

Studies on the Collective and Feminine in Indo-European from a Diachronic and Typological Perspective

Edited by
Sergio Neri & Roland Schuhmann



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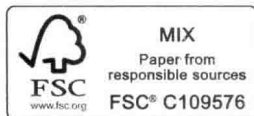
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Studies on the Collective and Feminine in
Indo-European from a Diachronic and
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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea for the present volume, *Studies on the Collective and Feminine in Indo-European from a Diachronic and Typological Perspective*, was suggested by some participants at the end of the 4. Jenaer Indogermanistisches Kolloquium *Kollektivum und Femininum: Flexion oder Wortbildung? Zum Andenken an Johannes Schmidt* (2010) and was realized thanks to the support of one of the lecturers, H. Craig Melchert, co-editor of the series BSIEL.

The book is presented here by request of the editors of the series as a sort of monograph and is meant to exemplify the variety of approaches to the topic. For this purpose, the contributions were editorially unified, alphabetically arranged by author's name and provided with an English abstract. This allows readers who are interested just in single papers to purchase each one separately. For this reason, no comprehensive bibliography was put together for the whole volume.

We would like to express our thanks to the many people and institutions that made this project possible. First of all we are indebted to the speakers at the above mentioned colloquium who, despite the short time span between the invitation and the date of the conference and the limited financial support, were pleased to take part, as well as the numerous participants from near and far who have contributed to the success of the event. Without the active support of Rosemarie Lühr, the student assistants, and the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena, the organization of the conference would not have been possible: also to them goes our deep gratitude. We also are much indebted to the authors who did not actually participate at the colloquium itself, but were disposed to submit a contribution to the volume. We would also like to thank the two peer reviewers of Brill for their helpful and detailed comments on the single papers of the book.

Finally, we want to express our heartfelt thanks to the editors of the series *Brill Studies in Indo-European Languages & Linguistics*, Olav Hackstein and H. Craig Melchert, who have gladly agreed to include this volume in the series, as well as the always helpful and patient assistant editors of Brill Franca de Kort, Jasmin Lange and Stephanie Paalvast.

We are pleased to hand over the final work to friends, colleagues and the scientific community.

Jena, December 2013
Sergio Neri and Roland Schuhmann

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INTRODUCTION

Sergio Neri and Roland Schuhmann

Collectivum est, quod singulari numero multitudinem significat, ut "populus", "plebs". (Priscian, GLK 2,61,21)

Diese in mehreren zweigen unseres sprachstammes sich zeigende erscheinung, dass zu masculinen singularen ein neutraler p[l]ural auf urspr. -ā gebildet ist, lässt sich nicht als geschlechtswechsel der betreffenden worte auffassen [...]. Sie muss vielmehr in der natur dieser pluralbildung selbst begründet sein. Diese plurale auf -ā sind ursprünglich singulare, da sie das prädicat im singular bei sich haben, sie sind aber an sich nicht neutral, da sie auch zu masculinen gebildet werden. D. h. sie sind ursprünglich collective feminine singulare [...]. (Johannes Schmidt 1889: 8–9)

Kühner war, dasz zuletzt aus dem collectivum wieder die vorstellung des individuum hervor trat, in der weise wie wir es bei den wörtern bursch und camerad wahrgenommen. das frauenzimmer erst ein ort, dann eine mehrheit von hoffrauen, hernach von frauen überhaupt geltend, ist endlich eine einzelne und zwar eine feine, gebildete frauensperson, etwas mehr als dies letzte wort besagt, worunter auch eine gemeine, gewöhnliche frau gedacht werden kann.

(DWb, vol. 4, col. 86, s.v. *Frauenzimmer*)

The present volume contains thirteen papers examining various aspects of grammatical gender and number in Proto-Indo-European and in some Indo-European daughter languages, making use of the methods of Indo-European linguistics, theoretical linguistics and typology. For the most part, the contributions stem from lectures held at the 4. *Jenaer Indogermanistisches Kolloquium*, which took place from the 28th to the 29th of July 2010 at the Friedrich Schiller University Jena under the title *Kollektivum und Femininum: Flexion oder Wortbildung? Zum Andenken an Johannes Schmidt*.

The colloquium was the fourth in a series of conferences which are dedicated to prominent researchers associated with the Friedrich Schiller

University Jena¹—Johannes Schmidt studied Indo-European Linguistics in Jena under the aegis of August Schleicher and received his Ph.D. in 1864 with the work *Die Wurzel "ak" im Indogermanischen*.²

The choice of the title of the colloquium was inspired by Schmidt's pioneering work *Die Pluralbildungen der indogermanischen Neutra*, wherein the great scholar presented to the scientific community a set of observations and questions that are still the object of vivid discussion in historical linguistics.

