Pavia Sommer School 2017

PIE Nominal Categories

1

Case-endings

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- Literature:
- Fortson, Benjamin 2010: Indo-European Language and Culture. An Introduction. Second Editon. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell(=Blackwel Textbooks in Linguistics 19)
- Sihler, Andrew L. 1995: New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin. New York, Oxford: OUP
- Meier-Brügger, Michael 2010: Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft. 9. durchgesehene Auflage unter Mitarbeit von Matthias Fritzund Manfred Mayrhofer. Berlin: der Gruyter

Athematic vs. thematic stems

Athematic: Strong and weak stems

(1)

	singular	dual	plural
nominative			
vocative			
accusative			
genitive			
ablative			
dative			
instrumental			
locative			

Athematic nouns declension, Singular, animate

	Hitt.	Ved.	Av.	Gk.	Lat.	Baltic	PIE
nom.	*ḫūman-za*	*pā́d, gopā́-s*	*kəraf-š*	*poús, klóp-s*	*uōx (= uōc-s)*	*viešpat-s*[3]	**-s*
acc.	*ḫūmant-an*	*pā́d-am, gopā́-m*	*kəhrp-əm*	*pód-a*	*uōc-em*	*šùn-į*,[4] *smument-in*[5]	**-m*
gen.	*ḫūmant-aš*	*pad-ás*	*kəhrp-ō*	*pod-ós*	*uōc-is*	*šuñ-s*,[4] *szird-es*[6]	**-(é)s*
dat.		*pad-é*	*nair-e*		*uōc-ī*	*giwānt-ei*[7]	**-ei*
instr.		*pad-ā́*	*kəhrp-a*				**-(e)h₁*
loc.	*ḫūmant-i*	*pad-í*	*nair-i*	*pod-i*[1]	*uōc-e*[2]	*wieszpati-p*[8]	**-i*

[1] Synchronically labeled dative: see §6.11. [2] Synchronically labeled ablative: see §6.11. [3] OLith., 'lord'. [4] Lith., 'dog'. [5] OPruss., 'man'. [6] OLith., 'of the heart'. [7] OPruss., 'for (one) living'. [8] OLith. adessive case, 'at the lord'.

Directive: *-eh$_2$

- Nikolaev, Alexander 2010: Hittite menaḫḫanda. In: JAOS 130, 63-71:

menaḫḫ = anda „opposite, face“ not mena- „face“ + ḫant „front“

But (Nikolaev)*:* „into (anda) the face (*men- (athematic)) cf. Lat *mentum* „chin“)

Hitt. *mena/i-* „face“ (Nom-Acc Sg. neutr), *menuš* (Acc. Pl. Comm.)

**men-eh$_2$ *(h$_1$)endo(h$_2$),* before *h$_2$> ø / _ #*

anda≠ša[(n parna nāwi paizzi)] “He has not yet entered the house.” (KBo 6.2 iv 37 + KBo 6.3 iv 35–36)

- Melchert, Craig (in press in a Festschrift): An Allative Case in Proto-Indo-European? 13 pages:

Very sceptical

Integration of *-eh_2 into nominal paradigm perhaps innovation of Proto-Anatolian;

-*a* in Hittite does not express a direction toward but the attainment of a goal, locatival as well as allative function

Athematic nouns, plural

	Hitt.	Ved.	Av.	Gk.	Lat.	Lith.	PIE
nom.	*ḫūmant-eš*	*pā́d-as*	*kəhrp-as-*[1]	*pód-es*		*šùn-es*	**-es*
acc.	*ḫūmant-uš*	*pad-ás*	*zəm-as-*[2]	*pód-as*		*šun-ìs*	**-ns*
gen.	*ḫūmant-an*	*pad-ā́m*	*kəhrp-ąm*	*pod-ō̃n*	*uōc-um*	*šun-ų̃*	**-ōm?*
dat.-abl.		*pad-bhyás*	*nərə-biiō*[3]		*bū-bus*[8]		**-bh(i̯)os*
instr.		*paḍ-bhís*	*haδ-bīš*[4]	*po-pi*[6]			**-bhi(-)*
loc.		*pat-sú*	*tanu-šu*[5]	*po-sí*[7]		*aki-sù*[9]	**-su*

[1] In the phrase *kəhrpas-ca* 'and bodies'. [2] In the phrase *zəmas-ca* 'and lands'. [3] 'For/From men'. [4] 'By (ones who are) being'. [5] 'In/On bodies'. [6] Mycenaean; phonetically *popphi*. [7] Synchronically labeled dative; cf. §6.11. [8] 'For/With cows'. [9] 'In the eyes'.

