grič', *groł* and other agents

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roadmap

1. *-oł* vs *-ōł*
2. *-ič'* vs *-oł/ōł*
3. other nouns in *-č'*
4. denominal verbs in *-(n)č'em*?
5. summary

1 -*oł* and -*awł*

- classified either as participle (Jensen 1959: 103) or agent noun (Schmitt 2007: 85), cf. de Lamberterie (1982), Olsen (1999: 633ff.)
- Historically two different suffixes, but nearly isofunctional synchronically.
- forms in -*oł*/-*ōł* take adnominal genitive:
  - Jer 21.12 *i jeṙac[c] zrkołin* **iwroy** 'out of the hand of his oppressor';
  - only one instance of accusative: 1 Tim 1.9 *zhayr ew zmayr anargołac[c]* 'for those that despise father and mother', maybe avoiding ambiguous **hawr ew mawr anargołac[c]* 'of the despisers of father and mother' or 'of the despising father and mother'.

- they are active:
  - Lev. 20.10: *Ew ayr okʻ etʼē šnascʻi ənd ar̄naknoǰ kam šnaycʻē ənd knoǰ ənkeri iwroy, mahow mer̄cʻin ew **šnacʻōłn eʹw šnacʻealn***:
    "And the man that commits adultery with his neighbour's wife, the **adulterer and the adulteress** shall surely be put to death."

- aspectually neutral (but v. infra on *tesoł / tesanoł*):
  - translates a Gk. present ptc 2 Tim 2.14
    *i korcᶜanowmn **Isołacᶜ***
    ἐπὶ καταστροφῇ τῶν **ἀκουόντων**
    'to the subverting of the **hearers**'
  - aorist ptc in Acts 4.4
    *bazowmkᶜ i **Isołacᶜ***
    πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν **ἀκουσάντων**
    'many of them **which had heard**'.

- Problem of inconsistent spelling in the mss. with *-oł* and *-ōł/awł*, e.g., *karoł/-awł* 'able', random distribution?

- de Lamberterie (1982: 38): ms. E always *karoł*, ms. M 11x *-oł* vs 6x *-awł* → original form is *karoł*.

- in cases of *-oł / -awł* built from the same stem: general vs concrete historical situation, e.g., *kerawł : keroł* (*owtem* 'eat'):

  - John 6.13 *ew lcʻin erkotasan sakari zkotorocʻnʽ i hing garełēn nkanakē anti, or yawelaw i **kerołacʻn**:* '... and they filled twelve baskets with fragments from the five barley loaves, left by those **who had eaten**.' → historical event, contingent

  - vs Mt 11.19 *aha ayr **kerōł** ew arbecʻōł* "Behold, a **glutton** and a **drunkard**" → general characteristic (de Lamberterie 1982: 39).

- also transferred to *karoł / karawł*?
  - Mt 20.22 *karēk^c* (M: **karoł** *ēk^c*) *əmpel zbažakn zor es əmpeloc^{c}n em … Asen c^{c}na:* **karoł** *emk^c*
"Can you drink the cup I am going to drink?" – "**We can**," they answered.
  - Mt 9.28 *hawatayk^c et^{c}e* **karoł** *em aṙnel jez zayd*
"Do you believe that **I am able** to do this?" (i.e., heal you, the blind men).
- but variation also in generalizing contexts:
  - Mk 14.7 *yamenayn žam załk^{c}ats ənd jez ownik^c, ew yoržam kamik^c* **karoł** *ēk^c* (M: **karawł** *ēk^c*) *aṙnel noc^{c}a baris*
"The poor you will always have with you, and you **can** help them any time you want. (But you will not always have me.)"
- ambiguous, now / always:
  - Mt 3.9 **karoł** (E+M) *ē AC i k^{c}aranc^c yaysc^{c}anē yarowc^{c}anel ordis Abrahamow*
  - But Lk 3.8 **karoł** (E; M: **karawł**) *ē AC i k^{c}aranc^{c}s yaysc^{c}anē yarowc^{c}anel ordis Abrahamow*
"Out of these stones God **can** raise up children for Abraham."

- Künzle 1984:2.116: quite consistently *cnawłk^c*
  - *cnołk^c* only once: John 9.22 M, *cnołk^c nora* (and 9.23 *cnawłk^cn nora*) -- scribal error due to following *nora*?
- *šinawł* : *šinoł*
  - 'οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, builders, Baumeister' only *šinawł* in E and M (Mt 21.42, Mk 12.10, Lk 20.17), "The stone the **builders** rejected has become the cornerstone."
  - But both *-ōł* and *-oł* in Zohrapean -- later spellings?
    - Ps 117.22 *Vēmn zor anargec'in* **šinōłk'n** *na ełew glowx ankean*; Mt 21.42 quoting this verse: *Zvēmn zor anargec'in* **šinołk'**…

phonological or semantic distribution?

- oblique case forms prefer -*oł*- vs nom./acc. -*ōł*:
    - nom./acc. -*ōł* : gen. dat. -*ołi*, abl. -*ołē*, instr. -*oław*,
    - pl. nom. -*ōłk^c*, acc. loc. -*ōłs*, gen. dat. abl. -*ołac^c*, instr. -*ołōk^c*.
- synchronic rule: -*ō*- in final syllable, -*o*- in penultimate syllable.

- contra Meillet (1903): older mss. show a preference for -*awł* as agent nouns vs -*oł* as adjectives/participles.
- E.g. *cnawłk^c*, Lk 21.16 *i cnawłac^c* against this distribution
- no statistics available, no sufficient critical text editions…

word class?

