Pavia Sommer School 2017

PIE Nominal Categories

2

PIE nouns: ablaut and accent patterns

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Stem formation and ablaut classes

Root nouns:

Root - ending

Most athematic nouns and the thematic nouns:

Root – derivational suffix - ending

Strong vs. weak cases

	singular	dual	plural
nominative			
vocative			
accusative			
genitive			
ablative			
dative			
instrumental			
locative			

Root nouns

The Schindler system (Schindler, Jochem: L‘apophonie des noms-racines Indo-Européens. In BSL 67 (1972), 31-38

2 types:

a) Type 1:

α)

strong cases: R(ó)

weak cases: R(é) – E (ø)

(Loc. Sg. R(ḗ))

Root nouns Type 1 examples

$g^{u̯}$ō̍u̯-s f. nom. sg. „cow“, acc. *$g^{u̯}$ō̍-m* < * *$g^{u̯}$óu̯-m* (Stang‘s law) : gen. sg. **$g^{u̯}$éu̯-s* (cf. ved. *gáus* (nom. sg.), *gā́m* (acc.sg.), *gáv-e* (dat. Sg. < **$g^{u̯}$ éu̯-ei̯*, no Brugmann!);

**dom*- f. „house“ nom.sg. (arm.) *town* < **dōm*), gen. **dém-s* (gr. *despótēs* „master“; av. *dəṇg paiti),* loc. av. dąm;

β) **roots with –ET(T): strong cases R(ó)**; **weak cases R(e) E (´)**

ved. nom. sg. **pṓd-s* m. „foot“, acc. sg. **pód-m̥*: **péd*- weak stem (cf. ved. *pā́d*- / *pad*-: nom.sg. *pā́t*, acc. sg. *pā́d-am*; gen. *pad-ás*, acc. pl. *pad-ás*; no Brugmann!) gr. *poũs*, arm. otn vs. lat. *pēs*, OIr *ís* „below“ < *pḗd-su

Root nouns type 1 examples

nom. sg. **u̯ókᵘ̯-s* f. (lat. *vōx*, ved. *vā́k*, av. *vāxš*); gen.**u̯ékᵘ̯-ós* ved. *vāc-ás* (analogy!) av. ***văc-ō***)

γ) roots with ER(T): strong cases: **R(ó) weak cases**: **R(ø) E(´)**:

**k̂(u)u̯ón-* m. / f. „dog“ (strong cases) (gr. *kýōn*, ved. *ś$_u$vā́*) / **k̂un-* (weak cases) (e.g. gen. **k̂unós* gr. *kynós*, ved. *śunás*);

h$_2$u̯ólk-* f„furrow“ (strong cases).(gr. acc.sg. *õlka* <au̯olka*< **h$_2$u̯olk-m̥*) vs. gr. (ion / att) *aũlaks* <**h$_2$u̯l̥k-s* (ion-att. Generalization of ablaut of the weak cases)

Root nouns type 1 semantics

If derivable from verbs

a)Result noun / „passive“ semantics

**dom-* / **dem-* „the one constructed“ (from **demh₂-* „build“ (LIV 114-115; for **h₂* cf. gr. *démas* „bodily frame / built“, CoRHC > CoRC), gr. *démō* „I build“, cf. NHG *zimmern* „build“,

**u̯okᵘ̯-*/ **u̯ekᵘ̯-* „word, (the spoken one)“ (from * *u̯ekᵘ̯-* „speak“ – epical sanskr. pres. *vak-ti*, ved. aor. *avocam* = gr. *eĩpon*)

**h₂u̯ólk-* „furrow; (the drawn one)“ (from **h₂u̯elk-* - lit *velkù* „I draw“, av. *varəcaiti*)

Root nouns type 1 semantics

b) Agent noun

**pod-* / **ped-* m.„foot, (the one who steps)“ (from **ped-* „step“ (cf. ved. *padyate* „steps“))

**b*^{h}*ōr* (nom. sg.) „thief, (the one who steals)“ (gr. *p*^{h}*ōr*, lat. *fūr*) (from **b*^{h}*er-* „carry“ (gr. *p*^{h}*érō,* lat. *ferō,* ved. *bharati*)

Root nouns type 2

b) Type 2:

Strong cases R(é) – E(ø)

Weak cases R(ø) – E(é)

**di̯éu̯*- m. „sky, daylight etc.“ (nom. gr. Zeús, ved. dyáus „heaven“) /

**diu̯*- (gen. gr. *Diós*, ved. *divás*)

**h_2nḗr* m. „man“ (gr. *anḗr*, [ved. nā* perhaps in *nā́nā* „differently, varous“ < „one man here one man there“], av. *nā*); acc.sg. **$h_2$nér-m̥* (ved. *náram*) / **$h_2$nr-* (gen. gr. *andrós* , instr. pl. ved. *nṛ́bhis*)

Root nouns type 2 semantics

If derivable from verbs:

a)Nomina actionis

**di̯éu̯-* m. „sky, daylight etc.“ (from **di̯éu̯-* „be bright“ (cf. ved. intensive *dávi-dyut-* „shine forth“)

b) Nomina agentis to stative verbal roots

* *$h_2$nér* m. „man“ (from *$h_2$nér* „be strong“ (Parāčī (a small Iranian language in Afghanistan) nar „be capable“, cf. Schindler 1972,36)

Other nouns (most athematic nouns and the thematic nouns)

(many problems are still unsolved)

Root – derivational suffix - ending

Literature used:

