009:II.381, 383, 384f. und 485 (= I.349), wonach “das aw. [...] Paradigma ... Ausgleich nach der Laut-
gestalt des schwachen Stammes zeigt” (p. 383). Belegt ist diese schwache Stammform (s.o. n. 10) nur im aav. Gpl.
dugadram.

²⁴Welche für die in Rede stehende wortinterne Position von Lipp einfach vorausgesetzt wird, ohne die in Werba
2005 schlüssig dagegen geführte Argumentation auch nur zur Kenntnis zu nehmen, wie das Inventar der von ihm
abgelehnten “urindoiran.” Ansätze “**d^hu_{gh}²tár-* bzw. **d^hu_{gh}²tár-* bzw. **d^hu_{gh}₂tár-*”, in dem man das in Werba 2005
vertretene **ḡ^oHtár-* vergeblich sucht, nur allzu eindeutig belegt; s. auch o. n. 9.

Vokal bedingenden Anaptyxe, ohne davor zum “Vollvokal /i/” (ibid.) geworden zu sein,²⁵ palatalisiert hätte, um dann wieder zu schwinden,

(b) dass der im Air. bestbezeugte starke Stamm **dugdar-* einen schon im Urar. erfolgten interparadigmatischen “Ausgleich nach der Lautgestalt des schwachen Stammes” (Lipp 2009:II.383) widerspiegeln würde, und

(c) dass die für Lipp so nicht erklärare meistbezeugte Nūr.-Form *ju/ü*²⁶ eine “der zahlreichen Entlehnungen aus dem Bereich der ... dardischen Sprachen” (Lipp 2009:II.382) darstellte.

Während die vielleicht von einer Bemerkung Degeners (2002:108, n.11) angeregte Hypothese (c) und ihre versuchte Konkretisierung schon durch einen Blick in Fussman 1972:II.166f. zu den von Lipp (ibid.) angeführten dardischen Wortformen²⁷ widerlegt wird, hätte sowohl die ausnahmslose Wirksamkeit der Lex BARTHOLOMAE²⁸ als auch der für das Urar. postulierte anaptyktische Vokal die in (b) angenommene analogische Umgestaltung der erbten schwachen Stammvariante **d^huktr-* wohl unmöglich gemacht. Der schwächste Punkt in Lipps ‘Rekonstruktion’ aber ist und bleibt (a): Die Anaptyxe als solche bedingt nämlich keine Palatalisierung des neuen Silbenanlauts; die Kombination beider Lautwandel stellt bestenfalls eine unzulässige Inversion der bekannten Tatsache dar, dass der anaptyktische Vokal bei palatalen Clustern im Regenfall ein *i* ist,²⁹ vertauscht also Ursache und Wirkung. Der Schwund des von Lipp schon für das Urar. postulierten anaptyktischen Vokals hätte ohne die zu Unrecht postulierte Palatalisierung nur zu urir. **dugdār-* (mit BARTHOLOMAE) oder **duxtdār-* (ohne Wirkung dieses Lautgesetzes) mit Nsg. **dugdā* bzw. *duxtdā* führen können—alles Formen, aus denen sich das auslautende Cluster von p. *lūšt* klärlich nicht direkt herleiten ließe.

5. Mit dem somit erbrachten Nachweis der Lipps Hypothesentrias innewohnenden Widersprüchlichkeit ist nicht nur seine Sicht der Entwicklung des ‘Tochter’-Wortes in den indoiranischen Sprachen widerlegt, sondern auch die in Werba 2005 vertretene Rekonstruktion ein weiteres Mal bestätigt: Der starke Stamm von uridg. **d^hugb₂tér-* entwickelt sich dank der Wirkung der Lex SAUSSURE II³⁰ im Urar. zu **d^hug^hHtár-*, das sich im Urir. und Uria. eben ganz verschieden fortsetzt, nml.

(a) im Urir. unter Bewahrung seiner Zweisilbigkeit mit Schwund von **H* und so ermöglichtem Eintreten von BARTHOLOMAE als **dugd^(h)ár-*,

²⁵Wie das klärlich im Uria. der Fall war; s. Werba 2005:722f.

²⁶Auch in den Komposita w. *indr-jū* ‘Indrs Tochter’ (s. Degener 1998:438) und *yey-jū* ‘Tochter der Mutterschwester’ (s. op. cit., p. 572).

²⁷Diese sind zwar Fussman 1972:164–7 (was Lipp auch—wie üblich—summarisch zitiert) entnommen, werden aber jeweils ohne entsprechende Argumentation neu bewertet bzw. einfach anders gruppiert: Aus Fussmans zwei Gruppen 2 (p. 166) und 4 (p. 166f.; zu einer analogen Klassifizierung vgl. van Driem 2001:II.1093, 1095 und 1098) wird trotz klarer lautlicher Unterschiede eine einzige Gruppe gebildet, auf die Lipp die von Fussman nur für 2 sehr vorsichtig erwogene Entlehnung vom Dardischen ins Nūr. (nml. vom dardischen Gawarbatī [mit den nahverwandten Idiomen der Dörfer Ningalam und Shumasht] ins A.) als Ganzes überträgt.

²⁸Zu diesem Lautgesetz s. Mayrhofer 2005[2006]:111 (§3.1.1) und vgl. u. n. 87 und 92.

²⁹Vgl. z.B. den aia. Isg. *rājñā* ‘von [einem]/vom/mit [einem/dem] Herrscher’ > pa. *rājñā*, alt-amg. *lājinā* (s. von Hinüber 2001:195 und 244).

³⁰Zur Benennung und Formulierung dieses Lautgesetzes s. Werba 2005:710 n. 62 (ignoriert in Kümmel 2014:29) und vgl. Mayrhofer 2005:110ff.

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(b) im Uria. dagegen als dreisilbiges **duj^bYitár-*, das mit GRASSMANNscher Hauchdissimilation³¹ und Wandel des den uridg. ‘Laryngal’ fortsetzenden glottalen Frikativs zum palatalen³² aus anaptyktischem **duj^bY_i(-)^btár-* entstanden sein muss, dessen zum vollen hohen Vokal gewordener neuer mittlerer Silbenträger auch den ersten Silbenauslaut palatalisierte.³³

Auf eben diese dreisilbige Stammform bzw. deren Nsg. **duj^bYitá³⁴* lassen sich alle Nür.-Wortformen unter Annahme unterschiedlicher Synkopen problemlos zurückführen.

Der erhaltene Sibilant und die beiden Chuintantes (D)

6. Wird somit eine spezifisch uria. Neuerung von einem noch dazu der internen Rekonstruktion zugänglichen Nür.-Erbwort eindeutig vorausgesetzt, so ist gleichzeitig ein von allen iranischen Sprachen vorausgesetzter urir. Lautwandel für das Nür. nachweislich vollkommen folgenlos geblieben, nml. die ‘Verhauchung’ des stimmlosen urar. Sibilanten **s* in antevokalischer Position bzw. im Cluster vor **y/v/r/m* zum genauso stimmlosen glottalen Frikativ. Dass diese als urar. **s* > urir. **h/y/v/r/m__V* schematisierbare Neuerung³⁵ nirgendwo im Nür. fortgesetzt wird, illustriert der erste Teil der Tabelle D:³⁶

D	ALTIRANISCH	NÜRISTĀNĪ	ALTINDOARISCH
*s	(a) jav. <i>hapta</i> ‘sieben’ = / <i>hafta</i> /	(a) w. <i>sot</i> , a./k. <i>sut</i> und p. <i>sete</i> ³⁷ ‘sieben’ < (pa. +) <i>satta</i>	(a) ved. <i>saptá</i>
	(b) vgl. air. Lsg. <i>*vahri</i> > jav. <i>vayri</i> ‘im Frühling’	(b) a./t. <i>wosont</i> , w. <i>osunt</i> ‘Sommer’, k. <i>was</i> (/z) <i>ut</i> ‘Frühling’ und p. <i>usti</i> ‘ds.’	(b) ved. <i>vasantá-</i> ‘Frühling’
	(c) jav. <i>vah</i> ‘verweilen’	(c) k. <i>wa/zs</i> (/z)- und w. <i>as-</i> ‘übernachten’	(c) ved. Pr. <i>vása-</i> von <i>vas</i> ₃₃₆
	(d) jav. <i>haētu-</i> ‘Damm’	(d) a./w. <i>se/ōw</i> und k. <i>sū</i> ‘Brücke’ < (amg. etc.) <i>seu-</i>	(e) ipl. a./k./p./w. <i>-mis</i> ³⁸ (mit sekundärer Palatalisierung) neben 2sg. k./p./w. <i>-ś</i> (<i>item</i>) ³⁹ und a./p. <i>-ś</i> ⁴⁰

³¹Siehe zu diesem Lautgesetz Mayrhofer 2006:113 (§3.1.11) und vgl. u. n. 57.

³²Siehe u. n. 95.

³³Dass eine solche Palatalisierung einer velaren Aspirata im—abgesehen vom Fehlen der Svarabhakti—vollkommen analogen Fall des Fortsetzers der urar. schwachen Stammform **sák^bHi-*, aia. *sákhi-* (statt lautgesetzlich zu erwartendem uria. ***sák^bYi-*), nicht eingetreten ist, erklärt sich mit der Durchführung des Konsonantismus des starken Stammallo-morphs urar. **sák^bHāi-* > uria. **sák^bYāy-* im gesamten Paradigma; vgl. Werba 2005:722 n. 133.

³⁴Oder auch Vsg. **duj^bYitar*. Die unterschiedliche Betonung beider Kasusformen könnte die Synkope der Anfangs-silbe (beim oxytonen Nominativ) einer- und die der Mittelsilbe (beim barytonen Vokativ) andererseits im Rahmen der internen Entwicklung des Nür. bedingt haben.

³⁵Zu diesem oft auch als bloß gemein-(alt)iranisch eingestuften Lautwandel, der wohl von der Entwicklung von auslautendem **^oa/ās* streng zu unterscheiden ist, und seinen Weiterungen s. Parpola 2002a:82f. und 2002b:241 und 254 (“Proto-Iranian”), Hoffmann und Forssman 2004:105ff. (“uriranisch”), Tremblay 2005:682ff. (gemein-iranisch) und Lipp 2009:I.318–22 (ähnlich).

³⁶Die im Folgenden nach aia. ‘Wurzeln’/verbalen Basismorphemen tiefgestellte Zahl repräsentiert den *numerus cur-rens*, wie er in Werba 1997 erscheint.

³⁷Vgl. Mayrhofer 1997:108f.

³⁸In P. meist zu *-m(a)ś* ‘geschwächt’, das seinerseits zu *-mšo* erweitert werden kann.

