

was caused by the development in the consonant stems, or was a contributory cause is a question I want to leave open.

After I had finished this article, I had the opportunity to consult the last edition of Manu Leumann's *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (1977, München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung). In § 227 he states that some of the final consonants in Latin only appear due to loss of a word final vowel, without trying, however, to use this in connection with the problem of the neutral adjectives.

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A Rejoinder to Eric Hamp on *HRC- Sequences in Latin

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Eric Hamp, ever provocative, has questioned¹⁾ some statements made by myself in an earlier issue of *Glotta*²⁾. My original paper dealt with the order in which a contiguous laryngeal and resonant, both in zero grade, became vocalized. I stated that in Greek the laryngeal became vocalized first, and the resonant was thus colored according to the texture of the laryngeal: *HRC- > PGk. *VRC-. Prof. Hamp found nothing to object to in this statement, but did

¹⁾ E. Hamp, 'On *HRC- in Latin', *Glotta* 54, 1976: 261–263.

²⁾ J. Greppin, 'The Sequence HRC- in Latin', *Glotta* 51, 1973: 112–116.

find fault with my later statement that we could expect proto-Latin *HRC- to behave differently than Greek, vocalizing first the resonant which then was affected by the color of the laryngeal, provided that the vowel of the vocalized resonant was an -e-. It is for this reason we have no evidence for a sequence *ArC- (or *AlC-) passing to Lat. arC-: the vowel of the vocalized resonant is not an -e-. However, when the resonant is an *m or an *n, the vocalized form, em or en, has an e vowel, and can pick up the laryngeal color. Thus Lat. *unguis* was developed as follows: *Ongħ- > *Oengħ- > *ong- > ung-; a-coloring is shown in *ambi*: *Ambħi > *Aembħi > *ambi*.

The first point that Hamp objected to was my claim that we have no evidence for an initial laryngeal in the proto-form of *edo* 'eat'. I based this claim on Hitt. *ed-* 'eat', without ħ-. Hamp cites a rather early article of his in *TPS*³⁾ which appears to support the presence of a laryngeal, though only on grounds that are largely theoretical, grounds that we today are unsure of. To further strengthen his claim, he adduces the evidence of Gk. *νήστις* which he insists must be derived from IE *n-H₂d-ti-. However, this does not settle the matter since this suggestion does not take into account the possible solution, in non-laryngeal terms, that is available in the equation *ne-esti 'he does not eat', a verbal concept that petrified and became nominalized.

By arguing for *H in *edō, Hamp implicitly states that there are at least two types of e-coloring laryngeals: one that is reflected in Hittite by ħ- (*ēveḡkeiv*, Hitt. *henkzi* 'assign, allot'), and one that is not reflected as Hitt. ħ-. Hamp does not mention this assumption, nor to my mind has he ever put it into print elsewhere⁴⁾.

Next Hamp says we must find a laryngeal in the proto-form of Gk. *ὄρχις*, Arm. *orjik* 'testicles', Lith. (dialect) *ařžilas* 'stallion'. But again Hittite intrudes with a probable cognate *ark-* 'to mount (of rams)', a lexeme bereft of initial ħ-. Hamp's argument for an original laryngeal is based on the Albanian form *herdhe* < PAIb.

³⁾ E. Hamp, 'Hittite Evidence for the "Laryngeal" — and Addendum', *TPS* 1952 (1953): 110–113.

⁴⁾ The idea, of course, has been suggested. Its most sensible development has been done by J. Puhvel, details being available in *Evidence for Laryngeals*, W. Winter (ed.), The Hague 1965: 79–92; summary on p. 92. One should also note his *Laryngeals and the Indo-European Verb*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960, where there is more material. The suggestion that there are voiced and voiceless laryngeals is based on faultless logic, but lacks appeal due to the slimness of the evidence.

**hardiā*, the initial *h-* of which he says must represent the *a*-coloring 4th laryngeal. The concept that laryngeals left residue of aspiration in dialects other than Hittite is indeed appealing⁵⁾, but it might not be appropriate here. Hamp first presented this argument in *Evidence for Laryngeals*⁶⁾. It might be time to analyze his conclusion in the light of the thinking that has transpired since the early 1960s.