Based on intuitions of earlier authors,³ J. Schmidt tried to show that a closer relationship between grammatical and lexical categories such as feminine gender, collective, and plural number of neuter nouns can be found in old Indo-European languages that recalls typologically the situation in the Semitic languages. Subsequent research has taken up this idea in order to either develop it or to challenge it. Especially in recent decades, the debate involving Schmidt's work has been renewed, as evidenced by numerous publications on this topic—here may be mentioned among others Eichner 1985, Harðarson 1987, Tichy 1993, Fritz 1998, Ledo-Lemos 2003, Matasović 2004, Balles 2004, Stüber 2007, Jasanoff 2009, Melchert 2011, Pinault 2011, and Hackstein 2012. Also in theoretical linguistics and language typology this topic represents a significant object of research: see e.g. Corbett 1991, Acquaviva 2008 or Irslinger 2010.

¹ The colloquia have been taking place in Jena since 2007 and have been dedicated to this date to such eminent scholars as Günter Neumann, Friedrich Schlegel, Berthold Delbrück, Johannes Schmidt, August Schleicher, Friedrich Slotty and Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm. Whereas the Jena colloquia are regularly held in May, this specific colloquium in memory of Johannes Schmidt was held in July; this permitted also the participation of international guests as speakers and as audience.

² Schmidt 1865.

³ As Schmidt (1889: 10–11 Fn. 1) points out, his theory is already contained *in nuce* (but with some important differences) in Ernst Meier's book *Die Bildung und Bedeutung des Plural in den indogermanischen und semitischen Sprachen nebst einer Einleitung über den Bau der semitischen Verbalstämme* (Mannheim 1846). In Meyer's opinion, the common ancestor of both Semitic and Indo-European languages showed a two-gender opposition "Maskulinum" vs. "Neutrum", whereas "Femininum" originated secondarily from the neuter. In particular, the plural of the Indo-European neuter nouns arose from a neuter singular abstract substantive: "Insbesondere aber erklärt sich hieraus die merkwürdige und in ihrem Grunde bis jetzt nicht erkannte Eigenthümlichkeit der griechischen Sprache, wonach der Pluralnominativ der Neutra ganz regelmässig mit dem Singular der Verben verbunden wird, z. B. τα ζῶα τρέχει, die Thiere laufen, eig. das Lebendige oder, was lebt = alles Gethier läuft; ταῦτα εἶσιν ἀγαθὰ dies ist gut u.s.w. Nur aus dem lebendigen Bewusstsein des ursprünglichen Abstraktbegriffes ist diese Konstruktion des Plural mit dem Singular erklärlich und kann, bei dem Neutrum zumal, gar nicht befremden." (Meier 1846: 49–50): cf. Harðarson 2012: 1–2, with references to this as well as to other earlier contributions on the origin of the feminine gender in Indo-European such as Grimm 1851: 345–346, 358–359, Windisch 1869, and Brugmann 1889, 1891.

The vivacity of the current debate was reflected by the different approaches and divergent opinions that came to light in the lectures, and the widespread interest in the topic was evidenced through the surprisingly large number of participants at the colloquium, which has encouraged the organizers to present to the research community a publication of the contributions. Since the framework of the colloquium was extremely limited in time for technical, organisational and financial reasons, the editors decided to invite, in addition to the speakers, also other experts to contribute to the final volume. Accordingly, this book is not to be strictly understood as a "Proceedings" volume, but more as a monograph written by several hands on the collective and feminine in Indo-European.

The contributions focus on various aspects of the Indo-European nominal system and its grammatical categories, and in particular the formation of the nominative plural neuter, the feminine gender, the collective and their mutual dependencies, as well as to the origin of the feminine gender and its relationship to the collective in the Indo-European proto-language.

The majority of the Indo-European daughter languages shows a three gender system, but the early Anatolian languages attest only two genders, *commune* and *neutrum*. In this respect it remains controversial to this day whether the feminine gender is inherited or arose secondarily from a different morphological or lexical category. Because of specific structural and morphosyntactic features it is also an open question whether the neuter plural, which is documented in individual languages, continues an old inflectional category or rather arose from an original word formation category "collective".

On the question of the relationship between feminine and collective, the authors in this volume present a wide variety of approaches: Roland Litscher follows Tichy (1993) and Fritz (1998) and ultimately Schmidt in deriving the feminine from collectives (see also Hackstein 2012), but with a heavily revised scenario. Rosemarie Lühr emphasizes the role of congruence, especially in the pronoun, in the development of the feminine gender. H. Craig Melchert, Alan J. Nussbaum, and Ronald I. Kim challenge the notion of the feminine as arising from collectives. Kim's paper (as well as the expanded written versions of other authors) also offers a corrective to the almost total lack of attention to the ablauting motion suffix **-ih₂/-ieh₂* in the original colloquium presentations (see on this suffix also Stüber 2007 and Pinault 2011). The papers of Silvia Luraghi, Ranko Matasović, and Matthias Passer treat the problem of feminine grammatical gender from a typological perspective, while Britta Irslinger tests theories of functional gender against the data of the Brittonic Celtic languages. Hannes A. Fellner discusses function and development of the PIE

suffix **-eh₂* in Tocharian, Jón Axel Harðarson reviews the status of the PIE root noun **sor* 'woman' and the much debated question of its development to a motion suffix. Finally, Norbert Oettinger and Thomas Steer treat unresolved problems regarding the formal aspects of the PIE collective, in particular accent and ablaut.

