Nr. 2
KUB 16.27 (Bo 2406) (+) KUB 16.39 (Bo 2601) + KUB 22.11 (Bo 4334)
Vs.
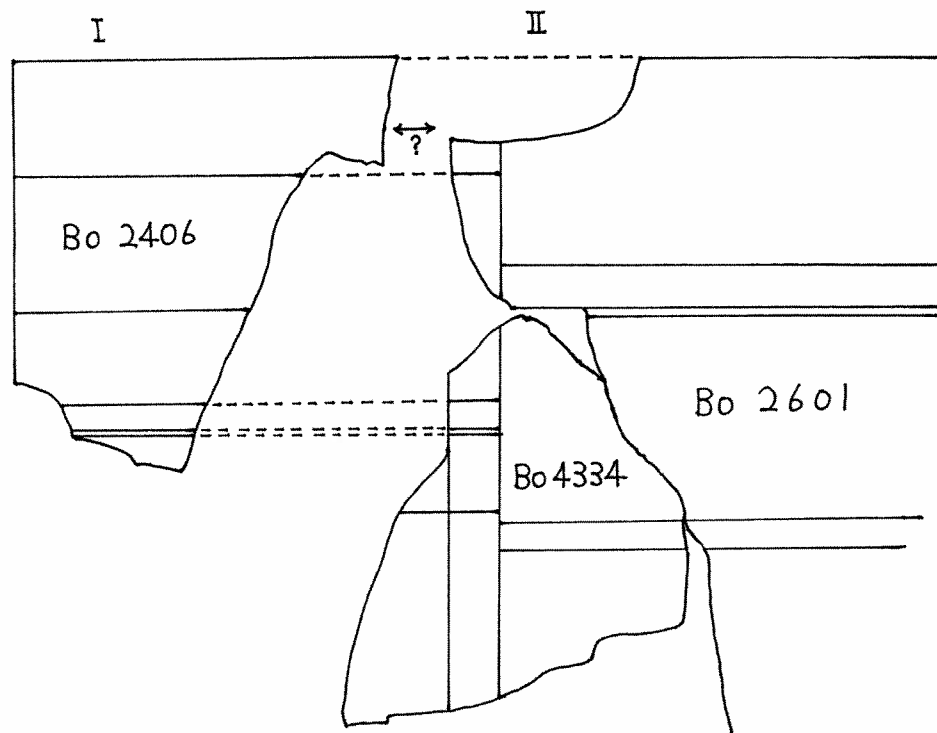

Abb. 2: Joinskizze KUB 16.27 (+) KUB 16.39 + KUB 22.11

From Indo-European Split Ergativity to Nominative-Accusative: An Outline History*

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Abstract

In this paper I propose an outline showing the possible evolution of Indo-European from a language with 'split' ergativity to a completely nominative-accusative language. Like most reconstructions this one is undoubtedly oversimplified and leaves many details unexplained, but presents a general picture showing the possible development of certain morphological and syntactic categories.

The Indo-European internal monophthongization in word final position led to the creation of automatic phonological variants $*-oN$ ($< *-oN$ in etymological prevocalic sandhi position with retention of the final nasal) and $*-\bar{o}$ ($< *-oN$ in etymological preconsonantal sandhi position with loss of the nasal consonant and lengthening of the preceding vowel). These original automatic variants gained phonemic status contrasting word-final $*-oN$ and $*-\bar{o}$. The doublets $*-oN$ and $*-\bar{o}$ are represented both in the verbal system (marker of the 1st sg. subject in the verb) and in the nominal system (marker of either the $*-o$ stem dative or accusative case.) In both instances the newer form phonologically, viz. $*-\bar{o}$ represents the older morphological use (verbal present tense and $*-o$ stem nominal dative case) whereas the older form phonologically represents for the most part the newer morpho-syntactic use (verbal active preterit tense and nominal accusative singular case)[1].

A partial phonological and syntactic parallel is furnished by the English possessives *my* and *mine*, which now have different functions, although originally the distribution was quite automatic *my* resulting from the preconsonantal sandhi variant and *mine* resulting from the prevocalic sandhi variant (Strang 1970: 198). The original distribution of morphemes depending upon sandhi phenomena is still observed in the distribution of the English indefinite article, i.e., *a* before consonants, *an* before vowels.

I propose the following schema for the earliest phase of the Indo-European verb (see, e.g., Schmalstieg 1988: 128-142). I omit discussion of the perfect tense

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1 It is customary to connect the Indo-European $*-\bar{o}$ with the Hittite 1st sg. ending -*ḫa* or perhaps -*ḫi*, although there seems to be no explanation why a middle ending would penetrate into the active conjugation represented by a 1st sg. pres. $*-\bar{o}$ in the other Indo-European languages.

and many verbal endings in the various Indo-European languages in this simplified analysis.