- *-awł* agent nouns (such as *cnawłk^c* 'parents') vs *-oł* adjective/participle-like, e.g., Is. 41.12 *paterazmołk^c k^co* 'those that war against you' = οἱ ἀντιπολεμοῦντές σε, *ajoł* 'favourable, equal'.
  - NB there is no **cn(a)-ič^c* 'parent' → contingent property, cf. the similar behaviour of 'mother', 'father' in Slavic predicate instrumentals.
- But apparent exceptions in both directions such as *nmanawł* 'similar' and *orsoł* 'hunter' usually spelt with *-o-*.
- some more or less stable distributions: agent nouns (nearly) consistently spelt with *-awł* are, beside *cnawł* 'parent', *gnawł* 'buyer', *hnjawłk^c* 'harvester', *sermanawł* 'sower' vs adjectives/participles *pa(r)hoł* 'fasting'
- but also agent noun *spanoł* 'murderer'
  - cf. Meillet *ELPA* 2.316f.

phonology + semantics?

- hypothesis: If *-awł* denotes a more stable property, one might expect it to occur more often as subject (and maybe in predicative use, "x is a y") than the participle/adjective, which is more frequent in attributive use, hence the preference for the distribution nom./acc. *-awł* vs *-oł* in oblique cases?

- Olsen 1999: 636 is certainly right in stating that "There is, however, no particular reason to believe a priori that the adjective *nmanawł* is a substitute for an older *nmanoł*, or the substantive *orsoł* for an older *orsawł*."

- But if *-awł* tends to express more stable properties than *-oł* at least *nmanawł* may be justified if 'resembling, similar' can be understood as a permanent and not passing property: stage level vs individual level predicates?

-ord

- For *orsoł* cf. also *orsord* 'hunter, fisher' as the professional term as in
  - Gen 10.9 (Nimrod:)
    Ew na ēr skay **orsord** *aṙaǰi Teaṙn Astowcoy.*
    "He was a mighty **hunter** before the Lord God."

- In contrast to this, *orsoł* may denote an "occasional" hunter:
  - Proverbs 11.8 *Ardar` **yorsołacʻ** pʻrcani, ew pʻoxanak nora matni amparištn:*
    "The righteous person is rescued from trouble [/those **chasing** him], and it falls on the wicked instead."
  - *orsoł* does not mean 'hunter' (of animals) here.

- but also
  - Ps 90.3 *Na p'rkesc'ē zis yorogayt'ē **orsołin**, ew i banic' x̌r̄ovowt'enē:*
    "Surely he will save you from the **fowler's** snare and from the deadly pestilence."

  - Ps 123.7 *Anjink' mer aprec'an orpēs čnčłowk yorogayt'ē **orsołac'.** orogayt'k' noc'a p'šrec'an, ew mek' aprec'ak':*
    "We have escaped like a bird from the **fowler's** snare; the snare has been broken, and we have escaped."
  - unspecific reference: 'anyone who might be hunting'?

- variation even in quotation: *handowržoł / -ōł* 'able':

  - Koriwn, ch. 28 *Kʿanzi čʿēakʿ isk* **handowržōłkʿ** `zamenayn ararealsn ktakaw nšanakel ziwrakʿančʿiwrsn.*
    "En effet, nous n'étions pas **capable** de noter par le menu toutes ses actions prises une à une."
  - Agathangelos ch. 898 *Kʿanzi čʿēakʿ isk* **handowržoł** *zamenayn arareals srbocʿn gtakaw ziwrakʿančʿiwrsn nšanakel*
    "For we were not **able** to indicate precisely every detail of all that was done by the saints."
  - Does negation neutralize semantic distinction? 'unable at a specific moment' <> 'unable at all'?

cᶜankacᶜo/ōł 'desiring'/'lover'

- 1 Cor 10.6 *Ew ayn` ōrinakaw linēr vasn mer, zi mí˝ licʻowkʻ **cʻankacʻołkʻ** čʻareacʻ, orpēs nokʻayn cʻankacʻan*:

  ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν, εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς **ἐπιθυμητὰς** κακῶν, καθὼς κἀκεῖνοι ἐπεθύμησαν.

  "Now these things occurred as examples to keep us from **setting our hearts** on evil things as they did." / "Now these things were our examples, to the intent **we should not lust** after evil things, as they also lusted.", i.e, "become desirous" = participle vs

- Prov 1.22 *C'ork'an žamanaks anmełk' ic'en zhet ardarowt'ean, mí amač'esc'en. isk anmitk'* **c'ankac'ōłk'** *t'šnamanac'` amparštealk' atec'in zimastowt'iwn, ew datapartk' ełen yandimanowt'eanc':*

gates of the city boldly says, ²² So long as the simple cleave to justice, they shall not be ashamed: but the foolish being lovers of haughtiness, having become ungodly have hated knowledge, and are become subject to

παρεορευει, επι δε πυλαις πολεως θαρρουσα λεγει, οσον αν ²² χρόνον ἄκακοι ἔχονται τῆς δικαιοσύνης, οὐκ αἰσχυνθήσονται· οἱ δὲ ἄφρονες τῆς ὕβρεως ὄντες ἐπιθυμηταὶ, ἀσεβεῖς γενόμενοι ἐμίσησαν αἴσθησιν, καὶ ὑπεύθυνοι ἐγένοντο ἐλέγχοις· ἰδοὺ 23

- proverb, "Foolish people are **lovers** of haughtiness." = stable property.