Neuter athematic

Table 4.3 *The paradigm for 'cloud' in PIE.*

	PIE	Hittite	Sanskrit	Avestan	Greek	Old Church Slavonic
nominative / accusative singular	**néb^{h}os*	*nepis*	*nábhas*	*nabas-*	*néphos*	*nebo*
genitive singular	**neb^{h}és-os*	*nepisas*	*nábhasas*	*nabaŋhas-*	*népheos*	*nebese*
nominative / accusative plural	**neb^{h}és-h_2*		*nábhāṁsi*	*nabå̊s-*	*néphea*	*nebesa*

Cited from Clackson, James 2007: Indo-European Linguistics. An Introduction. Cambridge: CUP (=Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics) pg. 94

-tas

RV 10,27,13 (a hymn difficult to understand; this verse is dealing with the sacrificial fire)

pattó *jagāra pratyáñcam atti śīrṣṇā́ śíraḥ práti dadhau várūtham* |

Translation Jamison / Brereton 2014, 1416: “He has swallowed it [=firewood] **from the foot**; he eats what is in front of him. He has set out head upon head [=his flames], as his shield.“

RV 8,43,6 *kṛṣṇā́ rájāṃsi* ***patsutáḥ*** *prayā́ṇe jātávedasaḥ | agnír yád ródhati kṣámi*

„Black are the realms **at the feet of** Jātavedas on his advance when Agni grows on earth”

dual

Natural pairs and accidental pairs are inflected alike.

safely reconstructable are only:

nom./acc./ voc animate: ***h$_1$(e)***

Nom. / acc. / (voc) inanimate (neuter): ****ih$_1$***

(the original neuter ending ***–ih$_1$*** **was also used for *eh$_2$*- feminines**, which originated in collective neuters, see below)

„classic“ example (Paradebeispiel):

**h$_3$ékuih$_1$* n. „the two eyes“ (gr. ósse, OCS oči – Russian oči is plural, because there is no category dual in Russian any more)

**duoh$_1$* „two“ m. > gr. *dō-* in gr. *dṓ-deka*, ar, erkow, ved. *dvá* / Sievers-variant **duuoh$_1$ > gr. dýō, ved. *d$_u$vá*, OCS dъva

dual

TABLE 1.16 IE EH_2-STEMS (DUAL)

du.	PIE	Ved.	OCS	Lith.
nom./acc./voc.	*-eh_2-ih_1	*-e*	*-ě*	*-ì* [c]
gen./loc.	*-eh_2-u [a]	{*-ayos*}	*-u*	
dat./abl./instr.	(?)*-eh_2-b^hyoh_1 [b]	*-ābhyā|m|*	*-ama*	*-óm/-õm*

[a] Or analogical *-eh_2-ow (p. 63); [b] BSl. *-eh_2moh$_1$; [c] cf. *-ie-ji-dvi* in definite adjectives with *-ie-* < *-ayH-.

Kapović, Mate 2017: Proto-Indo-European morphology. In: Kapović, Mate (ed.): The Indo-European Languages, second edition. London, New York:Routledge /Routledge Language Family Series), pg. 61-110. here page 67.

A vedic example for the dual (nominal dual endings – all feminine- are printed in red colour)

RV 6,70,1

ghṛtávatī bhúvanānām abhiśríyorví́ pṛthví́ madhudúghe supéśasā |

dyā́vāpṛthiví́ váruṇasya dhármaṇā víṣkabhite ajáre bhū́riretasā ||

(ghṛtávatī bhúvanānām abhiśríy$_{\bar{a}}$ urví́ pṛthví́ madhudúghe supéśasā |

dyā́vāpṛthiví́ váruṇasya dhármaṇā víṣkabhite ajáre bhū́riretasā ||)

"The two rich in ghee, excelling in glory over the creatures, wide and broad, milking out honey, well-ornamented – Heaven and Earth were propped apart ("auseinandergestemmt") according to the foundations of Varuṇa, the two unaging ones possessing abundant semen."
(translation: Jamison /Brereton 1914, 872)

