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I. AUFSÄTZE

Prototype Theory and Diachronic Semantics. A Case Study

1. Introduction

In recent years, linguistic semantics has witnessed the birth of a “non-Aristotelian” theory of conceptual structure, primarily embodied by Rosch’s prototype theory, but with important analogues in Lakoff’s Gestalt linguistics, Fillmore’s “scenes-and-frames semantics,” and Labov’s work on the boundaries of conceptual categories.¹ To get a general idea of the common aspect of these theories, one might consider Rosch’s assertion that prototype theory is opposed to the many theories in philosophy, psychology, linguistics, and anthropology that hold that “categories are Aristotelian in nature—that is, that categories are logical, clearly bounded entities, whose membership is defined by an item’s possession of a simple set of criterial features, in which all instances possessing the criterial attributes have a full and equal degree of membership.”² In contradistinction to this tradition of thought, the “non-Aristotelian”³ theories all hold,

¹ See Rosch 1975, 1977 and 1978, Lakoff 1977, Fillmore 1977 and Labov 1973 for basic studies. Further developments and additional material may be found in Rosch & Mervis 1975, Coleman & Kay 1981, Lakoff & Johnson 1980; a critical remark with regard to prototype theory is put forward by Osherson & Smith 1981.

² Rosch 1975, p. 193.

³ The epithet “non-Aristotelian” is only justified if one takes into account particular aspects of Aristotle’s theories, such as the distinction between essential and accidental attributes. On the other hand, he also devotes a lot of attention to phenomena that correspond to the prototypical theory, such as metaphor, analogy, and the use of “paradigms” (examples) in rhetoric. In this respect, the term “Aristotelian” is intended to refer particularly to Aristotle’s categorial views.

in one way or another, that conceptual structures in natural language are characterised by, first, vague boundaries between categories, second, differences in salience of attributes and degree of category membership of instances of the category, third, relationships of analogy and overall resemblance between the alternative senses or applications of a category, and fourth, clustering of senses round prototypical instances surrounded by slightly deviant peripheral cases. In general, categories cannot be defined in a singular, rigid way: although each category does possess a prototypical kernel, it can be realised in several slightly distinct variants that do not necessarily contain all the central, prototypical attributes, but that have enough characteristics in common with the central meaning to be recognized as an instance of the category.

In a number of previous studies,⁴ I have tried to show that prototype theory is corroborated by the empirical findings of lexicography, and that, in this respect, it is eminently suited as a framework for dictionary making. These studies being limited to the synchronous aspects of meaning, I now want to carry further this line of research and examine the relationship between prototype theory and diachronic semantics. In particular, I will try to make clear that meaning change exhibits characteristics that correspond to the predictions derivable from prototype theory. As a case study, I will consider the semantic development of Dutch *vergrijpen* from 1500 up to 1900, taking into account the empirical material provided by the historical dictionary of Dutch, the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*.⁵ Restricting the discussion to a single word might be suspected to lead to distortions in the argumentation. However, apart from the fact that further examples would enlarge the article

⁴ Geeraerts 1981, 1982, 1983a.

⁵ Abbreviated WNT. Publication started in 1864 under the direction of M. De Vries. Compared to its closest relatives, the Oxford English Dictionary and the Deutsches Wörterbuch, the WNT. is undoubtedly the most detailed—but also the most difficult one to complete: up to now, 27 volumes, each with an average of 1100 pages, have appeared. Currently, work is being done on the letters U and V; completion is planned within 15 years.

beyond acceptable limits, it is relatively easy to find additional indications by studying the history of words as recorded in historical dictionaries: it is my experience as an historical lexicographer that the diachronic mechanisms to be presented here are typical for semantic change at large.

2. Exposition

Vergrijpen is a morphologically complex word, derived from the verb *grijpen* ("to seize, to catch, to grasp;" cfr. English *to grip*, German *greifen*, Gothic *greipan*), and the prefix *ver-*, which can occur with a large number of semantic values. (I will specify further on which ones are important for the meaning of *ver-grijpen*.) In present-day Dutch, it is mostly used in reflexive valency, together with a prepositional phrase introduced by *aan*: *zich vergrijpen aan* means, roughly, "to lay violent hands upon." With regard to money, it can be used with the value "to steal;" with regard to women, it may mean "to assault, to rape." It first occurs in the writings of the mystic Jan van Ruusbroec (1293–1381):

Alwaert dat hem die mensche vergrepe of misprake of dat
wel sulce dinc hem invallen mochte die onrecht ware
(Ruusb. 3, 97).⁶

The meaning of the prefix in the quotation may be rendered by the adverbial phrase "in the wrong way, with negative results;" it is very common: it can be found in other reflexive verbs, such as *zich verschrijven* ("to make a mistake in writing"), *zich verslikken* ("to choke in swallowing"), *zich verrekenen* ("to miscalculate"). In this respect, the morphological structure as well as the meaning of *vergrijpen* parallels that of *to mistake* in its etymological sense (to mis-take). However, taking into account the frequent occurrence of pleonastic disjunctions in older texts, the exact value of Ruusbroec's *vergrijpen* is indeterminate: if there is no opposition between *vergrepe* and *misprake*, the former word would be synonymous to the latter, meaning "to make a

⁶ "If it be that man made a mistake or misspoke or if such a thing would occur to him that were unjust."

mistake in speaking, to say something wrong." In the other case, the meaning would be "to do something wrong" rather than "to say something wrong." The ambiguity is not without importance: it will not only reappear in the later ages, but it can also be found in the remaining Middle Dutch quotations in the M.N.W., both from the 15th century:

Heb ic mi yet vergrepen in enigher manyeren; soo wil ic(t)
altoos gaerne laten corregieren (Sp. d. Leken 183v.);⁷

Die stamerende man, of hi hem in sinen woorden vergrype,
hi moet hem wel verhalen (Sassensp. 1,36,65).⁸

The first quotation most likely belongs to the "to do something wrong" interpretation, whereas the other one exhibits the "to say something wrong" meaning.

Let us now turn to the 16th century and younger senses. I will chronologically present the relevant groups of quotations, i.e., I will give the oldest and the youngest quotation for each sense⁹ to be distinguished. I will comment on the different developments with regard to their mutual relations; an analysis of the development in general will follow in paragraph 3. Readers may find it useful to consult from time to time the picture that is placed at the end of this paragraph, to capture its gradual emergence. I apologize for the length of the following presentation, but I am convinced that it is impossible to give an empirically sound study without it.

- (1) Doen sprac Juda tot sinen broederen wat helpet ons, dat
wi onzen broeder dooden ende zijn bloet verbergen? Coemt
laet ons hem den Ismaeliten vercoopen, op dat onse handen

⁷ "If I have done wrong in any way, I will gladly have it corrected any time."

⁸ "The stammering man, if he made a mistake in his words, he will have to repeat and correct himself." The bibliographical references for the quotations taken from the *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (abbreviated MNW.) are those given in that dictionary. Likewise, the references for the quotations given below use the WNT.-abbreviations. For full references, one should consult the source lists to the MNW. and WNT.

⁹ I use *sense* in a broad way, including any type of linguistic phenomenon that is semantically distinct.

hem niet vergrijpen aen hem, want hi is onse broeder (Bijbel v. Liesveldt, Gen. 37E, 1526).¹⁰ Bavo hadde mischien niet altoos aan het verlangen kunnen weerstaan den laffen opstoker te tuchtigen, en vroeg of laat zich aan hem vergrepen, indien hij langer hem dagelijks onder zijne oogen hadde moeten zien (Sleeckx 16,43, 1863).¹¹

The meaning “to use violence against someone” that is exhibited here, seems to be connected to the Middle Dutch sense “to do something wrong:” it is a concrete specification of the more general meaning, interpreted along moral lines. On the other hand, a more direct relation to *grijpen* should not be excluded either, given the “laying hands upon, catching hold of” that is part of the act of committing physical violence; under this interpretation, the meaning could be paraphrased as “to take hold (unlawfully, unmorally) of someone, with the intention of exerting violence upon him.”

- (2) Ende sterft opten berch, als ghi daer ghecomen sijt, . . . Om dat ghi v vergrepen hebt aen mi onder die kinderen van Israel by dat twist water (Bijbel v. Liesveldt, Deut. 32G, 1526).¹² Tegen God vergrepen zij zich! (Drost, Hermingard 180, 1832).¹³

The notion of acting against someone’s physical person is replaced by that of acting against someone’s wishes or someone’s authority. The meaning comes near to that of “to rebel.” The above quotations only contain examples of actions against God, but other examples have been found where the object is a person whom one owes respect and obedience (such as one’s mother).

¹⁰ “Then spoke Juda to his brothers: what good is it to us to kill our brother and hide his blood? Come, let us sell him to the Ishmaelite, lest our hands lay violent upon him, for he is our brother.”

¹¹ “Bavo might not have been able to resist forever the desire to castigate the cowardly firebrand, and might have laid violent hands upon him sooner or later, if he would have had to face him daily any longer.”

¹² “And die on the mountain when you have come there, for you have acted against me among the children of Israel by the waters of discord.”

¹³ “Against God they misconducted themselves!”

- (3) Ick wil v broederlicken vermaendt ende ghebeden hebben, mijne lieue L., dat wanneer v conscientie tuyght, dat ghy v teghen God of uwen naesten, moght in eenighe maniere vergrepen, oft door quade exempelen yemandt gheerghert hebben, dat ghy als dan tot God . . . v hert keeren wilt (Gnapheus, Tob. E iij r, 1557).¹⁴ Omdat men zich eenmaal aan haar vergrepen had, wilde Margaretha zich wreken op de geheele wereld (Bohn-Beets, Onze buurt 14, 1864).¹⁵

The interpretation shifts away from that in (1) towards a less physical or violent way of doing harm to someone; the meaning may be paraphrased as “to treat badly, to harm in a moral (or otherwise not primarily physically violent) way.” Although (2) is partially present in the first quotation (with regard to *God* as prepositional object), (2) and (3) are not intimately related: in (2), the notion of doing harm is not present, whereas (1) combines the aspects “to do harm” (as in (3)), and “to act against.”

- (4) Achar, welcke bedroefde Israel, doe hy hem aen het verbannen vergreep (Bijbel v. Deux Aes, 1 Kron. 2, 7, 1562).¹⁶ Dat des Koninx Inlandsche subjecten, die hun tegens de voorsz. contracten, ofte des Koninx bevel, eenigzints mogten komen te vergrypen . . . , naar bevindinge van zaaken zullen worden gestraft (Valentijn, O.-I. II, 2, 120 b, 1724).¹⁷

This kind of use is closely connected with that in (2): what is acted against is not a person, but an abstract guideline, such as a contract, a rule, an order, a punishment; hence the paraphrase “to violate.” To a certain extent, the difference with (2) is one of selectional restrictions: in (2), the prepositional object is a person, in (4), it is an abstract notion. Because the examples of

¹⁴ “I want to have you fraternally prayed and warned, dear L., that when your conscience proves you have acted badly against God or your fellow man, or have vexed someone by bad examples, that you should turn your heart towards God.”

¹⁵ “Because they had once treated her badly, Margaretha wanted to revenge herself on the whole world.”

¹⁶ “Achar, who saddened Israel, when he violated the exile.”

¹⁷ “That the native subjects of the King, when they violated the contracts mentioned above, or acted against the King’s wish, should be punished according to the matter.”

(2) imply such an abstract object (rebellling against a person is wanting or trying to violate his abstract wishes, commands, authority and so on), the borderline is not very sharp. The vagueness zone is formed by those instances of (4) in which a person's wishes etc. are the prepositional object.

