Pavia Sommer School 2017

PIE Nominal Categories

4

PIE Compounds; Tmesis in the noun phrase

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Literature addendum: PIE Gender (see presentation 1)

Works by Silvia Luraghi (with further literature):

2009a Indo-European nominal classification: From abstract to feminine. In S. W. Jamison, H. C. Melchert, B. Vine, eds., Proceedings of the 20th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, Bremen, Hempen, 115-131.

2009b The origin of the feminine gender in PIE. An old problem in a new perspective. In: V. Bubenik, J. Hewson & S. Rose, eds., Grammatical Change in Indo-European Languages, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Benjamins, 3-13.

Literature addendum: PIE Gender (see presentation 1)

2014a Gender. In Giannakis et al. Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics (3 vols) Vol. 2, Leiden: Brill, 1-4.

2014b Gender and word formation: The PIE gender system in cross-linguistic perspective. In S. Neri, R. Schuhmann, eds., Kollektivum und Femininum: Flexion oder Wortbildung? Zum Andenken an Johannes Schmidt, Leiden: Brill, pp. 199-231.

2015 From non-canonical to canonical agreement. In Fuzzy Boundaries. Festschrift für Antonio Loprieno, H. Amstutz, A. Dorn, M. Ronsdorf, M. Müller, S. Uljas (eds.). Hamburg: Widmaier 2015, Bd. I, 71-88.

Compounds, Literature

Dunkel, George 1999: On the origins of nominal composition in Indo-European. In: Eichner, Heiner und H.C. Luschützky with V. Sadovski: compositiones indogermanicae in memoriam Jochem Schindler. Praha: enigma corporation, 47-68

Lindner, Thomas 2002: Lateinische Komposita. Morphologische, historische und lexikalische Studien.Innsbruck: Inst. Für Sprachen und Literaturen (=IBS 105)

Lindner, Thomas 2003: Aspekte der lateinisch-romanischen Kompositaforschung. Moderne Sprachen 47, 115-141.

Compounds, Literature

Lindner, Thomas 2011 ff.: Indogermanische Grammatik Band IV/1 Komposition. Heidelberg: Winter

Risch, Ernst 1949: Griechische Determinativkomposita. In: IF 59, 1-61 and 245- 294

Risch, Ernst 1974: Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache. Zweite, völlig überarbeitete Auflage. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, esp. The chapter on compounds, 181-230

Compounds, Literature

Scarlata, Salvatore 1999: Die Wurzelkomposita im Ṛgveda. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Wackernagel, Jacob 1957=1905: Altindische Grammatik Band II,1: Einleitung zur Wortlehre; Nominalkomposition. 2.únveränderte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht

Compounds

- **Dvandva** (copulative compound), cf. Lat. *stultomalus* „stupid and bad“ (Old Latin gloss)
- **Tatpuruṣa** (determinative compound) cf. Lat. *hospes* < **hosti-poti-s* „s.o. acting as a host“ lit: „host-lord“; *damni-cupidus* „gloating“ „longing for harm“
- **Bahuvrīhi** (possessive compound) cf. lat. *magnanimus* „great-souled, magnanimous“

Compounds

- „Verbales Rektionskompositum“ (Delbrück); Engl. „(verbal) governing compound“, synthetic compound“

Lindner 2011, 21:“Letztlich allerdings gehören die Rektionskomposita auch zu den determinativen Strukturen, sodaß man unter Determinativkomposita im weiten Sinne alle Formationen versteht, die nicht koordinativ (= additiv), sondern subordinativ zu gliedern sind.“

„In the end, the synthetic compounds also belong to the determinative structures. Determinative compounds in a broad sense are all those formations that are to be analyzed not as coordinative (=additive) but as subordinative“

Dvandvas (copulative compounds)

Ved. *mitrā́varuṇā* „Mitra and Varuṇa“ (dual); ved. *ajāváyas* (pl.) „goats and sheep“ *ajá-* (*-ā*) „goat“ + *ávi-* „sheep“

Gr. no dvandvas substantive + substantive. *nukht(h)émeron* „day and night“ from adj. *nukht(h)émeros, -ā, -on* „lasting a day and a night“ ≈ ved. *ahorātrám* „day and night“

adj. dvandva

gr. *gumno-rʰrʰúparos* „naked and dirty“

Ved.: AV 12,1,28: *padbhyā́m dakṣiṇa-savyā́bhyām* „with the right and the left foot“ (instr.du.)

Tatpuruṣa (determinative compounds)

Greek: very rare (Risch 1949,5):

60% verbale Rektionskomposita (synthetic compounds)

25-30% possessive compounds

rest: prepositional governing compounds, determinative compounds

Some examples for determinative compounds in Greek:

mētropátōr „father of the mother“; *dúsmēter* (Od.23,97) „you bad mother!“ (voc), pseudággelos „false messenger“; *akrópolis* „upper city, citadel“

Tatpuruṣa (determinative compounds)

Vedic: Rigveda (rare; only 30 words), (Schindler in class)

Examples: *hiraṇya-piṇḍá-* „a lump of gold“; *nṛ-bāhú-* „arm of a man“; *mahā-vīrá-* „great man“ (cf. gr. *akrópolis*), *aśva-yūpá-* „the post to which the sacrificial horse is bound“ „horse-post“)