The dual forms in the text (all feminine)

ghṛtávatī "rich in ghee"< *ghṛtá-* "ghee"+ *-vat-* ("endowed with")+ *ī* nom. du. (devī́-type of inflection, proterokinetic, see later)

< *°*u̯nt- ih*$_2$*-**h$_1$**

abhiśríy$_{\bar{a}}$ "excelling in glory" < *abhi* (here intensifying value) + *śrī́-* "excellence" (*vṛkī́* type, mesostatic, see later) + dual ending of the thematic stems (analogy): *-*o*-**h$_1$** (cf. e.g. also acc.du f. *mātárā* (RV 1.122.4)), nom. du.f. *dhíyā* etc. Cf. acc.sg. for m. and f. in ved. *–am* in consonantal stems; there are also fem. *o*-stems like **snus-o-s* "daughter-in law", **b^{h}eh$_2$ĝ-o-s* "beech"….)

The dual forms in the text (all feminine)

urví "wide" (of urú-) (*devī́*-type of inflection, proterokinetic, see later) < * -*ih*$_2$-**h**$_1$

pṛthví "broad" (fem of *pṛthú*-) (*devī́*-type of inflection, proterokinetic, see later) < *-ih$_2$-**h**$_1$

*madhudúgh**e*** "milking out honey" < *mádhu* "honey" + -*dúgh*- "milking" + **-*eh*$_2$-***ih***$_1$

supéśasā "well ornamented" (possessive compound (bahuvrihi)) < *su*- "well" + -*peśas*- "ornament" + dual ending of the thematic stems (analogy): **-*o*-***h***$_1$

The dual forms in the text (all feminine)

dyā́vāpṛthiví "heaven and earth" (coordinating, copulative compound) with 2 duals: *dyā́v* + dual ending of the thematic stems (analogy) **-o-**h**$_1$* and *pṛthiví* "the broad one", fem. of *pṛthú-* < **pl̥th$_2$u* + *-ih$_2$-**h**$_1$* (*devī́-type* of inflection, proterokinetic, see later)

víṣkabhite "propped apart" < *ví-* "apart" + PPP of *skambh-* "prop" + **-eh$_2$-**ih**$_1$*

ajáre < *a-* "not" + *jár(a)-* + **-eh$_2$-**ih**$_1$*

bhū́riretasā < *bhū́ri-* "much" + *retas-* "flow of semen" + dual ending of the thematic stems (analogy): **-o-**h**$_1$*

Thematic endings vs. Athematic endings

	Singular		*Dual*		*Plural*	
	athem.	them.	athem.	them.	athem.	them.
nom. anim.	**-s*	**-os*	**-h_1(e)*	**-ō < *-o-h_1*	**-es*	**-ōs < *-o-es*
voc.	**-ø*	**-e*	**-h_1(e)*	**-ō < *-o-h_1*	**-es*	**-ōs < *-o-es*
acc. anim.	**-m*	**-om*	**-h_1(e)*	**-ō < *-o-h_1*	**-ns*	**-ons*
n.-a. neut.	**-ø*	**-om*	**-ih_1*	**-o-ih_1*	**-h_2*	**-ā < *-e-h_2*
gen.	**-s*	**-os ?*			**-ōm*	**-ōm < *-o-Hom*
abl.	**-s*	**-ōt < *-o-(h_2)at*			**-bh-*	**-o(i)bh-*
dat.	**-ei*	**-ōi < *-o-ei*			**-bh-*	**-o(i)bh-*
instr.	**-h_1*	**-ō < *-o-h_1*			**-bh-*	**-ōis*
loc.	**-i*	**-oi*			**-su*	**-oisu*

PIE athematic and thematic endings according to Rix 1992, covering other aspects than Fortson 2010

	Singular		Dual	Plural	
Stämme auf:	Konsonant	*-o/e-*		Konsonant	*-o/e-*
Nom. mf.	*-s/-Ø*	*-s*	*-ə₂₁*	*-es*	*-es*
Akk. mf.	*-m/-m̥*	*-m*	*-ə₂₁*	*-ns/-n̥s*	*-ns*
Vok. mf.	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*-ə₂₁*	*-es*	*-es*
NAV. n.	*-Ø*	*-m*	*-iə₂₁*	*-ə₂₂/-Ø*	*-ə₂₃*
Gen.	*-es/-os/-s*	*-s/-s(i̯)o*	?	*-om*	*-om*
Abl.	*-es/-os/-s*	*-et*	?	*-bʰos*	*-bʰos*
Dat.	*-ei̯*	*-ei̯*	?	*-bʰos*	*-bʰos*
Instr.	*-eə₂₁/ə₂₁*	*-ə₂₁*	?	*-bʰi*	*-oi̯s*
Lok.	*-i/-Ø*	*-i*	?	*-su*	*-isu*