- **Much seminal work was done by Joki Schindler, Heiner Eichner, Gert Klingenschmitt, Helmut Rix, Alan Jeffrey Nussbaum, the Leiden School (R.S.P. Beekes, F. Kortlandt, A. Lubotsky), Xavier Tremblay and J.E. Rasmussen, mainly between 1970 and 2000 (building on Holger Pedersen). All of them are cited extensively in the literature given below. Some personal notes from teaching classes of J. Schindler and Jerry Nussbaum were also used.**

- Dunkel, George E. 2014: Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Nominalstämme. Band 1: Einleitung, Terminologie, Lautgesetze, Adverbialendungen, Nominalsuffixe, Anhänge und Indices; Band 2: Lexikon. Heidelberg: Winter
- Gotō, Toshifumi 2013: Old Indo-Aryan Morphology and its Indo-Iranian Background. In co-operation with Jared S. Klein and Velizar Sadovski. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Literature used:

- Schaffner, Stefan 2001: Das Vernersche Gesetz und der innerparadigmetische grammatische Wechsel des Urgermanischen im Nominalbereich. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen. (=IBS 103) (my main source)
- Steer, Thomas 2015: Amphikinese und Amphigenese. Morphologische Untersuchungen zur Genese amphikinetischer Sekundärbildungen und zur internen Derivation im Indogermanischen. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Widmer, Paul 2004: Das Korn des weiten Feldes. Interne Derivation, Derivationskette und Flexionsklassenhierarchie. Aspekte der nominalen Wortbildung im Urindogermanischen. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen (=IBS 111)
- Wodko, Dagmar S., Britta Irslinger, Carolin Schneider 2008: Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon. Heidelberg: Winter

Preliminaries

	singular	dual	plural
nominative			
vocative			
accusative			
genitive			
ablative			
dative			
instrumental			
locative			

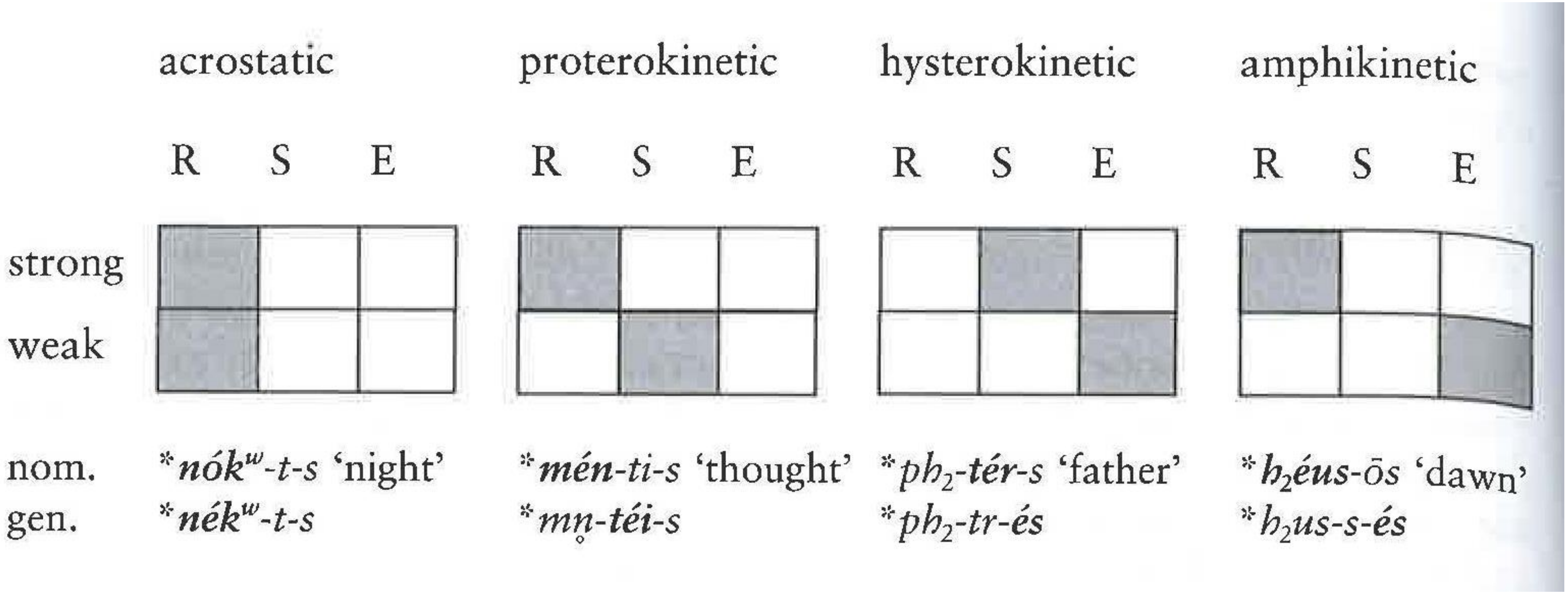
Preliminaries

„Father“: hysterokinetic / hysterodynamic

**ph₂-tér-* (strong)

**ph₂-tr-* ´ (weak)

Problem: Vedic gen. Sg. *pitúr* < **pi-tŕ̥-s*; expected: **pitrás*; analogy to acrostsatic **bʰréh₂-tr-* „brother“