(5) Hij heeft hem vertast, vergrepen (Sartorius, s. v., 1561).¹⁸ This is the "etymological meaning" of *vergrijpen*: to grasp, catch, seize (etc.) in the wrong way, speaking literally. However, simple as this kind of usage may seem, it has a dubious quality to it. To begin with, the quotation given here occurs in a collection of proverbs: as such, it probably exhibits the literal meaning *together* with the figurative meaning "to make a mistake" (see (7)). Also, the other occurrences of the literal meaning (5) are all to be found in dictionaries, ranging from 1576 to the 20th century. As such, there are strong indications that the literal meaning, though possible, is relatively infrequent. This is no reason to ignore it, but I will show sub (7) that this fact has some importance for the interpretation of the figurative meaning "to make a mistake."

(6) So hem yemant int heymelijcke met eenige handelinge ofte werc vergrepen hadde, ende claechede dat eenen anderen broeder vvt grooter smerte ende droeffenisse zijns herten, dat hy also tegen zijnen God gesondicht hadde (Nicolai in Bibl. Reform. Neerl. 7, 446, 1569).¹⁹ Sy namen nimmermeer het gebied van die overwonnen Caciquen ofte Heeren dat ghebooren Heeren waren, ende oft al yemandt van desen hem vergreep, soo straften sy den selvighen, doch ghevende zijn officie, ofte aen zijn kinderen ofte aen zijn broeders, ende gheboden haer onder danich te wesen (V. Linschoten, Beschr. v. Guinea enz. g 2 r a, 1596).²⁰ De Sluische,

¹⁸ "He has mis-felt, mis-taken."

¹⁹ "If anyone had committed a fault in secret by any act or accomplishment, and, from great sorrow and sadness of the heart, confessed this unto another brother, that he had thus sinned against the Lord."

²⁰ "They never again took the land of those conquered Caciques or Lords that were Lords by birth, and if one among these committed a crime, they punished the same, though giving his office either to his children or his brothers, and ordered them to be obedient."

in ontroerd-begrijpen, dat iedereen zich wel eens vergrijpen kon, zou dan geneigd zijn tot schikken en vergeven (Hartog, Sjöfelen 186, 1902).²¹

The meaning is “to do something that is unallowed by certain (moral, legal, religious) standards.” To show the different specifications of this notion, I have given two 16th century quotations. In the first one, the fault is against religious standards, and *zich vergrijpen* means as much as “to sin.” In the second case, legal standards are at stake, and the meaning is “to act against the law, to commit a crime.” (This is the most frequent application in this category.) The general meaning “to do something unallowed” is a generalising abstraction from the more specific kinds of doing something wrong that we have found in (1) and (2) (and, derived from them, in (3) and (4)). Syntagmatically, it is characterised by the fact that the verb is very often used in an “absolute” way, i.e., without prepositional (or other) object: the semantic development from particular cases of unacceptable actions to the more general sense of committing any unallowable action, is paralleled by a syntactic loss of specificity.

- (7) Ick ben ghedwonghen tselve te beantwoorden en op het cortste te wederlegghen, opdat zijne Excellentie met noch vele hem niet voordere en vergrijpe (in Fredericq, Pamfl. 167, 1583).²² Gewis gelooft gy, in uwe redekundige eenvoudigheid, dat men, om Dahlialiefhebber te zijn, alleenlyk de Dahlias moet liefhebben. Laet my toe u te zeggen dat gy u leelyk vergrypt! (Consc., Avondst. 122, 1846).²³

At surface value, the relationship between (5) and (7) is rather easy: the latter is the figurative extension of the former, literal

²¹ “The woman from Sluis, in moved understanding that anyone could go beyond the accepted limits, would then be willing to arrange things and forgive.”

²² “I am forced to answer the same (a paper) and to refute it presently, so that his Excellency, with many more, should not be in error further.”

²³ “Surely you believe, in your logical simplicity, that one, to be a dahlia-lover, should only love the dahlia. Allow me to say that you are badly mistaken.”

notion of not catching, or catching wrongly, into that of making a mistake.²⁴ If one takes into account the remarks made with regard to (5), and the fact that the sense “to make a mistake (e.g., in speaking)” is already Middle Dutch, it becomes less obvious that there is a straightforward line from (5) to (7): rather, it seems that the figurative interpretation, being chronologically prior, has an autonomous origin, in the sense that the morphological derivate *vergrijpen* has arisen immediately in a non-literal use.

- (8) Homerus heeft . . . versiert en toe bereyt De lichte Circe Vrouw van d’ongebondenheyt, In dartelheden gayl en wel-lust opgetrocken: Wie sich met haar vergreep, veranderde in Bocken, In Beeren, Swijnen en dus ander dom gediert (Bredero 1, p. 315, c. 1615).²⁵

This first 17th century quotation exhibits the meaning “to be adulterous, to fornicate,” which may be seen as yet another specification of the sense “to do something unallowed.” Though there is only one W.N.T.-quotation with this meaning, we will see sub (12) that there is a more frequent related sense.

- (9) Hoewel daer een van me Confraters, hem laetstmael, te bijster had vergist, Dat hy sich vergreep, te Disputeeren, tegens een Latinist (Kl. v. d. Gew. Hoorendr., 1626).²⁶ Wanneer hy elders hoort jokken en boerten, moet hy zich wagten van overluyd te lagchen, te schateren, of een mal gelaat aan te stellen met klappen in de handen, en zich also te vergrypen (Welleventheid 22, 1733).²⁷

²⁴ This development is analogous to that in English *to mistake*.

²⁵ “Homeros has adorned and equipped the light Circe, unconstrained woman, in frolicsomeness randy and accomplished in desire: who adulterated with her changed into he-goats, bears, pigs and other dumb animals.”

²⁶ “Although one of my colleagues, the other day, made such a miscalculation that he made the mistake of discussing with a Latinist.”

²⁷ “When he (a sagacious courtier) hears joking and jesting, he should abstain from laughing too loud or making a preposterous sight by clapping his hand and doing thus what is improper.”

These quotations belong together with those in (6), the difference being that the fault committed here is not something that is ethically or legally unallowed, but something that is improper, unwise or impertinent. (6) is more rigid than (9): there, what is done is something that is formally forbidden, whereas here, something unadvisable is done.

- (10) Het pack is rampeloos overgekomen, maer wie salder de hand aen steken? en, van dieder sich aen vergrijpen sullen, wie salder niet meer uyt als ingebracht hebben (Huyghens bij Hooft, Br. 2, p. 298, 1633).²⁸ Aen de roem van U.M. regering en aen den voorspoed der Nederlandsche natie zoude zich die Minister vergijpen welke in zulk eene geschapenheid van zaken voorstellen mogt, om de gelden, op eene aanmerkelijke wijze te verminderen (Falck, Ambstbr. 55, 1818).²⁹

This kind of use is closely connected with (3), and hence also with (1). In contrast with (3), the object is not a person, but an abstract thing (fame, prosperity, the contents of a text, and so on). As such, the relevant meaning is “to exert a negative influence upon, to harm in an abstract way.” In contrast with (1), the harm done is not physical; in this respect, it is surprising that a more direct application of (1) with regard to objects (in the sense “to damage physically”) occurs only in the 19th century (see (18)). Within the group of quotations presented here, the first one stands out because of its allusion to the physical act of seizing; in the later examples, this overtone is absent.

- (11) Wat kan het de stadt voordeelen of er 20 of 50 millioenen in de banck gevonden wert, indien se haar van de penningen der kooplieden niet bedient? En soo wanneer de stadt haar daarin wilde vergrijpen, deselve aantasten, en haar daarvan bedienen, hetselve soude soowel kunnen ge-

²⁸ “The packet (a manuscript) has arrived without calamities, but who will take it up? And of those who will have laid their hand upon it, who will not have taken more out than he has put in?”

²⁹ “Against the fame of your Majesty’s government and the prosperity of the Dutch nation would act he who might propose in such a situation, to diminish the funds in a drastic way.”

schiedten uit de minder als uit de meerder somme (Phoonsen in Econ-Hist. Jaarb. 7, 54, 1677).³⁰ Dat het arme volk, om uit de ellende te komen, zich wel vergrijpen moest aan hetgeen anderen zich hadden toegeëigend (Quack, Soc. 1, 183, 1911).³¹

The sense “to take unlawfully into possession, and hence: to steal” is to be linked to the literal meaning of *grijpen*, and to the aspect of doing something unlawfully that is present in the major senses (1), (2), and most of their cognates, especially (6).

(12) 'k Was immers maar een bloed, Ja gek, soo ik mijn selven aan haar ging vergrijpen (Bellamante 23, 1689).³² Deze eerwaardige persoon kwam nu met den voorslag ter baan om het meisje van hen over te nemen, zeggende dat hij te Larissa kennis had aan een niet minder eezamen handelaar, die steeds een aantal schoone slavinnen den kost gaf, ten einde door hare bekoorlijkheden zijne jonge en ook oude stadsgenooten te beletten zich aan de vrouwen hunner burenen te vergrijpen (V. Limb. Brouwer 1, 354, 1857).³³

Though there is a clear connection with (8), because of the sexual context, there is this difference between (8) and the sense “to violate a woman’s honour,” that the latter need not involve an actual deed of adulteration, and that the former misses the notion that the woman in question is treated badly (adultery

³⁰ “What advantage can it be to the city if 20 or 50 million is found in the bank, if it does not avail itself of the money of the merchants? And if the city would want to take hold of this, interfere with it, and make use of it, this might be done equally with regard to the smaller as with regard to the larger sum.”

³¹ “That the poor people, to rise from misery, had to lay their hands upon what others had appropriated.”

³² “I was but an ignorant boy; crazy, if I would have violated her honour.”

³³ “This respectable person came with the proposal to take over the girl from them, saying that he was acquainted with an equally respectable merchant at Larissa, who continually kept a number of beautiful slaves, in order that their charms might prevent his young (and old) fellow citizens from interfering with their neighbours’ wives.”

implies mutual consent). Because of the aspects “to violate” and “to exert (moral) violence upon someone,” (12) is close to (1). In this respect, it is worthwhile remarking that the sense “to rape, to violate in a physical sense,” which is even closer to (1) than (12) (where the violence is primarily moral and where the violation is primarily of a woman’s honour in abstracto), is not found unambiguously before the 20th century. Beside the links with (8) and (1), there is also a much weaker relationship between (11) and (12), if one takes into account that the notion of “possession,” at work in (11), may also be linked with the sexual “possession” hinted at in (12).

(13) Dat . . . als het derde deel van het leger der Massageten onder het beleid van S. . . . ter plaetse gekomen was daer alle deze spys en drank was, zich zodanigh daer in vergrepen heeft, dat al het krygsvolk verwonnen van den drank in slaep viel (De Bruyn, Reizen 2, 244b, 1714).³⁴ Wanneer zy den beker wat te sterk gelicht, en zig in ’t drinken van Saguweor . . . vergrepen hadden (Valentijn, O.-I. II, 1, 136a, 1724).³⁵

This early 18th century meaning (“to indulge in eating or drinking, to one’s own detriment”) is related to the concepts “doing something violent (c.q. doing something in a violent, unrestricted way)” (cfr. (1)), “doing something forbidden or unadvisable, unwise, improper” (cfr. (6), (9)), and “seizing, grabbing, taking” (the meaning of *grijpen*). An additional link with (1) might be sought in the notion of doing harm to someone (i.e., oneself), but since the person harmed is expressed by the reflexive pronoun and not by the prepositional object (as in (1)), it becomes apparent that the function of *ver-* in (13) is slightly different from that in the previous senses. In fact, *ver-* may form compounds with the conceptual structure “to harm the person

³⁴ “That, when the third part of the army of the Massagetes, under the command of S., had reached the place where all the food and the drinks were, they so indulged in this that all the soldiers fell asleep, overcome by the beverage.”

³⁵ “When they had lifted the cup too much, and had indulged in drinking Saguweor.”

or thing referred to by the object or the reflexive pronoun by performing the action named by the headword.” (For another example, see (14)).

- (14) Die de handt vergrepen, een voet, vinger of hant verstuykt, of vertreden heeft, . . . die stryken hun s'avonts ende 's morghens met desen Balsem (Simons, Troost d. Armen 9, 1721).³⁶

Though connected with (5), the meaning “to harm in seizing” is singular by its transitive nature, and by the additional aspect of harming the thing named by the direct object, due to a function of *ver-* that is identical to that in (13). Because (14) is easily derivable from *grijpen* and the systematicity of *ver-*, dictionaries mention it up to the 20th century; yet, the example given above is the only normal, “literary” one.