Schindler tries to derive adjectival determinative compounds from possessive formations, e.g. *tanúśubhra-* „magnificent (śubhrá-) in respect to the body“ < compound with possessive –*ra*-suffix: „having body-beauty“

Tatpuruṣa (determinative compounds)

**ĝhosti-pot(i)s* „guest-master“: lat. *hospes,-itis*; OCS *gospodъ* „the Lord“ (from lat. *hostis* „foreigner, enemy“ – OCS *gostь* „guest“ engl *guest-* + *potis* (synchronically „mighty“, **poti-* „master“ (ved. *páti-*, gr. *pósi-*)

Bahuvrīhi (possessive compound)

Communis opinio: oldest layer (but see Dunkel 1999)

Second member is accented, first member reduced in ablaut:

First member e.g.

**n̥-* „not“ (e.g. **n̥-ph$_2$tor->* gr. *apátōr* „having no father“; **n̥-udr-ó-* „having no water“ > ved. *an-udr-á-* gr. *án-udr-o-*)

**h$_1$su-* „good“ (*h$_1$su-genh$_1$-es-* gr. *eugenḗs*; ved. *ápas-*“work“ *sv-ápas-* „characterized by good work“)

Bahuvrīhi (possessive compound)

**m̥ĝs-* (zero grade R and S from **meĝ(h₂)es-* „greatness“, cf. ved. máhas- „greatness“= av. mazah-):

av. *aš.aojah-* „having great power“ (< tr.**m̥ĝs- h₂eu̯ges-*)

**m̥ĝh₂-* (zero grade from **meĝh₂-* „great“, cf. Gr. *méga* n. „great“ = ved. *máhi-* n., Oir. mag n. „field“): gr. *aga-kleés* „having much fame“

**dus-* „bad“ gr. *dus-menés* „having a bad mind, hostile“, ved. *dur-manas-*

Bahuvrīhi: word formation

1) Without a suffix, by internal derivation (see also presentation 2),

e.g.

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

Bahuvrīhi: word formation

2) With a suffix (e.g. *-*o*-, *-*i*-, *-*i̯o*-)

e.g. **n̥-udr-ó-*"having no water" > ved. *an-udr-á-* gr. *án-udr-o-*;

**n̥-h₂er-m-i-* „not having tools / weapons" (lat. *in-ermis* „without weapons")

** h₂ḱu-ped- i̯o-* „having ‚sharp' feet" (i.e. quick feet) (lat. *acupedius*)

Verbal governing compounds (synthetic compounds)

1) Verbal element in the second member:

Gr. *oikódomos* „house-builder“ „building houses“; *sakés-phoros* „shield-bearing“ (of Ajax), *oiko-phóros* „carrying one‘s house“ (designation for tribes)

Ved. *vṛtra-hán-* „Vṛtra-killer“ „killing Vṛtra“

Ved. *aṁho-múc-* „trouble-freer“ „freeing from trouble“; *uṣar-búdh-* „awakening in the morning-light“, *dvi-já-* „twice-born“ (normal birth + initiation with the sacred thread, esp. a Brāhman 8-12 years old)

Lat. *sacer-dōs* „priest“ < tr. **sakro-déh$_3$-t-s* „he who gives out the **sakra*“ (Nussbaum 1999, 396ff; Lindner 2002, 44)

Verbal governing compounds (synthetic compounds)

3 PIE types of the second member:

a)Root noun: cf. ved. *vṛtra-hán-* „killing Vṛtra“„Vṛtra-killer“ (nom -*há*, acc. -*háṇam*, gen./ abl -*ghnás* etc., PIE *-g$_{\breve{}}^{u^h}$en- cf. Scarlara 1999, 691-693; gr. *khérnip-s , -ibos* „water for washing the hands“ PIE *-*nig$_{\breve{}}^{u}$*-; gr. *aigílips* „destitute even of goats, steep“ PIE *-*leiḵ$_{\breve{}}^{u}$/lik$_{\breve{}}^{u}$*- „leave“

b)Root noun + *t* (esp. Vedic): *deva-stú-t-* „praising the gods“; *brahma-kṛt-* „(the one) creating the Brahma, poet“, lat. *sacer-dōs* „priest“, -*dōtis* < tr. **sakro-déh$_3$-t-s* „he who gives out the **sakra*“, *gr. dám-ar, dámar-t-os* „the one fitting together the house, wife, spouse“ PIE *-*h$_2$er-/-h$_2$r̥-* „fit“

Verbal governing compounds (synthetic compounds)

(Second member):

c) Verbal thematic noun with *o*-grade in R:

Gr. *dru-tómos* „cutting wood“„wood-cutter“ (cf. also myc. *du-ru-to-mo*), *tokso-phóros* „bow-bearing“, *oikódomos* „building houses“ „house-builder“ „building houses“ etc. ved. *madhu-doghá-* „milking (i.e. yielding) sweetness“, *udake-cará-* „moving in the water“ (PIE *-k^{u} *olh*$_1$*-o-*), *vājam-bhará-* „carrying if the booty“ *aśva-hayá-* „driving horses“ etc. lat. *agricola* „farmer, cultivator of land“

Verbal governing compounds (synthetic compounds)

- origin of synthetic compounds type 1) according to Schindler (class): Bahuvrīhi

ved. vṛtra-hán- „killing Vṛtra“ < „one characterized by the killing of Vṛtra“;

gr. *oikó-domos* „building houses“ < „one characterizd by house-building“;

lat. *agri-cola* „farmer“ („durch Ackerbau charakterisiert“ cf. Lindner 2002, 38; „characterized by farming“)

etc.