- Wis 8.2 *Zna΄ sirecʻi ew kʻnnecʻí΄ ΄i mankowtʻenē immē, ew xndrecʻi aceʻl inj harsnowtʻean. ew ełē **cʻankacʻōł** gełoy nora:*

  ἐραστὴς ἐγενόμην τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς

  "I loved her, and sought her out from my youth, and I desired to make her my spouse, and **I was/became a lover** of her beauty."

- 8.4 *Zi xorhrdakí΄cʻ ē Astowcoy imastowtʻeann, ew **cʻankacʻōł gełoy** [v.l. **gorcocᶜ**] nora:*
  "For she (wisdom) takes part in godly wisdom and is a **lover** of his works."

  αἱρετὶς τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ

- Difference between 1 Cor 10.6 *zi mi licᶜowkᶜ cᶜankacᶜołkᶜ* and *ełē cᶜankacᶜōł* 'become desirous of/lust' vs 'be a lover of'?

- Wis 6:13 *Lowsawoʹr ew antʼaṙam ē imastowtʼiwn, ew diwraw erewi sirołacʻ iwrocʻ, ew gtani **xndrołacʻ** iwrocʻ:* 6:14 *Hasanē aṙ **cʻankacʻōłs** iwr, aṙ yaṙaǰagoʹyn čanačʻeloy:*
"Wisdom is glorious, and never fades away: yea, she is easily seen of them that **love** her, and found of such as **seek** her. She prevents them that **desire** her, in making herself first known unto them."

- LXX Wis 6.12 Λαμπρὰ καὶ ἀμάραντός ἐστιν ἡ σοφία καὶ εὐχερῶς θεωρεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν **ἀγαπώντων** αὐτὴν καὶ εὑρίσκεται ὑπὸ τῶν **ζητούντων** αὐτήν, 6.13 φθάνει τοὺς **ἐπιθυμοῦντας** προγνωσθῆναι.

- No semantic difference apparent here.

barkac'oł/-ōł

- Cf. also in the NT (at least as printed in Zohrapean's edition), qualities that a bishop needs to have:

- Tit 1.7 *Zi part ē episkoposin anarat linel, orpēs ew Astowcoy tntesi. mí͂ yandowgn, mí͂ **barkac'oł**, mí͂ **t'šnamanoł**, mí͂ **harkanoł**, mí͂ zōšak'ał:*

  δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι ὡς θεοῦ οἰκονόμον, μὴ αὐθάδη, μὴ ὀργίλον, μὴ πάροινον, μὴ πλήκτην, μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ
  "Since an overseer manages God's household, he must be blameless—not overbearing, not quick-tempered, not given to drunkenness, not violent, not pursuing dishonest gain."

  i.e., attribution of a property, like an adjective vs:

- in Zohrapeans' edition, *barkac^cōł* is printed only in combination with *ayr* and *kin*, i.e., as a description of a permanent characteristic feature of the referent:

  Prov 11.25, 15.18 *ayr barkac^cōł*, Sir 26.18 *kin b.*, 28.11 *ayr b.*;

- but this is not exclusive: Prov 29.22 Z has *ayr barkac^coł*. In the oblique cases, we find *-oł-*, e.g., Sir 8.19 *aṙn barkac^cołi*.

PIE origins

- agent nouns in *-tVr-* and *-tVl-* (as generalized in Slavic), two types:
    1. acrostatic *$déh_3tōr$ (δώτωρ, *dā́tā*) + accusative object (*dā́tā vásūni* 'giving goods'), like a participle, verbal adjective (Benveniste: "auteur d'un acte");
    2. hysterokinetic *-tḗr/l-*-noun "agent voué à une fonction", nominal construction, Skt. *dātã́ vásūnām* 'giver of goods'.
- Arm. *-awł* functions like type (1) δώτωρ, while the closest continuation of (2) PIE *-tēr/l-* seems to be the Arm. agent nouns in *-ič^c-*:
- Olsen (1999: 639): "*ararič^c* 'maker, creator', i.e. the one whose inherent capacity is that of creating, as opposed to *araroł/ararōł* in Ps. 102.21: *ararołk^c* (ZB *ararōlk^c*) *kamac^c nora* 'those that do his will'" = contingent.

- Hence (Olsen): *cnawł < *ǵenh₁tōl* equalling (apart from the final consonant of the suffix) *ǵenh₁tōr* = Gk. γενέτωρ.
  - Development: **cinawul > cnawł.*
  - Slightly different Bugge: *ǵenh₁tlā* -- stem in *-ā-* unexplained.
- Why transferred to *a*-stems? Analogy to *l*-stems with gen.dat.abl.pl. in *-ac^c*, e.g., *astł, astełac^c*? But *astł* itself did not become an *a*-stem.
- Layngeal probably also source of *-a-* in *kerawł* 'eater' < *g^ʸerh₃tōl*.
- *cnawł* and *kerawł* as models for other forms in *-awł* to roots not ending in laryngeal?
- Beside this, likely that verbal stems in *-a-* played a role as in other languages, Lat. *imperātor*, OCS *prijatelъ* 'friend' etc., as supposed by Meillet *Esq*. 32, 130

- *-oł*: most authors (Schwyzer, Chantraine) assume connection with Greek type in -όλης, μαινόλης, cf. the list in de Lamberterie (1982: 43):
- only two older forms:
  - μαινόλης (Sappho 1.18 μαινόλᾳ θύμῳ 'with a raging mind')
  - φαινόλης, attested only in Hellenistic times '(white/shining) cloak', but presupposed by fem. φαινολίς *h. Dem*. 51 φαινολὶς Ἠώς, Sappho 104.1 φαινόλις … Αὔως