Ergative phase

Active present tense or imperfective aspect

1. $*pek^u\text{-}om$ 'I bake, cook'
2. $*pek^u\text{-}es$, -et
3. $*pek^u\text{-}et$, -es

Ergative preterit tense or perfective aspect

1. $*pek^u\text{-}(t)é/ó$
2. $*pek^u\text{-}(t)é/ó$
3. $*pek^u\text{-}(t)é/ó$

The ergative preterit verbal agreement may have been triggered by gender and number of the object affected, rather than by person. The agreement may have been similar to the attested contemporary gender and number agreement with the -t- participle, even to this day in such forms as Slovene *krít, -a, -o* derived from the infinitive *kríti* 'to cover'. In the preterit tense the performer of the action was marked with the ergative-genitive case in -s. In the *-o* stem nouns this supplied the nom. sg. ending $*\text{-}os$ and in most Indo-European languages the *-o* stem gen. sg. ending was then remodeled, a notable exception being Hittite where the ending -aš maintained both nom. and gen. sg. function, see Schmalstieg (2001:28-30).

When the active voice is supplied with a preterit tense, the ergative preterit is supplied with a present and the old ergative verbal forms are reinterpreted as middle or passive voice. The genitive (etymological ergative) then becomes the agent of the passive voice, a usage retained in Slovenian even today where the genitive is reinforced with the preposition *od,* see Paternost and Schmalstieg (1977: 148) and Orešnik (1986/7:150), who gives the example: *Žóga je premíkana s pálico od Jáneza* 'The ball was moved with a stick by John'.

The old active present tense (imperfective aspect) becomes a preterit and the new present tense forms are reinforced with the *-i hic et nunc* marker. The 1st sg. may also be replaced by $*\text{-}\bar{o}$, the sandhi variant of $*\text{-}om$ or $*\text{-}omi$ as in Hittite *ti-ja-mi* 'I take my stand', although, of course, since Hittite vowel length is unknown (Laroche 1970: 46, 48, fn. 36), perhaps we have to do with a contamination of the endings $*\text{-}\bar{o}$ and *-mi* as in Old Indic *-āmi.*

Nominative-accusative phase

Active present tense	Middle or passive present tense
1. $*pek^u\text{-}\bar{o}$ or -omi (-ōmi?)	1. $*pek^u\text{-}(t)é/ór(i)$
2. $*pek^u\text{-}esi$, -eti	2. $*pek^u\text{-}(t)é/ór(i)$
3. $*pek^u\text{-}eti$, -esi	3. $*pek^u\text{-}(t)é/ór(i)$

Active preterit tense	Middle or passive preterit tense
1. $*pek^u\text{-}om$	1. $*pek^u\text{-}(t)é/ó(t)$
2. $*pek^u\text{-}es$, -et	2. $*pek^u\text{-}(t)é/ó(t)$
3. $*pek^u\text{-}et$, -es	3. $*pek^u\text{-}(t)é/ó(t)$

The etymological 1st sg. $*\text{-}om$ was for the most part relegated to non-present tenses (cf., e.g., Hitt. pret. *e-šu-un* 'I was', Old Indic imperfect *ábhar-am*, Gk. ἔφερ-ον 'I carried') but it is retained in present function in Latin *sum* 'I am' (< $*es\text{-}om$, cf. also Gk. 1st sg. fut. ἔ-σ-ομ-αι) and in Old Church Slavic *nes-ǫ* < $*nes\text{-}óm$ 'I carry' (with end-stress, cf. Russian *nes-ú*, Bulgarian *nes-á*, etc.). In Slavic the unstressed form of the 1st sg. ending $*\text{-}om$ passed $*\text{-}\breve{u}N$ to -ŭ, cf. the Old Church Slavic 1st sg. aorist *něs-ŭ* and compare the stress in the (remodeled) modern Bulgarian *nés-o-x* (Schmalstieg 1998: 292-293).

In Hittite, of course, the split into active and medio-passive is responsible for the difference between the *-mi* conjugation, which gained a new preterit tense and the medio-passive conjugation, which gained a new present tense. In the medio-passive conjugation the 3rd sg. marker -(t)a may be supplied with -ri or -ti to support the present meaning, e.g., *ar-ta-ri ar-ta-ti* 'takes his stand' but with -t to denote the preterit, e.g., *ar-ta-at* (Sturtevant 1951: 164-165). The etymological identity of the mediopassive present and preterit is assured by the presence of -ta (< $*\text{-}to$) in both tenses. Perhaps the Hittite -ḫi conjugation derives from the perfect (see Sturtevant 1951: 131-133).

