grič', groľ and other agents

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roadmap

1. -ot vs -ōł
2. -ič' vs -ot/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 jeřac č zrkolin iwroy 'out of the hand of his oppressor';
  • only one instance of accusative: 1 Tim 1.9 zhayr ew zmayr anargołac č 'for those that despise father and mother', maybe avoiding ambiguous *hawr ew mawr anargołac č 'of the despisers of father and mother' or 'of the despising father and mother'.
• they are active:
  • Lev. 20.10: Ew ayr ok’ et’ē šnasc’i and aṙnaknoǰ kam šnayc’ē and knoǰ ǝŋkeri iwroy, mahow meṅc’in ew šnac’ōłn e’w šnac’ealn: "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 *ἐπὶ καταστροφῆ τῶν ἀκουόντων* 'to the subverting of the hearers'
  • aorist ptc in Acts 4.4 *πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀκουσάντων* 'many of them which had heard'.
• Problem of inconsistent spelling in the mss. with -oł and -ōł/awł, e.g., karot/-awł 'able', random distribution?


• 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 lc’in erkotasan sakaři zkotoroc’n ‘i hing garešen nkanakę anti, or yawelaw i kerołac’n: '… 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 arbec’ōł "Behold, a glutton and a drunkard" →
general characteristic (de Lamberterie 1982: 39).
• also transferred to karot / karawt?
  
  • Mt 20.22 karēk (M: karot ēk) ēmpel zbažakn zor es ēmpeloc ēn em ... Asen ēna: karot emk ē “Can you drink the cup I am going to drink?” – “We can,” they answered.
  
  • Mt 9.28 hawatayk ete karot em ānel 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 załkats ēnd jez ownik, ew yoržam kamik karot ēk (M: karawt ēk) ānel noc 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 karot (E+M) ē AC i karcâ nc yaysc anē yarowc anel ordis Abrahamow
    • But Lk 3.8 karot (E; M: karawt) ē AC i karcâ nc s yaysc anē yarowc anel ordis Abrahamow
      "Out of these stones God can raise up children for Abraham."
• Künzle 1984:2.116: quite consistently *cnawłk*<sup>c</sup>
  • *cnqłk<sup>c</sup> only once: John 9.22 M, *cnqłk<sup>c</sup> nora* (and 9.23 *cnawłk<sup>c</sup>n nora*) -- scribal error due to following *nora*?

• *šinawł* : *šinoł*
  • 'οἱ οἶκοδομοῦντες, 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 -oğł and -oł in Zohrapean -- later spellings?
    • Ps 117.22 Βĕmn zor anargec‘in *šinołk‘n* na ełew glowx ankean; Mt 21.42 quoting this verse: Zvĕmn zor anargec‘in *šinołk‘...
phonological or semantic distribution?

• oblique case forms prefer -oł- vs nom./acc. -ōł:
  • nom./acc. -ōł : gen. dat. -ōłi, 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\textsuperscript{c} 'parents') vs -oł adjective/participle-like, e.g., Is. 41.12 paterazmołk\textsuperscript{c} k\textsuperscript{c}o 'those that war against you' = o\i \amp\tau\i\nu\pi\o\lambda\epsilon\mu\o\nu\nu\tau\e\z\z\z 'those that war against you', a\joł 'favourable, equal'.
  • NB there is no *cn(a)-i\textsuperscript{c}'parent' \rightarrow 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\textsuperscript{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 -otł 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 -otł 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 ařaǰi Teařn Astowcoy.*
    "He was a mighty hunter before the Lord God."

• In contrast to this, orsoł may denote an "occasional" hunter:
  • Proverbs 11.8 *Ardar` yorsolac` p´rcani, ew p´oxanak 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 orsoľin, ew i banic’ xrovovt’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 orsoľac’. 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 *K‘anzi č‘ēak‘ isk handowržōłk‘ ' zamenayn ararealsn ktakaw nšanakel ziwrak‘anč‘iwrsn.*
  "En effet, nous n’étions pas **capable** de noter par le menu toutes ses actions prises une à une."

