

Homeric ἀνδροτήτα 'manliness' and PIE “*-tāt-”

Much has been made of the unmetrical Homeric ἀνδροτήτα 'manliness', an abstract to the root $*h_2ner-$, traditionally glossed 'man' (e.g. IEW 765), built with the abstract-forming suffix $*-tāt-$, added primarily to thematic stems and also found in Italic and Indo-Iranian. The attention surrounding ἀνδροτήτα concerns its age within the poetic tradition, but the implications of this form for the morphological background of $*-tāt-$ itself have gone unremarked. If ἀνδροτήτα continues something old, it may help shed light on the otherwise obscure prehistory of this suffix.

It is now widely assumed that ἀνδροτήτα reflects $/an.r̥.tā.ta/$, scanning $\cup\cup-\times$ and thus preserving $*r̥$, which must date to no later than 1400 BC (recently Hackstein 2002:5, 9, with further ref.). Alternatively, Tichy (1981) takes the cretic ἀνδροτήτα at face value. In her view, the versification of the formula ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην (*Il.* 16.857, 22.363) postdates the Aeolic change of $*r̥$ to $*-or-/ro-$ already seen in Mycenaean, e.g. *to-pe-za* $/torpeza/$ (KN V 280.5+), etc., preserving a relatively recent Aeolicism, citing among others the parallel ἀμβροτάξομεν 'miss' (*Il.* 10.65).

In support of Tichy's theory, Barnes (2007) proposes that the adjective βροτήσιος 'mortal, human' must be based on $*ἀμβροτήσιος$, itself resting upon an unattested $tāt$ -abstract $*ἀμβρότης$ and echoing the patterning found in the pair φιλοτήσιος 'of friendship, love' : φιλότης 'friendship, love'. This $*ἀμβρότης$ provides a direct model on which ἀνδροτήτα is built, and furthermore finds an exact cognate in Av. *aməratātā-/aməratāt-* 'immortality', which continues $*a-mr̥tō-tāt-$. An $*ἀμβρότης$ built to $*ῥ-mr̥to-$ fits the normal pattern of building $tāt$ -abstracts de-adjectivally, and could supply the accentuation of ἀνδροτήτα, which may simply have copied $*ἀμβροτήτα$; this is accounted for by haplology, also alleged for ποτήτα 'drink' < $*potótāta$, built to ποτός 'for drinking' (→ Hom. ποτόν 'drink').

It seems to be the case, however, that haplology does not generally affect accented syllables, and in no cases do its results shift the accent forward. Furthermore, the lexical value of βροτήσιος for positing $*ἀμβροτήτα$ may not be as strong as it seems. Frisk (1960, s.v. βρότος) takes φιλοτήσιος as the starting point for the creation of other adjectives in $-ήσιος$, including βροτήσιος itself; but the hapax φιλοτήσιος (*Od.* 11.246) is the only example of a denominal adjective in $-ιος$ based on a $tāt$ -abstract, suggesting that φιλοτήσιος, as well as the other adjectives in $-τήσιος$, are poetic creations. The agent nouns in $-τήρ$ are in the process of being replaced by $-τής$ already in Homer. The increasing number of agent nouns in $-τής$ beside adjectives in $-τήσιος$ (e.g. *ἰκετήσιος* 'of a suppliant' : *ἰκέτης* 'suppliant') alongside $-τήριος$ and $-τήρ$ may have spread the pattern to the abstracts in $-τής$ too. Given forms like *Ἰθακήσιος* 'Ithacan' and *πρυμνήσιος* 'of a ship's stern', βροτήσιος could be based on βροτός 'a human', and so the existence of $*βρότης$ is questionable, allowing the possibility that ἀνδροτήτα is old and not a secondarily-created substitute for $*ἀμβροτήτα$.

That $*h_2nr̥tāt-$ fails to show the typical pattern of a de-adjectival abstract of this type may be illusory: Nussbaum (2007) has suggested that Ved. *sūnr̥ta-* 'magnanimous; in full vigor, unfaded' may reflect an original simplex substantive $*nr̥ta-$ 'spirit, vigour' continuing a PIE *to*-adjective $*h_2nr̥tō-$ 'having strength, strong', which also underlies OIr. *nert* 'strength' (and ultimately Av. *hunartāt-* 'talent?'). $*h_2nr̥tō-$ may itself assume as its basis $*h_2ner-/h_2nr̥-$ 'vigorous, spirited', a root noun substantive perhaps based on an originally adjectival root (cf. $*b^herǵh-$ 'high' → masc. $*b^herǵh-$ / $*b^hǵǵh-$ 'high one'). The $*h_2nr̥tāt-$ reflected in ἀνδροτήτα, is then likely to be based on a secondary *t*-stem to $*h_2nr̥téh_2$, a teh_2 -abstract thought to be somehow related to $-tāt-$. The instrumental $*h_2nr̥téh_2-h_1-$ 'with vigor, strength' is the expected basis for the sort of *t*-stem substantivization $*h_2nr̥téh_2-h_1-t-$ 'that which is characterized by having vigor; manliness' that following a similar pattern uncovered for the isolated Latin form *salūs* 'health' by Pike (2007) and is alleged for $*g^wih_3-$ $μo-téh_2-h_1-t-$ (e.g. Gk. *βίωτης* 'life') by Barnes.

Finally, a late PIE $*h_2nr̥tāt-$ with this sort of background may have been reinterpreted as an athematic base $*h_2nr̥-$ plus suffix $*-tāt-$, which contradicts the observed pattern whereby $*-tāt-$ is typically appended to thematic stems, a pattern which also obtains in Italic and Indo-Iranian. At some point, evidently, this abstract-forming suffix $*-tāt-$ became generalized to thematic adjectives for the most part (though a few consonant- and *u*-stems are also found); but the details of this development remain opaque. A solution to this problem, however, may be viewed in new light if $*h_2nr̥tāt-$ has the sort of background sketched above. The details underlying such a generalization, though, call for further investigation.