On Thematic Deverbals in *-m-

Eric P. Hamp

Besides Chinese, Tai, and American Indian languages, Li Fang-kuei also studied Indo-European languages and comparison, of which he had a surprisingly detailed knowledge; this note recalls numerous stimulating conversations ranging over all these topics. Problems of homophonous morphological segments apply to Indo-European comparison much as homophony figures in comparative Chinese and Tai lexicology.

The formation of thematic stems in PIE embraces a complex of morphological processes of different functional values. Nouns of action in *-mó-s must be severely distinguished from *-mó- adjectives, from *-mo- participles (ultimately in complex relation with other thematic participles in *-n-, -r-, -l-, -u-, -d-, and *-t-).

I have earlier established a zero-grade feminization in *-mā to the action noun in *-mó-, but evidence is sparse. Here I explore possible Albanian evidence and the IE dialectology of attestation of this less obvious formation. We have here a fragmentary episode of comparative IE morphology.

I

Kuryłowicz has spoken (*Indogermanische Grammatik:* Akzent und Ablaut 275 § 351) of the claimed equivalence of the relation zero-grade adjective in –má– (Indic): o-grade action noun in –μós to his reconstruction of *lukó-: loukó-. while I cannot accept his reconstruction (273) of *loukó- from *lukó- (as the zero equivalent with *sedó- of *kopó- in opposition to the strong case form *kop-), it must be further noted that the function and probable history of *lukó-:loukó- are entirely different from those of –má– adjectives and –μós nouns, in my opinion.

The *loukó-* formation is a nomen agentis, and forms certain natural adjectives. The –μós formation is a nomen actionis; I have written about

this, *KZ* 96, 1982/83, 171-7.

For the most part, *-má-* adjectives must be related to *-mo- participles, on which see E. P. Hamp, *Baltistica* 12, 1973, 45-50. These, in turn must ultimately by placed in relation not with *-mó- nominalizations, but with other zero-grade participles in *-nó-, *-ró-, *-lo-, *-uó-, and *-tó-. The *-nó- and *-tó- formations are known to be related, esp. in the complementarity of simplexes and compounds (e. g. Lat, *plēnus: complētus*). Relations between -ró- and *-ú- and between *-ró- and *-do- have been established (cf. *Festschrift for Hansjakob Seiler*, 1980, 268-73). The functions and distribution of *lo- require further study; one might have expected *-ró- and *-lo- to bear a phonetic relation. It seems that *-uó- and *-mo- are old-layer participles. One might have expected *-mo- to have developed in position following *u, but there seems to be little evidence for this.

II

I believe that I have been able to demonstrate[1] for Indo-European a feminization in *-mā- with zero-grade of the nomen actionis in *-mó- on the sparse evidence of Greek (weakly), Latin, Balto-Slavic, Germanic, and Celtic. It would be desirable to collect together as much testimony as possible for this formation.

I have since managed to register Breton *dremm* 'face' $< *dr\hat{k}-s-m\bar{a}$[2] and British Celtic *brimā 'harvest, cutting'[3] = Albanian *brimë* 'hole' $< *bhr-m\bar{a}$, on an aniṭ descendant of *bherHₐ- 'pierce, cut'.[4] For slavic I have recovered[5] an underlying noun *dr-mā from the base *der- 'sleep'. I have also discussed[6] the background of Lat. *anima*.

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1   *KZ* 96, 1982/83, 175-6; *Glotta* 64, 1986, 246. Add perhaps also Greek πυγμη.
2   *Études celtiques* 23, 1986, 47.
3   *Études celtiques* 20(1), 1983, 91-2.
4   *ZCP* 39, 1982, 211.
5   *Bzlgarski Ezik* 37, 1987, 471.
6   *AJP* 108, 1987, 695-6.

It is hard to say whether Albanian gives us any further evidence. The vocalism of *frȳmë* 'breath' (note the vowel length of Sophikò *friimë*, though this does not necessarily entail IE length) may well point to IE *uH*, but *p(ë)shtīmë* 'spittle'[7] and *bimë* 'sprout of grain' are ambiguous with regard to ablaut.[8] It is clear that *thirmë* 'shout' (: present *thërras*, preterite Geg *thërrita* Tosk *thirra*) cannot represent a zero-grade. If an *r* followed $*\hat{k}$ we should have k, not *th*; a root with *ir* is unlikely. It is not likely that we have *-rn-* in the aorist or perfect; perhaps we have *-rs-*. However, *erC* should give a vocalism *ja*, cf. *zjarm* 'fire'$<*g^whermo-$. Therefore *thirmë* should be $*\hat{k}erH(s)m\bar{a}$ (cf. *hirrë*$<*s\hat{k}erHn\bar{a}$[9]) or $*\hat{k}er(H)-im\bar{a}$ (cf. *darsmë*$<*dork^w-im\bar{a}$, and *bir*$<*bheru-$[10]). The exact relation to *thirra*, howerer, remains unclear to me.

We still lack attestation from Indo-Iranian and Anatolian,[11] though of course the latter could not show a feminine $*-\bar{a}$ directly.

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摘　　要

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　　除了中文、泰語、美洲印地安語以外，李方桂還研究印歐語言，他對印歐比較語言學也很有造詣，這篇短文回憶數次和他進行的很有啟廸的對話，話題遍及以上所有內容，同音的形態學切分成分問題適用於印歐比較語言學就象同音現象適用於中文比較語言學和泰語詞匯學一樣。

　　原始印歐語的詞根詞幹的構成包含了複雜的具有不同功能性意義的形態學過程，以 *-mó-s* 結尾的動作名詞必須嚴格地區別於 *-mó-* 形容詞，也必須區別於 *-mo-* 分詞（和其他 *-n-*, *-r-*, *-l-*, *-u-*, *-d-*, *-t-* 類詞根分詞有著複雜的關係）

7　*Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 6, 1985, 51.

8　See *IF* 66, 1961, 52-5, which however will be refined in an article in press.

9　Linguistique Balkanique 24, 1981, 47-50.

10　*BSL* 67, 1972, 213ff.

11　It is striking that N. Oettinger in his *"Indo-Hittite"-Hypothese und Wortbildung*, Innsbruck 1986, has but a brief paragraph devoted to *-mo-* formations.

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　　對於 *-mó- 類動作名詞，我曾提出一種 *-mā 零級陰性化。但是證據不多，這裏我將探討從阿爾巴尼亞語和印歐方言學中可能取得的證據來論證這個不太明顯的構詞過程，這篇短文將是印歐對照形態學一個小插曲。

<div align="right">（蔣自新譯）</div>