Strong adjectives, and similar phenomena, in the II generation IE languages

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Problem setting

→ The conferences is about variation and contact

- Contact phenomena are often under our eyes

→ NP modifier marking: no adjective class in PIE

- Different strategies in the “II generation” IE languages

- Common initial innovation: contact?
“Generations” of the IE family

→ Generation 0: PIE

→ I Generation: Vedic Sanskrit, Gathic Avestan, Old Persian, Homeric Greek

→ II Generation: Prakrits, Middle Iranian varieties, Common Slavic, Common Germanic

→ III Generation: Modern Slavic, Germanic and Romance languages
Basic assumptions

→ PIE and I Gen. languages

- no morphological/syntactic distinction between adjectival modifiers and nominal epithets

→ Qualities expressed by stative verbs or nominal epithets

- no class of primary adjectives can be reconstructed
Basic assumptions

➡ Many nominals are either N or A

- RV *devà* ‘god’ (N), but also ‘devine’ (A)

- OCS *drugũ* ‘friend’ (N), but also ‘other’ (A)

➡ Same endings for N and A

- Degree suffixes can add to bare roots: RV *yájīyāms* ‘sacrificing better’
Hypothesis

- This system was unstable
  - Nominal flections underwent phonetic deletion
  - Constituency and dependency needed a better marking

- Many II Gen. languages form new adjectives...
  - ...or equivalent means of marking the NP modifiers
Hypothesis

→ A common solution was:

\[ N_{\text{HEAD}} + N_{\text{MOD}} \rightarrow N_{\text{HEAD}} + \text{REL} + N_{\text{MOD}} \]

→ Grammaticalisation took different paths
  - but can be described uniformly with parameters

→ What parameters?
  - Those describing the way dependency is marked
Morphological parameters

➡ Locus of marking:

- **dependent**-marking: special endings for adjectives
- **head**-marking: Persian *ezāfe*
- **double** marking: redundant article in Greek
- **alternant** marking: perhaps in Prakrit
Morphological parameters

- Position with respect to the stem:
  - pre-posed (e.g. Greek article)
  - post-posed (e.g. adjectival endings in Slavic, Persian ezāfe)

- Degree of morphologic autonomy:
  - clitic morpheme (article, ezāfe)
  - bound morpheme (adjectival endings)
Morphological parameters

→ Source:

- relative pronoun
- demonstrative pronoun
- pronominal endings

...this distinction could be late
Avestan

- Relative pronoun *ya-* < IE *i̯o-* is used as “quasi-article”
  - no verb
  - no correlative
  - case agreement with the antecedent N
Avestan

Distribution

- more frequent and complex in Young Avestan
- some examples also in Vedic

...but the case attraction is scarcely attested
Avestan

→ Usually located between head and modifier:

\[\text{stārəm yəm tīstrīm ‘the star Tištriya’}\]

\[\text{ḥača zəmatḥ yat̂ paθanayā ‘from the wide earth’}\]

\[\text{raocōbīš [...] yāiš ahurahē mazdā ‘with the light of AM’}\]

\[\text{yā drəgguā ‘the evil one’}\]
Vedic

→ Few examples with case agreement

*aditir ya duhitar tava* ‘Aditi, the daughter of yours’

*pári ṇaḥ pāhi yád dhánam* ‘protect of us what the wealth’

*paúruṣeyaṃ vadhāṃ yám* ‘death caused by men’
Old Persian

→ As in Avestan but relative pronoun haya is used

- perhaps from Indo-Iranian *sa- + *ya-

- case agreement with antecedent is well attested
Old Persian

Gaumāta haya maguš ‘Gaumata the magian’

martiya haya draujana ‘the lying man’

Bardiya [...] haya Kurauš puça ‘Bardiya, the son of Cyrus’

hayā amāxam taumā ‘our family’

Dārayavaus ā hāya manā petā ‘Darius, my father’

xšāyaθiya dahayūnām tayaθ ūm parūnām ‘king of many lands’
Middle Persian

- OP *hayā-* agglutinates to the head noun
- hence the *ezāfe* in (Manichaean) Middle Persian
  - MP, ManMP ʿy(g) (phonetically ī) → New Pers. -i
  - head-marking, clitic, phrase morpheme
  - can be nested
Middle Persian

Middle Persian (on its way from REL to EZ):

- *sr ʿy wyspʾn wyhyhʾn* ‘the head of all wisdoms’
- *nwhzʿdg ʿyg trkwmʾn* ‘Nuhzadag the interpreter’
- *nwg ʿspsg ʿy nyw frzynd ʿy whmn* ‘the new bishop, the worthy son of Wahman’
Middle (and New) Persian

→ In New Persian the ezāfe is fully grammaticalised

- no overt noun/adjectives distinction

\[ \text{lab-ī laʾl} \] ‘a ruby lip’

\[ \text{laʾl-ī lab} \] ‘the ruby of the lip’
Greek

⇒ New article is created: ὧ, ἥ, τό

- from IE demonstrative pronoun *so, *seH₂, *tod

- in Homer very often still demonstrative

- In homer partly overlapping with the relative

 öde, ἥ, ὁ < IE *iōs, *iēH₂, *iōd
Greek

⇒ Three patterns of N, A and Art are attested:

1. ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνήρ (Art A N)

2. ὁ ἄνήρ ὁ ἀγαθός (Art N Art A)

3. ἄνήρ ὁ ἀγαθός (N Art A)

⇒ Pattern 3 resembles Iranian “quasi-article”