- Productive later, special meaning: "Gelegentlich scheinen sie eine Hinneigung oder eine krankhafte Neigung auszudrücken.", cf. Chantraine:
  - *ὀζόλης «qui exhale une forte odeur» (ὄζω), à postuler d'après l'appellatif ὄζολις (Arstt.) qui désigne un poulpe malodorant, et par le nom de peuple Ὀζόλαι (Hdt. +);
  - σκωπτόλης «railleur››, σκώπτω (Ar.);
  - οἰφόλης (οἴφω) (Hsch.);
  - ὀπυιόλαι (ὀπυίω): γεγαμηκότες (Hsch.);
  - κορυπτόλης (κορύπτω): κερατιστής (Hsch.) 'wild, beating with the horns'

- Hence, *-olā-, Arm. *keroł, arbec^{c}oł* similar to Lat. *bibulus, edulus, crēdulus*.
- /ł/ in *-oł* instead of expected *-ol* according to Olsen (1999: 642) due to influence of *-awł*.
- Alternative: originally athematic paradigm
  - nom. sg. *-C-ōl*, acc. sg. *-C-ol-m̥*
  - > nom. sg. *-C-(u)l* > Cł, acc. sg. *-C-ol(a)n* (quasi *b^{h}er-ṓl* > *bérul* > *berł*, acc. *berołn*)
  - cf. development of *h$_2$stēl* 'star' > *astil* > *astł*
  - paradigmatic levelling: -Cł : -Cołn → -Coł

aspect stems: *tesōł* vs *tesanōł*

- *tesōł* 1x:
  - Job 34.21 *Zi ink'n ē **tesōł/-oł** gorcoc' mardkan*
    "For he is one that views human deeds." (Cox 2006: 221)
- Aorist stem may be relevant: *tesōł* as someone watching something specific, whereas the present stem *tesanōł(k^c/s)/oł-* (Bible 18x) mostly denotes the profession 'seer':
  - 1 Ki 9.9 *Ew yaṙaǰ i mēǰ Israyeli ayspēs asēr iwrak'anč'iwr ok' yoržam ert'ayr harc'anel zAstowac. Ekayk' ert'ic'owk' aṙ **tesanōłn**: Zi zmargarē yaṙaǰ **tesanōł** koč'ēr žołovowrdn:*
    "Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, thus he spoke, Come, and let us go to the **seer**: for [he that is] now [called] a Prophet was beforetime called a **Seer**."
- but also *tesanoł* 'watching/seeing':
  - Job 35.13 *zi ink'n Amenakaln **tesanōł** ē aynoc'ik`or kataren zanōrēnowt'iwn*
    "For the Almighty himself **sees** those who commit unlawful deeds."

2 -*ič'*: some basics

- *-ič'* nouns are mostly agent nouns, often translating a Greek participle like nouns in *-oł/awł*. As seen above, the latter also occur as adjectives:
  - Judges 14.14 *i* **kerč'ē** *el kerakowr* 'out of the **eater** came forth meat' vs Matthew 11.19 *aha* **ayr kerōł** *ew* **arbec'ōł** 'behold a man, a glutton and a drinker'
- Both types take adnominal genitives, not accusatives.
- *-ič'* often expresses a lasting quality of the agent, e.g., *merjaworič'* 'relative, someone near of kin', *ararič'* 'creator', profession, e.g., *oskerič'* 'goldsmith', *nkarič'* 'painter',
- Sometimes lexicalized as instruments: *grič'* 'writer, sriba; pen' (*grem* 'to write'), *srbič'* 'cleaner, sanctifier; razor' (*srbem* 'to clean')

variation between -*ič*ʽ and -*oł*/*awł*:

- Olsen (1999: 475): "no clear semantic difference between the two formations":
- 1 Samuel 25.11 *ktroł-*, Is. 53.7 *ktrič*ʽ both translate Gk. κείρων:
  - 1 Sam (1 Ki) 25.11 *Ard aṙnowcʽowm zhacʽ im ew zgini im ew zzenlis im zor zeni **ktrołacʽ** imocʽ patrowčaks, ew taycʽeᷤm arancʽ zors očʽ giticʽem owsti icʽen*: καὶ λήμψομαι τοὺς ἄρτους μου καὶ τὸν οἶνόν μου καὶ τὰ θύματά μου, ἃ τέθυκα τοῖς **κείρουσίν** μου, τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ δώσω αὐτὰ ἀνδράσιν, οἷς οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν εἰσίν;
    "And shall I take my bread, and my wine, and my beasts that I have slain for my **shearers**, and shall I give them to men of whom I know not whence they are?"

- Is. 53.7 *ew na aṙ vštin`` očʻ banay zberan iwr. ibrew očʻxar i spand varecʻaw, ew ibrew oroǰ aṙaǰi **ktrčʻi** anmṙownčʻ kay, aynpēs očʻ banay zberan iwr:*

  καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκακῶσθαι οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα· ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ **κείροντος** αὐτὸν ἄφωνος οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.

  "And he, because of his affliction, opens not his mouth: for he was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before the **shearer** is dumb, so he opens not his mouth."
- hypothesis: general *-ičʻ* (the shearer of sheep) in a simile vs concrete, historical *-oɫ* (my shearers, i.e., those that were hired by me at the time).
- → Armenian might differentiate where Greek does not.

anicanem

- Prov. 27.14 *anicanoł* : Numb. 24.9 *anic'ič'* for Gk. καταρώμενος
- Prov. 27:14 *Or govē zbarekam ənd aṙawōts barjr jayniw` k'an* **zanicanołn** *oč' inč' aṙawel hamaresc'i:*

  ὃς ἂν εὐλογῇ φίλον τὸ πρωὶ μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, **καταρωμένου** οὐδὲν διαφέρειν δόξει.