Fortson 2010,120

PIE 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*	-ə̯$_1$	*-es*	*-es*
Akk. mf.	*-m/-m̥*	*-m*	-ə̯$_1$	*-ns/-n̥s*	*-ns*
Vok. mf.	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	-ə̯$_1$	*-es*	*-es*
NAV. n.	*-Ø*	*-m*	-iə̯$_1$	-ə̯$_2$/-Ø	-ə̯$_2$
Gen.	*-es/-os/-s*	*-s/-s(i̯)o*	?	*-om*	*-om*
Abl.	*-es/-os/-s*	*-et*	?	-b^{h}os	-b^{h}os
Dat.	*-ei̯*	*-ei̯*	?	-b^{h}os	-b^{h}os
Instr.	-eə̯$_1$/ə̯$_1$	-ə̯$_1$	?	-b^{h}i	*-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

Acrostatic type 1: most common type:

strong cases: R(ó) - S(ø) – E(ø) **(o- grade of the root)**

weak cases: R(é) – S(ø) – E(ø) **(e-grade of the root)**

lat. nom. sg. *nox* „night"; hitt. gen. sg. *nekuz* (meḫur) „(the time) of evening":

PIE

nom. sg.* *nóku̯-t-s*

gen. sg. * *néku̯-t-s*

Acrostatic type 1: some further examples

t-stems: see above (**nóḱu̯-t-s*)
r/n stems: **u̯ód-r̥-ø* n. „water“ sg. gen. **u̯éd-n̥-s* (hitt./u̯adar/ : gen. /u̯edenaš/); (but here: full grade suffix!) (goth. wat-o (PIE *o-grade of the root; e-grade in OSw. Vætur Sw. Vätter-n (-n definit), name of a lake) cf. collective form under „amphikinetic“
i-stems: nom. sg. **$h_2$óu̯-i-s* f. „sheep“: gen.sg. **$h_2$éu̯-i̯-os* (for the e-grade cf. Toch B *ā͡uw* (Pl. *awi*)< **$h_2$éu̯i-*); cf. also ved. *áv-i-s* (nom. sg.) gen: *ávyas* (accent!; full grade in the root strong and weak), lat. *ovis*, gr. *óϝis* (o-grade)

Acrostatic type 1: some further examples

u-stems: *h_2*ó*i̯*-*u*- (strong stem) n. „life, lifetime“ (ved. nom.sg. *ā́yu*, gr. myc. *o-u*, att. *ou* „not“ (**(ne)* h_2*ói̯-u* „not a lifetime“ cf. fr. *(ne) pas*) : **héi̯-u-* (weak stem) (gr. *aieí* „always“ < dat. **héi̯ -u̯-ei̯* „for a lifetime“, gr. äol *aĩi* „always“ < loc. **héi̯-u̯-i „in a lifetime“* > ON eigi „not“ (ON *ei* „always“ < **héi̯-u̯-i* , ON *eigi* < *(*ne) héi̯-u̯-i* *k*$^{u̯}$*ena* „non in lifetime somehow“ Dunkel 2014, 353; cf. fr. *(ne) pas*).

Acrostatic type 2 (few examples)

Quantitative ablaut –ḗ- : -e- in the root

strong cases: R(ḗ) – S(ø) – E(ø)

weak cases: R(é) – S (ø) – E(ø)

Examples:

r/n-stem: **i̯ḗk̂ᵘ̯-r̥* n. nom-acc.sg. „liver“ (gr. *hḗpar*, av. *yākarə*)
gen.sg. **i̯ék̂ᵘ̯-n̥-s* (ved. *yaknás*; full grade also in lat. *iecur*)

s-stem: **ĝḗrh₂-s* „old age“ (strong) : **ĝérh₂-s* (weak), cf. gr. *gẽras* „old age“ vs. gr. *géras* „gift of honour“

(Acrostatic type 3)

Schaffner 2001; other researchers subsume these cases under amphikinetic with analogical levellings (cf. Steer 2015, 203f)

Accented root in full grade (é)

Ablauting suffix -*ŏ̄*- (strong cases) / -*ø*- (weak cases)

strong cases: R(é) – S(ŏ̄) – E(ø)

weak cases: R(é) – S(ø) – E(ø)

Examples:

r-stem nom.sg. *b^h*réh*$_2$*-tō(r)* m. „brother“ (ved. *bhrā́tā*, gr. *phrā́tēr* / *phrḗtēr*), acc.sg. *b^h*réh*$_2$*-tor-m̥* (ved. *bhrā́-tār-am*): gen.sg. **bhréh-tr̥-s* (ved. bhrātur; ON bróþor);

(Acrostatic type 3) (further examples)

r-stem *_déh_$_3$_-tŏ̄r-_ „giver“ (strong stem) / *_déh_$_3$_-tr-_ (weak stem): nom. sg. *_déh_$_3$_-tōr_ : gr. _dṓtōr_, ved. _dā́tā;_ acc.sg. *_déh_$_3$_-tor-m̥_: ved. dā́tāram; gen.sg. *_déh_$_3$_-tr-s : ved. dā́tur_* [attested: gen.sg. _hótur_ (nom.sg. _hótā_ „main priest“)], ≈gr. _(bio-)dṓ-tor-os_ „of the giver of lifeliness“

n-stem *_tétk̂-ŏ̄n-_ (*_ték̂þ-ŏ̄n-_) „carpenter“ (strong stem) / *_tétk̂-n-_ (*_ték̂þ-n-_) (weak stem): nom. sg. *_tétk̂-ō(n)_ gr. _téktōn_, ved. nom.sg. _tákṣā_, acc.sg. *_tétk̂on-m̥_ (gr. _téktona_, ved. _tákṣānam)_: dat.sg. *_tétk̂-n-ei̯_ (ved. _tákṣ-ṇ-e_)

i-stem *_sÉk_$^{\text{u̯}}$_h_$_2$_-ō(i̯)_ (nom.sg.) „follower“ (ved. _sákhā_, yav. _haxa_), acc.sg *_sÉk_$^{\text{u̯}}$_h_$_2$_-oi̯-m̥_ (ved. _sákhāyam_), dat. *_sÉk_$^{\text{u̯}}$_h_$_2$_-i̯-ei̯_ (ved. _sákhye_)