- Agathangelos ch. 898 *K‘anzi č‘ēak‘ isk **handowržoł** zamenayn arareals srboc’n gtakaw ziwrak‘anč‘iwrsn 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'?
"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

• proverb, "Foolish people are lovers of haughtiness." = stable property.
• Wis 8.2 Zna‘ sirec‘i ew k‘nnec‘i‘ i mankowt‘enē immē, ew xndrec‘i ace‘l inj harsnowt‘ean. ew elē c‘ankac‘ōł geļoy nora:

έραστής 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 xorhrdakī‘c‘ ē Astowcoy imastowt‘eann, ew c‘ankac‘ōł geļoy [v.l. gorcoc] 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 licowk c‘ankac‘ōłk and elē c‘ankac‘ōł 'become desirous of/lust' vs 'be a lover of'?
Wis 6:13 Lowsawo’r ew ant’āram ē imastowt’iwn, ew diwraw erewi sirołac’ iwroc’, ew gtani xndrołac’ iwroc’: 6:14 Hasanē ař c’ankac’ōłs iw, ař yarajago’yn čanač’eloy:
"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 αὐτήν καὶ εὑρίσκεται ὑπὸ τῶν ζητούντων αὐτήν, 6.13 φθάνει τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας προγνωσθῆναι.

No semantic difference apparent here.
barkac'otl/-ōł

- Cf. also in the NT (at least as printed in Zohraean's edition), qualities that a bishop needs to have:
- Tit 1.7 Zi part ē episkoposin anarat linel, orpēs ew Astowcoy tntesi. miʿ yandowgn, miʿ barkacʿotl, miʿ tʿšnamanoł, miʿ harkanot, miʿ zōšakʿat:

     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 Zohraeans' edition, barkacʿotl 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 barkacʿotl, Sir 26.18 kin b., 28.11 ayr b.;

- but this is not exclusive: Prov 29.22 Z has ayr barkacοt. In the oblique cases, we find -oť-, e.g., Sir 8.19 ayr barkacοtī.
PIE origins

- agent nouns in */-tVr- and */-tVl- (as generalized in Slavic), two types:
  1. acrostatic */déh₃tōr (δῶτωρ, dātā) + accusative object (dātā vāsūni 'giving goods'), like a participle, verbal adjective (Benveniste: "auteur d'un acte");
  2. hysterokinetic */-tēr/-l-noun "agent voué à une fonction", nominal construction, Skt. dātā vāsūnām 'giver of goods'.

- Arm. */awt- functions like type (1) δῶτωρ, while the closest continuation of (2) PIE */-tēr/-l- seems to be the Arm. agent nouns in */ič-:

- Olsen (1999: 639): "ararič 'maker, creator', i.e. the one whose inherent capacity is that of creating, as opposed to ararṓl/ararṓľ in Ps. 102.21: araroīk (ZB ararōöl) kamac nora 'those that do his will'" = contingent.
• Hence (Olsen): \textit{cnawł} < \textit{*ģenh₁tōl} equalling (apart from the final consonant of the suffix) \textit{*ģenh₁tōr} = Gk. γενέτωρ.
  • Development: \textit{*cinawul} > \textit{cnawł}.
  • Slightly different Bugge: \textit{*ģenh₁tlā} -- stem in -ā- unexplained.

• Why transferred to \textit{a}-stems? Analogy to \textit{l}-stems with gen.dat.abl.pl. in -ac, e.g., \textit{astl}, \textit{astełac}? But \textit{astl} itself did not become an \textit{a}-stem.

• Layngeal probably also source of -\textit{a}- in \textit{kerawł} 'eater' < \textit{*g̱erh₃töl}.

• \textit{cnawł} and \textit{kerawł} as models for other forms in -\textit{awł} to roots not ending in laryngeal?