Verbal governing compounds (synthetic compounds)

Cf. Action nouns that become agent nouns: German *Bedienung*:

die **Bedienung** dieser Maschine ist schwierig (the **operaton** of this machine is difficult) vs. **Bedienung**, bitte kommen! (**waitress**/ **waiter**, please come)

Verbal governing compounds (synthetic compounds)

Arguments for Schindler:

- All the types (a), b) and c)) have simplicia that are action nouns:

e.g. ad a) root nouns (root noun simplex ved. * *han-/ghn-*"killing" ist unattested) e.g. ved. *budh-* (RV 1,137 3: *uṣáso budhí* „at the getting awake of dawn")

Ad b) root nouns + *-t-*: e.g. ved. *stú-t-* f.„hymn of praise" (RV)

Ad c) Verbal thematic noun with o-grade in R: e.g. gr. *tómos* „slice, cut, piece", gr. *phóros* „payment"

Verbal governing compounds (synthetic compounds)

Arguments for Schindler:

- In Vedic, also other typical action nouns were used this way:

–ti-: ídhma-bhṛti- „characterized by the bringing of firewood“, „someone bringing the firewood“ cf. *bhṛtí-* „bearing“

Verbal governing compounds (synthetic compounds)

2) Verbal element in the first member (very rare PIE)

OP *xšayaršan* (name Xerxes) „ruling over men/heroes“

Gr. *pheréoikos* „carrying one‘s house“ „snail“, *arkhé-kakos* „starting evil“, *pheressakés* „shield-bearing“,

Ved. *Trasá-dasyu-* (male personal name) „making the enemies tremble“ lat. *contere-bromius* (Old Latin; humorous epithet for Libya Plaut. Curc 3,1,76) „pound into pieces by wine“ (*contero* „to crush, pound into pieces“; *Bromius* „the noisy one“ (gr.) =Bacchus); German „*Fürchtegott*“ (name,“fear God“ cf. Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, 18th cent. philosopher)

Verbal governing compounds (synthetic compounds

Type 2) productive in Romance languages (cf. Lindner 2003, 123-124)

e.g. fr. *garde-robe* „wardrobe“, it. *guarda-roba*, span. *guardarroba;*

Fr. garde-bois „forest warden“; it. guarda-boschi, span. guarda-bosque

Lindner: This type is Indo-European heritage in the Romance languages

PIE Compounds: the point of junction (Kompositionsfuge; lat. commissura), connecting/ linking elements /morphemes

Normally: the first member appears in its stem form or with a generalized „interfix“-*o*-:

**ĝhosti-pot(i)s* „guest-master“: lat. *hospes,-itis*; OCS *gospodъ* „the Lord“ (from lat. *hostis* „foreigner, enemy“ – OCS *gostь* „guest“ engl *guest-* + *potis* (synchronically „mighty“, **poti-* „master“ (ved. *páti-*, gr. *pósi-*)

**dm̥-pedóm* „house-ground, floor“: gr. *dápedon*; » germanic **tumfeti* „foundation“ (would be gr. **da-pedi*) (ON *tuft*, OSw *tompt*)

**tri-diu̯óm* „period of three days“ (Bahuvrīhi): ved. *tridivám* ~lat. *triduum*

PIE Compounds: linking elements / morphemes (Fugenelemente)

o-junction:

Ved. *nivṛtt**a**-dakṣiṇ**á**-* fem. (ŚBr. ≈ 7th cent.BC)„a gift renounced or despiced by another“ gr. *akr**ó**-polis* **fem**. „high town, castle“ (since Homer, 8th cent. BC)

myc. *ko-to-no-o-ko /ktoin**o**-hokhos/* „land-owner“(12th cent. BC) (political title) vs. rhod. *ktoín**a*** „land, local division“;

Tendency also in the history of Greek: gr. *pur-phóros* „fire-bearing“ (since Pindar, 6th-5th century BC), gr. pur**o**-phóros (Philon, 500 years later)

PIE Compounds: linking elements / morphemes (Fugenelemente)

gr. *Néa pólis* „Naples“ (Herodot, 5th century BC), gr. *Neápolis* (Strabo, 1st cent. BC), later inscriptions: *Neopolítēs* „inhabitant of Naples“ and *Neapolítēs*

PIE Compounds: linking elements / morphemes (Fugenelemente)

Caland-*i*-serving as a linking morpheme (see also presentation 3)

* *ĥkruh$_2$-i-droṷ-s* „having (a) bloody wood(en weapon)“ (av. *xruu-i-.drau-š* „having a bloody club“) cf. * *kruh$_2$-ró-* „bloody“ (ved. *krūrá-*, Yav. *xrūra-*, lat. *crūdus* (< * *crūrus* –with dissimilation or –(*i)dus*-formation))

gr. *kud-i-áneira* „making men famous“ (cf. gr. *kũdros* „famous“), av. *bərəz-i.caxra-* „ „having lofty/great chariots“ (cf. av. *bərəz-* „height“; ved. *tuv-i-kratu* (voc) „having forceful magical power“ (cf. távas-vant- „endowed with power“), ved. *ṛj-í-śvan-* (PN): „the one who has swift horses“ (cf. ved. *ṛj-rá-* „swift“)