Acrostatic type 4 (thematic stems)

- **Ablauting Suffix (e/o), accent on the root. (**e-suffix: only in Voc. Sg. and in the nom. Pl. Neutr., cf. slide below); no ablaut or accent difference between strong and weak cases
- **Thematic nouns:**

Strong and weak cases

a) R(é) – S(e/o) – E(ø)

b) R(ó) – S(e/o) – E(ø)

Acrostatic type 4 (thematic stems)

Examples:

ad a) **u̯érĝ-o-* n. „work“: gr. *érgon* „work“, germ. **u̯erka-* (NHG *Werk*, NE *work,* Welsh *gwery* „active“, etc.)

ad b) e.g.**ĝónh₁-e/o-* m. (gr. *gón-o-s* „ race, descent“, ved. *ján-a-* „lineage, people“), mainly nomina actionis, cf. gr. *trókhos* „circular race“ (: *trékhō* „run“), *plókos* „a weave“ (: *plékō* „to weave“)

A thematic masc. paradigm *ĝónh$_1$-o- „race“ (endings as in Rix 1992)

Sg.

Nom. **ĝónh$_1$-o-s*

Voc. *ĝónh$_1$-<u>**e**</u>-ø

Acc. **ĝónh$_1$-o-m*

Gen **ĝónh$_1$-o-s*

Abl *ĝónh$_1$-ōd (<**ĝónh$_1$-o-ed)

Dat **ĝónh$_1$-ōi̯* (<***ĝónh$_1$-o-ei̯*)

Instr. **ĝónh$_1$-o-h$_1$*

Loc. **ĝónh$_1$-o-i*

Pl.

Nom. **ĝónh$_1$-ō-s* (<***ĝónh$_1$-o-es*)

Voc. **ĝonh$_1$-ō-s* (<***ĝónh$_1$-o-es*)

acc. **ĝónh$_1$-o-ns*

gen. **ĝónh$_1$-ōm* (<***ĝónh$_1$-o-om*)

abl. **ĝónh$_1$-o-b^{h}os*

dat. **ĝónh$_1$-o-b^{h}os*

instr. **ĝónh$_1$-ō*

loc. **ĝónh$_1$-o-isu*

Thematic stem neuter (example)

declension= masc, with the exception of nom./acc./(voc)

Example: **u̯érĝ-o-* n. „work“: gr. *érgon* „work“, germ. **u̯erka-* (NHG *Werk*, NE *work*, Welsh *gwery* „active“ etc.)

nom.sg =acc. sg. **u̯érĝ-o-m*

Nom.pl.=acc.pl. **u̯érĝ-e-*h_2

Mesostatic 1 (thematic stems)

Thematic nouns

c) **R(o) – S(é/ó) – E(ø)**

d) R(ø) – S(é/ó) – E(ø)

Examples:

Ad c) *b^h*or-ó-* „(somone) bringing“ (gr. *phor-ó-s* „(someone) bringing“, ved. *–bhar-á-s* „(someone) bringing“, mainly agent /instrument nouns, cf. gr. *trokhós* “, „wheel“, lit. „runner“ (: *trékhō* „run“); *pompós* „conductor“ (: *pémpō* „send“)

Ad d) * *i̯ug-ó-* „yoke (for a plough)“ (cf. ved. *yug-á-m*, gr. *zyg-ó-n*, lat *iugum*)

Mesostatic 2 (fem –eh_2-stems)

(paradigm see next slides);

Strong and weak cases R (o/ø) – S(-$éh_2$) – E(ø)

Example: nom. sg. **k^u̯oi̯-néh₂-ø* f. „penalty, vengance“ (gr. *poinḗ*; lat. *poena* (Greek loan), av. *kaēnā*, OCS *cěná* „price“, lith. *káina* „price“) : gen.sg. * *ku̯oi̯-néh₂-(e)s* (gr. *poinē̃s*; lit. *káinos*)

Mesostatic 2 –eh$_2$- feminina singular

Table 4.5 *PIE feminine stems in *-eh$_2$.*

	PIE	Sanskrit	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Lithuanian
nominative	**ek´w-eh$_2$ (*ek´w-ā)*	*áśvā́*	*the-ā́*	*equa*	*giba*	*ašvà*
vocative	*?*	*áśve*	*the-ā́*	*equa*		*ašvà*
accusative	**ek´w-eh$_2$-m (*ek´w-ām)*	*áśvām*	*the-ā́n*	*equam*	*giba*	*ašvą̀*
genitive / ablative	**ek´w-eh$_2$-es (*ek´w-ās)*	*áśvāyās*	*the-ā̂s*	*equae*	*gibos*	*ašvõs*
dative	**ek´w-eh$_2$-ei (*ek´w-āi)*	*áśvāyai*	*the-ā̂i*	*equae*	*gibai*	*ãšvai*
locative	**ek´w-eh$_2$-i (*ek´w-āi)*	*áśvāyām*				*ãšvoje*
instrumental	**ek´w-eh$_2$-eh$_1$ (*ek´w-ā)*	*áśvā*				*ašvà*