In the old ergative phase of Indo-European the dative case was the marker of the direct and indirect object of an active (present-tense or imperfective) verb. As a parallel I quote Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984: 285-286) who write that in Georgian the direct and indirect object can both be expressed by the same case (-s) : *k'aci aʒlevs c'ign-s bavšv-s* 'the man gives the book (*c'ign-s*) to the child (*bavšv-s*).' Now it was just at the moment when Indo-European was shifting from a language exhibiting split ergativity to a completely nominative-accusative language that the old semantic *-o* stem dative case in -m was split into a syntactic accusative case and a semantic dative case. For the most part in the *-o* stems the accusative function was expressed by $*\text{-}om$ and the dative by $*\text{-}\bar{o}$. Thus keeping in mind the Georgian parallel I suggest that two *-o* stem nouns in the same dative case might have occurred in a reconstructed sentence such as *dat (dedōti) libellom* (dat.) *servom* (dat.). 'he gives the book to the slave' which was replaced by *dat (dedōti) libellom* (acc.) *servō* (dat.). After the split into two cases in the *-o*-stem class other noun stem classes (e.g., the consonant stems) assigned the old dative in *-N* to the new accusative function and a form of the old locative in $*\text{-}(e)i$ took over dative function, cf. Lat. acc. sg. *homin-em* < $*\text{-}m̥$ 'man', dat. sg. *homin-ī* < $*\text{-}ei$, Gk. acc. sg. ποιμέν-α < $*\text{-}m̥$ 'shepherd', dat. sg. ποιμέν-ι < $*\text{-}i$. This etymological locative marker $*\text{-}i$

was also added independently to the etymological *-*ō* to give standard Lithuanian -*ui* and in Greek to give -*ǭ*.

The older Hittite language has a directive in -*a* for the object of motion as opposed to an -*i* to denote location at rest, thus *arun-a* 'to the ocean', *nepiš-a* 'to heaven' as opposed to *arun-i* 'in the ocean', *nepiš-i* 'in heaven'. (Friedrich 1960: 121). In my view the Hittite dative in -*i* is an etymological locative and the Hittite directive in -*a* reflects the Indo-European morpheme alternant *-*ō* which is present in the *-*o* stem dative singular in many other Indo-European languages. I note in passing that the dative case may also serve as the object of motion in ancient Indo-European languages, cf. Lat. *it clāmor caelō* (dat. sg.) 'the shout goes heavenward' (Virgil, Aeneid 5, 451), Old Indic *grāmāya* (dat. sg.) *gacchati* 'he goes to the village' Delbrück (1893: 177). Although derived from a *u*- stem Slovenian *domov* 'home' reflects this ancient etymological use of the dative singular.

The Indo-European word-final sequence *-*oN* had three possible outcomes in Slavic. First this sequence merged with etymological *-*uN* which in position before a following vowel simply lost the *-*N*, giving *-*ŭ* (-ъ). This outcome is observed in the Slavic *-*o* and *-*u* stem accusative singular (-ъ) and, of course, in the 1st sg. aor. ending mentioned above. The Slavic *-*o* stem dat. sg. ending -*u* derives from *-*ǫ* (< *-*uN* < *-*oN* which, although from the Indo-European point of view existed only in prevocalic sandhi position, became possible again in Slavic preconsonantal sandhi position) with loss of the nasalization in root-stressed paradigms. This denasalized dat. sg. ending -*u* was then spread to all the -*o* stem paradigms regardless of stress pattern. (A partial parallel is encountered in the situation described by Zinkevičius (1966: 75-78) for certain western Lithuanian dialects (Klaipėda, etc.) in which the retention or loss of a final paradigmatic nasal seems to depend on whether the final syllable was stressed or not.) The old original dative ending (*-*oN*-) is retained in the etymological adjectival and pronominal definite forms where it is protected by the following vowel, e.g., Slavic dat. sg. masc.-neut. *t-om-u* 'to that' and the Lith. dat. sg. masc. *t-am-ui* 'id.', both of which ultimate derive from *t-om-om*(-). The *-*o* stem dat. pl. forms in which a vowel follows the original ending (*-*oN*-) also provide evidence, cf. Lith. *vilk-ám-us* '(to the) wolves', Slavic *vlьk-om-ъ*, Gothic *wulf-am* (Zinkevičius 1980: 211). In the acc. pl. *-*o* stem the marker -*s* is added directly to the etymological *-*oN*- without an intervening vowel giving Lith. *vilk-ùs* (with special treatment see Schmalstieg 1968: 190), Slavic *vlьk-y*, Gothic *wulf-ans*, etc.