The contributions gathered in this volume not only reflect the current debate, but are also intended to give a fresh impetus to future research on this topic.⁴

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⁴ We are very much indebted to H. Craig Melchert for his generosity in revising the English of this introduction (as well as of other contributions in this volume), and for improving the text with important suggestions and references.

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PIE FEMININE **-eh₂* IN TOCHARIAN

Hannes A. Fellner

Abstract: Recently, there have been attempts to challenge the status of PIE **-eh₂* as a feminine suffix in Tocharian. It has been claimed that there are virtually no traces of **-eh₂* in Tocharian nominal morphology and that the instances of **-eh₂* that are found do only reflect the continuants of PIE neuter collectives/abstracts. Based on these assumptions, the Tocharian gender system has been interpreted as preserving a more archaic state than the other non-Anatolian languages. I argue that the Tocharian evidence does not permit such far-reaching claims. Based on the Tocharian gender and agreement system, I show that it inherited PIE **-eh₂* as a feminine marker just like the other non-Anatolian languages.

1.¹ Tocharian possesses two morphological categories that have recently been invoked to claim that it preserves a more archaic gender system than the inner-Indo-European languages.² These are the feminine singular of the continuants of PIE thematic adjectives in nom. sg. f. ^{B-ya} ^{A-i}, obl. ^{B-yai} ^{A-yāṃ} and a group of nouns in nom. sg. m./f. ^{B-a} ^{A-ø}, obl. ^{B-ai}, ^{A-āṃ}. In different ways both of them have been used to challenge the status of PIE **-eh₂* and **-ih₂* as feminine markers in Tocharian with (partially far-reaching) conjectures about the Indo-European proto-language.

1.1. Turning to the first category, it is notable that in the feminine singular,³ the continuants of PIE thematic adjectives (TEB class I)⁴ differ from their cognates in other Indo-European languages. Greek and Latin, for example, show the regular development of the (late-)PIE feminine adjective suffix **-eh₂*:

¹ I wish to thank Jay Jasanoff, Jeremy Rau, Melanie Malzahn, George-Jean Pinault, Craig Melchert, Laura Grestenberger, and Sergio Neri for helpful discussion and comments on previous versions of this paper. I am, of course, solely responsible for all errors.

² The Indo-European branches excluding Anatolian and Tocharian (Jasanoff 2003: 183).

³ For the plural see below.

⁴ The main members of this class are the adjectives in ^{B-re} ^{A-r} (e.g. ^{Bratre} ^{Artär} 'red'), the gerundives in ^{B-lle} ^{A-l} (e.g. ^{Bpralle} ^{Apräl} 'to be carried' (: ^{BApär-} 'carry')), the adjectives in ^{B-sše} ^{A-ši} (e.g. ^{Borašše} ^{Aorši} 'wooden' (: ^{BAor} 'wood')), the adjectives in ^{B-ññe} ^{A-ñi} (e.g. ^{Bostaññe} 'domestic' (: ^{Bost} 'house')), the adjectives in ^{B-tstse} ^{A-ts} (e.g. ^{Bkramartstse} ^{Akrāmārts} 'weighty, heavy' (: ^{Bkrāmār} 'weight, heaviness')), the so-called privatives in ^{B-tte} ^{A-t} (e.g. ^{Betänkätte} ^{Atänkāt} 'unhindered' (: ^{BAtänk-} 'hinder')) and ordinal numbers in ^{B-te} ^{A-t} (e.g. ^{Btrite} ^{Atrit} 'third').

	Gk.	Lat.			PIE
nom. sg. f.	-ᾶ	-ā ⁵	<	*-ā	< *-eh ₂
acc. sg. f.	-ᾶν	-am ⁶	<	*-ām	< *-eh ₂ -m

Depending on the exact treatment of *-eh₂ in final position,⁷ the expected outcome of the (late-)PIE feminine adjective suffix *-eh₂ in Tocharian would have looked as follows:

	TB	TA	PT	PIE
feminine				
nom. sg.	†-o or †-a	†-ø	< *-ā or *-a	< *-eh ₂
obl. sg.	†-o	†-ø	< *-ā	< *-eh ₂ -m

There is no evidence for this kind of feminine inflection in class I adjectives. The attested feminine in this class deviates significantly from the expected continuants of the (late-)PIE feminine adjectival suffix *-eh₂:

	TB	TA			
feminine					
nom. sg.	-ya	-i			
obl. sg.	-yai	-yām			
nom./obl. pl.	-ana	-ām	or	-ona	-am

The reconstruction of this feminine yields PT *-ya.⁸ The suffix *-ya as a feminine is also found *mutatis mutandis* in the adjective classes that continue PIE athematic stems.⁹ Furthermore, there are two feminine substantives that continue PT *-ya, namely the substantivized feminine *nt*-stem ^B*lāntsa* ^A*lānts* ‘queen’ < PT *-nt-ya (to the substantivized masculine *nt*-stem ^B*walo*, obl. ^B*lānt*; ^A*wāl*, obl. ^A*lānt* ‘king’) and ^B*epetsa* ‘fiancée’ < PT *-pæt-ya (cf. Ved. *sapátnī* ‘rival; bride’).¹⁰

⁵ As it is well known, the Latin nom. sg. f. -a goes back to the PIE voc. f. sg. *-a, in which the laryngeal of *-eh₂ was lost by Kuiper’s Law (cf. Gk. nom. *νύμφη* vs. voc. *νύμφα*, OCS nom. *žena* ‘woman’ vs. voc. *ženo*).

⁶ Latin acc. sg. f. -am is the product of regular shortening of *-ām.

⁷ See below.

⁸ The oblique stems have been remodeled in both Toch. languages, but nevertheless continue PT *-ya- (see below).

⁹ These include the preterite participle (TEB class IV) in nom. sg. f. ^B-usa, ^A-us (cf. Ved. -úṣi, Gk. -vîα), the *nt*-adjectives (TEB class III) in nom. sg. f. ^B-ntsa, ^A-nts (cf. Ved. -tī-, Gk. -σα) and the *mo*-adjectives (TEB class II) in nom. sg. f. ^B-mñā, ^A-mim.

¹⁰ Pinault (2010: 36) shows that this is the correct interpretation of the word previously understood as ^B*petso* ‘husband’.

In the light of this evidence, there can be no doubt that PT *-ya continues PIE *-ih₂, i.e., the *devī*-type athematic feminine suffix (*-ih₂^d). The *devī*-type feminine had PIE nom. sg. *-ih₂ > PT *-ya, acc. sg. *-ih₂-m > *-īm > PT *-ī.¹¹ The somewhat surprising fact is that all Tocharian adjectives continuing PIE thematic stems continue this suffix.¹² Since the comparative evidence suggests that the *devī*-type *-ih₂-feminine was primarily associated with athematic stems whereas the *-eh₂-feminine was primarily associated with thematic stems, the Tocharian data are in need of an explanation.

1.2. There are two possible ways to account for the fact that Tocharian feminine thematic adjectives show the continuant of PIE *-ih₂: (1) Tocharian preserves a more morphologically archaic state of affairs than the other Indo-European languages. In accordance with the hypothesis that Tocharian was the second language to split off from PIE after Anatolian (Jasanoff 1988, 2003; Ringe 2000; Ringe et al. 2002), it could be argued that PIE *-eh₂ was not yet a feminine marker for adjectives when Tocharian left the Indo-European proto-language; (2) Tocharian does not differ from the inner-Indo-European branches and the continuant of PIE *-ih₂ was somehow analogically extended from athematic to thematic feminine adjectives.

1.2.1. Kim (2009) and Hackstein (2011) develop different approaches claiming that PIE *-eh₂ was not yet a feminine marker for adjectives when Tocharian left the Indo-European proto-language. Both assume a special status for PIE *-ih₂ that eventually lead to its grammaticalization as a feminine marker in Tocharian. According to Kim all Tocharian feminine adjectives continue a non-ablauting PIE *-ih₂ that originally designated appurtenance and could be derived from athematic and thematic stems. According to Hackstein the feminine to thematic adjectives in Tocharian goes back to a “collective-abstract” *-i-h₂, an *-h₂-collective that was derived from an *-i-stem abstract.

¹¹ The obl. sg. f. in the adjectives was remodeled in both languages. In TA, PT nom. *-ya was extended to the oblique and equipped with the ubiquitous oblique marker *-n(ā) giving A-yañ. Similarly in TB, PT nom. *-ya was probably extended and later analogically reshaped on the bases of the oblique in -ai found, for example, in nouns of the type *yoko*, obl. -ai f. ‘thirst, desire’ (TEB class VI), for the origin of which see Pinault (2008: 483). It is also possible that PT *-i (< *-īm < *-ih₂-m) was reattached to PT *-ya after it was leveled from the nominative in TB.

¹² Despite the claims of Kim (2009: 75) and Hackstein (2011: 152) this was seen already by Winter (1962: 20 = 2005: 50, 1968: 60 = 2005: 136).