Mesostatic 2: –eh$_2$- feminina singular

TABLE 1.14 IE *EH$_2$*-STEMS (SINGULAR)

<table>
<tr><th>sg.</th><th>PIE</th><th>Ved.</th><th>Gr.</th><th>Lat.</th><th>OCS</th><th>Lith.</th><th>Goth.</th></tr>
<tr><td>nom.</td><td>*-eh$_2$</td><td>-ā</td><td>-ᾱ́</td><td>-\ă\</td><td>-a</td><td>-à</td><td>-a</td></tr>
<tr><td>voc.</td><td>*-e(h$_2$)</td><td>{-e}</td><td>-ᾰ [a]</td><td>= nom.</td><td>-o</td><td>-a</td><td>= nom.</td></tr>
<tr><td>acc.</td><td>*-eh$_2$-m</td><td>-ām</td><td>-ᾱ́ν</td><td>-am</td><td>-ǫ</td><td>-ą</td><td>-a</td></tr>
<tr><td>gen.</td><td>*-eh$_2$-es</td><td>-|āy|ās</td><td>-ᾱς</td><td>OLat. -ās</td><td>[-y/-ę]</td><td>-õs</td><td>-os</td></tr>
<tr><td>dat.</td><td>*-eh$_2$-ey</td><td>-|āy|ai</td><td>-ᾱͅ</td><td>-ae</td><td>-ě</td><td>-ai</td><td>-ai</td></tr>
<tr><td>loc.</td><td>*-eh$_2$-i</td><td>{-āyām}</td><td></td><td>-ae</td><td>-ě</td><td>[-ai-|p|] [c]</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>instr.</td><td>*-eh$_2$-eh$_1$</td><td>-ā</td><td>κρυφᾰ [b]</td><td></td><td>{-ojǫ}</td><td>-\à\</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

[a] Hom. νύμφ-ᾰ!; [b] adv. 'in secret'; [c] with a postposition *-p* in the new adessive.

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 66.

Mesostatic 2 –eh$_2$- feminina plural

TABLE 1.15 IE *EH$_2$*-STEMS (PLURAL)

pl.	PIE	Ved.	Gr.	Lat.	OCS	Lith.	Goth.
nom.	*-eh$_2$-es	*-ās*	{-αί}	OLat. -AS	[*-y/-ę*]	*-os*	*-os*
acc.	*-eh$_2$-(n)s	*-ās*	dial. -άνς	*-ās*	*-y/-ę*	*-às*	*-os*
gen.	*-eh$_2$-om	-|*ān*|*ām*	dial. -\ᾱ́ω\ν [c]	{-ārum}[c]	-ъ [d]	*-ų̃*	*-o*
dat.	*-eh$_2$-b^{h}os [a]	*-ābhyas*	{-αῖς}	{*-īs*}	*-amъ*	OLith. *-om\u\s*	*-om*
loc.	*-eh$_2$-su	*-āsu*			*-a\x\ъ*	dial. *-osu*	
instr.	*-eh$_2$-b^{h}i(s) [b]	*-ābhis*	Myc. *-āp^{h}i*		*-ami*	*-omìs*	

[a] BSl./Gmc *-mos, IIr. *-b^{h}yos; [b] Gr. *-b^{h}i, IIr. *-b^{h}is, BSl. *-miHs; [c] cf. pronominal *-som (p. 81); [d] PSlav. *-ъ̄.

Kapović 2017, 67

Mesostatic 2 (–eh$_2$- feminina:)

In late PIE, -eh$_2$- feminines are correlated to thematic stems in adjectives and form their feminine.

******neu̯os*** (m.) / ***neu̯om*** (n.), and ***neu̯eh$_2$*** (fem.)**

Mesostatic 3 (*u̯l̥kᵘ̯-íh₂-s –stems)

- **Stems in - íh₂-** (the ved. vṛkī́-Type; rare):

nom. sg. **u̯l̥kᵘ̯-íh₂-s* „she-wolf" > ved. *vṛkī́s* (also germ. **u̯ulg-ī-z* ON *ylgr* with Verner's Law (accent!) i-umlaut and delabialization; in the masc. germ **u̯ulf-a-* < IE * *u̯ĺ̥kᵘ̯-o-s* (ved. *vṛ́ka-*), IE **kᵘ̯* changes to **f* after initial labial.

acc.sg. * *u̯l̥kᵘ̯-íh₂-m̥* > ved. *vṛkyàm /vṛkíyam/*

dat. sg. **u̯l̥kᵘ̯-íh₂-ei̯* > ved. *vṛkyè /vṛkíye/*

gen.sg. * *u̯l̥kᵘ̯-íh₂-es* > ved. *vṛkyàs /vṛkíyas/*

Proterokinetic

Strong cases: R(é) – S(ø) – E(ø)
Weak cases: R(ø) – S(é) – E(ø)

Example:
nom. **ment-i-s* f. „intellect, thinking, mind“,
gen. **mn̥t-ei̯-s*

Proterokinetic

Sg. Nom.	*mén-ti-s*	Pl. Nom.	*mén-tei̯-es*[6]
Sg. Akk.	*mén-ti-m*	Pl. Akk.	*mn̥-tí-ms*[7]
Sg. Gen.	*mn̥-téi̯-s*		
Sg. Dat.	*mn̥-téi̯-ei̯*		
Sg. Lok.	*mn̥-tēi̯*[8]		
Sg. Instr.	*mn̥-ti̯-éh_1*[9]		

- Normally with –*ti-* abstracta zero-grades attested, cf. Ved. *matí-* < **mn̥ti-*