PIE Compounds: linking elements / morphemes (Fugenelemente)

Sometimes there is also a **case form as junction**. One example:

Syntagm * *déms pótis* „lord of the house / head of the household“ > * *démspotis*: gr. *des-pótēs, -ou* „master, lord“ (masculine ā-stem, simplex cf. gr. *pósis* „husband“) vs. av. *dəṇg paⁱti,* ved. *dámpati* (aside *pátir dan*)

Case compounds from univerbation(Dunkel 1999)

Dunkel 1999 considers the „case form“- type very old [hitt. *nekuz meḫur* „at evening time“ (genitive in the front) gr. *oresí-trophos* „mountain-bred“ („bred in the mountains“) (dative/locative in the front) ved. *divi-já-* „born in the sky“ (locative in the front), ved. agnim-indhá- „fire-lighter“ (an office of a priesthood) (accusative in front), lat. manū- missio „the release of a person from the „hand“ (=authority) of another, freeing of a slave“]

He analyzes neuter u-stems in the front, e.g. Homeric *ōkú-pteros* „having swift wings“ as originating in *ōkù (nom.) pterón* (*estí*) „(it is a) swift wing“; other cases with verb forms: * *medʰu-h₁éd* -(ved. *madhv-ád-* „eating honey (acc.)“≈ OCS *medv-ěd* „bear“)

Vedic: sometimes a long vowel in the junction

ved. *sū-nára-* „having good (man-)power“ (but cf. also *su-mánas-* „having a good mind“, *su-bhága-* „possessing good fortune“ etc.); *viśvá-vasu-* „having all good“ (but cf. also: *viśvá-bheṣaja-* „having all remedies“, *viśvá-rūpa-* „having all forms“) etc.

Origin: *- $\breve{V}$ + *HC* > - $\bar{V}$ + *C*

ved. *sū-nára-* „having good (man-)power“ < * h_1*su* + h_2*nér-o-* (for * h_2*nér-*cf. gr. nom. *anḗr „*man “acc. *anéra,* ved*. nár-*), vs. ved. *su-mánas-* < * h_1*su-* + **méne/os)* „good-minded; well disposed“

Also explanation for opaque forms: *dvī-pá-* “island“< * *dṷi* + h_2*p-* (* *dṷi* means „two“, for *-h_2*p-* cf. * h_2*ep-* „water „(hitt. *ḫappa* „to the water“, ved. *áp-* „water“)

Greek: lengthening of the linking vowel

Wackernagel‘s Law II

Literature:

- Wackernagel, Jacob 1889: Das Dehnungsgesetz der griechischen Komposita. In: Programm zur Rektoratsfeier der Universität Basel 1-65. (=Wackernagel Kleine Schriften Bd. 2 Göttingen: Vandenhoeck& Ruprecht 1969, 897-961)

- Lindner 2011, 53-61

Bader, Françoise 1972: Le traitement des hiatus à la jointure des deux membres d‘un composé nominal en mycénien. In: Ruipérez, Martin S. (ed.): Acta Mycenaea, vol. 2 . Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 141-196

Greek: lengthening of the linking vowel

Descriptively:

After the disappearance of the laryngeals, the thematic linking vowel

*-o- contracts with the anlauting vowel of the second member of a compound. The vowel quality is the one of the anlauting vowel of the second member:

$*°\text{-}o + H_iV_i\text{-}° > \ *°\text{-}o+V_i\text{-}° > °\text{-}\bar{V}_i\text{-}$

$*°\text{-}o + h_1e\text{-}° > *°\text{-}o+e\text{-}° > \bar{e}$: $*h_2eh_3m\mathbf{o\text{-}h_1e}d°\text{-}$ „eating raw flesh“ gr: *ōm**ē**stés*, ved. *āmád-*

Greek: lengthening of the linking vowel

*°-*o*+*h*$_2$*e*-° > °-*o* + *a*-° > -*ā*-:* Tr.**h*$_1$*eḱu̯o-h*$_2$*eǵ*- „driving horses“ (cf. ved. aśvā́janī- „whip“, for the quality of the linking vowel cf. Gr. **strato-agós* „commander (of an army)“ > dor *stratāgós* (att-ion. stratēgós)

*°-*o*+*h*$_3$*e*-° > °*-*o* + *o*-° > -*ō*- : Tr. **k*$^{u}_{e}$*k*^{u}*lo-h*$_3$*ek*^{u}*-s* „having round eyes“ > gr. adj. *kúklōps*; gr. PN *Kúklōps*

Greek: lengthening of the linking vowel

perhaps = ved. lengthening of the linking vowel, see above (Bader 1972): Origin: *- $\check{V}$ + HC > - $\bar{V}$ + C

this hypothesis implies two additional assumptions:

a)One has to assume that the second member of the compound originally had zero grade in the root (type *dí-phr-os* „chariot-board on which two can stand“): e.g. Tr. *$*k^{u}_{\hat{}}{}_{e}k^{u}_{\hat{}}lo\text{-}h_3k^{u}_{\hat{}}\text{-}s$ „having round eyes“ > gr. adj. *kúklōps*; gr. PN *Kúklōps.*