- (15) Zoo het gebeurde, dat eenige plaatzen ofte dorpen, zich jegens haren Heere vergrepen, ofte quamen te rebelleren, zullen de Gouverneur en Stadhouder des Koninks de zelve rechten, of wel naar gelegenheit, vyandelyk aantasten, en tot gehoorzaamheit brengen (Valentijn, O.-I. II, 2,76b, 1724).³⁷ De gestatueerde wetten omtrend slaaven, die zich aan hunne lyfheeren of vrouwen vergrypen (N.-I. Plakaatb. 13,304, 1801).³⁸

“To rebel violently” combines senses (1) and (2).

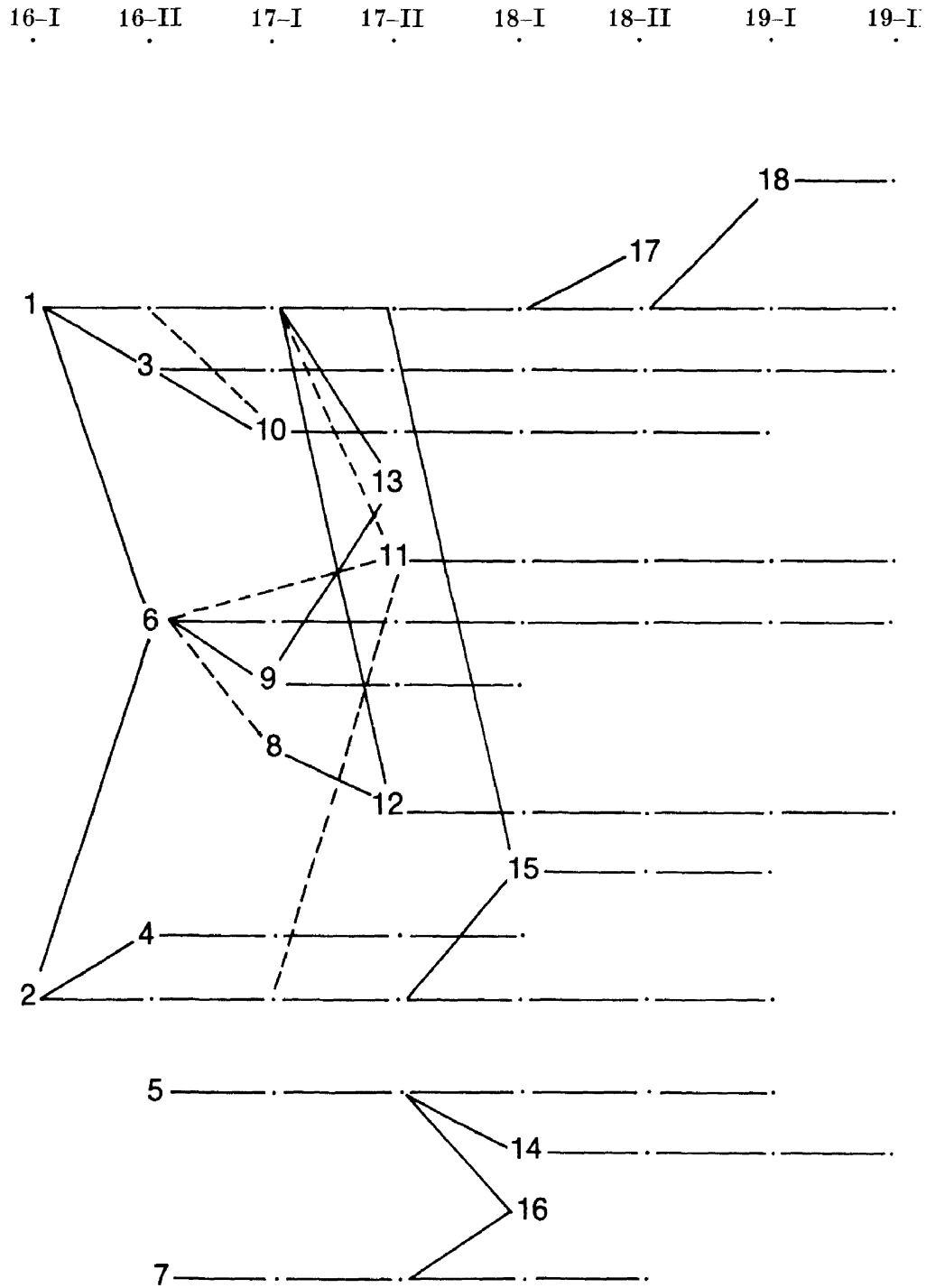
- (16) D. en P. worden van de Dienders gevat. *D.* Myn Heertjes! je vergryp je, zeker! (Langendijk 4,236, 1732).³⁹

³⁶ “Those who have hurt their hand in catching, wricked or sprained a hand, finger of foot, should rub themselves with this balm in the evening and the morning.”

³⁷ “If it occurred that any hamlets or villages revolted against their chiefs or came to rebellion, the Governor and Representative of the King shall try the same, or, if necessary, attack them and bring them to obedience.”

³⁸ “The statutory laws concerning slaves violently rebelling against their masters or ladies.”

³⁹ “D. and P. are caught by policemen. *D.* Good Gods! You must be mistaking, surely!”



The diachronic structure of VERGRIJPEN

In this (isolated) quotation, the literal meaning of (5) and the figurative one of (7) are consciously combined: by catching the wrong person, the policemen “seize wrongly” and “commit an error” at the same time.

- (17) Ik zou my aan my zelf zo vergrypen kunnen (Wolff en Deken, Burg. 732, 1782).⁴⁰

The notion “to commit suicide” is a specific concretisation of (1), with euphemistic overtones. I want to stress that there is a semantic development here that is not contained in the contextual specification of (1): to commit selfdestructive violence need not result in suicide. Hence, there appears to be a semantic specification of (1) in (17).

- (18) Want eenige kwâjongens, die zich aan de ruiten der inwoners . . . vergrijpen, willen wij niet de eer bewijzen van eene vlek op deze bemoedigende schets te werpen (Kneppelh.

⁴⁰ “It might well lay a violent hand upon myself.”

Legend:

- (1) To use physical violence against someone.
- (2) To oppose someone whom one owes respect and obedience.
- (3) To harm someone in a non-physical way.
- (4) To oppose an abstract principle or guideline.
- (5) To mis-take.
- (6) To do something forbidden.
- (7) To mistake.
- (8) To adulterate.
- (9) To do something unadvisable, unwise, improper.
- (10) To harm something in a non-physical way.
- (11) To steal.
- (12) To violate a woman’s honour.
- (13) To eat or drink excessively.
- (14) To hurt while catching, seizing, grabbing.
- (15) To rebel violently.
- (16) To seize the wrong person.
- (17) To commit suicide.
- (18) To damage something.

10,81, 1848).⁴¹ Alzoo heeft een roekelooze knaap, met baldadige hand, zich vergrepen aan den lauwerkrans van den meest populaireren, vaderlandschen zanger (De Genestet 2, 311, 1857).⁴²

Here too, we find a direct extension of (1): violence is used against objects instead of against persons, so that the meaning becomes “to damage in a physical sense,” as opposed to (3) and (10), where the harm done is abstract, not physical.

The picture on p. 14 summarizes the findings of the previous pages. For simplicity, I distinguish 8 points in time⁴³: senses occurring within the same half-century are taken to be synchronically contemporaneous. The lines in the picture indicate the diachronic relations between senses; interrupted lines symbolize weaker links than uninterrupted ones. To facilitate comprehension, I have added a concise list of the eighteen senses that make up the diachronic structure of *vergrijpen*.⁴⁴ The definitions

⁴¹ “Because we won’t pay a few mischievous boys, damaging the windows of the inhabitants, the honour of casting a slur on this encouraging sketch.”

⁴² “Thus a reckless boy with wanton hand, has raised his hand against the laurel-wreath of the most popular national poet.” At the end of this set of quotations, it may be useful to point out that I have tried to make the translations as literal as possible: if the English of some of the preceding footnotes may sound a bit crooked, so does the Dutch of the original quotations.

⁴³ The indications at the top of the figure indicate the distinct points in time: 16-I is the first half of the sixteenth century, 16-II the second half, and so on.

⁴⁴ For completeness’ sake, I want to add that I have not included all the senses and applications to be found in the WNT.-material. In particular, I have left out two quotations by Bredero and Bilderdijk, that pose some difficulties of interpretation, and the sense “to seize differently, to take hold in another way,” which occurs only in a number of 19th-century dictionaries, and which is the result of conscious etymological reinterpretation on the basis of the literal meaning of *grijpen*, and the very common function of *ver-* of indicating a change in the action named by the main verb. Also, I would like to remark that the structure of the developments in *vergrijpen* given here, does not correspond closely to the dictionary lemma “Vergrijpen” that I have compiled for the WNT., a fact that is due to the formal re-

given in the list (p. 15) should be seen as mnemonic glosses, not as formal definitions.

3. Discussion

It will by now be clear that the process of semantic development is not a straightforward one: the multiple relations between the senses of *vergrijpen* alone might suffice to corroborate the thesis that diachronic semantics supports prototype theory, or at least, supports those theories that oppose the view that the conceptual categories of natural language are rigidly delineated. Rigid delimitation among concepts implies rigidly defined semantic changes, but nothing of the sort seems to apply in the case of actual developments. Of course, this general conclusion is hardly specific enough. I will therefore try to point out four specifically prototypical characteristics of the semantic development of *vergrijpen*, corresponding to the four characteristics of prototype theory that were mentioned in the Introduction. As a general warning with regard to the conclusions that will be drawn in the following pages, I want to stress that their value depends not only on the representativity of the material used, but equally on the validity of the interpretations that I have proposed for the individual quotations. A different picture may arise on the basis of additional empirical material, or on the basis of alternative interpretations of the quotations: because the epistemological basis of diachronic semantics is hermeneutical, interpretative variation will have to be accounted for in its methodology.

3.1.

In two ways, the limits of word meanings partially fade in the course of semantic development. Instead of rigidly defined senses developing in a hierarchically structured way, one finds synchronically distinct meanings being blurred in the process of semantic change.

In the first place, new meanings frequently arise through the joint influence of several existing ones: cases such as (6), (13), (15) and (16) are clear examples. Although a description of this

striktion on dictionary presentations and to the methodological approach of the WNT., which treats the period from 1500 to 1920 as a single era, not divided in the synchronic slices used in the figure.

fact is not impossible within a traditional brand of rigid semantics, it does not fit well into such an "Aristotelian" theory: if meanings exist as well-delimited entities, one would expect these clear-cut distinctions to be maintained diachronically, i.e., one would expect new senses to develop from one particular meaning. Instead, one finds multiple origins, suggesting a prototypical organisation of partially overlapping senses without clear boundaries.

In the second place, meanings develop marginal nuances that do not subsist in time, but that seem to crop up more or less occasionally. Examples are (17) and (16), and to a smaller extent, (9) and (45).⁴⁵ In each of these cases, existing senses are extended into nuances that are only marginally different from them. On the fringe of particular categories, there appear incidental specifications that give a particular conceptual twist to those categories.⁴⁶ From this angle, the borderlines of meanings appear to be vague, not just because several meanings at a time may produce a new one but also because individual meanings as such can be used in slightly deviant applications. This is an eminently prototypical fact: around a hard conceptual core, peripheral nuances arise. Diachronically, the central meaning is represented by categories that persist in time, whereas the conceptual satellites consist of specifications that do not live on, such as (17), (9) and (4), that more or less marginally develop senses (1), (6) and (2) respectively. A combination of overlapping and incidentality is found in (17) and (13).

3.2.