³⁹Vgl. Cathcart 2011:4.

⁴⁰In P. auch *-ś/šo*.

Ur(indo)arisches im Nūristānī

(c) PE ipl. Akt. av. <i>-mahī/i</i> und ap. <i>-mahay</i> neben 2sg. av. <i>-hī/i</i> und ap. <i>-hay</i>	(d) ved. <i>śetu-</i>	(e) ved. PE <i>-māsi</i> (als Allomorph von <i>-mās</i>) neben <i>-si</i>
* ³ (a) jav. <i>huš</i> ‘austrocknen, vertrocknen’; vgl. jav. Adj. <i>huška-</i> und ap. Konkr. <i>uška-</i>	(a) w. <i>šiš-</i> ‘austrocknen, brennen’ (mit Kaus. <i>šišā-</i>) < <i>*sušša-</i> (vgl. pa. <i>sussa-</i> ‘[ver]trocknen’) ⁴¹	(a) ved. Pr. <i>śúśya-</i> von <i>śús</i> ₁₉₈ ; vgl. Adj. <i>śúška-</i> ⁴² < <i>*śúška-</i>
(b) jav. <i>varš</i> ‘regnen’	(b) w. <i>as-</i> ‘regnen’ < <i>*vašša-</i> (vgl. pa. <i>vassa-</i> ‘ds.’) neben <i>waš</i> “heftiger Regen” ⁴³	(b) ved. Pr. <i>vārṣa-</i> von <i>ṛṣ</i> ₁₈₄ neben dem Substantiv <i>varṣā/ā-</i>

7. Nicht nur in diesem ersten Teil finden sich mit den Einträgen (a), (b) und (d) weitere eindeutige Bezüge zum Aia. bzw. Mia., sondern auch in beiden Beispielen des die Fortsetzung der urar. Chuintante belegenden zweiten Teils. Entlehnungen aus den dardischen Sprachen bzw. ihrer mia. ‘Vorstufe’, der Gāndhārī,⁴⁴ sind zwar bei der späten Bezeugung des Nūr. nie ganz auszuschließen; ihre Annahme erweist sich aber in der vorliegenden Frequenz und gleichmäßigen Verteilung auch über die drei anschließenden tabellarischen Sammlungen hinweg als kaum falsifizierbare und damit letztendlich unbrauchbare Hypothese.

Die Velare und die fehlenden Aspiraten/Frikative (C1–2)

8. Die erste dieser Tabellen belegt gleich in ihrem ersten Teil das Fehlen des stimmlosen velaren Frikativs sowohl im Erb- als auch im Lehnwortschatz des Nūr., während aus den Beispielen (a) und (d) des zweiten Teils ziemlich klar hervorgeht, dass es in der Geschichte des Nūr. eine dem Mia. entsprechende Sprachstufe gegeben haben muss, in bzw. nach der noch deaspiriert wurde:

C	ALTIRANISCH/NEUIRANISCH	NŪRISTĀNĪ	ALTINDOARISCH/ MITTELINDOARISCH
I	(a) jav. <i>kas</i> ‘blicken’ (vgl. ap. <i>kāsaka-</i> ‘Edelstein’)	(a) k. <i>k(a)č-</i> ‘erblicken, betrachten’ neben a. <i>ka/ṣ-</i> ‘ds.’; w. <i>kanč-</i> ‘erblicken, schauen, sehen’ (mit dem Kaus. <i>kačā-</i> ‘zeigen’)	(a) ved. <i>*kaś</i> ₃₈₇ (vgl. Konkr. <i>kācā-</i>) ⁴⁵

⁴¹Mit intervokalischem aia. *šy* > gemein-mia. **šš*, so man dem W.-Verb nicht direkt ein regressiv assimiliertes uria. **śúśya-* (← **śúśya-*) zugrunde legen möchte.

⁴²Mit derselben partiellen Assimilation des ererbten anlautenden dentalen Sibilanten an die folgende Chuintante, wenn nicht vielmehr ein schon im Uria. assimiliertes **śúś*^o (s.o. n. 42) im Aia. wieder dissimiliert wurde.

⁴³Belegangaben nach Degener 1998:497 und 557, während Morgenstierne (1973:340) nur ein Substantiv “K *waš*, W *waš* ‘Regen’” anführt, welches Cathcart (2011:8) kommentarlos übernimmt, um dafür und für die beiden anderen von Morgenstierne (ibid.) für den von ihm postulierten Lautwandel “*š* < idg. **ṛṣ* (Skt. *ṛṣ*)” genannten Beispiele auf p. 9 eine “R-DELETION”-Regel zu generieren, ohne die gemein-mia. Assimilation von *rC* > *C₁C₁* (s. von Hinüber 2001:199f.) auch nur zu erwähnen.

⁴⁴Siehe dazu von Hinüber 2001:107–9.

⁴⁵Siehe Hoffmann 1992:824ff.; zum Nūr. p. 827f. mit n. 13.

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- (b) jav. *xava-*/da. *xar* ‘Esel’ (b) k. *kur* und p. *koru/ū* ‘Esel’; (b) ved. *khara-*
w. *kar(a)* ‘Esel(in)’; vgl. die
sicheren Lehnwörter
(c) da. *xudāy* → (c) w. *kudāy* ‘Gott’ und
(d) da. *xušhālī* → (d) w. *kušālī* ‘Freude’
- 2 (a) jav. *gūtha-* ‘Kot’ (a) a./k./w. *gū/(gū)* ‘Kot,
Dung’ < (jm.) *gūba-*; vgl. die
möglichen Erbwörter
(b) w. *yūd* ‘Kampf’⁴⁶ (b) skt. = pa. *gūtha-*
yuddha-
(c) k. *yo-* und w. *yaw-* ‘ficken’ (c) ved. Pr. *yābha-* von *yabh*₁₄₉
(mit Kaus. *yawā-*) (c) ved. Pr. *ho-* < ved. Pr.
(d) w. Pr. *o-* ‘sein’ (d) pa. (+) Pr. *bhāva-*

9. Daraus erhellt, dass der Verlust der Opposition zwischen Mediae und Mediae aspiratae im Urir., der in den air. Sprachen zum Zusammenfall beider in bloßen Mediae führte, nichts mit dem Wegfall der Aspiration bzw. der ‘Breathy Voice’ im Nür. zu tun haben braucht. Letzterer könnte—*pace* Degener (2002:109) und Strand (2010:Evolution 2a)—wie in einer Reihe nia. Sprachen spontan bzw. bedingt durch ein Adstrat oder Superstrat auch erst relativ spät eingetreten sein.⁴⁷

Die palatalisierten (Labio-)Velare (B1–3)

10. Mit einer solchen Prämisse enthält auch die nächste Tabelle (B) nichts mehr, was einer Bestimmung des Ur-Nür. als Uria. zuwider liefe. Vielmehr lassen sich die sechs in allen Details überprüfbaren Beleggruppen der mittleren Spalte einwandfrei auf uria. Ansätze zurückführen, die sich zumindest teilweise eindeutig von ihren urir. Entsprechungen unterscheiden:

B	ALTIRANISCH	NÜRISTĀNĪ	ALTINDOARISCH
I	(a) jav. Npl. m. <i>caθβāwō</i> ‘vier’ (b) a/jav. <i>š(ii)u</i> ‘sich bewegen, unternehmen’ und ap. <i>šiyu</i> ‘ziehen, marschieren’ ⁵⁰	(a./)t./w. <i>čatā</i> , k. <i>čtvo</i> (neben <i>štivo</i> ⁴⁸ und <i>što</i>) und p. <i>č(ʔ)pū</i> ‘vier’ < uria. <i>*čatvār</i> ⁴⁹ (b) w. <i>čū(w)-</i> ‘gehen, sich bewegen’ mit dem Kaus. <i>čūwā</i> ⁵¹ < uria. <i>*čyu</i> ^o	(a) ved. <i>catvār</i> ^o (b) ved. <i>cyu</i> ₆₁

⁴⁶Mit Vereinfachung und Deaspiration der für das Aia. und Mia. spezifischen dentalen Geminate; s.u. n. 53.

⁴⁷Für einen diachron späten Ansatz dieses Wandels scheint auch die ‘Tilgung von *h*’ in den W.-Lehnwörtern *kušālī* (s.o. C1d) und *pāšā* (s.u. n. 66) zu sprechen.

⁴⁸So nach Grjunberg 1980:282.

⁴⁹Gegenüber urir. **čathvār*^o < urar. **čatuār*^o.

⁵⁰< urir. **čy*^o, dessen anlautende Affrikate sich, wie generell im Indoarischen, so auch in manchen mittel- und neuiranischen Sprachen erhalten hat; s. Cheung 2007:40–2.

⁵¹Zum (Stamm-)Formeninventar dieser Verbgruppe und ihren grammatischen Kategorien s. Strand 1999:241ff.

	(c) av. <i>cisti-</i> ‘Verständnis, Einsicht’	(c) k./w. <i>čit</i> ⁵² ‘Absicht, Wunsch’ < uria. <i>*čitt</i> ⁵³	(c) ved. <i>cittá-</i> , <i>citti-</i>
2	jav. <i>jīā-</i> ‘(Bogen-)Sehne’	k./w. <i>jī</i> neben a./p. <i>ži</i> ‘Sehne’ ⁵⁴ < uria. <i>*jīā</i> ⁵⁵	ved. <i>jyā-</i>
3	(a) av./ap. <i>jan</i> ‘(er)schlagen, töten’ (b) jav. Nsg. <i>jan̄ta</i> , ap. <i>ja_{n̄}tā</i> ‘Schläger, Töter’	(a) k. <i>jā/ā/ī-</i> , ⁵⁶ t. <i>jē-</i> und w. <i>jā</i> ⁵⁷ ‘töten’ < uria. Pr. <i>*jān</i> ⁵⁸ (b) k. <i>ju/ūt</i> , t. <i>jōt</i> und w. <i>jūt</i> ‘Leopard’ neben p. <i>žu/ūt(u)</i> ‘ds.’ < uria. <i>*jānt</i> ⁵⁹	(a) ved. <i>han</i> ₂₄₈ (b) ved. Nsg. <i>hāntā</i> , <i>hantā</i> ⁶⁰

11. Die zum Vergleich in eckigen Klammern angeführten sechs W.- und zwei K.-Wortformen belegen, dass das Nūr. ein und dieselben Affrikaten nicht nur aus dem Ura. bzw. Uria. unverändert ererbt, sondern auch durch die Wirksamkeit eines ansonsten spezifisch mia. Lautwandels neu generiert hat. Dabei geht es um die reziproke Assimilation einer unmittelbaren Abfolge von dentalem Okklusiv und palatalem Glide im Wortinneren zu **č^h* bzw. **j^h*,⁶¹ wobei im Falle des Nūr. natürlich nicht auszuschließen, wenn auch im Lichte des §8–9 Festgestellten kaum wahrscheinlich ist, dass der Verlust der Aspiration schon vor der wechselseitigen partiellen Angleichung von Artikulationsart und -stelle stattgefunden hat.