Rix, Helmut 1992: Historische Grammatik des Griechischen. Laut- und Formenlehre.2. korr. Aufl. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, pg. 117

Thematic declension, singular

	Hitt.	Ved.	Av.	Gk.	Lat.	Goth.	OCS	Lith.
nom. anim.	*arun-aš*	*vīr-ás*	*yasn-ō*	*the-ós*	*seru-os*[12]	*dag-az*,[18] *dag-s*	*grad-ŭ*	*výr-as*
voc. anim.	*negn-a*[1]	*vī́r-a*		*ádelph-e*[9]	*seru-e*	*skalk*[19]	*grad-e*	*výr-e*
acc. anim.	*arun-an*	*vīr-ám*	*yasn-əm*	*the-ón*	*seru-om*[12]	*dag*	*grad-ŭ*	*výr-ą*, *deiw-an*[24]
n.-a. neut.	*pēd-an*[2]	*pad-ám*[3]	*xšaϑr-əm*[5]	*péd-on*[10]	*pers-om*[13]	*stain-a*[20]		*gijw-an*[25]
gen.	*arun-aš*	*vīr-ásya*	*ahur-ahiiā*[6]	*the-oĩo*[11]	*seru-ī*, *Popli-osio*[14]	*dag-s*[21]		
abl.		*vīr-ā́t*	*yasn-āṯ*		*Gnaiu-ōd*[15]		*grad-a*[23]	*výr-o*[23]
dat.		*vīr-ā́ya*	*yasn-āi*	*the-ō̃i*	*duen-ōi*[16]	*dag-a*	*grad-u*	*výr-ui*
instr.		*yajñ-ā́*[4]	*yasn-ā*[7]			*tag-u*[22]		*výr-u*
loc.	*arun-i*	*vīr-é*	*xšaϑr-ōi*[8]		*dom-ī*[17]		*grad-ě*	*nam-iẽ*[17]

[1] 'Brother'. [2] 'Place'. [3] 'Track'. [4] 'With a sacrifice'. [5] 'Rule'. [6] Old Avestan, 'of the lord'. [7] Old Avestan. [8] Old Avestan, 'in the rule'. [9] 'Brother'. [10] 'Ground'. [11] Homeric; Classical *theoῖ*. [12] Archaic Lat.; Classical *seruus*, *seruum*. [13] Umbr., 'ground'. [14] Archaic Lat., 'of Publius'. [15] Archaic Lat., 'Gnaeus'. [16] Archaic Lat., 'for a good (man)'; Classical *bonō*. [17] 'At home'. [18] Runic. [19] 'Servant'. [20] 'Stone'. [21] Runic. [22] OHG, 'day'. [23] Synchronically genitive. [24] OPruss., 'god'. [25] OPruss., 'alive'.

Thematic declension, plural

	Hitt.	Ved.	Av.	Gk.	Lat.	Goth.	OCS	Lith.
nom. anim.		*dev-ā́s*	*daēuu-å̄ŋhō*	*the-oí*	*seru-ī, popl-oe*[9]	*dag-os*	*grad-i*	*výr-ai*
acc. anim.	*arun-uš*	*dev-ā́n*	*maṣii-āṇg*[3]	*the-oús, odel-ons*[6]	*seru-ōs*	*dag-ans*	*grad-y*	*výr-us, deiw-ans*[15]
neut. n.-a.	*pēd-a*[1]	*yug-á́*[2]		*zug-á*[2]	*loc-a*[1]	*waurd-a*[13]	*měst-a*[1]	*slay-o*[16]
gen.	*arun-an*	*dev-ā́nām*	*daēuu-aṇam*	*the-ō̃n*	*seru-om*[10]	*dag-a*[14]	*grad-ŭ*	*výr-ų*
dat.		*dev-ébhyas*	*daēuu-aēbiiō*		*Andetic-obos*[11]	*dag-am*	*grad-omŭ*	*výr-ams*
instr.		*dev-áis, dev-ébhis*	*yasn-āiš*[4]	*the-oĩs*[7]	*seru-īs, soki-ois*[12]			*výr-ais*
loc.		*dev-éṣu*	*asp-aēšu*[5]	*the-oĩsi*[8]			*grad-ěxŭ*	