In the process of semantic change, not all concepts or sub-concepts are equally important: the figure exemplifies that some

⁴⁵ On intuitive grounds, one might want to cite (8) with regard to (12); in this case, however, one would have to antedate (12). We have a good example here of a case in which additional empirical evidence may bring more clarity.

⁴⁶ Note that the senses of *vergrijpen* are not clearly distinguished synchronically either: see e.g., the interpretation of (4) and the vagueness zone mentioned in connection with it, the different specifications of (6), and the particular position of the first quotation of (10).

concepts play a larger role in the determination of changes than others. E.g., the feature of doing something wrong, which is present in senses (1), (6), (3), (8) and so on, is more important than a less general aspect, such as that of making a wrong catch, in (5) and (7), which has less conceptual offspring than, e.g., (1), or that of committing suicide (17), or rebelling violently (15), which do not themselves give rise to new developments. The different weight of particular features in semantic change is the diachronic parallel of the difference in salience in a synchronous prototypical organisation: the fact that the structural role of particular subconcepts within a conceptual structure may vary, is analogous to the diachronic observation that the role of certain features in setting off semantic changes is more important than that of others. Once again, this is not to say that this observation could not be accommodated in a non-prototypical theory: my primary aim is merely to make clear that the fact in itself cannot be neglected in the study of diachronic semantics.⁴⁷ Still, even if it is possible to explain the difference of diachronic weight of semantic features in terms of their frequency of occurrence in componential definitions, prototype theory seems to have an advantage over non-prototypical theories, since it explicitly pays attention to the difference in attribute salience, and provides an appealing explanatory account of how this difference comes about in terms of the synchronous characteristics of conceptual structure. (I will presently come back to the point of explanatory adequacy.)

⁴⁷ E.g., it would not help much from an empirical point of view to relegate the prototypical characteristics of semantic change to a theory of performance: freeing the realm of competence from differences in attribute salience would amount to introducing prototypical gradience on the performative level (contrasting an idealized competential structure with the performative frequency of use). It is in this sense that I want to stress the empirical orientation of this study: my first aim is to point out a number of facts that will have to be accounted for in one way or another. Only in second instance will I try to prove that accepting prototype theory as a framework for achieving that goal is more appropriate from an explanatory point of view, than using theories that have traditionally neglected those facts.

3.3.

The mechanisms developing new meanings from old ones are analogous to the links between the nuances in a prototypical conceptual structure. Prototype theory stipulates that the various subconcepts held together within a prototypical category, are mutually linked through partial mappings and overall resemblances. A category such as *bird* can be used with regard to peripheral members, such as chickens and ostriches, because the latter bear an overall resemblance to more typical birds such as blackbirds and sparrows. Chickens and ostriches lack some properties of the prototypical bird (e.g., that of being able to fly), but, retaining such characteristics as laying eggs and having feathers, they are bird-like enough to be include in the category. Now, it is a rather trivial observation that the diachronic relationship between word meanings presents the same characteristics of partial correspondence and overall resemblance: the new kind of usage naturally differs from the one it is derived from, but the derivation itself is only possible because an overall resemblance with the old application is retained. (Because the new and the old category are enough like each other, the name of the old one can be used to indicate the new one, without endangering the communicative process). E.g., there is a common conceptual core in (1) and (17), because of the aspect “to commit violence”, but there are additional elements in (17), viz. the intention of taking someone’s life, and the selfdestructive nature of the violent act.⁴⁸

However, the triviality of these observations should not conceal that they may well be descriptively compatible with a non-prototypical, “Aristotelian” of semantic structure, such as componential analysis. In a simple componential framework (one in which definitions are unordered conjunctions of features), se-

⁴⁸ In passing, it should be mentioned that another prototypical property, viz. the impossibility of giving unique definitions covering all and only the members of a particular category, is diachronically rather trivial as well: it is intuitively clear that an existent meaning and a new one arising from it should receive different definitions—it would be difficult to talk about semantic change in the other case.

mantic change is described as a process of adding, substituting or deleting features; in a more sophisticated format (as developed in the wake of transformational theory, more particularly the logical turn initiated by generative semantics), changes consist of transformational operations on definitional trees.⁴⁹ It is intuitively clear that the partial mapping between new and extant senses can be accounted for by applying the right kind of operations on componential definitions: by adding the right features, raising a predicate in a tree, deleting a component and so on, it is in principle possible to transform one definition into another. Still, in spite of the compatibility of the empirical prototypical characteristics of semantic change and the descriptive apparatus of componential analysis, it is possible to argue for the higher explanatory value of prototype theory.

In the first place, synchronous componential definitions cannot guarantee to contain the diachronously relevant aspects of meaning. Let us consider the transitions from the first to the second half of the 16th century in the meanings of *vergrijpen*. Disregarding the choice of the exact primitive features and the formal nature of the definition, the conceptual components necessary to give a synchronous definition of (1) and (2) seem to be the following: first, the notion of acting against or actively opposing someone, common to (1) and (2), and second, the physically violent character of the action, distinguishing between (1) and (2). Roughly, one could say that (1) means “to oppose someone in a violent way,” whereas (2) means “to oppose someone in a non-violent way.” If we then consider the late 16th century senses (3), (4) and (6) (disregarding (5) and (7), which are not related to (1) and (2)), we might put forward the following lines of componential development. If “to oppose” is considered equivalent to “to act against,” (6) is derived from (1) and (2) alike by deleting the aspects “ $\pm$ in a violent way” and “against someone,” and by adding the aspect “in an illicit way.” (3) is derived from (2) by adding a feature or a set of features expressing the notion “by harming that person.” (Within the componential approach, (3) is “to act non-violently against someone

⁴⁹ See, e.g., Werth 1974.

by harming him,” as opposed to (2), “to act non-violently against someone by opposing his views”). (4) is derived from (2) by substituting the notion “against someone,” by “against something.”

The procedure seems descriptively adequate, but a number of serious remarks can be made. First, the derivation of (6) demonstrates a weakness in the synchronic definition of (1) and (2): the additional aspect “illicitly” is not really additional, since it is already partially present in the meaning of (1) and (2). In both cases, an action is performed that is negatively appreciated as being condemnable, wrong, unallowed and so on, but this feature is not synchronously selected in the componential definitions of (1) and (2), because it is unnecessary to distinguish between them. Of course, it might be claimed that it will have to be included in the synchronous definition of the early 16th century sense, to distinguish *vergrijpen* from other words in the same lexical field, lacking the pejorative overtones. Even in that case, other examples of the same problem can be adduced: apart from an example to be presented in the context of the second objection against the componential analysis given above, the lack of diachronic specificity in synchronous definitions is to be found in the relationship between (4) and (10). Synchronously, it suffices to define the late 16th century occurrences of (4) in the manner outlined, i.e., as “to act against something in a non-violent way.” However, sense (10) too would fall under that definition: a definition that suffices synchronously may turn out to be diachronically inadequate.

Second, deriving (3) from (2) obscures the fact that (3) is closer to (1), through the aspect of doing harm to someone. However, this feature is absent in the synchronous definition of (1), since it is not necessary to distinguish synchronically between (1) and (2).⁵⁰ As an alternative, one might suggest to replace the definitions of (1) and (2) given above by componential definitions

⁵⁰ Of course, it is a descriptive possibility to derive (3) from (1) by adding the notion “by harming” and substituting “in a violent way” by “in a non-violent way”. Such a solution is, however, counter-intuitive and inefficient within a componential approach, since (2) already contains the relevant aspect “in a non-violent way.”

involving the notions “to harm someone” and “to oppose someone” for (1) and (2) respectively. However, here too, the aspects that are relevant for a synchronous distinction do not contain all the material that is diachronically relevant: synchronously, the feature “in a violent way” need not occur in the definition of (1), although it is diachronically indispensable to distinguish (1) and (3).

The general problem that arises from the examples just given can be formulated as follows: a synchronical componential definition is a selection of components constituting the conceptual content of a category, and as such, it cannot guarantee to contain the conceptual features that are relevant with regard to the diachronical mapping of the old concept onto the new one. More particularly, the structuralist method of including in the componential definition all and only features that serve to distinguish synchronously between senses, gives definitions that are diachronically not specific enough. Although this diachronic flaw can be remedied by including an encyclopedical component alongside the purely semantic component, prototypical synchronic structures have an advantage here: because they incorporate all the information that is relevant with regard to the synchronic flexibility of the concept, and because this flexibility may involve all encyclopedic features connected with it, prototypical structures include encyclopedic knowledge. In this way, they need not invoke an extra encyclopedic component to explain diachronic mappings, they can avoid the distortions following from rigidly selective definitions, and they have more explanatory value with regard to semantic change. The matter can be put more simply like this: because the diachronic mapping of semantic structures involves encyclopedic knowledge, one should prefer a theory that synchronically incorporates this knowledge into the conceptual structure itself. Only in that way can one hope to avoid the distortions that arise from describing in terms of purely “semantic” definitions a process that is really one of mapping concepts on an encyclopedic level.

The second major advantage of prototype theory over componential analysis can be circumscribed more succinctly. The componential approach, being purely formal, is too powerful:

(except for formal constraints on transformations) it does not contain any restrictions on the range of semantic changes brought about by the processes of transforming componential definitions. With the right number of transformative steps and the choice of the right features, any definition can be changed into any other, which is counterintuitive: as mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, the individual steps in the development of lexical meanings are linked by overall similarity. In this respect, the notion of similarity puts a restriction on the conceptual distance between old and new meanings. These should not be too far apart, their distance being measured in terms of their similarity. The same principle that allows for semantic change also restricts it: if the associative links between meanings allow the name of one to be used for the other, the association should remain strong enough, lest the message become unintelligible. As such, this restrictive principle has to be incorporated into an explanatory theory.

Now, it is a natural part of prototype theory, but it does not belong to the purely formal conception of componential analysis. Prototype theory is an attempt to specify the criteria determining conceptual similarity, whereas nothing of the sort exists within componential analysis (or any other rigid theory of semantics). If componential analysis is to be transformed into a diachronically explanatory theory, the prototypical notion of similarity will have to be added to it. Even if this would be possible in the formal framework of componential analysis (but I do not now see how it could be done), it will always be a “prototypical” extension of the theory, reducing componential analysis to the role of descriptive apparatus.

Let me summarize. What I have tried to show in 3.3 is that it will be necessary to incorporate into componential analysis (the epitome of an “Aristotelian” theory) two aspects of prototype theory that are indispensable for an explanatory theory of diachronic semantics, viz. the fact that all (even encyclopedic) aspects of conceptual categories are needed to explain their diachronic relations, and the fact that the notion of overall resemblance guides the development of new meanings. Even if these requirements can be accommodated formally in a compo-

nential framework (which seems easier for the former than for the latter), componential analysis will be at most a descriptive apparatus: the real explanatory principles of flexibility through associative links are essentially prototypical. In short, the links between the senses in a diachronical conceptual structure are better described by a prototypical theory than by a rigid one such as componential analysis.

3.4.

The general picture of the changes in *vergrijpen* is one of clusters of interlocking and overlapping meanings. There are two major clusters: the one with the central meaning “to do something wrong,” and the (smaller) one with the central meaning “to mistake.” As the figure shows, both clusters do not interact. A comparison with the Middle Dutch material analysed at the beginning of paragraph 2 shows that both meanings were already existent before the 16th century, in the senses “to do something wrong” and “to make a mistake in saying” respectively. Within the first cluster, the figure allows us to distinguish three related subcentres: the most important one with its origin in (1), the smaller one with its origin in (2), and the intermediate one centred round (6).