Die affrizierten Palatale (A1–3)

12. So fremd diese Art der reziproken Assimilation zu postalveolaren Affrikaten allen iranischen Sprachen sein dürfte, so nahe scheinen denselben die im Nūr. aus den uridg. palatalen Okklusiven resultierenden dentalen Affrikaten zu stehen; weisen doch die air. Fortsetzer dieser uridg. Tektalreihe⁶² für das Urir. auf dieselben Affrikaten /ts/ und /tʃ/ als ihre unmittelbare ‘Quelle’. Die somit durchaus plausible Identität der urir. Phonem-Rekonstrukte mit

⁵²Der auch hier vorliegende Fortsetzer einer dentalen Geminata (s.o. n. 47) wird allgemein als eine weitere wichtige Isoglosse angesehen, die die Nuristan-Sprachen mit dem Indoarischen verbindet und vom Iranischen trennt; vgl. schon Mayrhofer 1984:253f. n. 14 und wieder Degener 2002:105 (s.o. n. 7).

⁵³Zu dieser stimmlosen postalveolaren Affrikate vgl. k. *moč* und w. *mač* ‘(Ehe-)Mann’ < (pa. +) *macca-* < (ved.) *mártya-* (< uria. **mártiya-*) oder k. *suč* ‘Opferformel’ < (pa. +) *sacca-* < (ved.) *satyá-*.

⁵⁴Im Waigali, wofür Morgenstierne (1973:335 n. 11) die Dialektform “*gī*” verzeichnet, auch ‘Saite’.

⁵⁵Zu dieser stimmhaften postalveolaren Affrikate vgl. w. *o/upuj-* ‘geboren werden’ (mit Kaus. *opujā-* ‘gebären’) < (pa. +) *uppajja-* < (ved.) Pr. *ūt-pādya-*.

⁵⁶<ʃ> bezeichnet einen (post)alveolaren Approximanten; vgl. zu dessen möglicher Genese Fussman 1972:II.366f.

⁵⁷Im Wechsel mit retroflexem *zā-*; s. Degener 1998:441f. und vgl. Morgenstierne 1973:335 (mit “W *jāā-*, *žāā-*”).

⁵⁸Mit dem aus urar. **jād^hi* (> ap. *jadiy*, jav. *jādi*) lautgesetzlich (s.o. n. 32) dissimilierten Imp. 2sg. Akt. **jād^hi*, der in ved. *jāhi* ‘(er)schlage’ fortlebt und so die stimmhaft-behauchte Affrikate (samt dissimilatorischen Hauchverlust) für das Uria. voraussetzt; vgl. Cardona 2003:25.

⁵⁹Zum Verlust der Aspiration vgl. w. *maj* (neben k. *mūč* und a. *mā/iz*) ‘Mitte’ < (pa. +) *majjha-* < (ved.) *mādhyā-* oder w. *bij-* ‘auf/erwachen’ (mit Kaus. *bijā-* ‘wecken’) < (pa. +) *bujjha-* < (ved.) Pr. *būdhyā-*.

⁶⁰< uria. (= urar.) **jāntā*; vgl. Tichy 1995:33.

⁶¹Im tautosyllabischen Wortanlaut ergibt sich dementsprechend einfaches gemein-mia. (pa. +) *č*^o bzw. *j(h)*^o. Zu diesem mia. Lautwandel s. von Hinüber 2001:192f.

⁶²Siehe o. §2; zu ap. *d* und av. (/medisch) *z* als Kontinuanten der palatalen Media (aspirata) des Uridg. vgl. Werba 2013:125ff.

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der phonetischen Realität der Nūr.-Phoneme bildet seit Mayrhofer 1984:253⁶³ das erste und wichtigste Argument für die Zugehörigkeit des Ur-Nūr. zum Urir. Es sei im Folgenden mit den 10 Beleggruppen der Tabelle A illustriert:

A	ALTIRANISCH	NŪRISTĀNĪ	ALTINDOARISCH
1	(a) jav. <i>sūn-</i> (neben starkem <i>spān-</i>) ⁶⁴ (b) jav. <i>kas</i> (vgl. ap. <i>kāsaka-</i>) (c) jav. Pr. <i>*vāsiia-</i> ‘brüllen’ (d) a/jav. <i>dasā/a</i> und ap. <i>*daθā</i> (> mp./np. <i>dab</i>) ‘zehn’ (e) av. <i>pasu-</i> ‘Vieh’	(a) t./w. <i>čū</i> ‘Hund’ < <i>*čun</i> ^o (vgl. pa. <i>suma-</i> ‘ds.’) (b) k. <i>k(a)č-</i> neben a. <i>ka/as-</i> ; w. <i>kač-</i> (mit dem Kaus. <i>kačā-</i>) (c) k./w. <i>wač-</i> neben a. <i>wās-</i> ‘Laut geben (von Tieren)’ (d) k. <i>duč</i> ‘zehn’ neben a. <i>dus</i> , w. <i>doš</i> und p. <i>leze</i> ⁶⁵ ‘ds.’ (e) k. <i>p(a)č</i> ^o ‘Vieh’ und w. <i>poč</i> ‘*Opfertiere’ in <i>poč-gun</i> ⁶⁶	(a) ved. <i>śún-</i> (neben <i>śvān-</i>) (b) ved. <i>*kaś</i> ₃₈₇ (vgl. <i>kācā-</i>) (c) ved. <i>vās</i> ₆₅₃ (d) ved. <i>dāśa</i> (e) ved. <i>paśú-</i>

Zur Vorgeschichte dieser stimmlosen dentalen Affrikate vgl.

(1) av. <i>s</i> < (in jav. <i>usa-</i> und <i>masiia-</i>)	(1) urar. * <i>ts</i> > nūr. <i>č</i> in w. <i>iüč</i> ‘Quelle’ (< * <i>ütsa-</i>) oder k./w. <i>mač</i> ‘Fisch’ (< * <i>mātsja-</i>),	(1) > ved. <i>ts</i> in <i>útsa-/mātsya-</i>
(2) <i>s</i> < (in jav. Pr. <i>ājasa-</i> und jav. <i>sid</i>)	(2) urar. * <i>sč</i> > nūr. <i>č</i> in k./p. <i>ā/ač-</i> ‘kommen’ (< * <i>ā-gāśca-</i>) oder k./w. <i>čin-</i> ‘(ab)schneiden’ (< * <i>ščind-</i>) und	(2) > ved. (<i>č</i>) <i>ch</i> in <i>ā-gāccha-</i> , <i>chind</i> ^o
(3) <i>š</i> < (in jav. <i>dašina-</i>)	(3) urar. * <i>šč</i> > nūr. <i>č</i> in a./k. <i>dačū/ü(ē)</i> ‘recht’ (< * <i>dāčšina-</i>) oder k./p. <i>k(u)č</i> ⁶⁷ , w. <i>küč</i> ‘Bauch’ (< * <i>kučš-</i>) gegenüber	(3) > ved. <i>kṣ</i> in <i>dāksina-</i> und <i>kukṣi-</i>
(4) av. <i>sr/ap. š</i> < (in jav. <i>asru-</i> und av. <i>srāuu</i> ^o)	(4) urar. * <i>čr</i> > nūr. <i>č</i> ⁶⁸ in k./p. <i>a/üšü</i> ‘Träne’ (< * <i>Háčru</i> ^o) ⁶⁹ oder a./p./w. <i>šā</i> , k. <i>šo</i> ‘Geschrei, Ruf’ ⁷⁰ (< * <i>črāua-</i>)	(4) > ved. <i>śr</i> in <i>ásru-</i> und <i>śrāv</i> ^o
2		
(a) jav. Pr. <i>zaiia-</i> ‘geboren werden’	(a) k. <i>ja-</i> und w. <i>zā-</i> ‘gebären’	(a) ved. Pr. <i>jāya-</i> von <i>jan</i> ⁱ ₂₈₆
(b) jav. <i>zāmātar-</i> und ap. * <i>dāmādar-</i> ‘Schwiegersohn’	(b) k. <i>j(š/z/f)a(š)mo</i> neben a./w. <i>zamā</i> ‘Schwiegersohn’	(b) ved. <i>jāmātar-</i>

⁶³Ähnlich Mayrhofer 1997:108 (§2.1.2.2), wo allerdings p. 108f. ein gewichtiges *caveat* folgt.

⁶⁴Siehe o. §8 (C1a).

⁶⁵Vgl. Mayrhofer 1997:108 (§2.1.2.2.1).

⁶⁶Dieses Kompositum findet sich auch mit durch arab. *māl* ‘Habe, Viehbesitz’ verdeutlichtem Vorderglied als dreiteiliges *mal-poč-gun*; s. Degener 1998:473 und 509 (mit der Übersetzung ‘Geruch [geschlachteter und] abgesengter Tiere’). Das auch frei verwendete *gun* ‘Geruch, Duft’ (s. Degener 1998:437) entspricht dem gleichbedeutenden ved. *gandbhā-* genauso wie dem mp./np. *gand* ‘Gestank’.

⁶⁷Siehe Morgenstierne 1973:339, wo als Bedeutungen tentativ ‘Hüfte, Scrotum’ angegeben werden.

⁶⁸Bei diesem Phonem handelt es sich um die stimmlose retroflexe Affrikate /ʃ/; vgl. w. *pāšā* ‘Herrscher’ ← da. *pād-šāh* und den Wandel aia. *šr* > NW-mia. (*š*) (s. von Hinüber 2001:51 [§20] und 108 [§94]).

⁶⁹Vgl. daneben das eindeutig eine -ka-Ableitung fortsetzende w. *ušūg* ‘ds.’ (s. Degener 1998:554).

⁷⁰Dieses Lexem bildet im P., W. bzw. K. jeweils ein Minimalpaar mit der Pflanzen- bzw. Gemüsebezeichnung *zā*, *čā* bzw. *čō* (s. Degener 1998:405).