Proterokinetic: Vedic i- and u-stems standard inflection reflect PIE proterokinetic pattern

ved. „one who emenates godliness“ (name for gods and mythic figures) (derived from PIE *h_1*ers-* „flow“, Krisch 2012, 493) PIE Tr. *h_1*érs-i-s* (nom.), *h_1*r̥s-éi̯-s*

nom. *ŕ̥ṣ-i-s* (accent ✓, ablaut R in analogy to the weak cases, ablaut S ✓)

acc. *ŕ̥ṣ-i-m* (accent ✓, ablaut R in analogy to the weak cases, ablaut S ✓)

gen. *ŕ̥ṣ-e-s* (accent in analogy to the strong cases; ablaut R ✓, S ✓, E ✓)

dat. *ŕ̥ṣ-ay-e* (accent in analogy to the strong cases; ablaut R ✓and S ✓)

loc.pl. *ŕ̥ṣ-i- ṣu* (accent and ablaut S in analogy to the strong cases; ablaut R ✓)

Krisch, Thomas 2012 (e-book): RIVELEX. Rigveda-Lexikon. A Rigvedic Lexicon vol 2: Words beginning with other vowels than „a“. Collaborators: Christina Katsikadeli, Stefgan Niederreiter, Konstantinos Sampanis, Sabine Ziegkler, Alexandra Hörlberger, Graz- Leykam

Proterokinetic: Vedic i- and u-stems standard inflection reflect PIE proterokinetic pattern

Ved. „right / certain time" (derived from PIE *h_2*er-* „join (together)" cf. also Krisch 2012, 479); arm. *ard* „order"; **lat. *artus*, gen. *artūs*** „joint, limb": PIE *h_2*ér-tu-s* (nom.) „order; fitting in time and space" :

*h_2*r̥-téu̯-s* (gen.) m.

nom. sg. *ṛt-ú-s* (accent in analogy to the weak cases; ablaut in R in analogy to the weak cases; ablaut in S ✓, ablaut in E ✓)

acc. sg. *ṛt-ú-m* (accent in analogy to the weak cases; ablaut in R in analogy to the weak cases; ablaut in S ✓)

abl. *ṛt-ó-s* (accent ✓, ablaut in R + S + E ✓)

nom. pl. *ṛt-áv-as* (accent and ablaut in R + S in analogy to the weak cases)

Proterokinetic: the **déi̯u̯-ih₂*-type

Ved. and PIE inflection of *devī́*- „goddess“ (< proterokinetic inflexion, but in the whole paradigm with root in full grade *dei̯u̯- > ved. dev- (PIE only in the strong cases) and accent on the stem-suffix (PIE only in the weak cases)

Nom. Sg. *dev-ī́* vs. PIE **déi̯u̯-ih₂*

Acc. Sg *devī́m* vs. PIE **déi̯u̯-ih₂-m̥*

Gen.sg. *devᵢ-yā́-s* vs. PIE **diu̯-i̯éh₂-s*

Dat.sg. *dev-yái* vs. PIE **diu̯-i̯éh₂-ei̯*

in Greek *dĩa* (*theā́*) <Tr.**díu̯-ih₂*, gen. *díēs* < Tr. **díu̯-i̯eh₂-s* „the heavenly (goddess)“: in the whole paradigm accent on the root (PIE only in the strong cases) with zero grade ablaut (PIE only in the weak cases) in the root

Proterokinetic: fem. of athematic adjectives

In late PIE, -*ih₂*- feminines of the **deịu̯-ih₂*-type are correlated to athematic stems in adjectives and form their feminine, e.g.

Ved. *svādús* „sweet“ : fem. *svādvī́*- ≈ gr. *hēdús* fem. *hēdeĩa*

PIE **su̯éh₂dus* : fem. *su̯éh₂du̯-ih₂*

Type Lat. *vic-tor* „winner“ vs. fem *vic-tr- ī -x* „female winner“≈ ved. *avi-tár-* „helper, protector“ vs. *avi-tr-ī́* „female protector“ etc. ≈ gr. *basileús* „king“ vs. *basíleia* „queen“ (< * °*eu̯ih₂*)

Hysterokinetic type 1

a) Hysterokinetic type 1:

Strong cases: R(ø) – S(é) – E(ø)
Weak cases: R(ø) – S(ø) – E(é)

„father“ see also above (slide 15):

**ph*$_2$*-ter-* (strong)

**ph*$_2$*-tr-* ´(weak)

Hysterokinetic type 1:“father“

Strong cases:

ph_2-ter-:

gr. nom. *patē*r / acc. *patéra*, lat. *pater*; ved. nom. *pitā́* / acc. *pitáram*

Weak cases:

ph_2-tr- ´:

gr. gen. *patrós*, lat. *patris*, ved. dat. *pitré*

Hysterokinetic type 1: agent noun in *-tér- / -tr-´

nom. sg.*dh_3-*tḗr* „giver“ (cf. gr. *dotḗr*, ved. *dātā*) acc. sg. * dh_3-*tér-m̥* (≈ ved. *dātāram*, gr. *dotē̃ra*) dat.sg. * dh_3-*tr*- ´(ved. *dātr-é*); Greek: only the lengthened grade in the sufix is attested

A quite well attested paradigm of an agent noun of this type in Vedic is *stotár* „praiser, worshipper“ (see Tichy 1995, 55-56):

sg.: nom. *stotā́*, acc.*stotā́ram*, dat. *stotré*, gen *stotúr*, voc *stotar*,

pl.: nom. *stotā́ras*, acc. *stotṝ́n*, dat / abl *stotṛ́bhyas*, gen *stotṝṇā́m* voc. stotāras