Greek: lengthening of the linking vowel

Problem of a): it only works with *h_3 at the beginning of the second member;

-with *h_1 the output also would be *ō:* *$h_2eh_3mo\text{-}h_1d$°- „eating raw flesh“ would give gr. † **ōmōstés* instead of: *ōmēstés;*

-With *h_2 the output also would be *ō* : *°-*o-*$h_2\hat{g}$-° would give †**stratōgós* „commander (of an army)“ instead of dor *stratāgós*

Thus hypothesis b):

b) The colour of the long vowel is influenced by the vowel in the root of the respective second member (*h_1ed- > **ed* „eat“, *$h_2e\hat{g}$- > *a$\hat{g}$-*

Tmesis/ Hyperbaton in the Noun Phrase

Phoebammon (Spengler, Rhet. Graec. III, 48) 6. Jhd. n. Chr.: περὶ σχημάτων im Kapitel περὶ τῶν τῆς μεταθέσεως· ὑπερβατὸν δέ ἐστι λέξις ἢ φράσις ἀνὰ μέσον ἔχουσά τι τῶν ἐξῆς νοουμένων. ἐν τρισὶ δὲ τοῦτο θεωρεῖται, ἢ ἐν λέξει, ..., ἤ ἐν λόγῳ, ἢ ἐν πράγματι. ἐν λέξει μὲν ὡς ἵνα θέλων εἰπεῖν, ὅτι κατέφαγε ταῦρον, εἴπω ὅτι κατὰ ταῦρον ἔφαγεν, ἢ ὡς ἵνα λέγῃ τις ὁ δεῖνα τὸν δεῖνα ἐτύπτησεν ἑταῖρόν μοι· ἐν λόγῳ μὲν, ὡς ἵνα εἴπωμεν ἐξεβόησαν, καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἤχησεν, ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν ἄρχοντα· ἐν πράγματι δὲ, οἷον ἡ θρέψασά με καὶ γεννησαμένη.

Tmesis / Hyperbaton

„Hyperbaton“ is an (expressive) speech or a way of speaking which has something in the middle of the things thought in sequence. In three (cases) this may be observed:

In an expressive speech (*en lékseɪ*), … in (spoken) speech (*en lógōɪ*) and in a (extralinguistic important, TK) matter (*en prágmatɪ*).

(It is used, TK) in an (expressive) speech (*lékseɪ*) — in order to say deliberately (*thélōn*): „He ate up a bull“ (*katéphage taũron*) I may say „up a bull he ate“ (***katà*** *taũron* ***éphagen***), or — that one may say „a certain one a **certain** beat **friend** of mine“ (a certain one beat a certain friend of mine“ - *ho deĩna tòn* ***deĩna*** *etúptēsen* ***hetaĩron*** *moɪ*).

Tmesis / Hyperbaton

(It is used, TK) in (spoken) speech (*en lógōi*) so that we may say „They **called out loudly**, and the theater resounded, **praising the ruler**“ (***eksebóēsan**, kaì to théatron ékhēsen, **epainoũntes tòn árkhonta***) and

(it is used, TK) in an (important) matter, such as „the(female) one who has **nourished** me and **brought forth** (me)“ (*hē threpsasá me kaì gennēsaménē*)

Tmesis / Hyperbaton

a) CIL VI 1139 (inscription of honour for emperor Constantine the Great 4th cent. AD), 3, 5ff.: *quod.../tam de tyranno quam de omni eius / factione uno tempore **iustis** / rempublicam ultus est **armis*** „because he freed the state both from the tyrant and from his whole clique at the same time **in justified military actions**.“

b) Plaut. Rud 511: ***Pulmoneum** edepol nimis velim **vomitum** vomas*“By Pollux, I could very much wish that **you would vomit a vomit consisting of lung”**

c) IG III,3, (Wünsch Def. Tab.) 75a2 (3. Jhd. v. Chr., attisch): *kaì **tò ergasían** katadēnúō **a[u]to[ũ]*** „and I put a spell on **his work**“

Tmesis / Hyperbaton

d) Latin Minimal pair

- da) Plaut. Amph. 616: ***Nimia*** *memoras* ***mira.*** *Sed vidistin uxorem meam*? „You talk of **things extremely wonderful**. But did you see my wife?”

vs.

- db) Plaut. Amph. 1105 f.: ***Nimia mira*** *memoras. Si istaec vera sunt, divinitus non metuo quin meae uxori latae suppetiae sunt*.“Most wondrous things you tell of. If these things are true, I do not doubt that help has been brought to my wife from heaven”

Tmesis / Hyperbaton

e) Vedic (translations: Jamison / Brereton 2014)

ea) RV 1.10.10: ***vṛ́ṣantamasya*** *hūmaha* ***ūtíṃ sahasrasā́tamām***

„We call for the help of the best of bulls that wins a thousand“

eb) RV 1.18.3

mā́ naḥ śáṃso ***áraruṣo dhūrtíḥ*** *pránaṅ* ***mártyasya***

„Let not the (male)diction, **the malice of the grudging mortal** reach us.“

Tmesis / Hyperbaton

f) Hittite (tmesis is rare)

StBoT 8, Vs 22 (altheth.) **II** ^{D}***Ḫa-an-ta-še-pu-uš*** *ḫar-ua-ni* **GI[(Š-*aš*)]**
"We have two H.-deities from wood."