	(c) jav. <i>zānu</i> - ‘Knie’	(c) k. <i>j/(z)ō</i> und a./w. <i>zā</i> ‘Knie’ < * <i>jān</i> ^o	(c) ved. <i>jānu</i> -
3	(a) vgl. av. <i>zim</i> - ‘Winter’	(a) k./t. <i>jim</i> ‘Schnee’ neben p./w. <i>zim</i> ‘ds.’	(a) ved. <i>himá</i> -
	(b) jav. <i>zāēna</i> , Lsg. von * <i>zāēman</i> - ⁷¹ ‘Winter’	(b) t. <i>jē</i> neben a./k./w. <i>zē</i> ‘Winter’ < * <i>jem</i> ^{o72}	(b) ved. <i>hēman</i> , Lsg. von <i>hēman</i> - ‘Winter’ ⁷³

13. Doch angesichts der dreieinhalb Jahrtausende, die das für das zweite Drittel des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. rekonstruierbare Urir. von den seit den Achtzigerjahren des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts im Rahmen von Feldforschungen aufgezeichneten Texten und Wortformen des Nūr. trennen, kann man Cardona nur beipflichten, wenn er (2003:24) schreibt: “a change of palatal to dental affricates could have taken place in Nuristani languages independently of Iranian”, und das heißt natürlich auch, dass dieser phonetisch so naheliegende Wandel jederzeit im Verlauf der Entwicklung des Nūr., also analog dem Verlust der Aspiration (s.o. §8–9) auch erst relativ spät eingetreten sein könnte.

Ein starkes Indiz in diese Richtung liefert der zur Vorgeschichte von (A1) unter (4) verzeichnete Wandel des urar. Clusters **čr* zu einer stimmlosen retroflexen Affrikate ʃ: Ein solcher ‘Output’ scheint nämlich nur bei Bewahrung der im Urar. aus der palatalen Tenuis des Uridg. entstandenen (prä)palatalen Affrikate im ‘Input’ plausibel, woraus erhellt, dass die ‘Dentalisierung’ letzterer, also spontanes [*ʃ*] → [*ts*] samt seinem stimmhaften Pendant [*ʃ̣*] → [*dz*], erst nach Abschluss besagter Assimilation erfolgt sein wird.

Somit hält auch diese so oft zitierte Isoglosse des Nūr. mit dem Urir. einer näheren Überprüfung nicht stand: Die auslautende dentale Affrikate von k. *dué* ‘zehn’ braucht nichts mit dem *s* von a/jav. *dasā/a* und dem *θ* von ap. **daθā* bzw. dem diesen beiden air. Phonemen zugrunde liegenden /*ts*/ von urir. **dā́ca* zu tun zu haben, sondern kann sehr wohl davon unabhängig und erst viel später aus dem ererbten präpalatalen /*ʃ*/ entstanden.

Da sich solche präpalatalen Affrikaten nicht nur für das Urar., sondern auch unverändert für das Uria. ansetzen lassen, kann kein Zweifel mehr daran bestehen, dass das Ur-Nūr. dem Uria. angehörte bzw. damit zu identifizieren ist. Denn, wie sich gezeigt hat, spricht die gesamte in §2 aufgelistete Pentade einhellig dafür.

14. Mit dieser Gewissheit ist es nunmehr möglich, die vier voreinzelsprachlichen Phoneminventare, die für den Stammbaum der indoiranischen Sprachen konstitutiv sind, konsequent zu erfassen und systemorientiert zu rekonstruieren:

(I) Uridg. Phoneminventar (32)⁷⁴

(A) Vokale (V [9])

(1) 6 volle (E), charakterisiert durch [+son, +syll, –cons]: **a* ~ **ā*, **e* ~ **ē*, **o* ~ **ō*.

⁷¹Siehe Mayrhofer 1986:107 (§4.9.4) und Wodtko, Irslinger und Schneider 2008:162 mit n. 12 auf p. 166.

⁷²Anders Fussman 1972:II.193f. und 236 n. 1 und dann wieder Mayrhofer 1996:814, wo weiterhin von einer Entsprechung zu ved. *bāyana*- und jav. *zaiiana*- ausgegangen wird.

⁷³Vgl. das zugehörige Vṛddhi-Adj. *haimanā*- ‘winterlich’ und Tremblay 1996:62f.

⁷⁴Vgl. Mayrhofer 1986:87ff. und Byrd 2015:6ff.

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(2) 2 kurze hohe (U), charakterisiert durch [+son, +high, –cons], die in Einsilblern optional auch lang artikuliert werden konnten: **i* und **u*, vor bzw. nach (1)⁷⁵ und vor dem jeweils anderen U⁷⁶ in strenger Allophonie⁷⁷ unsilbisch als Glides/Halbvokale (Ů) [+cont] **i̯* und **u̯* realisiert.⁷⁸

Dazu ein kurzer Zentralvokal: **ə*.

(B) Sonoranten (R [4])

4 durch [+son, +cons] charakterisierte Laute, die in der Stellung vor einem Obstruenten bzw. im absoluten Auslaut und nach einem hohen Vokal,⁷⁹ einem anderen Sonoranten oder einem weiteren Obstruenten zu silbentragenden Sonanten wurden,⁸⁰ nml.

(3) 2 Liquiden: **r* ~ **l* und

(4) 2 Nasale (N): **n* ~ **m*.

(C) Obstruenten (C [19])

(5) 15 Plosive/Okklusive [–son/syll, +cons] mit Bildung des Verschlusses auf fünf Arten bzw. an fünf Orten und jeweils drei Arten seiner Lösung, nml. stimmlos/Tenuis (T), stimmhaft/Media (D) und stimmhaft-behaucht/Media aspirata (D^h): die Labiale **p* ~ **b* ~ **b^h*, die Dentale **t* ~ **d* ~ **d^h* und 3 Tektalgruppen (K ~ G ~ G^h)⁸¹, nml. die Velare **k* ~ **g* ~ **g^h*, die Palatale **č* ~ **j* ~ **j^h* und die Labiovelare **k^w* ~ **g^w* ~ **g^{w^h}*.

⁷⁵Beides z.B. in **diéu-* m. ‘Himmel(sgott)’; s. C. Schneider in Wodtko, Irslinger und Schneider 2008:70f. und 75f.

⁷⁶So unmittelbar auf diesen hohen Vokal eine Silbengrenze oder ein tautosyllabischer Obstruent folgt, wie z.B. im Neutrum **(h₃)iugó/é-* ‘Joch’ (s. B. Irslinger in Wodtko, Irslinger und Schneider 2008:398ff.) oder in **u_hih_xró/é-* m. ‘Kräftiger’ (s. Wodtko, Irslinger und Schneider 2008:726–9).

⁷⁷Unmittelbar nach einer naturlangen bzw. geschlossenen und damit schweren Silbe konnte allerdings eine Sequenz **CUE* wieder zu **CUE* (wohl auch als **CUUE* realisiert) werden, und zwar sowohl wortintern (STIEVERS) als auch im Satz-Sandhi LINDEMAN; zu beiden Gesetzen vgl. Mayrhofer 1986:164–7 bzw. 2005[2006]:117–8 und 121 (§3.2.10.) und zuletzt Byrd 2015:21 und 183ff.

⁷⁸Anders etwa Clackson 2007:34 (wo die Phoneme “*r, *l, *y, *w” gemeinsam als mit den Nasalen zu den “Resonants” gehörige “Continuants” fungieren), Tichy 2009:28 (wo **i̯* und **u̯* als wie die Nasale und Liquiden “unsilbisch” und “silbisch” auftretende “Engvokale” unter die “Resonanten” [!] subsumiert werden) oder Byrd 2015:7ff. (mit **i* und **u* als “syllabic allophones of the glides **i̯/* and **u̯/*” [p. 8]). Akzeptiert man dagegen die oben vertretene Allophonie, so folgt daraus zwingend, dass es im Uridg. nur die Suffixe (1) **-i_o-* mit der STIEVERS-Variante **^oi(i)_o-* und (2) **-ih_xo-*, niemals aber ein selbständiges, etwa vom Lsg. auf **-i* herzuleitendes **-i_{io}-* (wie es bis heute immer wieder [z.B. Lipp 2009:I.85f.] postuliert wird) geben konnte. Dementsprechend müsste etwa die uridg. Vorform von aia. *pitr₂ya-*, gr. *πάτριος* und lat. *patrius*, wenn es sie denn gegeben hat (vgl. C. Schneider in Wodtko, Irslinger und Schneider 2008:556 und Meier-Brügger 2002:286f.), es sich also bei den drei Zugehörigkeitsadjektiven nicht um einzelsprachliche Neubildungen handelt, **ph₂trih_xo-* ‘zum Vater gehörig’ (mit fraglichem Akzent) gelautet haben.

⁷⁹Dieser wird so zum entsprechenden Glide.

⁸⁰Eine solche Allophonie ([–syll] → [+syll] /C__C) wird durch einen untergesetzten Krinkel bezeichnet und liegt z.B. in uridg. **(h_x)i_hh₂t(é)r-* (neben starkem **(h_x)i_{én}h₂t^o*) f. ‘Schwägerin (der Ehefrau)’ (s. B. Irslinger in Wodtko, Irslinger und Schneider 2008:204–7), **u_hlk^o* m. ‘Wolf’ neben **u_hlk^wih_x-* f. ‘Wölfin’ oder den VAen **m_htó-* ‘gedacht’, **g^wm_htó-* ‘gekommen’ und **m_htó-* ‘gestorben’ vor. Bei Bedachtnahme auf die oben genannten Kontexte besteht übrigens für die neuerdings wieder von Kobayashi (2014:16) und Byrd (2015:19f., 72ff. und 135ff.) bemühte linksläufige Syllabifizierungsregel überhaupt kein Bedarf.

⁸¹Eventuell in Analogie zu den drei Vokalqualitäten von (1) zu sehen.

(6) 4 Frikative, nml. stimmloses dentales/alveolares $*s$ (das sich bei folgender Media [aspirata] an diese zu stimmhaftem $[z]$ assimiliert) und die drei ‘Laryngale’ (H) $*h_{1-3}$ ⁸² (wo nicht differenzierbar: $*h_x$).

(II) Urar. Phoneminventar (32)

(A) Vokale (V [7])

(1) 6 Vollvokale (V), nml. $*a \sim *\bar{a}$, $*i \sim *\bar{i}$, $*u \sim *\bar{u}$, deren erstes Paar sich mit $*i$ und $*u$ zu zwei biphonematischen Kurz- und zwei ebensolchen Langdiphthongen verbindet.⁸³

Dazu ein kurzer Zentralvokal:⁸⁴ $*ə$.

(B) Sonoranten (R [5])

(2) 1 Vibrant: $*r$ (mit silbischem Allophon $*r̥$).

(3) 2 Glides/Halbvokale (U): $*j$ und $*u$ (in partieller Allophonie mit $*i$ und $*u$).⁸⁵

(4) 2 Nasale (N): $*n \sim *m$.