[1] 'Places'. [2] 'Yokes'. [3] OAv., 'mortals'. [4] 'With sacrifices.' [5] 'Horses'. [6] Cretan, 'obols'. [7] Synchronically dative. [8] Dialectal; synchronically dative. [9] Archaic, preserved in Festus; 'people'. [10] Archaic Lat.; replaced by *-ōrum*. [11] Venetic, 'for the sons of Andetios' (?). [12] Archaic Lat. (inscriptional), 'for the friends'. [13] 'Words'. [14] ON, 'of days'. [15] OPruss., 'gods'. [16] OPruss., 'sled' (pl. in form but sing. in meaning).

Collective

Eichner, Heiner 1985: Das Problem des Ansatzes eines urindogermanischen Numerus ‚Kollektiv' (‚Komprehensiv') In: Schlerath, Bernfried (Ed) 1985 Indogermanische Gesellschaft: Grammatische Kategorien, Funktion und Geschichte : Akten der VII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Berlin, 20. - 25. Febr. 1983. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 134-169.

Wackernagel, Jacob 1890: Miszellen zur grichischen Grammati. 16. Zur Lehre von der consonantenassimilation, KZ 30, 293-316, esp. pg. 297

Collective

1. Sg. N. m. **kʷékʷlo-s*, fortgesetzt in
   a) ai. RV. Sg. m. *cakrás** (RV. IV 1,3 *āśúṃ ná cakrám* deutlich mask.);
   b) gr. κύκλος (Vokalismus geneuert[31]) 'Kreis, Reifen, Rad';
   c) urtoch. etwa **kʷäkʷla-* (Vokalismus wie im Griechischen geneuert[32]) m. mit Weiterentwicklung zu otoch. *kukäl*, wtoch. *kokale*, **kokle*, beide m. 'Wagen'[33];
   d) mit geändertem Genus[34] in urgerm. **χʷeχʷla-* n. 'Rad'; woraus an. *hvél*[35] und wgerm. N.-A. **hwehl₂*[36], G. **hweχχles* mit lautgesetzlichen Kontinuanten in ae. *hweohl*[37], ws.-angl. *hwēol*[38], angl. *hwēl*[39];
   e) [jav. *caxra-* 'Rad', Genus wohl nicht eindeutig[40]].

Collective

2. Du. N.-A. m. *$k^wék^wloh_1$[41] (bzw. *$\hat{}lōu$[42], *$\hat{}l\hat{o}$[43]), fortgesetzt in ai. RV. *cakrá*[44] (Akzent geneuert nach Pl. n.).
3. Pl. N. m. *$k^wék^wl\hat{o}s$, A. *$k^wék^wl\check{o}ns$* usw., fortgesetzt in
   a) gr. κύκλοι (Ausgang geneuert), κύκλους[45] (Vokalisierung geneuert nach κύκλα);
   b) otoch. *kuklañ*, wtoch. *kokalyi* (beide im Ausgang geneuert) m. 'Wagen (Pl.)', Obl. (< Akk.) urtoch. etwa *$k^wäk^w(ä)lans$ > otoch. *kuklas* (in Pl. L. *kuklasaṃ*), wtoch. *koklem*.
4. Pl. N.-A. n. *$k^w{}_ek^wláh_2$[46], fortgesetzt in
   a) ai. *cakrá*[47] und *cakráṇi* (Ausgang geneuert)[48] 'Räder'[49];

   b) gr. κύκλα (Akzentstelle geneuert) 'Räder'[50];
   c) urgerm. *$feg^wl\check{o}$, *$feu\underset{\frown}{l}\check{o}$[51] und mit Restitution[52] *$\chi^weg^wl\check{o}$, $\chi^weu\underset{\frown}{l}\check{o}$ nebst dazu rückgebildetem Sg. *$feu\underset{\frown}{l}a^n$, *$\chi^weu\underset{\frown}{l}a^n$ in
      α) afries. *fial*[53]
      β) an. *hiól*[54]
      γ) ae. *hweog(u)l, hwegl*[55], *hweowul* (Pl. *hweowlu*), mnd. mnl. *wēl, wiel*.