Hamp proposes that *H*₄ is tangibly reflected in standard Albanian as *h-*, while in the dialect of Vaccarizzo as [ɣ]; in certain Greek Albanian enclaves as [x] or [h]. Hamp offers the following etymologies (here given in brief): Alb. *hap* 'open', Gk. ἀπό; Geg. *hÿj* 'I enter', Skt. *ava* 'off'; Geg. *hut* 'empty', Gk. αῦτος 'id'; Geg. *hÿ* 'ashes', Gk. αἶθος 'heat'; Vac. [ɣίπιñ] 'I mount (e.g. a donkey)', Skt. *úpa* 'up'; Alb. *hump* 'go down, lose', Gk. ὑπό; Alb. *herdhe*, Gk. ῥοχέις, Alb. *hedh* 'throw, winnow', Gk. ἄγω; Alb. *harr* 'prune', Gk. ἄρρμαι.

A serious look at this list tends to convince me that there are few compelling etymologies in the collection. They are either somewhat semantically forced, or represent Albanian verbs which are formed from Indo-European prepositions. This latter group seems particularly awkward. The only wholly convincing etymology is *herdhe*/ῥοχέις, and alone it means very little. Before Hamp can make us seriously consider that a laryngeal left initial aspiration in Albanian, he must come up with some more convincing etymologies, and also provide a serious discussion of the problem of erratic initial aspiration in Albanian. Hamp himself noted, though without comment, the bi-forms *hidhunë*/*idhunë* 'bitter'. I can also cite *hardhi* 'vine', *ardhi* 'id'⁷⁾. Are there more parallels? We need to know. Ultimately, Alb. *herdhe* tells us very little about laryngeal theory.

Next, referring to this article in *Ériu*⁸⁾, Hamp posits that we must find a laryngeal in the proto-form of Gk. ἀμφί, Lat. *amb-*, Skt. *abhí*, Alb. *mbë*, Welsh *ym-*. Actually, Hamp suggests that there are possibly two laryngeals present because in fact there are

⁵⁾ I have written on this theme, applying it to Armenian, in *Initial Vowel and Aspiration in Classical Armenian*, Vienna 1973. Later comments were made by me in "Современное состояние изучения Армянских ларингалов", Историко-филологический журнал 1975, No 1: 54–70.

⁶⁾ E. Hamp, 'Evidence in Albanian', pp. 123–141, esp. pp. 125–128.

⁷⁾ From the lexicon *Fjalor i Gjuhës Shqipe*, Tirana 1954. One can also mention *hallat* 'tool', *allat* 'id'.

⁸⁾ E. Hamp, 'Varia I', *Ériu* 24, 1973: 160–182, esp. pp. 164–66.

actually two Indo-European roots to be found here: **H_ambhi* 'around', which begot the Greek, Latin and Sanskrit forms; and *(*H_e*)*embhi* 'against' which engendered the Albanian and Welsh products. Again, Hamp's argument is logical and more than intriguing; but it is not convincing, both on grounds of economy and because of his unsupportable insistence upon the need to posit an original **H*- wherever we have an apparent vowel-initial Indo-European root.

Hamp raises four more instances where he feels that laryngeals must be posited, and whose existence would clearly show that **HNC* does not show laryngeal coloration in Latin reflexes. He cites *ignis*, *ensis*, *inguen*, *indigena*, again words for which there had not been hitherto serious arguments for original laryngeals. Hamp alone has posited a laryngeal for *ignis*⁹⁾, but even then without total conviction, saying only that it was 'possible' (p. 78). In the case of *indigena*¹⁰⁾, **endo*- (> Lat. *indi*-) has a cognate in Hitt. *anda*, again with no apparent laryngeal. Nor, for that matter, can one even posit here an original resonant in zero grade, removing *indigena* still further from the discussion of **HRC*- in Latin. Similar defences can also be quickly mounted for *ensis* and *inguen*.

Hamp, although demonstrably erudite and with a precise grasp of the problems of reconstructing Indo-European forms from even the most difficult of material, has not made his point. In no instance has he been able to firmly and immutably establish the presence of a laryngeal in any of the forms he has offered as contrary evidence.

Twenty years ago, in the heyday of laryngeal exploration, these arguments would have given us pause. But laryngeal studies have matured. Former proponents have dropped out altogether; others have modified their enthusiasms, insisting on strict and tangible evidence in almost every instance. I doubt these changes can be called intransigent reactionism; rather they are an aspect of a healthily growing field.

⁹⁾ E. Hamp, 'Lithuanian *ugñs*, Slavic *ogñb*', in *Baltic Linguistics*, T. Magner and W. Schmalstieg (eds.), University Park 1971: 75-79.

¹⁰⁾ Cf. E. Hamp, 'Proto-British *-eg-' *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies (Wales University)*, vol. 16, 1956: 277-285, esp. pp. 279-280.