The creation of an active preterit brings about the reinterpretation of the old ergative preterit as a middle or passive voice. Essentially this explains why the passive exists at all in the Indo-European languages. The passive derives from a reanalysis of the old ergative.

This also links together chronologically the split of etymological **-*oN* into *-*oN* and *-*ō* in the verb (creation of 1st sg. preterit vs. present) and the noun (creation of the accusative vs. the dative)[2].

Although in general the distribution is as given above there are traces of the old *-*oN* in the present tense (Slavic 1st sg. pres. -*ǫ*, Lat. *sum*) and in the dat. sg. (Slavic *t-om-u*, Lith. *t-am-ui*).

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2 A similar split of short vowel plus nasal vs. long vowel is also observed in the Latin alternative supine forms -*um* and -*ū*. The so-called accusative of goal of the supine represents the etymological dative meaning, e.g., *Stultitiast, pater, venatum ducere invitas canes* 'It is foolish, father, to lead unwilling dogs to the hunt' (Plautus, Stich. 139). Leumann (1977: 355) writes that the -*tū* of the second supine cannot be an 'abl. limitationis'; in some usages it must continue a dative form in -*tū* as a phonological by-form of -*tūi*. I agree with Leumann that the second supine cannot be an 'abl. limitationis', but differently from Leumann (1977: 443) I do not see a phonological passage of -*uī* > *ū*. Rather I see the etymological dative-instrumental -*ū* < *-*uN* as being reinforced by the locative ending -*i* just as *-*i* was also added independently to the etymological dat. sg. *-*ō* to give standard Lithuanian -*ui* and Greek -*ǭ*. According to Baldi (1999: 409) 'A rare Latin dative supine in -*tuī* (e.g. *memorātuī* in Plautus) is most likely not inherited.'

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An Overlooked Case of Inversion in Middle Hittite?[1]

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I. # Finite Verb Finite Verb #[2].

I.0. There are a number of Hittite syntactic structures of the type *finite verb finite verb within one clause* (further – # *finite verb finite verb* #) that have never been properly analysed. The aim of the paper is to delimit such constructions, understand their syntactic nature (including word order) and assess their origin.

I.1. The first candidate is finite form of *tarḫ(u)*- "can" + finite form of another verb[3] attested three times in MH[4] texts (one being a NS copy) in one clause:

(CTH 331.1) KUB 33.66 + KBo 40.333 +, Rs. III 1 # ᵈ⌈IM⌉ -*na-aš pa-it* # *nu-k*[*án* ᵁᴿᵁ*Li-*]*iḫ-zi-na-an* (2) *ku-ṷa-aš-ki-iz-zi* # *na-an-kán* x[ᴴᴵ]ᴬ -*ta* **tar-aḫ-zi** (3) **ku-e-en-zi** # ... "The Weather-god went. He stroke/smote [Li]ḫzina many times, he managed to kill it (the population?)/managed to destroy/ruin it (Liḫzina) with [ ][5]";

late NS (CTH 336.3) KUB 33.57 Rs. III 5' ...] ⌈*Ú*⌉ -*UL* **tar-aḫ-zi ku-**⌈**en**⌉ -**zi**[6] "... He cannot kill" cited in HEG T, 158 and Groddek, ZA 89, 1999, 43;

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1 I am grateful to Prof. Dr. van den Hout for highly stimulating suggestions and for making available to me in advance of publication his article "Studies in the Hittite Phraseological Construction II. Its Origin" which will appear in GS Neu. My thanks also go to Dr. Kassian. Naturally, I alone am responsible for the views expressed here.

2 Here and elsewhere # is the sign of a clause boundary; // – of a paragraph divider. # is only marked when there is more than one clause in the example.

3 HEG T, 158 analysed the construction as containing two asyndetic clauses each with a verb (cf. IV.1.); Groddek (ZA 89, 1999, 43) considered the clauses to attest asyndetic connection (similarly Mazoyer, Télipinu, 96: "construction parataxique"), which is certainly true, but does not explain their origin.

4 MS texts are unmarked in the body of the paper.

5 Cf. Groddek, ZA 89, 1999, 40; Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani, Mitologia, 101. For *kṷen*- see HED K, 211-2.

6 Also probably in frgm. Rs. III 13'.