- Gaumāta haya maguš vs. Ζεύς ὁ κύριος
Greek

Examples of post-nominal ὁ, ἡ, τό

πρὸς Κροῖσον τῶν Λυδῶν βασιλέα ‘to Croesus, the king of Lydians’ (Cyropaedia 1.5.3)

Βίας ὁ Πριηνεύς ‘Bias from Priene’

Example of verbless ὃς, ἦ, ὅ

Τεῦκρος θ’ὁς ἀριστος Ἀχαιῶν τοξοσύνη ‘Teucer, the best of Achaeans in bowmanship’ (Il. 13.313)
Greek

- Demonstrative vs. relative:
  - the two pronouns are almost homophonous
    both were called ἄρθρον ‘joint’ by the Greeks
  - functionally overlapping
    in general and in Homer (plus some dialects)
Greek

➡ Demonstrative as relative

εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει

‘I say what the mind in the breast bids me’

➡ Relative as demonstrative:

ὄς γὰρ δεύτατος ἤλθεν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων

‘for he was the last to reach home of the brazen-coated Achaeans’
Greek

- Distribution varies diachronically

  - verbless relatives only in Homer

  - post-nominal article disappears gradually from Homer onwards

    virtually no examples in the Attic oratory
## Greek

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνὴρ</th>
<th>ὁ ἄνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός</th>
<th>ἄνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homer</td>
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<td>any</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
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<td>Herodotus</td>
<td>common</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thucydides</td>
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<td>rare</td>
<td>some</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tragedy</td>
<td>prevalent</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>some</td>
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<td>Aristophanes</td>
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<td>Attic oratory</td>
<td>prevalent</td>
<td>common</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Long adjectives by agglutination of \( j\̯i, ja, je < \text{IE} \: *\̯ios, *\̯eH_2, *\̯iod \)

- dependent marking
- bound rather than clitic (but hiatus and internal inflection are allowed)
- conjunction reduction is allowed
- today short adjectives are rare
Slavic

➡️ Examples:

$mọžu\ dobrụjī$ ‘the good man’

$mọža\ dobra\ jego$ ‘of the good man’

$vụpadụša\ jego\ i\ prěziřěna$ ‘of the fallen and despised one’ (Suprasliensis)
Lithuanian

➡ Similar to Slavic, but different distribution

\[\text{gēra } jī \text{ šūnī} \; \text{‘good dog’ (Acc.)}\]

- short adjectives are normal, long are rare

mostly in idioms
Germanic

→ Creation of the so-called strong adjectives

- strong endings are of pronominal origin

- perhaps, originally agglutinated pronouns

- the definiteness is reversed with respect to Slavic
Prakrit

→ Locative (often absolute) has two variant endings
  - the longer -ammi from Skt pronominal ending -asmin
  - the shorter -e/-i, from Skt nominal ending

→ Distribution: alternant
  - in Hala’s Sattasai every long ending agrees with a short one
Prakrit

➡ Pischel
  - free, or *metri causa*, alternation

➡ Woolner
  - The two often come together

➡ My proposal
  - phrasal marker of dependency?
Prakrit

- Loc -ammi either on head or on modifier

\[\text{diṭṭhe sarisammi guṇe} \text{ ‘viewing similar quality’}\]

\[\text{putte samāruhattammi} \text{ ‘[when] the son [has] climbed up’}\]

\[\text{vāsuīkaṃkaṇammi osārie} \text{ ‘[being] the snake-bracelet removed’}\]
Similarly in Pāli, in Ablative and Locative (often absolute):

*setamhi chatte anudhāriyamāne* ‘[with a] white umbrella held above’

*kassapamhi bhagavati* ‘[while] Lord Kassapa’
Khotanese

- Two sets of endings in Late Khotanese:
  - shorter ones for nouns (usually just one vowel)
  - longer ones, of pronominal origin, for adjectives
  - adjectival endings are in the oblique cases
  - origin is debatable: agglutination is not to be excluded
Khotanese

- Oblique endings with nasal element
  - perhaps from a pronominal stem *ana- as in Slavic onű ‘he’, Lithuanian anàs ‘that’

  LocSg m: -aña, -äña; f: -iña

  Inst/AblSg m: -ana, -äna; f: -äñe, -äñi
Khotanese

Examples:

ysāṣṭāye hvā’ndā ‘of/to hated man’

hastamāna śīlna ‘by best effort’

natāña rahāśśa ‘in deep secret’
Conclusions

- A contact-induced innovation can be suggested
  - Center of the innovation: Avestan, Persian, Slavic
  - Later attestation: Germanic, Khotanese and Prakrit
  - Early contact, eventually diverging: Greek, Lithuanian
Conclusions

➡ Common innovation, not IE inheritance
  - different pronominal sources are used

➡ Distinguishes unrelated languages of II generation
  - isogloss or just a natural development?

➡ Different outcomes in modern languages
  - same initial innovation
## Evolution types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prototype</th>
<th>Head REL Modifier</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>Head EZ Modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavic, Germanic, Prakrits, Khotanese</td>
<td>Head Modifier-ADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>Head ART Modifier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Parameters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>source</th>
<th>locus</th>
<th>autonomy</th>
<th>position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>demonstrative or relative</td>
<td>double</td>
<td>clitic</td>
<td>pre-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Persian</td>
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<td>head</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slavic</td>
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<td>-post</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germanic</td>
<td>pronominal endings (pronouns?)</td>
<td>modifier</td>
<td>(increasingly) bound</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khotanese</td>
<td></td>
<td>alternant?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle Indic</td>
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