(C) Obstruenten (C [20])

(5) 9 Plosive/Okklusive mit dem Verschluß an drei Orten und 3(+1) Arten seiner Lösung, nml. stimmlos/Tenuis (T) mit der allophonischen Variante⁸⁶ stimmlos-behaucht/Tenuis aspirata (T^h), stimmhaft/Media (D) und stimmhaft-behaucht/Media aspirata (D^h). Gebildet wird der Verschluß mit den Lippen für die Labiale $*p$ (in Allophonie mit $*p^h$) $\sim *b \sim *b^h$, an den Alveolen für die Dentale $*t$ (in Allophonie mit $*t^h$) $\sim *d \sim *d^h$ und am Velum für die Velare $*k$ (in Allophonie mit $*k^h$) $\sim *g \sim *g^h$.

(6) 6 Affrikaten in zwei Reihen mit drei Artikulationsarten (stimmlos, stimmhaft und stimmhaft-behaucht): die präpalatalen $*č \sim *j \sim *j^h$ (als lautgesetzliche Fortsetzer der uridg.

⁸²Ihre Artikulationsstellen könnten denen der drei Tektalgruppen (s) entsprochen haben, etwa als glottal ($*h_1$), pharyngal ($*h_2$) und uvular ($*h_3$).

⁸³Diese sind dementsprechend entgegen der bisherigen (von vielen auch auf air. bzw. urir. Ansätze ausgedehnten) Praxis nicht als $*ai/\bar{u}$ und $*āi/\bar{u}$, sondern als $*ai/u$ und $*āi/u$ anzusetzen, etwa in urar. $*daiyā-$ m. ‘Himmlicher, Gott’ (< uridg. $*dēiuié/ó-$; s. C. Schneider in Wodtke, Irslinger und Schneider 2008:72 und 78f.) neben $*dāiuiH-$ / $*dīiuiāH-$ f. ‘Himmelsfrau, Göttin’ (< uridg. $*dēiuih_2-$ / $*dīiuiāh_2-$; s. op. cit., p. 71 und 78) oder in urar. $*stāuti$ ‘preist’ (< uridg. $*stēyuti$).

⁸⁴Bes. vor $*r$ im absoluten Auslaut und $*rH$, wo dieser Zentralvokal neu entstanden war; s. Werba 1986:346 n. 26.

⁸⁵Anders Kobayashi (2014), für den $*j$ is a conditioned allophone of $*i$ in Proto-Indo-Iranian, ... originally a glide equivalent of $*i$ (p. 11), während er p. 18 nur vom “Proto-Indo-Iranian glide $*u$ ” spricht. Dass die urar. Glides jedoch alles andere als bloße Allophone der hohen Vokale waren, ergibt sich zwingend aus dem für das Urar. mit ziemlicher Sicherheit erschließbaren Lautwandel $*H > *U/U_a$ bzw. $/a_U$, also der partiellen Assimilation eines ererbten ‘Laryngals’ in intervokalischer Position an einen unmittelbar vorausgehenden oder folgenden hohen Vokal, etwa in Gsg. uridg. $*sub_2āns >$ urar. $*suuāns$ (> aav. $x^wānj$ [2silbig] ‘Sonne[nichts]’) oder Nsg. uridg. $*nāb_2us >$ urar. $*nāyus$ (> ved. $nāus$ [2silbig] ‘Boot’); zu $*H > *i$ nach bzw. vor $*i$ vgl. Kobayashi 2014:7–10.

⁸⁶Jeweils vor $*H$ oder auch nach $*s$ (im Anlaut).

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Palatale)⁸⁷ und die postalveolaren $*\check{c} \sim *j \sim *j^h$ (als Fortsetzer von im Urur. in einer ersten Phase bloß palatalisierten Velaren und Labiovelaren).⁸⁸

(7) 5 Frikative, nml. die dentalen Sibilanten $*s \sim *z^{(h)}$,⁸⁹ die präpalatalen⁹⁰ Chuintantes $*\check{s} \sim *z^{(h)}$ (mit postalveolaren Allophonen in der Stellung unmittelbar vor dentalen Plosiven) und (überwiegend stimmhaftes) glottales $*H$.

(IIIA) Urir. Phoneminventar (31)

(A) Vokale (V [7])

(1) 6 Vollvokale (V), nml. $*a \sim *\bar{a}$, $*i \sim *\bar{i}$, $*u \sim *\bar{u}$, deren erstes Paar sich mit $*i$ und $*u$ zu zwei weiterhin biphonematischen Kurz- und zwei ebensolchen Langdiphthongen verbindet.

Dazu ein neuer kurzer Zentralvokal:⁹¹ $*\partial$.

(B) Sonoranten (R [3])

(2) 1 Vibrant: $*r$.⁹²

[(3) Die Glides/Approximanten entwickeln sich weiter zu den stimmhaften Frikativen $*y$ und $*v$, die auch morphologisch nichts mehr mit den hohen Vokalen gemein haben.]⁹³

(4) 2 Nasale (N): $*n \sim *m$.

(C) Obstruenten (C [21])

(5) 6 Plosive/Okklusive in drei Paaren, nml.⁹⁴ die Labiale $*p \sim *b^{(h)}$, die Dentale $*t \sim *d^{(h)}$ und die Velare $*k \sim *g^{(h)}$.

⁸⁷Vgl. Mayrhofer 1997:103 (§1.1.3.) und 105 (§1.1.4.2.).

⁸⁸Obwohl diese zweite Reihe in allen Tochtersprachen mit postalveolaren Affrikaten fortgesetzt wird, postuliert Lipp (2009:I.333f. = II.469 *et passim*) gerade für sie “präpalatale Affrikaten” mit den Symbolen “ \check{c} , \check{j} , \check{j}^h ”, während er dementsprechend die erste Reihe als “palato-alveolar” ansetzt; zu seinen Argumenten s. bes. I.147–9 und 249ff.

⁸⁹Letzteres als Ergebnis einer regressiven Assimilation vor einer Media (aspirata) oder auch einer progressiven nach einer Media aspirata, deren Aspiration entsprechend der Lex BARTHOLOMAE (s.o. n. 29) zusammen mit dem Stimmtön auf den Sibilanten bzw. die Chuintante übergang.

⁹⁰Entsprechend dieser phonetischen Neubestimmung sollten die beiden bisher ausnahmslos als (palato-)alveolar angesetzten Zischlaute eigentlich $\langle \check{s} \rangle$ (= $[\check{c}]$) und $\langle \check{z} \rangle$ (= $[\check{z}]$) geschrieben werden. Eine solche neue Graphie würde aber angesichts der bisherigen Notierungstradition nur zu Verwirrungen führen.

⁹¹Zu urur. $*r$ > urir. $*r$ s. z.B. Hoffmann 2004:91f. Ererbtes urur. $*\partial$ (s.o. n. 82) war mittlerweile mit $*a$ zusammengefallen.

⁹²Ohne silbisches Allophon, das sich zu $*r$ entwickelt hatte.

⁹³Nur so wird m.E. die Frizierung der Tenues in den ererbten $*TU$ -Clusters oder auch die Genese von av. xii bzw. x^o (s. Hoffmann 2004:107f.) verständlich (vgl. Werba 2006:278 n. 85). Dementsprechend ist also z.B. der urir. Fortsetzer von urur. $*Hudásjas$ ‘besser’ als $*Hvályah$ anzusetzen oder ap. $afwā$ ‘Panik’ auf urir. $*Hafwā$ (< urur. $*HapwāH$) zurückzuführen.

⁹⁴Mit optionaler Bewahrung ererbter Mediae aspiratae als freie Allophone, die in Clusters vor stimmlosen Obstruenten die weitere Wirksamkeit von BARTHOLOMAE im Rahmen einer progressiven Assimilation des Stimmtöns ermöglichen; so z.B. in urir. Pr. Inj. 2/3sg. $*Haugza/da$ ‘erklär(s)t’ ← $\{Haug^{(h)}\} + \{sa/ta\}$.

(6) 4 Affrikaten mit derselben binären Opposition stimmlos-stimmhaft, nml. die dentalen $*č \sim *j$ und die postalveolaren $*č' \sim *j'$.

(7) 11 Frikative, die die genannte Opposition in drei Fällen um je eine Artikulationsstelle erweitern, u.zw. labiodentales $*f \sim *v$, (inter)dentales $*θ +$ dental/alveolares $*s \sim *z$, postalveolares $*š \sim *ž$ + (prä)palatales $*y$ und velares $*x +$ glottales $*h \sim *H$.

Somit ergibt sich ein ziemlich ausgewogenes Obstruentensystem mit den folgenden von der jeweiligen Artikulationsstelle bestimmten Reihen: (I) $*p + *f \sim *b + *v$, (II) $*t + *s \sim *d + *z$, (III) $*č/*θ \sim *j/*y$, (IV) $*č'/*š \sim *j'/*ž$ und (V) $*k + *x/*h \sim *g/*H$.

(IIIB) Uria. Phoneminventar (40/39)

(A) Vokale (V [8]) und Diphthonge (4)

(1) 8 Vollvokale (V): $*a \sim *ā$, $*ɔ \sim *ā$,⁹⁵ $*i \sim *ī$, $*u \sim *ū$.

Dazu die 4 Diphthonge: kurz $*ai \sim *au$ und lang $*āi \sim *āu$.

(B) Sonoranten (R [5])

(2) 1 Vibrant: $*r$ (mit silbischem Allophon $*r̥$).

(3) 2 Glides/Halbvokale (U): $*y$ und $*v$.

(4) 2 Nasale (N): $*n \sim *m$.

(C') Obstruenten (C [23]) der älteren Phase⁹⁶

(5) 12 Plosive/Okklusive mit dem Verschluß an drei Orten und vier Arten seiner Lösung, nml. stimmlos/Tenuis (T), stimmlos-behaucht/Tenuis aspirata (T^h), stimmhaft/Media (D) und stimmhaft-behaucht/Media aspirata (D^h). Gebildet wird der Verschluß mit den Lippen für die Labiale $*p \sim *p^h \sim *b \sim *b^h$, an den Alveolen für die Dentale $*t \sim *t^h \sim *d \sim *d^h$ (mit den retroflexen Allophenen $*ṭ \sim *ṭ^h \sim *ḍ \sim *ḍ^h$ in der Stellung unmittelbar nach retroflexen [\leftarrow postalveolaren] Chuintantes) und am Velum für die Velare $*k \sim *k^h \sim *g \sim *g^h$.

(6') 6 Affrikaten unverändert in zwei Reihen mit drei Artikulationsarten: die präpalatalen $*č \sim *j \sim *j^h$ und die postalveolaren $*č' \sim *j' \sim *j'^h$.