Collective

Il. 5, 719-723

ὣς ἔφατ'· οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.		So she spoke, and the goddess, flashing-eyed Athene, failed not to obey
ἣ μὲν ἐποιχομένη χρυσάμπυκας ἔντυεν ἵππους	720	Then she went to and fro harnessing the horses of golden headbands,
Ἥρη πρέσβα θεά, θυγάτηρ μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο.		Hera, the honorable goddess, daughter of great Cronos.
Ἥβη δ' ἀμφ' ὀχέεσσι θοῶς βάλε **καμπύλα κύκλα**		and Hebe quickly put to the car on either side **the curved wheelset**
χάλκεα ὀκτάκνημα, σιδηρέῳ ἄξονι ἀμφίς·		of bronze, eight-spoked, around the iron axle-tree.

Collective

Il. 11, 719-723

ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος: ἐν δέ οἱ ἧλοι		And about his shoulders he flung his sword, on it nail-heads,
χρύσειοι πάμφαινον, ἀτὰρ περὶ κουλεὸν ἦεν	30	golden ones, appeared, but the sheath about it was
ἀργύρεον χρυσέοισιν ἀορτήρεσσιν ἀρηρός		of silver, fitted with golden chains
ἂν δ᾽ ἔλετ᾽ ἀμφιβρότην πολυδαίδαλον ἀσπίδα θοῦριν		And he took up his richly wrought , valorous shield, that sheltered a man on both sides,
καλήν, ἣν πέρι μὲν **κύκλοι δέκα χάλκεοι** ἦσαν,		a fair one, and round about it were **ten circles of bronze**
ἐν δέ οἱ ὀμφαλοὶ ἦσαν ἐείκοσι κασσιτέροιο		and 20 knobs of tin were in it,
λευκοί, ἐν δὲ μέσοισιν ἔην μέλανος κυάνοιο.	35	white ones, and in the midst of them was a black one of enamel.

Collective

Il. 1,460-464

αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ᾽ εὔξαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο,		Then, when they had prayed, and had sprinkled the barley grains
αὐέρυσαν μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν,		they first drew back (the victims' heads), and cut their throats, and took away the skin
μηρούς τ᾽ ἐξέταμον κατά τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν	460	and cut out the **(pieces of**) **thighs** (of the animals) and covered them with fat
δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν δ᾽ ὠμοθέτησαν:		Making a double layer, and placed raw flesh on them
καῖε δ᾽ ἐπὶ σχίζῃς ὁ γέρων, ἐπὶ δ᾽ αἴθοπα οἶνον		And the old man burned them on (heaps of) firewood and he libated over them with fiery looking Wine
λεῖβε: νέοι δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσίν.		A d young men beside him held five-pronged (forks) in their hands.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ **μῆρ‘** ἐκάη καὶ σπλάγχνα πάσαντο		But when the **thighs [as a whole]** were wholly burnt and they [i.e. the participants in the sacrifice] had eaten the inward parts
μίστυλλόν τ᾽ ἄρα τἆλλα καὶ ἀμφ᾽ ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν,	465	they cut up the rest and stuck it on the spits
ὤπτησάν τε περιφραδέως, ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα		and roasted it carefully and dragged it all away

Collective: Wackernagel: (cf. Wackernagel 1890, 297)

„Der bedeutungsunterschied ist in **μῆρα** deutlich wahrnehmbar:

das selbe, was stückweise abgeschnitten durch **μηροί** bezeichnet

wird, heisst als verbrannte masse **μῆρα**.„

(„The difference in meaning can clearly be noticed in **μῆρα:** „cut unto pieces one by one“ is denoted by **μηροί** and the same (cut) material is denoted by **μῆρα** when signifying a burnt mass“)

Collective

Lat. loci / loca (almost no difference)

- Plautus, Rudens 227: *neque magis solae terrae solae sunt **quam haec loca** atque hae regiones* „And not more solitary are solitary regions **than this locality** and these regions“

- Pseudolus 594-595: *hi **loci** sunt atque haec rigiones quae mi ab ero sunt demonstratae* „This are the **localities** and this the regions which were described by the master“

Agreement: Collective – Verb in the singular

„Schema Attikon“:

Δῶρα (collective) θεοὺς **πείθει** (3rd sg. Pres.) (Plat., *Rép.*, 3, 390e).
The (bunch of) presents convince (singular) the gods.