The prototypical nature of central meanings surrounded by peripheral applications has already been touched upon in 3.1, but reappears here on a more general scale: not only do individual meanings receive closely related nuances, but *vergrijpen* as a whole appears to consist of two clusters of internally related meanings. Even on the highest level of structural organisation, meanings combine and interrelate to form conceptual networks. In this respect, it seems natural to say that *vergrijpen* contains two separate prototypes (“to do something wrong” and “to mistake”), of which the most important one is itself made up of three smaller prototypical centres (with (1), (2) and (6) as prototypical kernels). Saying, in this way, that the diachronic structure of *vergrijpen* is prototypical, expresses that the diachronic relationship between the different senses of that word is parallel to that between the various subconcepts in a synchronical prototypical structure. On the basis of the mutual similarities dis-

cussed in 3.3, the structure of *vergripen* as a whole appears to be characterised by a family resemblance between the different senses. With the term “family resemblance,” taken over from Wittgenstein,⁵¹ Rosch & Mervis indicate a relationship that consists of “a set of items of the form AB, BC, CD, DE. That is, each item has at least one, and probably several, elements in common with one or more other items, but no, or few, elements are common to all items.”⁵² Although the relationship is not as simple as in the example mentioned, a kind of family resemblance clearly holds between the elements of the major “families” in the conceptual structure of *vergripen*: senses (1) and (2) are connected through their common aspect of illicitly acting against an individual’s person or will, wishes, instructions and so on, but between (3), derived from (1) and having a number of features in common with it, and (4), derived from (2), hardly any common aspect exists. The senses in the clusters of *vergripen* are mutually related in several ways, but there is no single definition covering all of them.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, the following point has to be clarified: saying that the diachronic structure of *vergripen* is prototypical does not imply that there is one and only one prototypical concept that holds together the different chronological developments, to such an extent that all the senses mentioned in the separate clusters can be considered variations of a single central meaning. The examples studied by Rosch consist of categories with one prototypical centre, whereas our example shows that a prototypical cluster may itself contain salient subconcepts. (E.g., (6) and (9) are closer than (9) and (10), because (6) and (9) belong together in a particular subprototype.) In this respect, Rosch’s analysis of the concept *bird*⁵³ may be said to deal with one particular prototypical sense of that concept (roughly, the biological one), whereas a full-scale lexical analysis such as the one conducted here, incorporates applications that go beyond one particular meaning cluster or sub-

⁵¹ Wittgenstein 1953, paragraph 65 and following.

⁵² Rosch & Mervis 1975, p. 575.

⁵³ Rosch 1975.

prototype. (In the case of *bird*, this would include instances where it is not used as a natural kind term.)

What our analysis shows, in general, is that these additional subprototypical centres can be analysed in a way that is similar to the prototypical analysis that Rosch has given of the natural-kind usage of *bird*: the mechanisms of partial extension of concepts into new applications is the same one connecting non-prototypical instances of a category (e.g., chickens and penguins in the case of *bird*) to the central concept.⁵⁴

4. Conclusion

The four characteristics of the diachronic structure of *ver-grijpen*, as derived from the figure in the previous paragraph, are all typically prototypical: the vague boundaries of categories, the difference in structural weight of individual concepts, the relations of partial mapping and encyclopedic extension between senses, and the clustering of meanings into family resemblances concentrated around conceptual centres, occupy a major place in prototype theory. Regarding the question which of these characteristics is most important from a diachronic point of view, the stress probably falls on the third one mentioned, because it deals most directly with the nature of semantic change in its narrowest, most basic sense. Because the mechanisms effectuating the transition from existing meanings to new ones are analogous to the links between the subconcepts and nuances

⁵⁴ Obviously, this parallelism raises a terminological question with regard to the words *sense* and *meaning*. (Retrospectively, it also becomes clear why I have used them in a broad sense.) If it seems intuitively appealing to say that Rosch has analysed one particular 'meaning' of *bird*, whereas I have dealt with several 'meanings' of *vergrijpen* (at least two, corresponding to the two major prototypes), it is very hard to give an exact criterion defining when a prototypical (sub)concept goes over into another, independent one. (This, of course, is in accordance with the prototypical thesis on the vague borderlines between categories.) Among the factors determining whether two senses are seen as prototypically different, the amount of contextual specification and the number of developments they independently give rise to, have to be mentioned.

in a synchronous prototypical structure, semantic change in its most central aspect can be said to be prototypical.

In this respect, the most profound reason for the adequacy of prototype theory for specifying the characteristics of semantic change, is most likely the *dynamic* nature of the synchronous notion of prototypical conceptual organisation. The recognition that conceptual categories are not rigidly defined, and that they combine a number of nuances through the centralizing action of a conceptual kernel, implies the possibility of dynamically actualizing the prototypical concept in new peripheral applications. *The multifarious actualisability of the prototypical concept into variously deviant nuances marks it as an inherently flexible, dynamic structure.* One might even say that the boundaries between synchrony and diachrony become slightly blurred: is the occurrence of a particular peripheral nuance to be considered a diachronic development, or is it a purely synchronical actualisation of an existing prototype? It is no wonder, then, that the notion of a prototypical conceptual organisation seems extendable to diachrony.⁵⁵

As I have tried to show elsewhere,⁵⁶ the dynamic character of prototypes can be situated on an even more fundamental epistemological level: it then characterises the basic trait of human cognition of interpreting new facts through old knowledge. Incorporating slight deviations into flexibly interpreted existing concepts, is but a special example of the general characteristic of achieving conceptual efficiency through flexible constancy: the conceptual organisation is not drastically altered any time a new concept crops up, but new facts are as much as possible integrated into the existing structure, which can thus remain largely unchanged. From this point of view, prototype theory in semantics is connected with the “cognitive” trend in psychology, stressing the mediating role of existing concepts in cognitive development (Bruner, Piaget); with the paradigmatic

⁵⁵ A comparison with the role of allophones in phonological change can be made. See also Bartsch 1981 for the role of contextual variation in semantic change.

⁵⁶ Geeraerts 1981, especially 1.6, 1.7, and 2.1. See also Rosch 1978.

trend in the theory of science, stressing the role of existing scientific theories (or “research programmes”) in the forging of new ones (Kuhn c.s.); and with the phenomenological trend in philosophy, in as far as it stresses the interactional nature of human knowledge and opposes the epistemological monism of idealism and realism (Husserl’s theory of intentionality).

Given these considerations, it will become clearer why the prototypical nature of semantic change, as clarified by the findings of paragraph 3, is more than just an empirical question. Basically, I have argued that the empirically observable characteristics of semantic change are prototypical, but this in itself need not imply an endorsement of prototype theory as such. In fact, I have stressed many times in the previous pages that a traditional, “Aristotelian” theory of semantic structure might well be descriptively compatible with these facts: it seems possible to describe the flexible and graded nature of word meanings by working with fuzzy sets of features, it seems possible to describe semantic change in terms of “transformational” changes in feature definitions, and so on. However, as already adumbrated in 3.3, descriptive adequacy being equal, I think it has more explanatory value to study diachronic semantics within the framework of a prototypical theory, for two reasons.

First, on the metatheoretical level, the relationship between the diachronic and the synchronic theory is closer when both are prototypical, which would not be the case when prototypical diachronous facts are explained in the framework of a non-prototypical synchronic theory of semantic structure.

Second, on the theoretical level, if the prototypical view of conceptual structure is accepted, the diachronous characteristics mentioned above are explained as predictions following from that structure: if the synchronous boundaries of word meanings are vague and flexible, it is natural to find this fact reflected in the diachronic relationship between senses, and so on (Cfr. 3.3). In general, the implications of prototype theory for the functioning of the human conceptual capacities make it an explanatory basis for diachronic semantics, not just because it specifies the principles guiding the development of new meanings (such

as the principle of similarity), but on a truly essential plane, because the dynamical nature of human thinking is recognized as the fundamental structural characteristic of conceptual categories. In this respect, accepting prototype theory beyond the level of observed facts is a question of explanatory adequacy rather than descriptive adequacy: prototype theory explains the observed prototypical characteristics of semantic change, because it relates them to general epistemological beliefs on the working of the human conceptual system, beliefs it shares with other cognitive theories.

Of course, the investigation into the prototypical nature of semantic change can hardly be called completed with this recognition. To round off the article, let me indicate a few points where the initial findings of this paper can be enlarged. To begin with, it will be necessary to consider further examples. Although the material provided by historical lexicography is favourable to the thesis that the structure of diachronous semantic developments is prototypical, as I remarked in the Introduction, this general impression will have to be tested and specified. Only in this way will it be possible to discover the constraints on the thesis in question, and to determine which variant of the “non-Aristotelian” semantic theories is most in accordance with diachronic semantics.

In the second place, the prototypical theory of semantic change has to be confronted with more traditional views on the mechanisms and the types of semantic change.⁵⁷

In the third place, attention will have to be paid to the holistic aspects of conceptual organisation. The case studies on individual words, atomistic in nature, have to be supplemented by studies on changes in lexical fields. In this way, prototype theory can be confronted with the traditional views on the structural nature of semantic change.

Finally, the basic assumptions of the theory on the nature of human cognition will have to be studied against the background of alternative epistemological or philosophical views.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ See Geeraerts 1983b.

⁵⁸ See Putnam 1975, and compare Geeraerts 1982.

As can be seen from this brief survey of areas for further research, I do not consider the argument in this paper to be a final statement on the prototypical nature of semantic change. Rather, I have merely tried to argue that there is enough initial evidence to take seriously the study of semantic change in the framework of prototype theory, without wanting to conceal that this is only an initial step. Still, I hope that the preceding discussion is convincing enough to incite further studies: given the relative silence that has recently surrounded the study of meaning change, it seems worthwhile to pursue a line of thought that offers interesting perspectives to bring diachronic semantics closer to the latest synchronic theories of meaning.

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**Über die deiktische Funktion des epischen Präteritum:
Die Reintegration einer
scheinbaren Sonderform in ihren theoretischen Kontext**

(Fortsetzung von Bd. 87, 1982, S. 22–55)

4. Zeitdeiktische Adverbien und das Präteritum

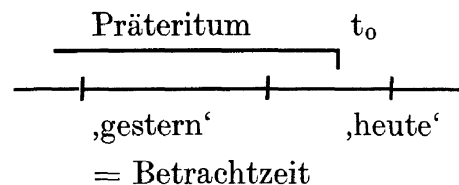
Zeitdeiktische Adverbien zeichnen sich, wie alle deiktischen Ausdrücke, durch ihren Bezug zu einem deiktischen Orientierungspunkt aus, der im Falle zeitdeiktischer Ausdrücke durch den theoretischen Orientierungspunkt Jetzt-Origo gegeben ist, der bei der realen Deixis durch die Sprechzeit konkretisiert wird. In Bezug auf diesen Orientierungspunkt können zeitdeiktische Adverbien, ebenso wie Tempora, die Relationen „vorher“, „gleichzeitig mit“ und „nachher“ ausdrücken und werden dann, wiederum ebenso wie Tempora, als Ausdrücke für Vergangenheit, Gegenwart oder Zukunft interpretiert. Zeitdeiktische Adverbien unterscheiden sich von Tempora dadurch, daß ihnen neben ihrer deiktischen Funktion eine semantische zukommt, die sie mit nicht-deiktischen Zeitausdrücken teilen. Ein Unterschied zu den Tempora kann darin liegen, daß zeitdeiktische Ausdrücke eine spezifische durative Bedeutung haben, die die Zeitintervalle charakterisiert, auf die sie referieren²⁹. So charakterisieren die zeitdeiktischen Adverbien *gestern*, *heute* und *morgen* jeweils Zeitintervalle vom Umfang eines Tages in gleicher Weise wie die nicht-deiktischen Zeitangaben von Wochentagen, wie *Mittwoch* oder *Donnerstag*, und von Kalenderdaten, wie z.B. *am 24. September*. Als deiktischer Ausdruck lexikalisiert ist im Süddeutschen auch *heuer*, das auf ein Zeitintervall vom Umfang eines Jahres referiert. Nicht-deiktische Zeitangaben können durch die Kombination mit Demonstrativa zeitdeiktische Ausdrücke konsti-

²⁹ Eine semantische Analyse, die die Gemeinsamkeiten von deiktischen und nicht-deiktischen Zeitausdrücken beschreibt, findet sich in Leech (1969, Kap. 7).