(7') 5 Frikative, nml. die Sibilanten $*s \sim *z$, (überwiegend stimmhaftes) palatales $*ʃ$ ⁹⁷ und die postalveolaren (\rightarrow retroflexen) Chuintantes $*š (\rightarrow *ṣ) \sim *ž (\rightarrow *ṣ')$.⁹⁸

⁹⁵Der neue lange Zentralvokal hatte sich aus antekonsonantischem urar. $*ṛH$ entwickelt; vgl. etwa den urar. Ipl. $*gṛHb^h$ 'mit Willkommensgrüßen' > uria. $*gṛb^h$ > aia. $*gṛb^h$ (: urir. $*garb^h$ > aav. $*garb^h$) gegenüber dem Apl. urar. $*gṛHās$ > uria. $*gṛās$ > aia. $*gṛās$ (: urir. $*garHāh$ > aav. $*garō$).

⁹⁶Vor der Ausgliederung des Ur-Nūr.

⁹⁷Zum (kontextfreien) Wandel von urar. $*H$ (= [h]) > uria. $*ʃ$ (= [j]) vgl. Werba 2005:722f. (*mutatis mutandis*). Mit dieser 'spontanen' Palatalisierung des ererbten glottalen Frikativs im Uria. lassen sich auch die von Kobayashi (2014:9ff. und 14–5) zusammengestellten "[a]symmetrical developments of $*j$ and $*y$ in Indo-Aryan" (p. 14) zumindest teilweise erklären.

⁹⁸Die Retroflektierung (vgl. Hock 1991:77ff.) wird zunächst in den ererbten Clustern $*ṣ^{(h)}/*ṣ^{(h)}$ aufgefunden sein, die sich eben 'spontan' zu $*ṣ^{(h)}/*ṣ^{(h)}$ entwickelten.

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(C'') Obstruenten (C [22]) der jüngeren Phase⁹⁹

(5) 12 Plosive/Okklusive (wie oben).

(6'') 4 postalveolare Affrikaten: $*c \sim *(c)c^b$ (intervokalisch nur geminiert)¹⁰⁰ $\sim *j \sim *j^b$.

(7'') 6 Frikative mit der durchgängigen binären Opposition stimmlos-stimmhaft, nml. die Sibilanten $*s \sim *z$, präpalatales $*ʃ^{101} \sim *ʒ$ und die retroflexen Chuintantes $*ʂ \sim *ʐ$.

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⁹⁹Nach der Ausgliederung des Ur-Nür.

¹⁰⁰ $< *sc$; s. Kobayashi 2004:67ff. (bes. p. 73) und 2012:290.

¹⁰¹ $< *ʃ$. Entgegen der von Lipp (2009:1.249 etc.) vertretenen Annahme, dass der von ihm innerhalb seines Systems ohne jede weitere Begründung postulierte “kontextfreie indoarische Übergang von \acute{e} ... zu \acute{s} = $/\acute{s}/$ ” (ibid.) die “Entstehung” von \acute{s} “im Rahmen einer *push chain* aus” gelöst hätte (I.337 = II.473; vgl. Kobayashi 2004:160, wo eine ähnliche Entwicklung angenommen wird), dürfte dieser kontextfreie Lautwandel vielmehr durch die kontextfreie Retroflektierung der ererbten Chuintantes ausgelöst worden sein, die eben eine systemische ‘Leerstelle’ im präpalatalen und postalveolaren Bereich bedingte, die dann eine ‘Zugkette’ zur Folge hatte.

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Hittite *parḫattari* Reconsidered

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About a decade ago the present author attempted to clarify the prehistory of the Hittite mediopassive *parḫattari* ‘chases, pursues’ by proposing some morphological changes which would account for the peculiar features inherent in this verb; cf. Yoshida 2007a.¹ However, my recent research has revealed that the morphological history envisaged in my previous work should be partly revised due to a new finding shown in Yoshida 2016. In this paper I will first summarize my previous work and then provide the relevant form with a new historical interpretation.

The form in question, *parḫattari*, is a hapax that occurs only once in the Madduwata text as [XXX]*a-li-ia-an pá-r-ḫa-at-ta-ri* “... die Taube (?) jagt er” KUB 14.1 rev. 92 (MH/MS).² In contrast to relatively few mediopassive forms (e.g. pres. 3 pl. *parḫanta*, 3 pl. imper. *parḫantaru*), the corresponding active forms are abundantly attested: e.g. pres. 1 sg. *pa[ra]ḫmi*, 2 sg. *paraḫši*, 3 sg. *paraḫzi*, *parḫazi*, 3 pl. *parḫanzi*, *paraḫhanzi*, pret. 1 sg. *parḫun*, 3 sg. *paraḫta*, 1 pl. *parḫuen*, 3 pl. *parḫir*, *paraḫ[hir]*. The fluctuation in spelling observed in the 3 sg. active present *pár-ah-zi* and *pár-ḫa-zi* suggests that they represent /parHtsi/ (< **ḫérh₂-ti*) with the stem *parḫ-* /parH-/.³ On the other hand, the reading of the mediopassive *parḫattari* is not as easy as that of the corresponding active form because Hittite orthography cannot directly indicate internal clusters of three consonants without using empty vowel signs. Accordingly we are always obliged to judge whether the vowels breaking up three-consonant clusters are real or empty only by indirect means. For the form *parḫattari*, I previously assumed that the *a* after the stem was real, adducing the fact that when the endings which begin with a consonant are attached to the stem, there is no vowel between the stem and the ending in the great majority of cases, as seen in the above *pa[ra]ḫmi*, *paraḫši*, *paraḫzi*, *paraḫta*, *parḫuen*, etc. If it is empty the spelling *ṣpár-ah-ta-ri* would be expected. Accordingly, I was led to consider that *parḫattari* represented /parHattari/, which consisted of the root /parH-/ and /-attari/, not /-ttari/.⁴

¹An oral version of this paper was delivered at the 34th East Coast Indo-European Conference at Universität Wien in June 2015. Jared Klein was in attendance on this occasion. It is my great pleasure to be able to offer him this study in both oral and written versions. I would like to express my gratitude to the editors of this volume for helpful comments and suggestions.

²The translation is from Götze 1968:39.

³As is generally acknowledged, if a word is spelled sometimes with a vowel on one side of a consonant and sometimes on the other, then both vowels in question are likely to be orthographic; cf. Melchert 1994:29.

⁴The 3 sg. mediopassive endings *-ta* and *-atta* together with their formal relationship to the original *-a* (< **-o*) will be discussed below.

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I also argued that *parḫattari* cannot have been linearly derived from **b^hrh₂-ór*, the regular phonological outcome of which would be **parḫāri*. The accented **-ór* is faithfully preserved in Hittite, enlarged by the *hic et nunc* particle *-i* from the primary active endings. Notice that the mediopassives in *-a(a)-ri* with occasional scriptio plena *-a-* consistently resisted the intrusion of the active *-t*, as illustrated by *iš-kal-la-a-ri* ‘tears up’, *iš-du-ua-a-ri* ‘becomes evident’, *ša-ḫa-a-ri* ‘pollutes’, *tu-ug-ga-a-ri* ‘is of importance’. There are no definite cases of the 3 sg. present mediopassive verb with an original accented ending **-ór* having undergone the morphological change *-ari* → *-ttari* or *-ari* → *-attari* throughout the whole historical period of Hittite. Accordingly, root-accented **b^hérh₂-or* would be posited as a more reasonable preform. This **b^hérh₂-or* underwent two sound changes that operated at the Proto-Anatolian stage. One is an assimilation rule by which the sequence **VRHV* became *VRRV*.⁵ The other is the loss of final *-r* which operated after unaccented vowels.⁶ Although there is no evidence for the relative ordering between these two sound changes, the regular phonological outcome resulting from their application to PA **b^hérh₂-or* would be **parra*. Before leading to the actually attested *parḫattari*, the prehistoric **parra* must have undergone two morphological changes. Apparently, we need to assume analogical influence from the active paradigm, which was consistently characterized by the stem shape **parH*.⁷ Thus the 3 sg. mediopassive **parra* was secondarily replaced by **parHa*. The other morphological change that I assumed was the attachment of *-ttari*, which was gradually becoming productive in later Hittite, to the original ending **-a*. This is the gist of my previous argument concerning the prehistory of Hittite *parḫattari*.

A major finding that forces a serious reconsideration of this analysis concerns the nature of the morphological changes of 3 sg. mediopassive *-a* to *-ta* and *-a* to *-atta*. These two types of changes that occurred to the basic ending *-a* in the internal history of Hittite are illustrated in Watkins 1969:85–7 by *tubš[a]ri* (OS) ‘is cut off’ → *tubḫušta* (OH/MS) and *ḫalziija* (OS) ‘calls’ → *ḫalziiatari* (OH/NS), respectively. However, he did not discuss any specific conditions under which each of the morphological changes occurred. In fact, there are distinct patterns that the two transformations follow, as shown in detail in Yoshida 2016. We will first turn to the pattern observed in *-a* → *-ta*, followed by a discussion of the pattern in *-a* → *-atta*.

Besides *tubš[a]ri* → *tubḫušta* referred to by Watkins, the renewal *-a* to *-ta* is observed in the following examples.

karša (NS) ‘cuts’ → *karaštari* (OH/NS)
šuppari (date indeterminate) ‘sleeps’ → *[š]uptari* (OH/NS)
paḫša (MH/MS), *paḫšari* (MH/MS) ‘protects’ → *paḫḫaštāt* (NH)
šuniiaḫḫati (OH/MS) ‘was smitten (with disease)’ → *šuniiaḫḫta* (OH/NS)
šuppiiaḫḫati (OH) ‘cleaned’ → *šuppiiaḫḫtari* (MH/MS)

It is clear that the basic stems of these verbs are constant, i.e. *tubš-* (pres. 3 sg. *tubḫušzi*,

⁵See Melchert 1984:44 n. 91, 1994:79 and Kimball 1999:352, among others. Oettinger (1979:549) has a different view, in which the assimilation rule is limited to post-tonic **RH*.

⁶Cf. Yoshida 1990:ch. 4.

⁷The most conspicuous apophonic pattern observed in the root class of *mi*-verbs is *e*-grade root in the strong stem and zero-grade root in the weak stem; cf. *kuenzi* ‘strikes’ ~ *kunanzi*. Since the syllabic resonant **ṛ* became **ar*, both 3 sg. **b^hérh₂-ti* (> **parH-ti*) and 3 pl. **b^hrh₂-énti* (> **parH-anti*) came to have the same stem shape *parH-*.