The hyperbaton of nouns is of PIE age.

Tmesis / Hyperbaton

Literature:

Krisch, Thomas 2017: Proto-Indo-European Syntax. In: Kapović, Mate (ed.): The Indo-European Languages. Second edition. London & New York: Routledge, 111-152, esp. 116-120.

Krisch, Thomas 1998, “Zum Hyperbaton in altindogermanischen Sprachen,” in: Meid, Wolfgang (ed.), Sprache und Kultur der Indogermanen. Akten der X. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft Innsbruck, 22. -28. September 1996, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft Innsbruck: (= IBS 93): 351–384

Kühner, Raphael and Bernhard Gerth 1963=1904: Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre. Zweiter Band. München: Max Hueber Verlag

Tmesis / Hyperbaton

For Greek: Kühner / Gerth 1963=1904, 600:

„Ein besonders kräftiges Mittel zur Hervorhebung eines Wortes durch die Stellung ist die Sperrung oder Auseinanderstellung zweier zu einer Einheit verbundener Wörter durch Dazwischenstellung eines oder mehrerer minder wichtiger Wörter. Durch diese Trennung wird in der Regel zwar nur eines der beiden Wörter, nämlich das erste, hervorgehoben , oft jedoch auch beide, zumal wenn beide an Kraftstellen … des Satzes gesetzt sind.“

„An especially strong means to emphasize a word by its position is the „Sperrung“ (tmesis / hyperbaton) or dislocation of two words that are linked to a unity. This is done by placing in between them one word or several words that are less important. By this separation normally only one of the two words, namely the first one, is emphasized, sometimes also both, in particular when both are positioned in „power positions“ … of the sentence“

Tmesis / Hyperbaton

Hom. Od. 4,353:

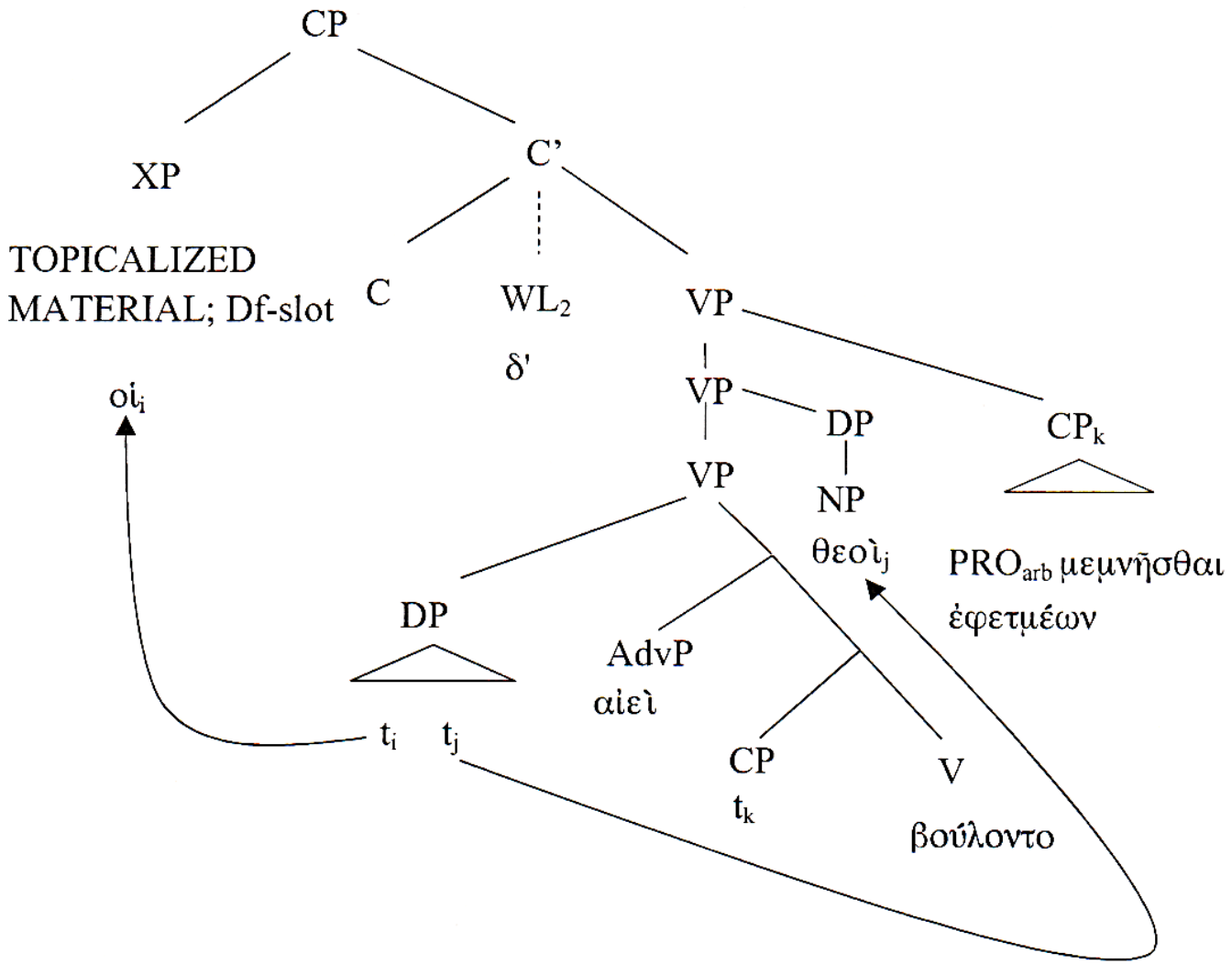
οἱ	*δ'*	*αἰεὶ*	*βούλοντο*	*θεοὶ*
hoi	*d'*	*aieì*	*boúlonto*	*theoì*
The(se)NOM.PL	but	always	want.3PL.INJ.MID	god.NOM.PL