tuieren, wie z.B. *diesen Mittwoch, nächsten Sommer* oder *letztes Jahr*. Andere zeitdeiktische Ausdrücke sind bezüglich des Umfangs ihrer Referenten gänzlich unspezifiziert, unterscheiden sich jedoch von den Tempora dadurch, daß sie einer Spezifizierung von Anfangs- und Endpunkten bedürfen, die das Zeitintervall begrenzen, auf das sie referieren. Zu diesen gehören im Englischen *since* und *until*, wobei für *since* die deiktische Eigenschaft darin besteht, daß der Endpunkt des Intervalls durch die Sprechsituation determiniert ist, für *until* der Anfangspunkt (cf. Leech 1969, S. 132). Von der Semantik der zeitdeiktischen Adverbien kann es abhängen, mit welchen Tempora sie kollokieren können. *Since* referiert auf ein Zeitintervall, das zu einer durch ein Zeitadverbial spezifizierten Zeit in der Vergangenheit beginnt und als Endpunkt die Sprechzeit hat, d.h. diese miteinschließt. Aus dieser Eigenschaft von *since* leiten sich Restriktionen bezüglich seiner Kombinationsmöglichkeiten mit den Tempora ab. Es kann nicht mit dem Präteritum kollokieren, da das Präteritum auf ein Zeitintervall referiert, das nicht mit der Sprechzeit in Verbindung steht. Da *since* die Sprechzeit miteinbezieht und die Relation „vorher“ ausdrückt, hat es die gleiche deiktische Funktion wie das *Present Perfect*. Daraus ergibt sich, daß es mit diesem kollokieren kann³⁰. Die gleiche deiktische Funktion wie das Präteritum haben dagegen alle zeitdeiktischen Adverbien, die sich auf ein Zeitintervall beziehen, das vor der Sprechzeit liegt und diese nicht miteinbezieht. Alle zeitdeiktischen Adverbien dieser Art können deshalb sowohl im Englischen als auch im Deutschen mit dem Präteritum kollokieren. Daraus folgt allerdings nicht, daß die Zeitintervalle, die als Referenten von zeitdeiktischen Adverbien dieser Art und dem Präteritum gelten, identisch wären. A. Kratzer (1978) legt die Beziehung von Präteritum und zeitdeiktischen Adverbien in anschaulicher Weise dar. Für den Referenten von zeitdeiktischen Adverbien verwendet sie in Anlehnung an Baumgärtner/Wunderlich (1969) und Bäuerle (1979) den Terminus „Betrachtzeit“ und zeigt, daß in dem Fall, da die Be-

³⁰ Ähnlich wie *since* im Englischen verhält sich *schon* im Deutschen, da-
allerdings mit dem Präsens kollokieren kann. Zeitadverbien mit Sprech-
zeitbezug im Deutschen werden u. a. von L. Schipporeit (1971) unters-
ucht. *Noch* und *schon* bespricht auch E. König (1978).

trachtzeit die Sprechzeit nicht einschließt, die Betrachtzeit als
definites Zeitintervall aus dem Intervall ausgegrenzt wird, das
als Referent des Präteritum gilt. Die Beziehung läßt sich durch
folgende Graphik veranschaulichen:



Zwischen der Referenzzeit des Präteritum und der Betrachtzeit besteht also hier das Verhältnis der Inklusion. Dasselbe Verhältnis der Inklusion bestünde jedoch auch, wenn nicht das Präteritum sondern stattdessen das Perfekt gewählt würde. Die Betrachtzeit wäre dann ein Teilintervall des Zeitintervalls, das der Sprechzeit vorangeht und diese miteinbezieht. Da im Deutschen sowohl das Perfekt als auch das Präteritum in Verbindung mit Adverbien wie *gestern*, *letzten Sonntag*, *im vorigen Jahr* möglich ist, liegt die differenzierende deiktische Funktion hier allein bei den Tempora. Die deiktische Funktion der Zeitadverbien ist reduziert auf die Bestimmung durch die Sprechsituation und die Relation „vorher“, die als Vergangenheitsbezug interpretiert wird. Im Englischen ist dagegen die differenzierende deiktische Funktion auch bei den Zeitadverbien erhalten, und ein *Present Perfect* nur dann mit einem Adverb wie *yesterday* verbindbar, wenn dieses auf ein Zeitintervall in einer Sequenz von Zeitintervallen Bezug nimmt, die als Sequenz auf das Zeitintervall referieren, das durch das *Present Perfect* bestimmt ist, wie in (15):

- (15) The day before yesterday, yesterday and today I have tried to call you.

Ist andererseits ein Adverb wie *yesterday* einziges zeitdeiktisches Adverb in einem Satz und mit ihm eine Betrachtzeit bezeichnet, die außerhalb von und vor der Sprechzeit liegt, so muß im Englischen das Präteritum als Tempus das Verb dieses Satzes markieren. Allgemein kann für beide Sprachen gesagt werden, daß bei der realen Deixis das Präteritum mit solchen zeitdeiktischen Adverbien kollokieren kann, die auf ein Zeitintervall referieren,

das vor der Sprechzeit liegt und diese nicht miteinbezieht. Referiert ein zeitdeiktisches Adverb auf ein Zeitintervall, das die Sprechzeit miteinbezieht und nicht vor ihr liegt in dem Sinne, daß die Sprechzeit als Endpunkt das Zeitintervall begrenzt, so kann in beiden Sprachen dann das Präteritum verwendet werden, wenn die Ereigniszeit außerhalb und vor der Sprechzeit liegt, d.h. Ereigniszeit und Sprechzeit sind beide Teilintervalle der Betrachtzeit. Beispiele für diese Beziehung sind die Sätze (16) und (17):

(16) Heute gab es Bohnensuppe.

(17) In diesem Jahr war ich in Frankreich.

Unmöglich sind im Anwendungsbereich der realen Deixis dagegen in beiden Sprachen Kollokationen von Präteritum und solchen zeitdeiktischen Adverbien, die auf Zeitintervalle referieren, die entweder mit der Sprechzeit identisch oder nach ihr zu lokalisieren sind. Mit Satz (18)

(18) Hier und jetzt versprach ich dir, daß ich dir helfe.

kann nicht der Sprechakt des Versprechens vollzogen werden: Das Präteritum und *jetzt* können nicht beide gleichzeitig realdeiktisch verwendet sein. Ebenso kann der vielzitierte Satz (19):

(19) Morgen ging sein Zug.

nicht in einer Sprechsituation geäußert werden, bei der die deiktischen Ausdrücke realdeiktisch verwendet sind.

Der Hinweis auf den Anwendungsbereich reale Deixis ist deshalb in diesem Zusammenhang wesentlich, da ja hier alle deiktischen Ausdrücke auf ein einziges Orientierungszentrum bezogen sind, das durch den Sprecher, seine Position und die Zeit seiner Äußerung konkretisiert ist. Die Zeit der Äußerung ist in diesem Anwendungsbereich der alleinige deiktische Orientierungspunkt für alle zeitdeiktischen Ausdrücke, Tempora und Adverbien, und diese dürfen sich deshalb in ihrer relationalen Bedeutung nicht widersprechen, also nicht einerseits die Relation „vorher“ (Präteritum) und andererseits „nachher“ (*morgen*) zum Ausdruck bringen. Anders liegt dagegen der Fall beim epischen Präteritum, dem nun die Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet werden

kann, da die theoretischen Voraussetzungen geschaffen und somit Möglichkeiten für Mißverständnisse weitgehend aus dem Wege geräumt sind.

5. Das epische Präteritum

Es sollen im folgenden zwei Thesen zum epischen Präteritum vorgestellt und diskutiert werden, die beide in einem wesentlichen Punkt übereinstimmen: Sie drücken die Behauptung aus, daß das epische Präteritum oder das Präteritum der Fiktion keine deiktische Funktion habe und keine Vergangenheitsaussage mache. Die erste und bekanntere These ist älteren Datums und wurde von K. Hamburger (1951; 1953; 1955; 1957; 1968) vertreten; die zweite ist jüngerer Natur und wurde von M. Markus (1977) aufgestellt. Zwischen diesen beiden nicht-deiktischen Analysen wird die deiktische Analyse vorgestellt. Diese etwas eigenwillige Reihenfolge ergibt sich deshalb, da mit der ersten nicht-deiktischen Analyse das Phänomen episches Präteritum vorgestellt wird und gleichzeitig die Probleme durchsichtig gemacht werden, die sich scheinbar für die Beschreibung ergeben, die sich aber im Rahmen der deiktischen Theorie als Scheinprobleme erweisen. Die deiktische Analyse schließt sich deshalb fast zwangsläufig als Antwort auf die aufgeworfenen Fragen der ersten Analyse an. Nach erfolgter deiktischer Analyse lassen sich dann die Unzulänglichkeiten der zweiten nicht-deiktischen Analyse deutlich aufzeigen.

5.1 Die nicht-deiktische Analyse nach Hamburger

Als Grundlage für die in ihrer eigenen Terminologie „paradoxe“ These vom epischen Präteritum dienen K. Hamburger logische Analysen von realer Aussage oder Wirklichkeitsaussage einerseits und mimetischer oder fiktionaler Aussage andererseits. Wirklichkeitsaussagen referieren, wie der Name sagt, auf die Wirklichkeit, und deiktische Ausdrücke inklusive Präteritum sind auf ein reales Aussagesubjekt bezogen. Im Kontext fiktionalen Erzählens entfällt der Wirklichkeitsbezug. Das Aussagesubjekt (hier: der Kodierer) fiktionaler Texte ist für Hamburger der Autor (1968, S. 115). Da das von ihm verwendete epische Präteritum nicht seine Vergangenheit meint — der Gebrauch des

Präteritum in Zukunftsromanen macht dies deutlich — kann es nicht die deiktische Funktion haben, die ihm in der Wirklichkeitsaussage zukommt. So bleibt, nach Hamburger, dem epischen Präteritum allein die Funktion „die ‚Welt‘ der Erzählung als eine nichtwirkliche, *fiktive* und damit ausschließlich im Modus der Vorstellung existierende kenntlich zu machen“ (1951, S. 4). Hamburger sieht ihre These vom nicht-deiktischen Charakter des epischen Präteritum unterstützt durch ihre Beobachtung, daß sich auch andere deiktische Ausdrücke, lokaldeiktische und temporaldeiktische Adverbien, im Kontext fiktionalen Erzählens anders verhalten als in der Wirklichkeitsaussage. Während sie in der Wirklichkeitsaussage auf das reale Aussagesubjekt, beziehungsweise auf dessen Raum und Zeit bezogen sind, bildet im fiktionalen Kontext keineswegs der Autor als (Hamburger-sches) Aussagesubjekt die Bezugsgröße: „für sie gilt, daß sie sich nicht auf eine reale Ich-Origo, des Verfassers und damit des Lesers, beziehen, sondern auf die fiktiven Ich-Origines der Romangestalten“ (1968, S. 110). Aus dieser korrekten Beobachtung zieht Hamburger den kritikwürdigen Schluß: „Die deiktischen Adverbien, die zeitlichen wie die räumlichen, verlieren in der Fiktion ihre deiktische, existentielle Funktion, die sie in der Wirklichkeitsaussage haben, und werden zu Symbolen, bei denen die räumliche bzw. zeitliche Anschauung zu Begriffen verblaßt ist“ (1968, S. 110). So kann Hamburgers These, die zunächst nur das epische Präteritum betraf, zu der Aussage erweitert werden, daß im Kontext fiktionalen Erzählens deiktische Ausdrücke generell keine deiktische Funktion haben. Da sie keine deiktische Funktionen haben, unterliegen sie hier auch keinerlei Restriktionen, die ihre Kombinationsmöglichkeit in den Kontexten einschränkt, in denen sie deiktische Funktion haben. Deshalb ist nach Hamburger ein Satz wie (19)

(19) Morgen ging sein Zug.

zwar in der Wirklichkeitsaussage unmöglich; sein Vorkommen in fiktionalem Kontext aber ist erklärt dadurch, daß weder das zeitdeiktische Adverb noch das Präteritum deiktische Funktion haben und deshalb einander auch nicht widersprechen können.