Agreement: Collective – Verb in the singular

But also **Homer: Il. 2, 394-397**

(ὣς ἔφατ᾽, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ μέγ᾽ ἴαχον ὡς ὅτε κῦμα

ἀκτῇ ἐφ᾽ ὑψηλῇ, ὅτε κινήσῃ Νότος ἐλθών,

προβλῆτι σκοπέλῳ:) ***τὸν δ᾽ οὔ ποτε κύματα λείπει***

(παντοίων ἀνέμων, ὅτ᾽ ἂν ἔνθ᾽ ἢ ἔνθα γένωνται).

Thus he spoke, and the Argives shouted aloud as a wave against a high headland, [395] when the South Wind comes and makes it swell against a rock jutting forward); t**he waving [collective] (of all the winds) never leave it (singular)** when they come from this side or from that.

***τὸν δ᾽ οὔ ποτε κύματα* (collective) *λείπει* (3rd. sg. pres.)**

„the waving never leave it“

Agreement: Collective – Verb in the singular

Old Avestan (interpretation after Kellens-Pirart 1988-1991)

mazdå saxʸārə̄ mairištō yā.zī vāuuərəzōi pairī.ciϑīt̰
daēuuāišcā mašiiāišcā yācā varəṣ̌aitē aipī.ciϑīt̰
huuō vīcirō ahurō aϑā nə aŋhat̰ yaϑā huuō vasat̰.

- Kellens, Jean – Eric Pirart 1988: Les textes vieil-avestiques. Vol. 1: Introductio, textes et traduction. Wiesbaden: Reichert
- Kellens, Jean – Eric Pirart 1990:Les textes viel-avestiques. Vol. 2: Répertoire grammaticaux et lexique. Wiesbaden: Reichert
- Kellens, Jean – Eric Pirart 1991: Les textes vieil-avestiques. Vol 3: Commentaire. Wiesbaden: Reichert

Agreement: Collective – Verb in the singular

mazdå ***saxᵛārə̄.*** *mairištō.*Nom.Sg.m
Mazdā.nom.sg.m regulations**Acc.pl.neutr** the.one.remembering.best
***yā*.Nom.Pl. neutr** *zī* ***vāuuərəzōi*.3rd.sg. perf.middle-pass.**
which emph.ptcl was.made
pairī.ciϑīt̰ *daēuuāišcā* *mašiiāiš*.instr.pl –cā
before(?) demon.instr.pl. (bad).human.instr.pl – and
yā. -cā ***varəṣšaitē***
which.**Nom.Pl.neutr**-and was.made .**3rd sg.aor.subj.middle-pass**
aipī.ciϑīt̰
afterwards (?)

„Mazdā (is) the one remembering best the (bunch of) regulations, which indeed were made before by the demons and (bad) humans and which were made afterwards“

Agreement: Collective – Verb in the singular

Hittite:

^{m}*Āškali=ma uddār arāiš* ‘but accusations (acc. collective) arose (singular) against Aškali’ KBo 3.34 ii 18

cited from Hoffner, Harry A. and H. Craig Melchert 2008: A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar. Winona Lke, Indiana: Eisenbrauns (= Languages of the Near East 1), pg. 240

Collective and Feminin gender

- Parallels Latin > Romance languages; but: already feminines in –a in Latin (*rosa, domina*)
- Lühr,Rosemarie 2014: Zur Emergenz von ā- Motion und Kongruenz im Indogermanischen. In: Studies on the Collective and Feminine in Indo-European from a Diachronic and Typological Perspective, ed. Sergio Neri and Roland Schuhmann, Leiden 2014, 167–198.