• Beside this, likely that verbal stems in -\textit{a}- played a role as in other languages, Lat. \textit{imperātor}, OCS \textit{prijatel}ь 'friend' etc., as supposed by Meillet \textit{Esq.} 32, 130
• -ολ: 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 μαινόλα θύμω 'with a raging mind')
  • φαινόλης, attested only in Hellenistic times '(white/shining) cloak', but presupposed by fem. φαινολίς h. Dem. 51 φαινολίς Ἦώς, Sappho 104.1 φαινόλις ... Αὖως
Productive later, special meaning: "Gelegentlich scheinen sie eine Hinneigung oder eine krankhafte Neigung auszudrücken.", cf. Chantraine:

- *ὀζόλης «qui exhale une forte odeur» (ὀζω), à postuler d'après l'appellatif ὀζολις (Arstt.) qui désigne un poulpe malodorant, et par le nom de peuple Ὄζόλαι (Hdt. +);
- σκωπτόλης «railleur〉, σκώπτω (Ar.);
- οἰφόλης (οἴφω) (Hsch.);
- ὁπυιόλαι (ὁπυίω): γεγαμηκότες (Hsch.);
- κορυπτόλης (κορύπτω): κερατιστής (Hsch.) 'wild, beating with the horns'
• Hence, *-olā-, Arm. keroł, arbécōl similar to Lat. bibulus, edulus, crēdulus.

• /t/ in -ol 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-m̥̄
  • > nom. sg. *-C-(u)l > Cł, acc. sg. *-C-ol(a)n (quasi *b’er-ōl > *bérul > *berł, acc. *berołn)
  • cf. development of *h₂stēl '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(kc/s)/oł- (Bible 18x) mostly denotes the profession 'seer':
  • 1 Ki 9.9 Ew yařaǰ i mēǰ Israyeli ayspēs asēr iwrak’anč’iwr ok’ yoržam ert’ayr harc’anel zAstowac. Ėkayk’ ert’ic’owk’ ař tesanōln: Zi zmargarē yařaj tesanōł koč’er žołowowrdn:
    "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 -ot/awt. 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 kerōl ew arbec'ōl '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' and -ot/awt:

• Olsen (1999: 475): "no clear semantic difference between the two formations":

• 1 Samuel 25.11 ktroł-, Is. 53.7 ktrič' both translate Gk. κείρων:
  • 1 Sam (1 Ki) 25.11 Ard arnowc‘owm zhac’ im ew zgini im ew zzenlis im zor zeni ktrołac’ imoc’ patrowčaks, ew tayc‘e’m aranc’ zors oč’ gitic’em owsti ic’en: καὶ λήμψομαι τοὺς ἄρτους μου καὶ τὸν οἶνόν μου καὶ τὰ θύματά μου, ἃ τέθυκα τοῖς κείρουσίν μου, τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ δώσω αὐτὰ ἀνδράσιν, οἳς σύκ οἶδα πόθεν εἰσίν;
  "And shall I take my bread, and my wine, and my beasts that I have slain for my shearsers, and shall I give them to men of whom I know not whence they are?"
Is. 53.7 ew na ař vštin` oč` banay zberan iwr. ibrew oč`xar i spand varec`aw, ew ibrew oroǰ ařaji ktrč`i anmįrownč` kay, aynpēs oč` banay zberan iwr:

καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ 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 -ič` (the shearer of sheep) in a simile vs concrete, historical -of (my shearsers, i.e., those that were hired by me at the time).
• → Armenian might differentiate where Greek does not.
anicanem

- Prov. 27.14 anicanol : Numb. 24.9 anic'ič' for Gk. καταρώμενος
- Prov. 27:14 Or govē zbarekam ǝnd aṙawōts barjr jayniw` k’an zanicanoln oč’ inč’ aṙawel hamaresc’i:

ὅς 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 zařewc, ew ibrew zkoriwn ařiwcow. ew o’ yarowc’anic’e zna: Ōrhnič’k’ k’o ōrhnesc’in, ew anicič’k’ k’o anicc’in:

κατακλιθεῖς 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 -ič' to a constant behaviour? Or –ič' as defining / introducing the referent vs –oł as ascribing a property?
ergem

• 2 Chron. 9.11 ergεc’oł- : 2 Ki. 11.14 ergić' for Gk. ἡδός 'singer'
• 9:11 Ew arar ark’ay zp’aytn noć` astiçans tann Tearín ew tann ark’ayi, ew k’nars ew tawiļs ergεc’ołac’n. ew oč’ erbek’ erewec’aw aynpēs yaṙaǰaγoyn yerkrin Yowday:

καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ ξύλα τὰ πεύκινα ἀναβάσεις τῷ οἶκῳ κυρίου καὶ τῷ οἶκῳ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κιθάρας καὶ νάβλας τοῖς ᾠδοῖς ὑδόις, καὶ οὐκ ὤφθησαν τοιαῦτα ἐμπροσθεν 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."
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!”