Hamburgers These ist im Rahmen der Literaturkritik vielfach und mit guten Argumenten kritisiert worden. Es ist hier nicht der Ort, diese Argumente in extenso zu referieren und zu diskutieren, da dies bereits anderweitig geschehen ist (cf. Rauh, 1978, Kap. I). Hier sollen Hamburgers Aussagen vornehmlich vor dem Hintergrund der Theorie der Deixis geprüft werden. Allerdings ist eine nicht-deiktische Beobachtung wichtig, die an sich bereits Hamburgers These falsifiziert, nicht aber die Fakten erklärt, die sie zu erklären sucht. Fester Bestandteil der These Hamburgers ist die Annahme, daß das epische Präteritum ausschließlich im Kontext fiktionaler Texte vorkommt. W. Bronzwaer (1970, S. 47 f.) liefert dagegen in Form von Zitaten aus nicht-fiktionalen Texten den empirischen Beweis dafür, daß dies nicht der Fall ist. Seine Zitate enthalten nicht-vergangenheitsbezogene zeit-deiktische Ausdrücke in Verbindung mit dem Präteritum, die den nicht-deiktischen, fiktionsspezifischen Charakter solcher Kombinationen widerlegen. Die Problematik der Hamburgerischen Ausführungen, die auch zu Inkonsistenzen in ihrer Argumentation führt, liegt wohl darin, daß sie zwar die Deixistheorie von Bühler (1934) kennt und akzeptiert, aber übersieht, daß für deiktische Ausdrücke verschiedene und dennoch gleichwertige Anwendungsbereiche möglich sind. Es genügt in diesem Fall, auf die reale Deixis und die imaginative Deixis hinzuweisen. Gleichwertige Anwendungsbereiche sind sie deshalb, da die deiktische Funktion der deiktischen Ausdrücke in beiden identisch ist; verschieden sind sie deshalb, da die existentielle Funktion verschieden in dem Sinne ist, daß bei der realen Deixis die Referenten deiktischer Ausdrücke reale Objekte sind und das Orientierungszentrum durch eine reale Bezugsgröße konkretisiert ist, während bei der imaginativen Deixis die Referenten vorgestellte oder fiktive Objekte sein können und das Orientierungszentrum eine vorgestellte oder fiktive Bezugsgröße sein kann. Hamburger aber, und dies zeigt ihre Gegenüberstellung von Wirklichkeitsaussage und fiktionalem Erzählen, erkennt nur die reale Deixis als Anwendungsbereich deiktischer Ausdrücke mit deiktischer Funktion. Da sie außerdem den Autor für das Aussagesubjekt fiktionaler Texte hält, ist der Konflikt für sie nicht mehr im Rahmen ihrer deiktischen Theorie lösbar. Inkonsequent ist sie

darüberhinaus deshalb, da sie einerseits behauptet, daß deiktische Ausdrücke in fiktionalen Texten ihre deiktische Funktion verlören und zu Begriffen verblaßten (1968, S. 110), andererseits aber betont, daß deiktische Adverbien in diesem Kontext nicht auf die reale Ich-Origo des Autors sondern auf die fiktiven Ich-Origines (korrekt wäre: Jetzt- und Hier-Origines) der Roman-gestalten bezogen sind (1968, S. 110). Die Inkonsequenz liegt natürlich darin, daß sprachliche Ausdrücke nicht gleichzeitig auf Ich-Origines, d.h. auf deiktische Orientierungspunkte bezogen und nicht-deiktisch sein können. Denn der deiktische Charakter sprachlicher Ausdrücke ist ja gerade ihr Bezogensein auf einen deiktischen Orientierungspunkt, ihre Orientierung an einem deiktischen Orientierungszentrum. Aber gerade an dieser Inkonsequenz wird deutlich, daß Hamburger nur die reale Deixis als einen Anwendungsbereich deiktischer Ausdrücke betrachtet und die imaginative Deixis als deiktischen Bereich ausklammert³¹.

5.2 Die deiktische Analyse

Wie also ist das epische Präteritum mit der Möglichkeit zur Kombination mit nicht-vergangenheitsbezogenen zeitdeiktischen Adverbien zu erklären? In jedem Fall, handelt es sich nun um fiktionale oder um nicht-fiktionale Texte, spielt die imaginative Deixis hier eine entscheidende Rolle. Bei der imaginativen Deixis, so wurde gesagt, können Orientierungszentren gesetzt werden, etwas kann als Kodierer, Kodierungszeit oder Kodierungsort zählen, was realiter dergleichen gar nicht ist. In fiktionalen Äußerungen von Texten zählt nicht der Autor als Kodierer, wie Hamburger meint, sondern eine von ihm gesetzte Ich-Origo, die in der Literaturtheorie den Namen „Erzähler“

³¹ Wahrscheinlich ist diese Tatsache so zu erklären, daß Hamburgers Analyse in philosophischer, nicht linguistischer Tradition steht. Für die Philosophen sind deiktische Ausdrücke deshalb von besonderem Interesse, da ihnen keine konstanten Bedeutungen zugeordnet werden können. Ihre Aufmerksamkeit ist daher auf die ostensive Funktion gerichtet, die bei der Wirklichkeitsaussage die Zuordnung von Referent und deiktischem Ausdruck gewährleistet. Nur darum geht es in der philosophischen Diskussion um deiktische Ausdrücke (cf. z. B. Reichenbach 1947; Russell 1940, 1948; Bar-Hillel 1954).

trägt³². Die mit der Ich-Origo gesetzten Jetzt- und Hier-Origines bilden die Orientierungspunkte für zeit- und raumdeiktische Beziehungen. Es ist dabei keineswegs notwendig, daß in fiktionalen Äußerungen ein Pronomen der ersten Person vorkommt, daß es sich also um Ich-Erzählungen handelt³³. Denn auch bei realen Äußerungen muß ein solches Pronomen nicht gegeben sein, um in ihnen enthaltene deiktische Ausdrücke relativ zum Orientierungszentrum zu interpretieren. Gilt in dem Fall, da Satz (20)

(20) Hans war ein guter Maler.

eine reale Äußerung ist, daß das Präteritum relativ zu einer realen Kodierungszeit als reale abgeschlossene Vergangenheit interpretiert wird, so ist es in dem Fall, da (20) eine fiktionale Äußerung repräsentiert, als fiktive, abgeschlossene Vergangenheit relativ zu einer fiktiven Kodierungszeit zu interpretieren. Im ersten Fall ist die Kodierungszeit durch die reale Situation gegeben, im zweiten durch eine vorgestellte, imaginäre. An der deiktischen Funktion des Präteritum aber ändern die Kontexte nichts. Zählt also der Erzähler bei fiktionalen Texten als Kodierer von Äußerungen, so bedeutet von ihm verwendetes Präteritum Vergangenheit in bezug auf seine Gegenwart. Weder die Gegenwart des Erzählers noch seine Vergangenheit stehen in einer abhängigen Beziehung zur Gegenwart und Vergangenheit des Autors. Einer der Fehler in der Hamburgerschen Analyse des epischen Präteritum liegt darin, daß sie den Unterschied zwischen Autor und Erzähler nicht nur nicht gesehen hat, sondern ausdrücklich zurückweist: „Einen fiktiven Erzähler (. . .) als ‚eine vom Autor geschaffene Gestalt‘ gibt es nicht (. . .). Es gibt nur den erzählenden Dichter und sein Erzählen“ (1968, S. 115). Da das Präteritum der Fiktion nicht auf die reale Vergangenheit des Autors referiert, ergab sich für sie der Schluß, daß es überhaupt nicht auf die Vergangenheit referiert. Richtig ist dagegen,

³² Über die Rolle des Erzählers cf. z. B. Koziol (1956), Kayser (1958), Rasch (1961), Busch (1962), Stanzel (1964).

³³ Der Hinweis auf Ich-Erzählungen ist deshalb von Interesse, da Hamburger diesen Kontext als fingierte Wirklichkeitsaussage auffaßt und deiktischen Ausdrücken hier die gleiche Funktion einräumt wie in Wirklichkeitsaussagen.

daß es in diesem Kontext auf die fiktive Vergangenheit relativ zu einer gesetzten Jetzt-Origo Bezug nimmt.

Neben der Jetzt-Origo des Erzählers in der Rolle des Kodierers können vom Autor in fiktionalen Texten weitere Orientierungszentren für deiktische Ausdrücke gesetzt werden. Besonders deutlich wird dies bei Zitaten wörtlicher Rede und Äußerungen in der Form des inneren Monologes, als deren Kodierer nicht der Erzähler sondern Figuren zählen. Von den Figuren verwendete zeitdeiktische Ausdrücke sind an der Kodierungszeit ihrer Äußerungen orientiert, es sei denn, die Figuren setzen ihrerseits neue Orientierungszentren in ihren Äußerungen, z.B. dadurch, daß sie Zitate wörtlicher Rede anderer wiedergeben. Ist dies nicht der Fall, so referiert von ihnen verwendetes Präteritum auf Zeitintervalle, die vor ihrer Kodierungszeit liegen und somit als ihre Vergangenheit interpretiert werden, und zeitdeiktische Adverbien mit vor-, gleich- oder nachzeitiger Bedeutung referieren auf ihre Vergangenheit, Gegenwart oder Zukunft.

Die Möglichkeit des Setzens von Orientierungszentren im Vorstellungsraum kann dazu führen, daß deiktische Ausdrücke in einem einzigen einfachen Satz an verschiedenen Orientierungspunkten orientiert sind. In einer realen Sprechsituation kann ein Sprecher ein imaginäres Orientierungszentrum setzen und mit diesem zusätzlich zur realen Sprechzeit als Orientierungspunkt für zeitdeiktische Ausdrücke einen zweiten, imaginären und auf diesen zeitdeiktische Ausdrücke beziehen, wie in folgendem Satz:

- (21) Stell dir vor, gestern gehe ich in die Stadt und treffe dort zufällig einen Bekannten, den ich seit Jahren nicht gesehen habe.

In diesem Satz sind das Präsens von *stell* und das zeitdeiktische Adverb *gestern* auf die reale Sprechzeit als Orientierungspunkt bezogen, das Präsens von *gehe* und *treffe* und das Perfekt von *gesehen habe* sind dagegen an der imaginären Jetzt-Origo des gesetzten Orientierungszentrums orientiert. Diese Art des Präsens wird im allgemeinen als „historisches Präsens“ bezeichnet und als Präsens mit Vergangenheitsbezug interpretiert. Ebenso wie die Charakterisierung des epischen Präteritum als zeitloses, fiktionales Tempus ist auch diese Charakterisierung für das Präsens

irreführend, bzw. ist eine Aussonderung dieser Verwendung als Sonderform unnötig. Darauf weisen bereits Koschmieder (1929, S. 74) und Heger (1963, S. 28) hin. Das Präsens zeigt hier an, was als Gegenwart zählt; seine Verbindung mit dem vergangenheitsbezogenen *gestern* weist darauf hin, daß neben dem realen zeitdeiktischen Orientierungspunkt ein imaginärer gesetzt ist. Der gleiche Vorgang kann auch raumdeiktische Ausdrücke betreffen. *Dort* in (21) ist an der realen Hier-Origo des Sprechortes orientiert und determiniert, daß die Referenzlokalität, die anaphorisch durch *die Stadt* spezifiziert ist, außerhalb des Bereichs der realen Sprechsituation liegt. Wird *dort* durch *hier* ersetzt, so kann es auf die mit dem gesetzten imaginären Orientierungszentrum als potentieller raumdeiktischer Orientierungspunkt gesetzte Hier-Origo bezogen sein und als Lokalität im Bereich der imaginären Situation liegend interpretiert werden.