μεμνῆσθαι	*ἐφετμέων*
memnẽsthai	ephetméōn
remember.INF.PERF.MID	command.GEN.PL

"But the(se), the gods, always want to remember (their) commands"

Tmesis / Hyperbaton

Cf. Krisch 2017, 118



Tmesis / Hyperbaton

Hom. Il. 1,8:

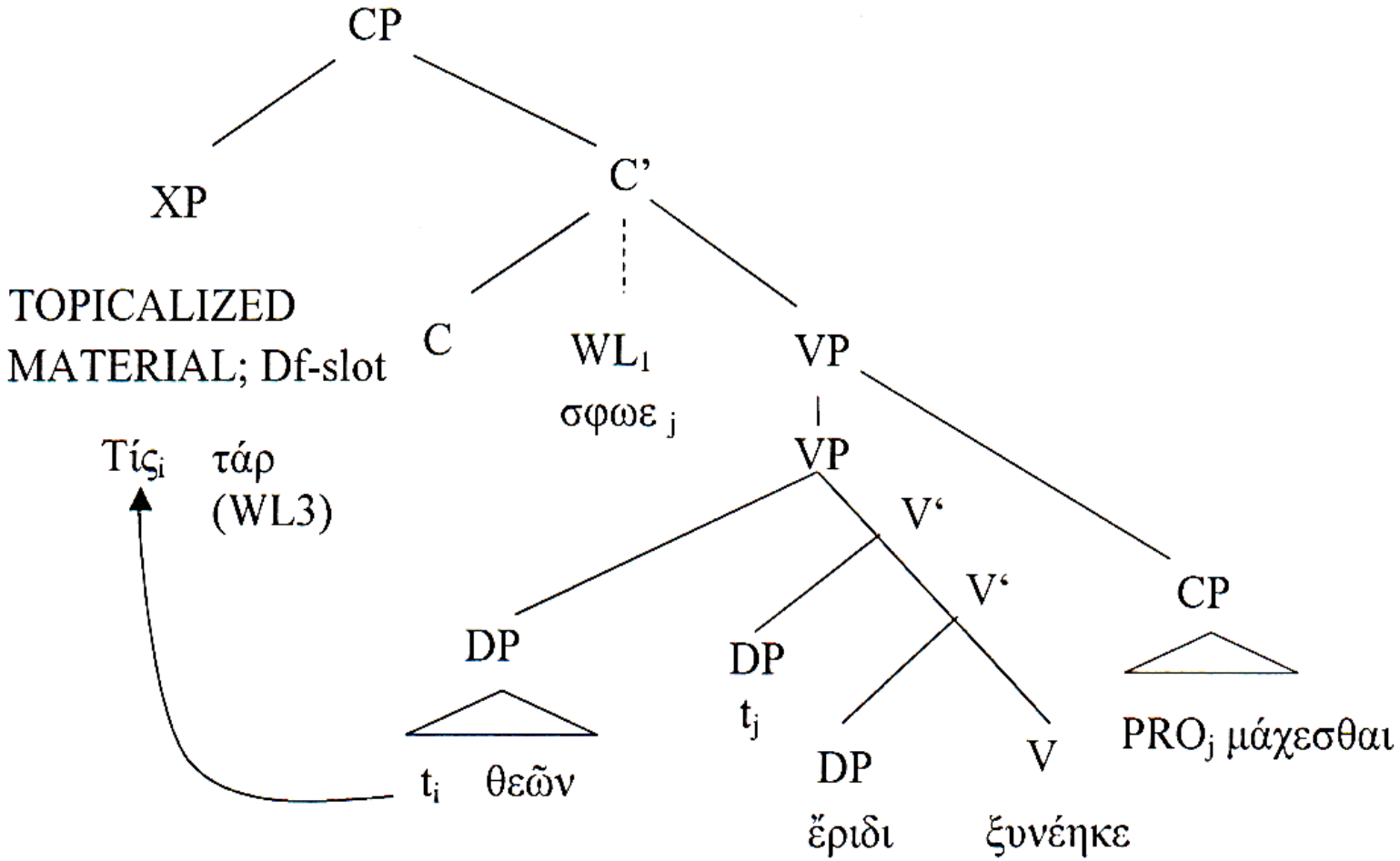
Τίς	*τάρ*	*σφωε*	***θεῶν***	*ἔριδι*
Tís	*tár*	*sphōe*	***theõn***	*éridi*
Who.NOM.SG	there	they.ACC.DU	god.GEN.PL	quarrel.DAT.SG

ξυνέηκε	*μάχεσθαι*
ksunéēke	*mákhesthai*
bring.together.3SG.AOR	fight.INF.MID

"Who on earth of the gods brought both of them together to fight in quarrel?"

