

Mazdā. Dieser Junktur entspricht formal aufs schönste¹²⁾ ved. *kṣétrasya páti-* „Herr der Flur/des Feldes/von Grund und Boden“, die in der *Ṛgvedasamhitā* offenbar als Name einer Art ‚Flurgottheit‘ belegt ist (RS. 4,57,1–3; 7,35,10; 10,66,13), an die man sich mit der Bitte um Gedeihen und Wachstum im Stall und auf dem Feld wendet. Um weitere Überlegungen, vornehmlich solche religionsgeschichtlicher Art, an die aufgezeigte Formengleichung von elam. *d.še-ut-ra-bat-ti-iš* = altiran. **šaiθra-pati-* ~ ved. *kṣétrasya páti-* zu knüpfen, wäre es allerdings notwendig, den genauen Textzusammenhang zu kennen, in dem sich der elamische Beleg findet, zumal da doch zur Zeit noch nicht einmal klar ist – vgl. die oben zitierte Definition –, ob an der betreffenden Stelle wirklich eine Gottheit gemeint ist.

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¹²⁾ Vgl. bereits Rüdiger Schmitt bei Bernfried Schlerath, *Awesta-Wörterbuch. Vorarbeiten II: Konkordanz*, Wiesbaden 1968, S. 148 (ad Y. 2,16).

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The Lydian locative in -λ

V.I. Georgiev has confirmed (Georgiev 1984: 6–9) very clearly that Carruba's claim (Carruba 1981: 120) of a Lydian genitive in -λ was correct. Georgiev has shown that the apparent dative-locative singular -λ (rarely -l) also marked the genitive of nouns. He has further shown (ibid.) that alongside -λ there was a conflated λς (cf. Hittite -aš), thereby demonstrating the continuity in Lydian of the IE genitive *-(o)s.

Georgiev has correctly identified (ibid.: 8) the source of this genitive -λ as the pronominal ending; cf. *biλ¹⁾* = Hitt. *apēl* 'istius, eius', etc. For unsuspected instances of this IE pronominal genitive *-l in Latin and Greek see Hamp 1982 a, 1982 b; the same *-l must underlie the Germanic form reflected in English *self*.

However, when Georgiev seeks (ibid.: 8) a second source in the dative-locative -(a)l-i of possessive adjectives in -(a)li- the motivation for this transfer is not obvious: There is no clear reason why this particular class should affect the inflexion of nouns at large. We must seek a plausible syntactic channel for the transfer of an element of morphology whose origins and behaviour we can account for with responsibility.

I believe that the Lydian corpus provides us with just such necessary evidence, so that we are relieved of the need to reconstruct hypothetical conditions. On p. 24 of his work Georgiev adduces the Lydian postposition *ēn*, with the example *sirmaλ ēn* 'im Tempel'. I have already suggested (e.g. Hamp 1982 c, 1984) that many forms of our old IE particles which have later yielded prepositions and preverbs are really frozen endingless locatives of nouns which no longer occurred in the full range of nominal syntaxes and cases. Thus **H_een* was the old endingless locative of a noun meaning 'interior'. A phrase such as *sirmaλ ēn* (or its equivalent in Oscan-Umbrian) therefore was originally to be parsed **N-gen. H_een-loc.* and meant 'of-temple in-interior' = 'in the temple's interior'. Such a phrase

¹⁾ For a good analysis of *bis* 'he', *bil* 'eius', *bilis* 'suus' see Georgiev (ibid.: 21–2), where his results agree well with my own (Hamp 1980, 1982 b).

could then become interchangeable with *N-loc. *H_cen*-loc. 'in-the-temple in-interior' = 'in the temple in (its) interior'. The form in -λ, then, became an alternate shape for the locative when collocated with inherently locative elements. This annexation of the locative association made the locative case-value of the old locative (vestigial) noun redundant, thus reducing it to a particle (or "postposition"). At the same time the locative-valued -λ was freed to function independently. In this way we obtain such expressions as *esλ vānaλ* 'in this grave'. There is no need for a "genitivus temporis".

The locative in -λ (and the matching plural in -av, etc.) is therefore to be derived directly from the genitive under the conditions specified. We have an instance here of a transfer of morphologic form as an alternant where the pragmatics led two syntaxes to carry the same semantics. The change was effected (completed, if you will) when the intruder-alternant (here the -λ suffix) occurred in other than its original contexts, i.e. in locative value without accompanying particle, or "postposition".

The process therefore is:

Pronoun + gen. → -l	} = Hittite
N + gen. → -as, pl. -an	
N + loc. → +i, -o	
> *Pronoun + gen. → -l	
N + gen. → l-/(a)s, pl. -an	
N + loc. → ?	
> *Pronoun + gen. → -l	
N + gen. → l-/-ls, pl. -an	
N + loc. → -l/-?, pl. -an/-?	
> Pronoun + gen. → -l, λ	
N + gen. → -λ/-λs, pl. -av	
N + loc. (-dat.) → -λ, -av etc.	

I am not proficient in Etruscan and therefore cannot judge, but an Etruscan genitive in -ls beside the well known -l (Georgiev *ibid.*: 9) and the construction *aiseras in* 'in sacris' alongside the Lydian evidence make an impressive start for a claim of relation.

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