  "If anyone loudly blesses their neighbour early in the morning, it will be taken as a curse." / "Anyone blessing his friend with a loud voice in the morning, will be deemed as nothing more than one **cursing** him."

- Numb. 24.9 *Ew bazmeal hangeaw ibrew zaṙewc, ew ibrew zkoriwn aṙiwcow. ew oʳ yarowcʿanicʿē zna:* **Ōrhničʿkʿ** *kʿo ōrhnescʿin, ew* **aničičʿkʿ** *kʿo aniccʿin:*

  κατακλιθεὶς ἀνεπαύσατο ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος· τίς ἀναστήσει αὐτόν; οἱ **εὐλογοῦντές** σε εὐλόγηνται, καὶ οἱ **καταρώμενοί** σε κεκατήρανται.

  "Like a lion they crouch and lie down, like a lioness—who dares to rouse them? May **those who bless** you be blessed and **those who curse** you be cursed!”"
- Both occur in general contexts -- does -*oł* refer to the occasional curser vs -*ičʿ* to a constant behaviour? Or –*ičʿ* as defining / introducing the referent vs –*oł* as ascribing a property?

ergem

- 2 Chron. 9.11 *ergecʻoł-* : 2 Ki. 11.14 *ergičʻ* for Gk. ᾠδός 'singer'

- 9:11 *Ew arar arkʻay zpʻaytn nočʻ astičans tann Tearn ew tann arkʻayi, ew kʻnars ew tawiłs* **ergecʻołacʻn**. *ew očʻ erbekʻ erewecʻaw aynpēs yaṙaǰagoyn yerkrin Yowday:*

  καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ ξύλα τὰ πεύκινα ἀναβάσεις τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κιθάρας καὶ νάβλας **τοῖς ᾠδοῖς**, καὶ οὐκ ὤφθησαν τοιαῦτα ἔμπροσθεν ἐν γῇ Ιουδα.

  "The king used the algumwood to make steps for the temple of the Lord and for the royal palace, and to make harps and lyres for the **musicians**. Nothing like them had ever been seen in Judah."

- 2 (4) Ki 11.14 *ew etes` ew aha kayr i veray seann əst ōrini iwrowm, ew **ergičʻkʻ** ew pʻołarkʻ šowrǰ zarkʻayiw, ew amenayn žołovowrdkʻ erkrin xndayin ew pʻołs harkanēin pʻołovkʻ, ew pataṙeacʻ Gotʻołia zhanderjs iwr, ałałakeacʻ ew asē. Daw ē, daw ē:*

  καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἱστήκει ἐπὶ τοῦ στύλου κατὰ τὸ κρίμα, καὶ **οἱ ᾠδοὶ** καὶ αἱ σάλπιγγες πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τῆς γῆς χαίρων καὶ σαλπίζων ἐν σάλπιγξιν· καὶ διέρρηξεν Γοθολια τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἐβόησεν Σύνδεσμος σύνδεσμος.

  "She looked and there was the king, standing by the pillar, as the custom was. The officers [Arm. the **singers**] and the trumpeters were beside the king, and all the people of the land were rejoicing and blowing trumpets. Then Athaliah tore her robes and called out, "Treason! Treason!""

- *ergičʻ* triggered by context *əst awrini iwrowm* 'according to custom', vs *ergecʻołacʻn* '(harps and lyres) for the singers' with definite-unspecific reference ("the singers whoever they might be")?

t'šnamanič'

- Agath. ch. 340 *Vasn oroy barkacʻeal teaṙn Astowcoy i veray žoḷovrdeann ` garšeli aṙnēr zžaṙangowtʻiwnn , matneal znosa i jeṙs hetʻanosacʻ . zi zorocʻ sirecʻin paštel zdisn ew i nosin poṙnkecʻan ` znosin **tanǰičʻs** ew **tʻšnamaničʻs** ew **geričʻs** i veray yarowcʻeal ` matneacʻi jeṙs nocʻa .*

  "Therefore the Lord God was angry at that people and made their inheritance detestable [Ps. 105.40], delivering them into the hands of the heathen. For He delivered them into the hands of those whose gods they loved to worship and with whom they had fornicated, and these He raised up over them as **tormentors** and **offenders** and **captors**."

- Yovhannes Awjnec'i (8th c.) *ənddēm Pawłikeanc'* p. 100

Ew mi gayt'agłir tarakowseal 'i lṙeln ew oč' c'asmamb 'i veray harkanil ***hayhoyč'ac'n*** *ew* ***t'šnamołac'n***

"Do not be upset and worry that (God) is silent and does not show his anger against the blasphemers (-*ič'*!) and those who **rail** at him."

minimal pairs with semantic differences:

- *ararič'* : *-oł* : *aṙnem* 'make, create'
- *kerič'* : *-oł* : *owtem*, *keray* 'eat'
- *stac'ič'* : *-oł* : *stanam* 'to acquire, possess'
- *k'nnič'* : *-oł* : *k'nnem* 'to investigate'
- *spanič'* : *-oł* : *spananem* 'to kill'
- *-ič'* permanent characteristic vs. *-oł* describing someone accidentally / occasionally doing something / whose action is not part of his characteristic description.
- Tendency for lexicalization in *-ič'* (i.e., term of agent noun sufficient description of the referent)

ararič' : *araroł*

- *ararič'* 'creator' (god) vs

- *araroł* 'doing s.th.':