Hysterokinetic type 1: two further examples

n-stem: nom.sg. m.**$h_2$uks-én-s* > **$h_2$uks-ḗ(n)* „bull, ox“ (ved. *ukṣ-ā́* „(young) bull“, av. uxšā, goth. auhsa), derived from *h_2u̯eks- „grow up“; acc.sg. **$h_2$uks-én-m̥* (ved. ukṣ-án-am); gen.sg. **$h_2$uks-n-és* (ved. *ukṣṇás*), nom.pl. **$h_2$uks-én-es* (ved. *ukṣ-án-as*)

i-stem: pre-hittite **udn-ḗi̯* nom.sg. „(watered) land“ vs. gen. **udn-i̯-´* (= hitt. *ut-ne-e* (nom/acc sg.n.) vs. gen. *ut-ni-i-aš*)

Hysterokinetic type 2 (accordig to Schaffner)

B) hysterokinetic type 2

strong cases: R(o) – S(é) – E(ø)

weak cases: R(o) – S(ø) – E (é)

Example:

nom.sg. *kou̯h₁ḗ(i̯)* „seer, priest“(OAv. *kauuā*), acc.sg. **kou̯h₁-éi̯-m̥* (Yav. *kauuaēm*), nom.pl. **kou̯h₁-éi̯-es* (OAv. *kauuaias*(-*cit̰*)), gen.pl. **kou̯h₁-i̯-ōm* (av. *kaoiiąm*), instr. pl. **kou̯h₁-i-bʰis* (ved. kavíbhis)

Amphikinetic (/holokinetic)

Strong cases: R(é) – S(o) – E(ø)

Weak cases : R(ø) – S(ø) – E(é)

Example:

Word for „earth“

Schindler, Jochem 1967: Das idg. Wort für „Erde“ und die dentalen Spiranten. In: Die Sprache 13, 191-205

Amphikinetic: „earth“

	hitt. neutr.[1]		ved. fem.	gr. fem.	toch. A/B fem.
nom.	*te-(e-)kán*	*(t/dégan)*[1]		*khthṓn*	
Acc.	*te-(e-)kán*	*(t/dégan)*[1]		*khthóna*	A *tkaṃ* B *keṃ*
Gen.	*ták-na-(a-)aš*	*(t/dagnáš)*[1]	*jmás*		
dat.-loc	*ták-ni-i*	*(t/dagní)*[1]	*kṣámi*		
Abl.	*tákna-(a-)az*	*(t/dagnáz)*[1]			
Instr			jmā́		

[1]plene writing in Hittite may indicate accent, cf. Hofner / Melchert 2008, 25, the phonetic value of <-k-> is probably [g] (Sturtevant‘s law), the anlauting <t> is ambiguous (either [t] or [d]),cf. Luraghi, Silvia 1997 Hittite. München: Lincom Europa (=Languages of the World. Materials 114) 1.1.

Amphikinetic: „earth“

Hitt: points to ablaut a) tek-/tak- and b)–an /-n

Ad a) Hitt. *tek-/tak-*: = PIE **e* / ?

Ved. *kṣ, the /j/* in ved. Gen. *jmás* (cf. av. *zəmar-* „in the earth“) and gr. $k^h t^h$ point to a late PIE „thorn cluster“ *$\hat{g}^h$*þ* (with Bartholomae‘s law **[$\hat{g}^h ð^h$])* which can be equated with a Hittite cluster /*tk*/ [*dg*] (metathesis in Vedic and Greek), hitt. *a* may be anaptyxis to prevent the cluster.

Thus:

Hitt. tek / tak reflects PIE *e / ø

Amphikinetic „earth“

Ad b) (hitt. *–an-* /-*n*-) hitt. *–an-* is confirmed as *-*on*- by greek *khthóna and toch.* A *tkaṃ* B *keṃ*

Thus:

Hitt. *–an-* / *-n-* reflect *–*on-*/ *-n-* (< PIE *-*om-* / *-m-*, cf. Ved. and Luwian nom. *tí-i̯a-am-mi/e-iš)*

PIE „earth“: strong cases: **dhéĝh-om-*

weak cases: * *dhĝh-m-* ´

Amphikinetic further example

(collective (derived from acrostatic singular))

r/n stem (collective) (cf. also acrostatic singular **u̯ód-r̥-ø* n. „water" sg. gen. **u̯éd-n̥-s* above)

nom./acc. hitt. ***u̯i**dār* („plural" „waters"), → * ***u̯édōr***

nom./acc. . gr. ***húdōr*** →

Gen.sg. gr. ***húd-a**-tos* < ****ud-n̥**-tos* → ****ud-n-'***

Gen.sg. ved. **ud-n**-ás →

Internal derivation

Internal derivation is a derivational process without suffixation, just by changing the ablaut class

Late PIE standard s-stems (neuter): where do they belong to?

Schindler, Jochem 1975: Zum Ablaut der neutralen s-Stämme des Indogeranischen. In: Rix, Helmut (ed) Flexion und Wortbildung. Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft Regensburg, 9.-14. September 1973. Wiesbaden: Reichert pg 259-267.

The productive „late PIE“ paradigm is

Strong cases: R(é) – S(o)

Weak case: R(é) – S(e)

nom.sg. **u̯ék$^{u̯}$-os* (gr. *épos*, ved. *vácas*) gen. **u̯ék$^{u̯}$-es-os* (gr. *épeos*, ved. *vácasas*) the word for „word, speech“

Late PIE standard s-stems (neuter): where do they belong to?