- Hybrid nouns (e.g. russ. *vrač* „physician“.: *vrač ušël* „the doctor left (m.3.Sg.pret.)“ vs. *vrač ušla* „the doctor (fem. 3.Sg.pret.) left“

Corbett, Greville 2006. Agreement. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Collective and feminine gender

attributive > predicate > relative pronoun > personal pronoun

For any controller that permits alternative agreement forms, as we move rightwards along the Agreement Hierarchy, the likelihood of agreement with greater semantic justification will increase monotonically (that is, with no intervening decrease). (Corbett 2006: 207)

Cf. Greek pronoun *hós* (m.), *hḗ* (fem), *tó* (neutr.) vs. Greek adjectives with 2 endings like *bárbaros*, -*on*; *éndoksos*,-*on* „famous“

Collective and feminine gender

Anatolian: no formal feminine- masculine distinction

- Eg. Hittite:

- only animate – inanimate distinction;
- Only suffix *–(š)šara-* denoting human (or divine) females from corresponding masculine - denoting nouns, e.g. *ḫaššuš* „king“ vs. *ḫaššuššaraš* „queen“; *šuppiš* „holy/consecrated man“ vs. š*uppeššaraš* „virgin“

Collective and feminine gender

- „Man hatte damit im Spätindogermanischen die Möglichkeit, mit dem Pronomen*_tód_ auf ein einzelnes Neutrum zu referieren, mit *_só_ auf ein einzelnes Commune und mit *_tá-h$_2$_ auf ein Kollektivum; die Neubildung *_sá-h$_2$_ ermöglicht dann auch noch die Referenz auf ein einzelnes Individuum aus dem Kollektiv.“
- „In late PIE there was the possibility to refer with *_tod_ to a single neuter, with *_só_ to a single commune and with *_táh$_2$_ to a collective; the new formation *_sá-h$_2$_ [anlaut from the commune and ending from the collective] made it possible to refer to a single individuum of the collective“

(Zeilfelder, Susanne. 2001. Archaismus und Ausgliederung. Studien zur sprachlichen Stellung des Hethitischen. Heidelberg: Winter, 213)

Collective and feminine gender

NHG *Stute* **fem**. „mare, female horse“;

Older Germanic languages „stud“ (German: „Gestüt“) or „herd of horses“:

ON stóð **neutr**. „stud“ OE stōd **neutr**. „stud, herd of horses“, ME *stud,*

Germanic*: *stōda* **neutr.** *„*flock*“*

OHG **fem**. *stuot* „herd of horses“, MHG **fem**. *stuot* „herd of stud horses“, „mare“, NHG *Stute* **fem**. „mare, female horse“

Collective and feminine gender

RV 3,53,4: *jāyéd ástam maghavan séd u yónis*

jāyā́ *íd* *ástam maghavan* ***sā́*** *íd* *u* *yónis*

Wife only home o munificient she only and womb

„Just the wife is the home; and just she is the womb.”

jāyā́- f „wife“ < abstract noun *jā-yā́-* „the child-delivering“

Collective and feminine gender

Ved. *ménā*- „concubine“ (cf. *mayante* „they change, alternate“ (gr. ameíbō „I change“)); OCS měna „(ex)change“, lith. maĩnas „(ex)change“

< *$h_2$meig̑$^{u̯}$-no- „change“

RV 1,51,13 ménābhavo vr̥ṣaṇaśvásya

ménā abhavas vr̥ṣaṇaśvásya sukrato

concubine you.became of.Vr̥ṣaṇaśva o.skilfull.one

„ you became the concubine of Vr̥ṣaṇaśva, (you) with good resolve.“

Collective and feminine gender

śraddhā́ „faith“

RV 10,151,5: *śraddhām prātár havāmahe śraddhām madhyáṃdinam pári / śraddhāṃ sūryasya nimrúci*

“Trust do we call early in the morning, trust at midday, trust at the setting of the sun. “

śráddhe śrád dhāpayehá naḥ //

śráddhe śrád	*dhāpaya*	*ihá*	*naḥ*
o.faith trusting.heart	place	here	us

„O Trust, place a trusting heart here in us.”

PIE gender and stems

Exclusively masculine stems: *-mōn, *-tēr/-tōr

Exclusively feminine stems: *-eh$_2$, *-yeh$_2$

Predominantly feminine stems: *-ih$_2$, *-uh$_2$ (and other suffixes ending in *-h$_2$, e. g. *-nih$_2$, *-trih$_2$), *-ti

Exclusively common gender stems (m. or f.): *-h$_2$tēr, *-ōs, *-i, and *-h$_2$ōy

Exclusively neuter stems: *-r/-n (heteroclita), *-it, *-e/os, *-tlo (*-dhlo), *-tro (*-dhro), and *-mn

Predominantly masculine or neuter stems: *-o- (and other suffixes ending in *-o-)

Matasović, Ranko 2004: Gender in Indo-European. Heidelberg: Winter, pg. 136