  - Ps. 102.21 *Ōrhnec'ēk' zTēr amenayn zōrowt'iwnk' nora, paštōneayk' ew **ararōłk'** kamac' nora*:

    εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον, πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, / λειτουργοὶ αὐτοῦ **ποιοῦντες** τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ

    "Praise the Lord, all his heavenly hosts, you his servants **who do his will**."

kerič' : keroł

- Jugdes 14.14 *Ew asē cʻnosa: i* **kerčʻē** *el kerakowr, ew i hzōrē el kʻałcʻr: Ew očʻ karacʻin aṙełcanel zaṙaspeln nora zeris awowrs:*

  καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἐκ τοῦ **ἔσθοντος** ἐξῆλθεν βρῶσις, καὶ ἐξ ἰσχυροῦ ἐξῆλθεν γλυκύ. καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνάσθησαν ἀπαγγεῖλαι τὸ πρόβλημα ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας.

  (Samson's riddle): "'Out of the **eater**, something to eat; out of the strong, something sweet.' For three days they could not give the answer."

kerič' : keroł

- Hab. 2.7 *Zi yankarcaki yaricʿen **keričʿkʿ** nora, ew zartʿicʿen dawačankʿ nora. ew ełicʿes nocʿa yapʿštakowtʿiwn*:

  ὅτι ἐξαίφνης ἀναστήσονται **δάκνοντες** αὐτόν, καὶ ἐκνήψουσιν οἱ ἐπίβουλοί σου, καὶ ἔσῃ εἰς διαρπαγὴν αὐτοῖς.

  "Will not your **creditors** suddenly arise? Will they not wake up and make you tremble? Then you will become their prey."

kerič' : keroł

- John 6.13 *zkotoroc'n `i hing garełēn nkanakē anti , or yawelaw i* **kerołac'n** :

  συνήγαγον οὖν, καὶ ἐγέμισαν δώδεκα κοφίνους κλασμάτων ἐκ τῶν πέντε ἄρτων τῶν κριθίνων ἃ ἐπερίσσευσαν τοῖς **βεβρωκόσιν**.

  "So they gathered them and filled twelve baskets with the pieces of the five barley loaves left over by **those who had eaten**."

- >> concrete persons at the time, not 'eater' in general.

stac'ič' : stac'oł

- Is 1.3 *Caneaw ezn **zstac'ič'** iwr*
  "The ox knows his **owner**."

- Sir 6.4 *Anjn č'ar korowsanē **zstac'ič's** iwr, ew otnhar lic'i anjn iwr t'šnameac' iwroc'*:
  "For a fierce soul destroys its **master** and makes him the sport of his enemies."

- inalienable possession? OK in the case of the soul, what about the ox?

- Not "The ox knows the one who has acquired him.", which would probably be *stac'oł,* but the owner he is accustomed to = permanent property.

stac'ič' : stac'oł

- Eghishe p. 67: *Na iwrakʻančʻiwr stacʻowackʻ očʻ inčʻ hamarēin yačʻs* **stacʻołacʻ** *iwreancʻ*:
  "Likewise, each one's possessions were accounted as nothing in the eyes of their **possessors**." (Thomson)

- Eznik 348.2 *Nax ztownn ew apa ztnakaln, nax stac'owacsn, ew apa* **zstac'awłn***:*
  "(God created) first the house and then its owner, first the possessions, and then the **possessor**."
  Blanchard/Young: "First the house, then the householder; first the possessions and then the **possessor**."

- *stac'ōł* more like inalienable possession: man is not the owner per se of God's creation, but has been granted the possession by him.

$k^c nni\check{c}^c : k^c nn\bar{o}/o\l$

- Agath (ed. Tiflis 1914) §279 ***k'nnič'*** *ē srti ew erikamanc'*
  "for He is the **searcher** of hearts and reins [Ps. 7.10; Jer. 20.12]."
  - Ps 7.10 *or k'nnē zsirts ew zerikamowns* "who tries the hearts and reins"
  - Jer 20.12 *k'nnes zsirts ew zerikamowns* "you try …"

- §419 *Vasn zi **k'nnič'** ē srtic' ew cackagēt ew amenayn gałtneac' yaytnič'*
  "For He is the **searcher** of hearts [Ps. 43.22; Heb. 4.12], knower of secrets, and revealer of all hidden things; (for He knows everything, and everything He says He can bring to fulfillment, and nothing is impossible for Him)."
  - Ps 42.22 *Na k'nnē zgałtnis srtic' meroc'* "He searches the secrets of our hearts."
  - Heb 4.12 ***k'nnič'*** *ē mtac' ew xorhrdoc' srtic'*: "(The word of God) is a **searcher** of the thoughts and plans of our hearts."

k^cnni$č^c$: k^cnnō/oł

- §505 *Hogin sowrb,* ***k'nnič'*** *xoroc'n Astowcoy*
  "Holy Spirit, the **searcher** of the depths of God [I Cor. 2.10]"
  - *Hogin zamenayn* ***k'nnē*** *ew zxors Astowcoy* "The Spirit searches everything, even the depths of God."
- >> *k'nnič'* 'one who searches habitually, who is characterized by searching'

kᶜnničᶜ : kᶜnnō/oł

- Agath (ed. Tiflis 1914) § 332: *Tesaneՙs , zi antesakan ē i hayecʻołacʻ , ew ankʻnnakan i **kʻnnołacʻ** ᵊst aṙanjnakan kerparanacʻn*
"Do you see that He is invisible to those who seek Him and inscrutable **to those who search for Him** in his particular form?"

