

## Nominal compounds, roots and word classes between Indo-European reconstruction and historical evidence

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### 1. Agent nouns and compounding

1.1 No *-ter/tor-* forms in compounding (these forms being more ‘verby’, cf. Lazzeroni 2010):

- Gk. ἡγητήρ “guide” / ἡγήτωρ “leader” ~ κυνηγέτης “huntsman (< “who leads the dogs”), already Myc. /kunāgetās/ (DMic., Leukart 1994, 70)
- OInd. *pūrbhid-* “city destroyer” ~ *bhattā purām* “destroyer of cities”

1.2 Greek nouns in *-της* as *-ā-* enlargements of *t-*stems, originally chiefly in composition (Fraenkel 1910-1912, cf. also Lühr-Balles 2010, Risch 1974, 17, Leukart 1994, 97-103, Dieu 2009, 277):

- OInd. *parikṣit-* ~ Gk. περικτῖται “dwelling around” (cf. Scarlata 1999, 96); Myc. /metaktitai/ \*μετακτῖται “dwellers”, also simplex /kitās/, prob. backformation, cf. Leukart 1994, 66 ff.)
- Gk. ἐπιβλήης (*hapax* Hom.) “bolt or bar fitting into a socket” ~ ἐπιβλήτης · δοκός, μοχλός (Hsch.)
- Gk. προβλήης (Hom.) “jutting out” (of cliffs) ~ προβλήτης “rock, cliff” (Et. Gud., Jo. Tzetzes)
- (Gk. γυμνής “light-armed foot-soldier”, [secondary formation to γυμνός, DELG, s.v.] ~ γυμνήτης “id.” or “naked”)

1.3 Athematic *t-*stem compounds = poorly attested in Greek but there are some posthomeric (mostly poetic) formations, e.g. ἡμιθνής “half-dead”, ἀνδροκμής “man-wearying” (Chantraine 1933, 265 ff.). Some formations however are ancient and are probably of PIE descent (Vijūnas 2009).

Substantival nature of *-(τ)ης* formations but partial functional overlap with other categories: cf. Ar. *Th.* 969-973:

πρόβαινε ποσὶ τὸν εὐλόραν  
μέλπουσα καὶ τὴν τοξοφόρον  
Ἄρτεμιν ἄνασσαν ἀγνήν.  
χαῖρ’ ὦ ἐκάεργε,  
ὄπαζε δὲ νίκην

1.4 Other classes of compound agent nouns

- compounds in *-μων*: type πολυπράγμων “meddlesome” (orig. “with many affairs”), from πρᾶγμα “deed, act”
- compounds in *-ής, -έξ*: type διογενής “born from Zeus” (orig. “whose descent is from Zeus”), from γένος “kin, race”.

### 1.5 Compounds in -ος with verbal second member

- type οικοφόρος “house-carrier” (≠ symmetric type φερέοικος)
- Greek pattern: φόνος “murder”, φονός “murderer”, ἀνδροφόνος “man-slaying”
- λογογράφος “prose-writer” ~ λογογράφεις “id.”
- type ὄρεσίτροφος: “reared on the mountains” (< \**“whose nurturing is on the mountains”*?)

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