3 pl. *tuhšanzi*, etc.), *karš-* (pres. 3 sg. *karašzi*, 3 pl. *karšanzi*, etc.), *šup-* (pres. 3 sg. [*šup*]zi, etc.), *palš-* (pret. 3 sg. *palhašta*, pres. 3 pl. *palšanzi*, etc.), *šuniāhḫ-* (pret. 3 sg. mediopassive *šuniāhḫati*, etc.) and *šuppiāhḫ-* (pres. 3 sg. *šuppiāhḫi*, 3 pl. *šuppiāhḫanzi*, etc.). Thus the morphological change *-a* to *-ta* is considered to be a process by which the original 3 sg. mediopassive in *-a* was more clearly characterized as such by inserting active 3 sg. *t* between the stem and ending.⁸ While this morphological change is observed not only in *mi*-verbs (e.g. *tuhš-*, *karš-*, *šup-*) but also in *hi*-verbs (*palš-*, *šuniāhḫ-*, *šuppiāhḫ-*), a close examination shows that it is a feature characteristic of *mi*-verbs. The connection of the *ta*-class mediopassive with *mi*-verbs is naturally explained by the fact that the characterizing element *t* of the 3 sg. ending is at home in the *mi*-conjugation, not in the *hi*-conjugation. As for the above three *hi*-verbs with *-ta* in their 3 sg. mediopassives, i.e. *palhaštat*, *šuniāhḫta*, *šuppiāhḫtari*, it is to be noted that their corresponding actives came to have the element *t* in their internal history. As is the case with the other 3 sg. preterites of *hi*-verbs whose stems end in *-š*, the 3 sg. active preterite *palhašta* (NH) has the *mi*-ending *-ta*,⁹ which must have been later transferred to the corresponding mediopassive preterite *palhaštat*. Furthermore, *šuniāhḫta* and *šuppiāhḫtari* are factitive verbs in *-ahḫ-*, which are inflected exclusively as *hi*-verbs in OS, but are mostly inflected as *mi*-verbs in the later language; cf. Hoffner and Melchert 2008:217. Accordingly, it is quite legitimate to regard the element *t* in these mediopassives as transferred from the corresponding 3 sg. active *mi*-verbs.

As for mediopassives in *-ta* which are recorded as such from the beginning of their attestation and therefore lack the corresponding forms with *-a*, they are listed in Yoshida 2007b:392–3. Among the forty-six *ta*-class mediopassives in this list, twenty-eight are *mi*-verbs, whereas eleven are *hi*-verbs. Four are media tantum and three are indeterminate due to lack of data. There is no doubt that the 3 sg. mediopassive of *mi*-verbs received a direct morphological influence from the corresponding active ending. It is important to note that the eleven *hi*-verbs associated with the *ta*-class mediopassive came to have the characterizing *t* in the 3 sg. active either within the prehistory or attested history of Hittite. They are classified into three types.

- (1) *au-/u-* ‘see’ and *mau-/mu-* ‘fall, drop’
- (2) five factitive verbs in *-ahḫ-* (İR-*ahḫ-*/İR-*nahḫ-* ‘subjugate’, *išīāhḫ-* ‘announce’, *maniāhḫ-* ‘deliver, hand over’, *nakkīāhḫ-* ‘make heavy’, *tameummaḫḫ-* ‘change, become different’)
- (3) four vocalic stem verbs in *-a* (*da-* ‘take’, *tarna-* ‘let, leave’, *la-* ‘release’, *išḫuua-* ‘sprinkle, scatter’)

Firstly, *au-/u-* ‘see’ has a 3 sg. mediopassive preterite *auštat* characterized by the element *t*,

⁸Considering the lack of good word equations that undeniably point to the 3 sg. mediopassive **-to* in Proto-Anatolian, it seems likely that this process did not occur before the separation of the individual Anatolian languages. However, as **-to* gradually acquired productivity, it probably came to be perceived by speakers as a replacement of the less productive **-o* by **-to*.

⁹Other representative examples are *hāšta* (OS) ‘gave birth’, *hāšta* ‘opened’ and *ašašta* ‘settled’ (cf. Oettinger 1979:41, Yoshida 1993:32, Hoffner and Melchert 2008:18111). Because the expected double **-s-s* was functionally opaque, **-s* was replaced by **-ta* already in pre-Hittite. Since *hi*-verbs with stem final *-š* are all equipped with *-ta*, this morphological change undoubtedly occurred already in pre-Hittite.

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which must have been transferred from the 3 sg. active preterite *aušta* (< **au-s-t*).¹⁰ Likewise, the 3 sg. mediopassive present *mauštarī* and its preterite *mauštat* from *mau-/mu-* can be provided with a similar historical account: the *t* in *mauštarī* and *mauštat* is attributable to the corresponding 3 sg. active present *māušzi* (< **-ti*) and preterite *maušta*. Secondly, the five factitive verbs in *-ahy-* receive the same explanation as given to *šunniāhta* and *šuppiāhtarī* in the preceding paragraph. Thirdly, the vocalic stem *hi*-verb mediopassives represented by *dattarī* (NS) have stem-final *-a* synchronically. Vowel contraction would be expected between the stem-final *a* and the 3 sg. mediopassive ending *-a*, resulting in a long *ā* (*dā*). This long *ā*, whether later shortened under the influence of the short *a* of *eša* ‘sits’, *kīša* ‘becomes’, etc. or not, would be functionally opaque in that the boundary between the stem and ending was not formally well marked. To save this functionally unfavorable situation, the newly created ending *-ta* was added so that the segmentation between the stem and ending might become clear-cut.¹¹ It is notable that *hi*-verbs that did not acquire *t* in the 3 sg. active were characterized by the 3 sg. mediopassive ending *-a* (e.g. *māi* ‘grows’ : *mīiari*, *mīiati*).¹²

In addition to the example *halziia* (OS) ‘calls’ → *halziiatarī* (OH/NS) that Watkins adduced, there are additional examples that reflect the morphological change *-a* to *-atta* as follows.

hannari ‘decides’ (OH/NS, MH/MS) → *hannatat* (date indeterminate)
nēari ‘turns’ (OH/NS), *nēia* (MS/MS), *nēat* (MS/MH), *neiat* (OH/NS, MH/NS)
 → *neiatat* (OH/NS)
iškallāri ‘tears up’ (OH/MS) → *iškallatta* (preterite, MH/NS)

It is important to note that the above three examples together with the above *halziiatarī* are all *hi*-verbs. Mediopassive verbs in *-atta* that are recorded as such from the beginning of their attestation and therefore lack corresponding older forms in *-a* are as follows: *šarrat[ta]* (OS or MH/MS) ‘is divided’, *šarratta(ti)* (OH/NS), *šarrattat* (MH/MS), *šannatta* (MH/NS) ‘hides’, *arratat* (NH) ‘washed himself’, *harrattarī* (MH/MS) ‘crushes’, *harratta* (preterite, MH/MS), *pippattarī* (OH/NS) ‘turns over’, *hūiatta* (NH) ‘runs’, *tarratta* (OH/MS) ‘is able’, *tarrattat* (NH), *zinnattarī* (OH/NS) ‘is finished’, *zinnat[t]at* (NH), *duyarnattarī* (MH/MS) ‘breaks’.¹³ It is striking that among the above nine examples the first six are *hi*-verbs. Watkins (1969:86) pointed out that the change *-a* to *-atta* is additive. The original ending *-a* came to be doubly characterized by the addition of *-ta*, which was created by the earlier renewal *-a* to *-ta*. But he did not discuss the conditions under which *-ta* was added to *-a*. The following paragraphs will be devoted to accounting for the special affix-

¹⁰ An irregular *mi*-conjugation 3 sg. present *aušzi* (< **austi*) is explained as back-formed to its corresponding 3 sg. preterite *aušta*. For a detailed historical analysis on *aušzi*, see Jasanoff 2003:120–1.

¹¹ An analogous account should be given to *tarnattarī* (OH/NS, MH/NS) and *lāttat* (NH). On the other hand, *lāittarī* (NH) and *išhuyaittat* (MH/NS) would be regarded as medialized forms secondarily created from their corresponding 3 sg. actives, i.e. *lāi* and *išhuyai*; cf. Yoshida 2007c.

¹² However, there remain four media tantum with the ending *-ta*, i.e. *arta* ‘stands’ (OS), *arputta* ‘is difficult’ (OH/NS), *kitta* ‘lies’ (OS), and *kikkištari* ‘becomes’ (OH/NS). It seems quite puzzling how these mediopassives came to acquire *t* in spite of the fact that they lack corresponding actives.

¹³ All the examples in *-atta* are attested in relatively late manuscripts; examples from manuscripts securely guaranteed as Old Hittite are lacking.

ity between mediopassives in *-atta* and *hi*-verbs by clarifying the conditions relevant to the attachment of *-ta* to *-a*.

Among the thirteen examples that came to have *-atta* in the prehistory or attested history of Hittite, six show a root shape **CeRH-*, i.e. *hanna-* (< **h₃enb₂-*), *šarra-* (< **serb₂-*), *šanna-* (< **senb₂-*), *arra-* (< **h₁erH-*), *harra-* (< **h₂érh₃-*), and *tarra-* (< **térb₂-*). Of cardinal significance is the fact that the 3 sg. presents of the *hi*-verbs, *hanna-*, *šarra-*, *šanna-*, *arra-*, and *harra-*, have an innovated 3 sg. active ending in *-ai* with the secondary thematic *-a-* which was extracted from 3 pl. *-anzi* (cf. Jasanoff 2003:65). Once the remodeled *-ai* (or *-āi*) replaced the older *-i*, all the present forms in the third person came to be characterized by the shape (C)aRRa-, e.g. *šarrāi*, *šarranzi*, *šarratta*, and *šarranta*. As a result, the final *a* of *šarra*, for example, originally a part of the endings, was reinterpreted as a stem-final element. The generalization of the new stem *šarra-* is undeniable, because the phonologically expected *šarb-* (or *šarab-*) in 2 sg. **sór_h₂-th₂ei*, 1 pl. **sér_h₂-uēni*, 2 pl. **sér_h₂-teni*, mediopassive 2 sg. **sér_h₂-th₂e(r)*, and 2 pl. **sér_h₂-d^h(u)ue(r)* was completely ousted from the paradigm as seen in 2 sg. *šarratti*, 1 pl. *šarrayuēni*, 2 pl. *šarratteni*, mediopassive 2 sg. *šarratta*, and 2 pl. *šarradduma*.¹⁴ The situation for the other four *hi*-verbs is the same as that for *šarra-*.

hanna-: active 1 sg. *hannahhi*, 3 sg. *hannai*, 3 pl. *hannanzi*, mediopassive 2 sg. *hannatta(ri)*, 3 sg. *hannari*, pret. 3 sg. *hannatat*, 2 pl. *hannadu[ma]t*
šanna-: active 1 sg. *šannahhi*, 2 sg. *šannatti*, 3 sg. *šannāi*, 2 pl. *šannatteni*, 3 pl. *šannanzi*, mediopassive 3 sg. *šannatta*
arra-: active 1 sg. *ārrahhi*, 3 sg. *ārri*, *arrai*, 3 pl. *arranzi*, mediopassive 1 sg. *arrahhari*, pret. 3 sg. *arrattat*
harra-: active 3 sg. *harrai*, 1 pl. *harruyuēni*, 3 pl. *harranzi*, mediopassive 3 sg. *harrattari*, pret. 3 sg. *harratta*¹⁵

In the case of the renewal of *-a* to *-atta*, it is now clear that the ending *-ta* was added to the new stem in *-a*, which was originally an ending but came to be synchronically perceived as a stem-final element. What has played a cardinal role in the reinterpretation of the original ending *-a* as a stem-final element is the emergence of the secondary thematic *-a-* which is basically characteristic of *hi*-verbs and not a feature observed in *mi*-verbs. This explains why the *-a* to *-atta* transformation is remarkable in *hi*-verbs.¹⁶

¹⁴I assume that the constant sequence *-aRRa-* indicates the original ablaut of *o*-grade in the strong stem and *e*-grade in the weak stem. It is quite likely that the active 2 sg. **sór_h₂-th₂ei*, the mediopassive 2 sg. **sér_h₂-th₂e(r)* and possibly the 2 pl. **sér_h₂-d^h(u)ue(r)* underwent the so-called “Lex Schmidt-Hackstein,” i.e. **CHCC* > **CCC* (cf. Schmidt 1973 and Hackstein 2002), but the double *-rr-* in *šarratti*, *šarratta*, and *šarradduma* confirms that leveling still occurred.