- ergič’ triggered by context ǝst awrini iwromw 'according to custom', vs ergec’ołac’n '(harps and lyres) for the singers' with definite-unspecific reference ("the singers whoever they might be")?
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.) ǝnddēm Pawłikeanc' p. 100

Ew mi gayt’aglir tarakowseal 'i lṛeln 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 Ōrhncēk’ 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 c’nosa: i kerč‘ē el kerakowr, ew i hzōrē el k‘ałc‘r: Ew oč‘ karac‘in aɾətcanel zaɾaspeln 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."
Will not your creditors suddenly arise? Will they not wake up and make you tremble? Then you will become their prey.
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'ōł

- Eghishe p. 67: Na iwrak’anč’iwr stac’owack’ oč’ inč’ hamarēin yač’s stac’ōłac’ iwreanc’: "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'awln: "(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.
\[k^c\text{nnič}^c: k^c\text{nnō/oł}\]

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

- §419 \textit{Vasn zi k‘nnič‘ ē srtic‘ ew cackagēt ew amenayn gałtnec‘ yaytnič‘} "For He is the \textbf{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 \textit{Na k‘nnē zgātnis srtic‘ meroc‘} "He searches the secrets of our hearts."
  - Heb 4.12 \textit{k‘nnič‘ ē mtac‘ ew xorhrdoc‘ srtic‘}: "(The word of God) is a \textbf{searcher} of the thoughts and plans of our hearts."
$k^n_{nn\check{c}c}$: $k^n_{nn\check{o}/o\check{l}}$

- §505 *Hogin sowrb, kʻnničʻ xorocʻn Astowcoy*
  "Holy Spirit, the **searcher** of the depths of God [I Cor. 2.10]"
  - *Hogin zamenayn kʻnnē ew zxors Astowcoy* "The Spirit searches everything, even the depths of God."

- >> *kʻnničʼ* 'one who searches habitually, who is characterized by searching'
$k^c nnič^c \colon k^c nnoō/oł$

- Agath (ed. Tiflis 1914) § 332: Tesane’s, zi antesakan ē i hayec‘ołac’, ew ank’nnakan i k‘nnołac’ est aранjnakan kerparanac’n
  "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 k’anzi sk’anč’elagorc ē ew anhasakan i k‘nnołac’, ew amenayn anhnarakunanac’ hnarawor
  "And because He works wonders and is incomprehensible to scrutiny and is able to work all impossible things"

- § 908 ew heṙi yamenec‘ownc’. antesakan i nkatołac’ ew ank’nin i k‘nnołac’, ew anembrīneli ē yamenec‘ownc’ bnowt’iwn 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'.

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Do you see that He is invisible to those who seek Him and inscrutable to those who search for Him in his particular form?

And because He works wonders and is incomprehensible to scrutiny and is able to work all impossible things.

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'.
spaniçć / spanoł

- *spaniçć* "φονεύς, φονευτής occisor, homicida"
- Ephrem Gehen *tanjič’ ē kendaneac’, ew oč’ spaniçć’ 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.
spaničć / 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 ārnow, noypēs ew č’aragorcni č’arn gorceloy ārnow zanown č’arowt’eann ‘ etē šown icē ew etē 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 constructor of vases, 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 murderer."

- **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.
spaničć / spanoł

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

- Eznik 68 *Ew molaxintd, or aɾanjinn i yaytni inč' žamanaki spanoł ē, novimb zmaļis hnač'eals hnarin bžiškk' 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*
\(\text{spanič}^c / \text{spanoł}\)

• 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.)