Tmesis / Hyperbaton

Cf. Krisch 2017, 117



„Tmesis“ in smaller linguistic groups

Preposition -noun-adjective

a) Latin

Verg. Aen. 1,535ff:

*cum subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion / **in uada caeca** tulit penitusque procacibus Austris /*

“when with swift-rising flood the stormful Orion's star drove us **on viewless shoals/shallows** and in Southern Winds, undisciplined from within”

„Tmesis“ in smaller linguistic groups

Preposition -noun-adjective

b) Greek

Il. 1,250 ff.

*tõi d’ édē dúo mèn geneaì merópōn anthrṓpōn / ephtíath’, hoí hoi prósthen háma tráphen ēd’ egénonto / **en Púlōi ēgathéēi**, metà dè tritátoisin ánassen*

“Two generations of mortal men had passed away, who had been born and reared with him before **in sacred Pylos**, and he was king among the third. “

„Tmesis“ in smaller linguistic groups

Preposition – adjective (- genitive) – noun

a) Latin

Verg. Aen. 1,691:

at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem / inrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit ***in altos / Idaliae lucos*** " But Venus pours a perfect calmness over Ascanius' bodyparts and carries the one held warm in her bosom up **to the high groves of Idalia**”

„Tmesis“ in smaller linguistic groups

Preposition – adjective (- genitive) – noun

b) Greek

Il. 1,520 ff.

Hē dè kaì m‘ aieì ***en athanátoisi theoîsi*** */ neikeĩ, kaí té mé phēsi mákhēi Trṓessi arḗgein*

Even now she always upbraids me **among the immortal gods**, [520] and declares that I give aid to the Trojans in battle

„Tmesis“ in smaller linguistic groups

Adjective – preposition-noun

a) Latin

Verg. Aen. 1,583 ff.:

omnia tuta uides, classem sociosque receptos. / unus abest, ***medio in fluctu*** *quem uidimus ipsi / submersum*

“You see that all is well and that your fleet and followers are recovered. Only one is absent whom we have seen face-to-face drowned **right in the waves.”**

„Tmesis“ in smaller linguistic groups

Adjective – preposition-noun

b) Greek

Hom. Il. 4,1f.

Hoi dè theoì pàr Zēnì kathémenoi ēgoróōnto / ***khruséōi en dapédō***

But the gods, seated by the side of Zeus, were holding assembly **on the golden floor**

„Tmesis“ in smaller linguistic groups

noun – preposition – adjective:

a) Latin:

Verg. Aen. 2,512 f.:

aedibus in mediis *(nudoque sub aetheris axe / ingens ara fuit iuxtaque ueterrima laurus)*

“**Right in the dwelling-place** and under the open vault of heaven there was a huge altar and beside it a very old laurel-tree”

„Tmesis“ in smaller linguistic groups

noun – preposition – adjective

b) Greek

Hom. Il. 2,350 f.

Phēmì gàr oũn kataneũsai hupermenéa Kroníōna / hḗmati tõi hóte ***nēusìn en ōkupóroisin*** *ébainon / Argeĩoi Tróessi phónon kaì kē̃ra phérontes*

„For I declare that Cronos' son, supreme in might, gave promise with his nod on that day when the Argives went **onto the swift-faring ships**, bearing unto the Trojans death and fate;

„Real“ Tmesis

preposition -adjective- X - noun

a) Latin

Verg. Aen. 2,45 f.:

*aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achiui, aut haec **in nostros** fabricata est machina **muros** /*

„either Archivi are hidden enclosed in this wood, or this machine is made **against our walls**“

„Real“ Tmesis

preposition -adjective- X - noun

b) Greek:

Hom. Od. 8,336f

ē̃ rhá ken en ***desmoĩs*** *ethélois* ***krateroĩsi*** *piestheìs / heúdein en léktroisi parà khruséēi Aphrodítēi*

„Do you really want to sleep on the couch with golden Aphrodite, pressed down by **strong bonds**?“

„Real“ Tmesis

adjective – X – preposition – noun

a) Latin:

Verg. Aen. 3,200:

*excutimur cursu et **caecis** erramus **in undis***

„we are hurled out of the course and drift **in blind waves**.“

„Real“ Tmesis

adjective – X – preposition – noun

b) Greek

Hom. Il. 5,387:

khalkéōi *d‘* ***en kerámōi*** *dédeto triskaídeka mẽnas*

„and **in a brazen jar** he was kept in bonds for thirteen months“

„Real“ Tmesis

preposition – noun – X – adjective

a) Latin:

Verg. Aen. 5,220:

*et primum **in scopulo** luctantem deserit **alto** / Sergestum breuibusque uadis frustraque uocantem /*

“As the first one he abandons Sergestus who struggles **on a high rock** and who calls (for help) in vain in shallow shoals …”

„Real“ Tmesis

preposition – noun – X – adjective

b) Greek:

Hom. Il. 3,282
hēmeĩs d‘ ***en néessi*** *neṓmetha* ***pontopóroisin***
„and we will return in the seafaring ships“