¹⁵1 pl. *harruyuēni* recorded in a Middle Hittite manuscript has not received the secondary thematic *-a-* yet. It suggests that the allomorph *harr-* spread first before the generalization of the thematic extension *-a-* in the paradigm; cf. Yoshida 2016:506. Although the medium tantum *tarra-* lacked its active counterparts, the remodeled stem was transferred to the first and second persons, following the behavior of other verbs with a (C)aRRa- shape (pres. 1 sg. *tarrahhari*, 2 sg. *tarratta*, 3 sg. *tarratta*, pret. 1 sg. *tarrahhat*, 3 sg. *tarrattat*).

¹⁶The problem of the relatively late attestation of the mediopassives in *-atta* can be accounted for by the fact that the replacement of 3 sg. *hi*-verbs in *-i* by *-ai* was still underway during the attested history of Hittite: e.g. *kānki* ‘hangs’ vs. *gangai*, *uāšti* ‘sins’ vs. *uāštai*. Because the renewal *-a* to *-atta* occurred only when the original ending *-a* came to be perceived as part of the stem, the lack of mediopassives in *-atta* in Old Hittite manuscripts is a predictable phenomenon.

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Four of the remaining seven mediopassives in *-atta*, i.e. *pippattari*, *iškallatta* (preterite), *zinnattari*, and *duuarnattari*, are analyzed in a similar fashion. The first two, *pippa-* (< **pí-pH-o-*) and *iškalla-* (< **skl̥H-ó-*) are *hi*-verbs. Although the number of attested forms in the rest of their paradigms is small (active 3 sg. *iškallai*, 3 pl. *iškallanzi*, pret. 1 sg. *iškallahhun* and active 3 sg. *pippai*, 3 pl. *pippanzi*, pret. 1 sg. *pippahhun*), it is significant that both of them have a 3 sg. in *-ai* with the secondary thematic *-a-* and the synchronic new stems *iškalla-* and *pippa-* are extended to the 1 sg. The remaining *zinna-* (< **si-ne-h₁-* or **ti-ne-h₁-*)¹⁷ and *duuarna-* (< **d̥_ho-ne-h₁-*) are both *mi*-verbs with a nasal-infix, but in later Hittite they came to have the irregular *hi*-conjugation 3 sg. *zinnāi* (NH) and *duuarnai* (MH/MS) characterized by the thematic extension *-a-*, respectively. Their existence further led to the addition of *-ta* to the reinterpreted new stems *zinna-* and *duuarna-*; hence, *zinnattari*, *zinnat[t]at* and *duuarnattari* are produced in Neo-Hittite manuscripts.¹⁸

A somewhat different but related analysis is given to the remaining three mediopassives of the *hi*-conjugation in *-atta*, i.e. *neiattat*, *hūiatta*, and *halziiatari*. These verbs were originally characterized by ablauting roots. In Old Hittite, their original apophonic patterns were quite faithfully preserved: e.g. 1 sg. *nehhi*, 2 sg. *naitti*, 3 sg. *nāi* < **nóiH-*, mediopassive 3 sg. *nēa*, 3 pl. *nēanda* < **néiH-*,¹⁹ 3 sg. *huyāi* < **h₂uóh₁-i-ei* (?), 3 pl. *hūianzi* < **h₂uh₁-i-énti* (?), and 1 sg. *halzehhi*, 2 sg. *halzaitti*, 3 sg. *halzai* < **h₂ltó-i* (?), mediopassive 3 sg. *halziia* < **h₂lt-iór* (?).²⁰ However, these apophonic patterns were lost in Neo-Hittite, where these verbs came to inflect like *mi*-verbs in *-ia-*;²¹ e.g. 1 sg. *neiāmi*, 2 sg. *neiāši*, 3 sg. *neiāzzi*, 3 pl. *neiānzi*, mediopassive 1 sg. *neiābhari*, 2 sg. *neiāttari*, 3 sg. *neiāri*, 3 pl. *neiāndari*, 1 sg. *hūiāmi*, 2 sg. *hūiāši*, 3 sg. *hūiāzi*, 3 pl. *hūiānzi*, mediopassive 3 pl. *hūiānda*, and 1 sg. *halziāmi*, 2 sg. *halziāši*, 3 pl. *halziānzi*, mediopassive 2 sg. *halziāttari*, 3 sg. *halziāri*. Just as the secondary thematic *-a-* of the 3 sg. *hi*-ending *-ai* was reinterpreted as a stem-final element, these three verbs came to have the remodeled non-ablauting stems with a stem-final *a*. When the fixed stems *neiā-*, *hūiā-* and *halziā-* with stem-final *a* became available, they received the attachment of *-ta*; hence, *neiāttat*, *hūiāttat* and *halziāttari*, which are all Neo-Hittite creations.²²

Before returning to the central issue of this study, the preceding discussion may be summarized as follows. The morphological change *-a* to *-ta* was originally a process in which the active 3 sg. *t* of the *mi*-verb was inserted between the stem and the ending *-a* (e.g. *karša* → *karaštari*). This change is observed in *hi*-verbs as well when they secondarily acquired the element *t* in the 3 sg. active. On the other hand, what was relevant in the morphological change *-a* to *-atta* was the emergence of a fixed stem ending in *-a*. When this *-a* was reinterpreted as a stem-final element, the ending *-ta* was added (e.g. *hanna-ri* → *hanna-tat*,

¹⁷Cf. Oettinger 1979:152 and Kloekhorst 2008:1037.

¹⁸In Proto-Anatolian these two nasal-infix verbs were characterized by an accented ending, i.e. **n-C-ór*. As for the problem of why the loss of final *-r* occurred in their prehistory, see Yoshida 2011.

¹⁹Kloekhorst (2012 and 2014) and Kloekhorst and Lubotsky (2014) claim that *nai-/nē-* originally showed an *ó/zero* pattern, not an *ó/é* pattern. This claim is not of immediate relevance to the present discussion.

²⁰There are no good etymologies for *huyāi/hūiā-* and *halzai-*. Jasanoff (2003:93) assigns them to the “*dai*-type.” Retraction of the accent must have occurred to *halziā* before the loss of final *-r* in Proto-Anatolian.

²¹*-ia-* is a sequence that resulted from the thematization of a stem-final **i-*; cf. Jasanoff 2003:97.

²²I suspect that this change should be pushed back to an earlier period, when mediopassives in *-iatta* and *-šketta* were created. I would like to discuss this problem in detail elsewhere.

neia → *neia-ttat*). The existence of the thematic extension *-a-*, which was available in the *hi*-conjugation 3 sg. *-ai* or the secondarily thematized quasi-suffix *-ia-*, was a prerequisite for this transformation. There is no case in which mediopassives in *-atta* lack a corresponding 3 sg. active in *-ai* or *-ia-*.

In my previous analysis, I argued that *parhattari* could be historically derived in the following manner: **b^herh₂-or* > **parHa* > **parra* → **parHa* → *parhattari* /parHattari/.²³ I do not find any compelling reasons for modifying this series of changes except the last one, **parHa* → *parhattari* /parHattari/, which reflects the renewal of *-a* to *-atta*. As I have shown above, this morphological change was triggered by the existence of a secondary thematic *-a-* in the fixed stem. Since *parh-* is a *mi*-verb which is not equipped with the quasi-suffix *-ia-* (*parah₁mi*, *parah₁ši*, *parah₁zi*, *parah₁zi*), the morphological change that occurred in the pre-history of *parhattari* must have been the replacement of *-a* by *-ta*, not that of *-a* by *-atta*. This analysis also contributes toward the correct reading of some mediopassives in *-atta* such as *arkatta* (OH/MS) ‘mounts’, *hinkatta* (OH/NS) ‘bows’, *uehatta* (MH/NS) ‘turns’, *appattat* (NS) ‘seized’, etc. At first glance it seems difficult to judge whether the *a* before the ending *-tta* is real or orthographic. As for *arkatta*, which is a *hi*-verb, *ārki* (MH/NS) is not old and *Šārkai* is not attested. This suggests that *arkatta* is to be read /arkta/ because the secondary thematic *-a-* was not available when it was remade from *a[r-g]a*. The remaining *hinkatta*, *uehatta* and *appattat* are *mi*-verbs (*h₁nikmi*, *h₁nikzi*, *ueh₁mi*, *ueh₁zi*, *ēpmi*, *ēpši*, *epzi*). Accordingly, they should be read /hinkta/, /wehta/ and /aptat/, respectively, due to the lack of secondary thematic *-a-* in their paradigms.²⁴

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²³As I referred to earlier, the relative ordering between the loss of final *-r* and the assimilation of **VRHV* into *VRRV* is only provisional. There is no evidence for this ordering.

²⁴The double *-tt-* in these examples undoubtedly represents its unlenited quality. A parallel phenomenon is observed in the spelling of the reflexive particle *-za* attached to the sentence connective *nu*. The extra *za* sign in *nu-uz-za* besides *nu-uz* (< **nū-ti*) is used to indicate an unlenited quality of the final affricate. On the other hand, the younger spelling *nu-za* is due to so-called “simplified spelling.” Cf. Yoshida 2001.

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