\(\text{Isk } t\text{‘agaworn } ibrew \text{ lowaw, barkac‘aw, ew ařak‘eac‘ } \text{zzōrs iwr } \text{ew satakeac‘ } \text{zspanołsn } \text{zaynosik, ew zk‘ałak‘n noc‘a ayreac‘:}\)

"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 *-Vkjo/ā- or *-Vk̯užjo/ā-
- -ič' / -owč' often compared with Slavic agent nouns as in OCS kovačь ‘faber’, kotoričь ‘quarrelsome’ (Vaillant 1974: 324, 326).
- -owč' either compounds with *-h₃k̯- ‘looking like, having the appearance of’, like the Latin type ferōx, atrōx, suffixed with -jo/ā-, or stems in -k- like Lat. senex, Gk. nouns in -αξ etc.
- Olsen 1999: 616 opts for compounds in *-o-h₃(o)k̯-jo- for tesowč' 'overseer, bishop' and vayelowč' 'pleasant' while ǝnkalowč' '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 *-u̯i>- *-u̯u- (Schindler; cf. Olsen loc. cit. n. 834).
4 denominal verbs?

- based on agent noun in -ič’: *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', towič‘'giv-er/-ing', owtem : keray : xotaker 'eating grass' : kerič‘ 'eat-er/-ing', etc. (Olsen 1999: 474).

• čanač‘em 'know/recognize' based on agent noun?

• *ǵŋh₃-(h₃)k⁽w⁾jo/ā- > *cana-(a)č‘ » *čanač‘ ‘γνώμων, knowing’ » čanač‘em

• But a denominal verb should have a "weak" aorist in -c‘-, not the -ea- aorist canea-.
**erknč’im 'to fear'**

- Based on an agent noun/adjective *erknič‘ ‘fearful’?  
- *dũino-* > *erkin(o)-*, cf. Gk. δεινός < *dũeino-* (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’ : merjáworič‘ ‘near of kin’
  - probably no *merjaworoł since 'near of kin' is an inalienable / permanent relationship.
- *erkč’ot and erknč’ot 'δειλός timidus' < *dũi-(i)č‘- 'fearful'.

kornč'ım 'to perish'

- Olsen (1999: 619):
  - Lith. gūrti 'zerfallen, zerbröckeln, zerkrümeln, zergehen, aufgelockert, aufgeweicht, schwach werden'
  - Toch. B. kwremntār 'sie werden altersschwach', which, however, has also been connected with PIE *ǵerh₂- 'grow old', *kūreh₁- (Lat. crēscō) 'to grow', and *dʰgʷh-ér- 'to perish' (via a Lindeman variant *(dʰ)gʷh-r-éh₂-)
• PIE *gʰerH- or *gʰerH-?
  • Derksen (2015: 195) seems to imply a relationship with Lith. *gurdūs 'weak, sluggish' and Gk. βραδύς, i.e., PIE *gʰrd-u-, but difficult to reconcile the two roots *gʰer(H)- and *gʰerd-.

• either (a) *gʰorHno-
  • for the type cf. *uosno- > ὠνο 'price', *kʰorh₂no-, πορνή, πόρνος, etc. > *gʰorno- ('Saussure-effect') → *korn-ič' 'decaying, perishing' → kornč'im.
  • But for an old group -rn- one would expect the development to -rn- (cf. gařn, gařin 'lamb' < *u̯r̥-ēn), so -rn- in kornč'im is likely to be recent

• (b) CoC-o- noun *koro- → *korič' → *korč'ım → kornč'ım by analogy to erknč'ım?
• Or identical to *gu̯erh₃- 'to devour' → 'to consume, destroy'?
• Basic meaning preserved in the stem ker-, owtem : kera-, etc.
• metaphorical meaning in the derived form?
• *gu̯orh₃o- 'devouring, destroying' or *gu̯orh₃-eje/o- > *kor-e- → *kor-ič' 'destroying' → *kor(n)č'i- 'to be destroyed, perish'.
• In this case cf. *gu̯orH-o/eh₂- 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 akulšú* "I destroyed, ruined the city, I set fire on it, I destroyed (lit. ate) 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 ὠράω beside the aor. εἶδον from a noun *sorā 'watch':
  • prs. *d̥uino- > *erkin(o)- >> erk(i)n-ič 'fearful' >> erknčćim 'to fear'
  • aor. *d̥u(e)i-+ -a- (middle) > erkea-.
## 5 Summary: types of property concepts

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Thank you!