- § 491 *Ew kʻanzi skʻančʻelagorc ē ew anhasakan i **kʻnnołacʻ**, ew amenayn anhnarakanacʻ hnarawor*
"And because He works wonders and is incomprehensible to **scrutiny** and is able to work all impossible things"

- § 908 *ew heṙi yamenecʻowncʻ . antesakan i nkatołacʻ ew **ankʻnin i kʻnnołacʻ**, ew anᵊmbṙneli ē yamenecʻowncʻ bnowtʻiwn nora .*
"He is invisible to those who look, and **inscrutable to those who examine**, and his nature is ungraspable by all."

- >> contingent examiner, like a participle / conditional / temporal clause 'if/when someone examines'.

spanič^c / spanoł

- *spanič'* "φονεύς, φονευτής occisor, homicida"
- Ephrem *Gehen **tanǰič'** ē kendaneac', ew oč' **spanič'** apakanec'eloc'.* "Hell is the **torment(or)** of the living, and not the **killer** of those who perished/are lost."
  - text: Meknowt'iwn Awetarani hamabarbar' (S. Ep'remi matenagrowt'iwnk', Venetik 1836) B. e'j 5-260
- >> ascription of a permanent property.

spanič^c / spanoł

- *spanoł* Eznik 18.5, 36.5, 110.3:

- *Bayc' z ayn part ē gitel, t'ē z or gorcē inč' ok' `oč' ink'n noyn ē . orpēs browtn yoržam anōt's gorcic'ē `oč' ink'n anōt' lini, ayl **gorcič' ē anōt'oc'n**, owsti ew zanowanowmn arowestin aṙnow, noynpēs ew č'aragorcn i č'arn gorceloy aṙnow zanown č'arowt'eann `et'ē šown ic'ē ew et'ē **spanoł***
"But it is necessary to know that some one who does something is not the same as what he does, just as the potter, when he makes a vase, does not himself become a vase, but is a <u>constructor of vases</u>, whence he receives a name from the art. Likewise, he who accomplishes evil receives the name "evil" from doing evil, whether he is an adulterer or a <u>murderer</u>."

- *gorcič' anōt'oc'n* vs *spanoł* : habitual 'constructor of vases' = 'potter' vs occasional killer, i.e., not a professional assassin? NB person is given a name after the deed, i.e., acquired, not permanent property.

spanič^c / spanoł

- *hemlock* as deadly plant also an "occasional killer":

- Eznik 68 *Ew molaxintd, or aṙanjinn i yaytni inčʻ žamanaki **spanoł** ē, novimb zmałjs hnacʻeals hnarin bžiškkʻ hatanel*:
"And hemlock by itself is **deadly** *within a recognizable period of time*. Yet by means of the same plant physicians contrive to curtail chronic bile."
(Blanchard/Young)

- pace de Lamberterie (1982: 39): one would expect **spanawł*, "mais [ce mot] a été intégré aux formes en *-oł* à cause de sa coloration péjorative. Au reste, Eznik emploie *spanoł* comme adjectif pour qualifier la ciguë «qui provoque la mort» (p. 67); c'est bien la désignation d'une propriété intrinsèque."

- stage level predicates allow for spatio-temporal specification in contrast to individual level predicates

spanič^c / spanoł

- Mt 22.7 (parable of the wedding banquet: the king sends his servants to those he had invited to tell them to come. They refuse and kill the servants.)

  *Isk tʻagaworn ibrew lowaw, barkacʻaw, ew aṙakʻeacʻ zzōrs iwr ew satakeacʻ **zspanołsn** zaynosik, ew zkʻałakʻn nocʻa ayreacʻ:*

  "When he heard this, the king was enraged. He sent his army and destroyed those **murderers** and burned their city."

  i.e., not professional assassins, but murderers on that single occasion.

3 other nouns in -č'

- Agent nouns in *-ič'* and *-owč'* based on stems with a velar suffix, maybe *-Vḱi̯o/ā-* or *-Vkʷi̯o/ā-*

- *-ič'* / *-owč'* often compared with Slavic agent nouns as in OCS *kovačь* 'faber', *kotoričь* 'quarrelsome' (Vaillant 1974: 324, 326).

- *-owč'* either compounds with *-h₃kʷ-* 'looking like, having the appearance of', like the Latin type *ferōx, atrōx*, suffixed with *-i̯o/ā-*, or stems in *-k-* like Lat. *senex*, Gk. nouns in -αξ etc.

- Olsen 1999: 616 opts for compounds in *-o-h₃(o)kʷ-i̯o-* for *tesowč'* 'overseer, bishop' and *vayelowč'* 'pleasant' while *ənkalowč'* 'receiver', *tnkalowč'* 'housewife' might be based on the *u*-stem verb *kalowm* and be an analogical creation to nouns in *-ič'* or show the sound change *-uu̯i- > *-uu̯u-* (Schindler; cf. Olsen loc. cit. n. 834).

4 denominal verbs?

- based on agent noun in *-ič'*? *mełanam, mełank'* : **mełanič'* 'sinner' » *mełanč'em*
  - cf. *t'šnamank'* 'insult, injury' : *t'šnamanem, t'šnamanič'*
- agent nouns in *-ič'* are usually based on unenlarged verbal root as opposed to those in *-oł*:
  - *anicanem, anici* 'to curse' : *anic-ič'* vs *anic-an-oł.*
- Hence expect **meł(a)-ič'.*
- But *mełanam* ambiguous: either based on aorist *meła-y*, i.e. present in *-(a)na-*, or based on nominal stem *mełan-(k')*, i.e., present in *-a-*.
- Similar case is *stac'ič'* from *stanam* 'acquire', based on the aorist stem *stac'a-*, probably avoiding **sta-ič'*, cf. derivatives of *lam* 'to cry' : *laliwn, lalowmn* etc. exceptionally based on the infinitive.