A furter example of this common type (table taken from: Höfler, Stefan 2012: „Untersuchungen zum Ablaut der indogeranischen s-Stämme des Indogermanischen“ Wien: Diplomarbeit,pg 22. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/11598346.pdf, seen 13 Aug. 2017

	ai.	gr. (hom.)	lat.	idg.
NASg	*jánas*	γένος	*genus*	**ĝénh₁-os*
GenSg	*jánasas*	γένεος	*generis*	**ĝénh₁-es-e/os*
NAPl	*jánāṃsi*[11]	γένεα	*genera*	**ĝénh₁-es-(e)h₂*

Problems with this kind of paradigm in the light of the ablaut classes:

a) Weak cases: R(é) – S (e) ??
b) Ablaut R(é) – S (o) vs. R(é) – S (e)?

Late PIE standard s-stems (neuter): where do they belong to?

Nussbaum in class (Berlin 2004): prehistory of this late PIE s-stem-structure:

a) R(é) – S(e) (in the weak stem of late PIE s-stems) suggests, that somewhere in the paradigm there must have been an e-grade in the root and therefore somewhere:

   R(é) – S(ø)

b) R(é) – S(e) (in the weak stem of late PIE s-stems) also suggests that there must have been an e-grade in the suffix somewhere in the paradigm and therefore somewhere:

   R(ø) – S (é)

Late PIE standard s-stems (neuter): where do they belong to?

R(ø) – S(é):

1) as structure of the strong case forms: to be found in the hysterokinetic type (see above, acc. **ph$_2$-tér-m̥* „father“ : gen.**ph$_2$-tr-és*). But this type does not have a pendant R(é) – S(ø) in the weak cases.

2)as structure of the weak case forms: to be found in the proterokinetic type (see above: **h$_2$ér-tu-s* (nom.) „order; fitting in time and space“ : **h$_2$r̥-téu̯-s* (gen.))

In the case of 2), the structure of the strong stem is R(é) - S(ø)

Origin of standard s-stems: proterokinetic

Conclusio (Schindler and Nussbaum)

The standard PIE *s*-stems were proterokinetic in origin.

Internal derivation

Nussbaum Alan Jeffrey 2004 Berlin:

Full formal picture so far therefore:

acro	protero	hystero	amphi
R(ḗ/ó) - S(z) - D(z)	R(é) - S(z) - D(z)	R(z) - S(é) - D(z)	R(ḗ) - S(o) - D(z)
R(é) - S(z) - D(z)	R(z) - S(é) - D(z)	R(z) - S(z) - D(é)	R(z) - S(z) - D(é)

and

and

additional examples for internal derivation

(acrostatic → proterokinetic)

1) acrostatic → proterokinetic

a)neuter substantive → non-neuter substantive

neutr. ved nom-acc.sg *páśu* „cattle“ – dat.sg. *páśv-e*

→

masc. ved. nom. *páśús* „cattle“ - dat.sg. *paś-áv-e,* nom.pl. paś-áv-as

b) substantive → adjective

hitt. *aššu-* neutr. „goods“, dat-loc *ašš-u-i* abl. *ašš-uu̯-az* etc.

→

hitt. *aššuš* „good“ (adj.), gen. *ašš-au̯-aš*, dat.-loc. *ašš-au̯-i* etc.

additional examples for internal derivation

(acrostatic → proterokinetic)

c) Substantive → second member compound

ved. nom.sg. *rayís* „wealth“ (< **ré/óh$_1$-i-*) (cf. Lat. *rēs* „thing“, cf. also Peters 1980. 253, fn. 210), gen. *rāy-ás*, instr. *rāy-ā́* (< *réh$_1$-i̯-*)

→

Dat. Sg. *br̥hád-răy-e* (RV 1,57,1)(< *-*rh$_1$-éi̯-ei̯* „possessing great wealth“

additional examples for internal derivation

(poterokinetic → hysterokinetic)

2) proterokinetic → hysterokinetic

„Regular“ s-stem noun → hysterokinetic s-stem adjective (as second member in compounds)

Subst (proterokinetic, see above) **ĝénh$_1$-os-/ *ĝ(e)nh$_1$-és-* „race, kin, birth“ (ved. *jánas-*, gr. *génos*, lat *genus*);

→

Adj. (hysterokinetic) -**ĝ(e)nh$_1$-ḗ́s-* / -**ĝ(e)nh$_1$-(e)s-* ´ (gr. *eu-genḗs* „of noble birth“)

Another example: gr. *pénthos* (**kʷéndʰ-(o)s/es-*, cf. Oir *césaid* „endures“) „grief, sorrow“ vs. *sum-pathḗs* „affected by like feelings, sympathetic“ (-* *kʷn̥dʰ-és-)*

additional examples for internal derivation

(hysterokinetic ⟶ amphikientic)

3) hysterokinetic ⟶ amphikinetic

a) Substantive ⟶ second member compound

Gr. *patḗr* etc „father“ (see above, < **ph*$_2$*t-ér-*/ *ph*$_2$*-tr-´*), ved. *pitár-*

⟶

eu-pátōr „having a good father“ , ved. Nom. Pl. *tvátpitāras* „having you as father“

(Nussbaum class 2004 (Berlin): „S(o) that can be located in direct / strong is … always the outcome of an amphi paradigm (since no other type shows this“) – (TK: except perhaps acrostatic type 3(see above), if it exists)