- The same synchronic verbal root serves as "root noun" in compounds, e.g., *tam* : *etow* : *lows-a-tow* 'giving light', *towičʿ* 'giv-er/-ing', *owtem* : *keray* : *xotaker* 'eating grass' : *keričʿ* 'eat-er/-ing', etc. (Olsen 1999: 474).

- *čanačʿem* 'know/recognize' based on agent noun?

- *$\acute{g}\underline{n}h_3$-$(h_3)k^{(w)}\underline{i}o/\bar{a}$- > *cana-(a)čʿ* » *čanačʿ* 'γνώμων, knowing' » *čanačʿem*

- But a denominal verb should have a "weak" aorist in *-cʿ-*, not the *-ea-* aorist *canea-*.

erknč'im 'to fear'

- Based on an agent noun/adjective **erknič'* 'fearful'?

- **du̯ino- > *erkin(o)-,* cf. Gk. δεινός < **du̯ei̯no-* (Beekes 2010: 310).
  - Another adj./agent noun in *-ič'* based on a stative situation is *merjawor* 'nearby, close, near of kin', *merjaworem* 'ἀγχιστεύω, be near/next of kin' : *merjaworič'* 'near of kin'
  - probably no **merjaworoł* since 'near of kin' is an inalienable / permanent relationship.

- *erkč'ot* and *erknč'ot* 'δειλός timidus' < **du̯i-(i)č'-* 'fearful'.

kornč'im 'to perish'

- Olsen (1999: 619):
  - Lith. *gùrti* 'zerfallen, zerbröckeln, zerkrümeln, zergehen, aufgelockert, aufgeweicht, schwach werden'
  - Toch. B. *kwreṃntär* 'sie werden altersschwach', which, however, has also been connected with PIE *$\acute{g}erh_2$- 'grow old', *k^ureh_1- (Lat. *crēscō*) 'to grow', and *$d^hg^{wh}er$- 'to perish' (via a Lindeman variant *$(d^h)g^{wh}r$-eh_2-)
    - cf. Adams (2013: 255), Malzahn (2010: 601).

- PIE *$g^u̯erH$- or *$g̯u̯erH$-?
  - Derksen (2015: 195) seems to imply a relationship with Lith. *gurdùs* 'weak, sluggish' and Gk. βραδύς, i.e., PIE *g^wrd-u-,* but difficult to reconcile the two roots *$g^wer(H)$-* and *g^werd-*.
- either (a) *$g^u̯orHno$-*
  - for the type cf. *$u̯osno$-* > ὦνος 'price', *$k^u̯orh_2no$-*, πορνή, πόρνος, etc. > *$g^u̯orno$-* ("Saussure-effect") → *$korn-ič'$* 'decaying, perishing' → *kornč'im*.
  - But for an old group -*rn*- one would expect the development to -*r̄n*- (cf. *gar̄n*, *gar̄in* 'lamb' < *$u̯r̥-ēn$*), so -*rn*- in *kornč'im* is likely to be recent
- (b) CoC-o- noun *$koro$-* → *$korič'$* → *$korč'im$* → *kornč'im* by analogy to *erknč'im*?

- Or identical to *$g^u erh_3$- 'to devour' → 'to consume, destroy'?
- Basic meaning preserved in the stem *ker-, owtem* : *kera-*, etc.
- metaphorical meaning in the derived form?
- *$g^u orh_3 o$*- 'devouring, destroying' or *$g^u orh_3$-e̯ie/o*- > *kor-e- → *kor-ič'* 'destroying' → *kor(n)č'i*- 'to be destroyed, perish'.
- In this case cf. *$g^u orH$-o/eh_2- in Gk. βορά 'food (of carnivores)', °βόρος as in δημοβόρος [βασιλεύς] 'devouring (the goods of) the people'

- Semantics:
  - Akkadian *akālu* 'to eat' and 'to destroy':
  - *āla appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup* <u>*akulšú*</u> "I destroyed, ruined the city, I set fire on it, I <u>destroyed</u> (lit. <u>ate</u>) it" (CAD AI 245, 247, 254)
  - Aramaic: *ʾkl*, vb.a/u 'to eat, consume'
    - Cf. https://datsemshift.ru/shift0830

- These verbs have synchronic "root" aorists: *canea-, korea-, erkea-*
- These aorists cannot derive from a denominal present stem, which would have a "weak" aorist (***korec'-* vel sim.).
- Rather a kind of suppletion with a denominal stem used as present as in Greek ὀράω beside the aor. εἶδον from a noun **sorā* 'watch':
  - prs. **du̯ino-* > **erkin(o)-* >> *erk(i)n-ič^c* 'fearful' >> *erknč^cim* 'to fear'
  - aor. **du̯(e)i̯-* + *-a-* (middle) > *erkea-*.

5 Summary: types of property concepts

stable (individual level predicate)	contingent	temporary (stage level predicate)
-ič'	*-awł*	*-oł*
agent noun		adj./participle
creator (God)	parent (one becomes, *cnawł*)	fasting (*pahoł*)
searcher of heart (Holy Spirit)	able (*handowržawł, karawł?*)	able (*handowržoł, karoł*)
	similar (*nmanawł*)	
killer (hell: *spanič'*)		killer (man, hemlock: *spanoł*)

Շնորհակալութիւն

Thank you!