Satz (21) ist ein Beispiel für die Kombination nicht-übereinstimmender zeitdeiktischer Ausdrücke in einer realen Äußerung. Das zeitdeiktische Adverb *gestern* ist realdeiktisch zu interpretieren und das Präsens von *gehe* und *treffe* imaginativdeiktisch. Die zeitdeiktischen Ausdrücke sind also an verschiedenen konkreten Jetzt-Origines orientiert, die darüberhinaus verschiedene Anwendungsbereiche repräsentieren. Die folgenden Beispielsätze sind einem fiktionalen Text entnommen, wodurch bereits festliegt, daß die reale Deixis als Anwendungsbereich ausscheidet:

- (22) Jetzt, wo Rita nach fast einem Jahr über sie alle nachdenkt, muß sie sich vorwerfen, daß sie damals nicht wirklich verstand, worum es ging . . .
- (23) Rita ging ins Nebenzimmer, wo die Bar aufgebaut war. Man trank jetzt viel . . .
- (24) Da bringt Doktor Müller, der schon fast betrunken ist, unter Husten heraus: „Ich bin für ‚Verbrannte Erde‘!“ . . . Man schweigt. Die Wunde liegt offen . . .
- (25) Dort standen sie, die Erwachsenen. (. . .) Und hier waren wir, die Kinder.

(Wolf, *Der geteilte Himmel*, S. 114f.)

In Satz (22) sind alle zeitdeiktischen Ausdrücke auf den zeitdeiktischen Orientierungspunkt bezogen, der durch das gesetzte

imaginäre Orientierungszentrum der Figur Rita gegeben ist, und zwar der sich erinnernden Figur Rita. Das Adverb *jetzt* referiert auf ein Zeitintervall, das gleichzeitig zur zeitlichen Orientierungszeit verläuft, ebenso wie das Präsens. Das Adverb *damals* sowie des Präteritum referieren auf ein Zeitintervall, das außerhalb des Bereichs der Orientierungszeit liegt. Satz (22) enthält keinen Konflikt zeitdeiktischer Orientierung, da als einziger Orientierungspunkt die imaginäre Jetzt-Origo der sich erinnernden Figur zählt. Ein scheinbarer Konflikt liegt erst im zweiten Satz von (23) vor, der eine präteritale Verbform in Verbindung mit dem Adverb *jetzt* enthält. Durch den vorangehenden Kontext ist eindeutig, daß das Präteritum an der gesetzten Jetzt-Origo der sich erinnernden Figur orientiert ist. Der folgende Kontext, Satz (24), der durch das Präsens markierte Verbformen enthält, macht seinerseits deutlich, daß das Adverb *jetzt* in (23) auf ein Zeitintervall referiert, das im Bereich einer zweiten gesetzten Orientierungszeit liegt und relativ zu dieser determiniert ist. Ebenso wie die Kombination von Präsens und *gestern* in (21) ist also die Kombination von Präteritum und *jetzt* in (23) dadurch zu erklären, daß die beiden zeitdeiktischen Ausdrücke an verschiedenen Orientierungspunkten orientiert sind. Dies bewirkt, daß Sätze, die Kombinationen dieser Art enthalten, gleichzeitig zwei Perspektiven repräsentieren, in (23) die Perspektive der die Szene erinnernden und die Perspektive der die Szene erlebenden Figur.

Satz (25) ist ein Beispiel dafür, daß mit einem Zitat wörtlicher Rede ein weiteres Orientierungszentrum für die in ihm enthaltenen deiktischen Ausdrücke gesetzt wird. Während die deiktischen Ausdrücke im Kontext des Zitats am Orientierungszentrum der erlebenden Figur Rita orientiert sind, referieren *ich* und das Präsens von *bin* auf eine Person und eine Zeit, die durch das Orientierungszentrum der Figur Doktor Müller gesetzt sind.

Wichtig ist wohl, zu erkennen, daß nicht einzelne Orientierungspunkte gesetzt werden, wie es hier aufgrund der Sätze (21) und (23) den Anschein haben mag, daß also entweder eine Ich- oder Hier-Origo oder, wie hier, eine Jetzt-Origo, gesetzt wird, sondern ein Orientierungszentrum. Auch wenn im konkreten Fall von einem solchen Orientierungszentrum nur ein Orientierungs-

punkt, wie in (21) und (23) die Jetzt-Origo, als konkreter, wenn- gleich imaginärer Orientierungspunkt zählt, so sind doch poten- tiell Hier-Origo und Ich-Origo als Orientierungspunkte mitge- geben. Dies wird deutlich in (25). Während in (23) vom zweiten gesetzten Orientierungszentrum in diesem Kontext nur die Jetzt- Origo als Bezugspunkt konkretisiert ist, gilt dies in (25) für die Ich-Origo und die Hier-Origo. Die raumdeiktischen Adverbien *dort* und *hier* differenzieren Lokalitäten relativ zur Position der erlebenden nicht der erinnernden Figur. Das Pronomen *wir* hat als einen seiner Referenten die erlebende Figur Rita und *sie* determiniert die personendeiktische Beziehung seiner Referenten relativ zu der Ich-Origo, die durch die erlebende Figur konkreti- siert ist. Die Tempora in diesem Satz, in beiden Fällen das Präte- ritum, sind dagegen an der Jetzt-Origo des ersten gesetzten Orien- tierungszentrums orientiert.

So macht die Analyse dieser Sätze deutlich, daß deiktische Ausdrücke in fiktionalen Texten keineswegs, wie Hamburger meint, ihre deiktische Funktion verlieren. Dies gilt, wie gezeigt, für Tempora in gleicher Weise wie für andere deiktische Aus- drücke. Das Problem für die Analyse und somit für die Inter- pretation besteht darin, daß deiktische Ausdrücke relativ zu deiktischen Origines zu interpretieren sind und daß diese vom Autor fiktionaler Texte willkürlich gesetzt werden können, so daß dem Analysierenden die Aufgabe obliegt, diese rekonstruieren zu müssen. Die Rekonstruktion aber ist gerade durch die Eigen- art deiktischer Ausdrücke, auf eine Hier-Jetzt-Ich-Origo zu ver- weisen, möglich. Einer angemessenen Interpretation wird dann der Zugang versperrt, wenn in fiktionalen Texten deiktischen Ausdrücken diese spezifische Eigenart abgesprochen wird, wie dies durch die Aussage Hamburgers geschieht. Das besondere an Sätzen wie *Morgen ging sein Zug* ist also allein die Tatsache, daß in einem einfachen Satz eine zweifache Orientierung und damit Perspektivierung vorgenommen wird, so daß oberflächlich der Eindruck einer Kontradiktion entsteht, die sich jedoch durch die Interpretation der deiktischen Ausdrücke auflöst. Daß der Begriff der Perspektive als der Blickwinkel, von dem aus etwas betrachtet wird, untrennbar mit Deixis verbunden ist, bedarf eigentlich keines besonderen Hinweises. Da dies so ist, und da die

Erzählperspektive für die Analyse fiktionaler Texte eine wesentliche Rolle spielt, ist es umso wichtiger, deiktische Ausdrücke in diesem Kontext angemessen zu interpretieren. Die hier angebotene Analyse des epischen Präteritum in Kombination mit nicht-vergangenheitsbezogenen zeitdeiktischen Adverbien als Orientierung zweier zeitdeiktischer Ausdrücke an verschiedenen Orientierungszentren und die sich daraus ergebende Aussage, daß durch diese Kombination zwei Perspektiven präsentiert werden, reintegriert nicht nur eine unnötigerweise ausgesonderte Form in ihren theoretischen Kontext, sondern erweist sich darüberhinaus als theoretische Grundlage für die Analyse von Erzählsituationen. Stanzel, der eine Typologie von Erzählsituationen aufgestellt hat (1955; 1959; 1964), stellt fest, daß die Kombinationen von Präteritum und nicht-vergangenheitsbezogenen zeitdeiktischen Adverbien in fiktionalen Texten — und nur auf diese beziehen sich seine Untersuchungen — nicht in allen Erzählsituationen möglich sind. Stanzel unterscheidet drei Typen von Erzählsituationen: die auktoriale, die personale und die Erzählsituation des Ich-Erzählers. Die Erzählsituation des Ich-Erzählers ist dadurch ausgezeichnet, daß ein Erzähler in der ersten Person erzählt. Ansonsten weist sie entweder Eigenschaften einer auktorialen oder einer personalen Erzählsituation auf und bedarf deshalb keiner besonderen Beschreibung (Stanzel, 1964, S. 16). Charakteristisch für die auktoriale Erzählsituation ist die „Anwesenheit eines persönlichen, sich in Einmischung und Kommentaren zum Erzählten kundgebenden Erzählers“ (1964, S. 16). Die zeitliche Orientierung des Lesers wird bestimmt durch die Anwesenheit des Erzählers, durch sein Jetzt im Erzählakt (1955, S. 28). Die Erzählperspektive ist eine „Perspektive der Rückschau“ (1955, S. 37). Die fiktive dargestellte Welt wird vom ebenfalls fiktiven auktorialen Erzähler aus einer klaren Distanz erzählt (1964, S. 21). Nach Stanzel ist in dieser Erzählsituation eine Kombination von Präteritum und nicht-vergangenheitsbezogenen temporaldeiktischen Adverbien nicht möglich. Die Erklärung aus deiktischer Sicht ist klar: Mit dem auktorialen Erzähler ist *ein* Orientierungszentrum gesetzt und damit *eine* Jetzt-Origo. Wie bei der realen Deixis dürfen hier zeitdeiktische Ausdrücke in einem einfachen Satz einander nicht widersprechen.

Der dritte von Stanzel differenzierte Erzähltyp, die personale Erzählsituation, zeichnet sich dadurch aus, daß der Erzähler „so weit hinter den Charakteren des Romans zurück[tritt], daß seine Anwesenheit dem Leser nicht mehr bewußt ist“ (Stanzel 1964, S. 17). Szenische Darstellung, Dialoge, erlebte Rede und Bewußtseinspiegelung herrschen vor (1964, S. 64). Es entsteht die Illusion der Unmittelbarkeit. Die zeitliche Orientierung des Lesers wird durch das Jetzt der Romangestalten bestimmt (1955, S. 28). Die Perspektive zum Geschehen ist die „des Erlebenden, Betroffenen oder einer am Geschehen aktiv oder als Zuschauer teilnehmenden Gestalt“ (1959, S. 4). Es ist, nach Stanzel, die personale Erzählsituation, in der die Kombinationen des Präteritum mit nicht-vergangenheitsbezogenen temporaldeiktischen Adverbien vorkommen. Die Erklärung liegt nach diesen Ausführungen auf der Hand: Ein Konflikt unterschiedlich markierter temporaldeiktischer Ausdrücke liegt nur dann vor, wenn sie sich auf *eine* Jetzt-Origo beziehen sollen, wie dies bei der auktorialen Erzählsituation der Fall ist. Ein Konflikt liegt nicht vor, wenn, wie bei der personalen Erzählsituation, durch Erzähler und Figur zwei Orientierungszentren gesetzt sind und dadurch die Möglichkeit gegeben ist, daß sich das Tempus auf eine Jetzt-Origo bezieht und das Adverb auf eine andere.

Offensichtlich ist die hier angebotene Analyse also auch relevant für die Erzähltheorie, da sie Möglichkeiten bietet, Erzählperspektive und Perspektivenwechsel zu beschreiben. Diese Möglichkeiten sind dann nicht mehr gegeben, wenn man deiktischen Ausdrücken in fiktionalen Texten die deiktische Funktion abspricht. Da Markus (1977) dies in ganz anderer Weise als Hamburger tut, soll seine These hier noch kurz besprochen werden.

5.3 Die nicht-deiktische Analyse nach Markus

Markus' (1977) These zum epischen Präteritum wurde nicht eigens für dieses entwickelt, sondern ist Teil seiner Analyse des Gebrauchs und der Funktion von Tempora im allgemeinen. Markus geht davon aus, daß Tempora in Analogie zu anderen temporalen Ausdrücken zwei Funktionen haben: eine deiktische und eine kontextrelative (S. 19). Als Grundlage der Analogiebeziehung nennt er temporaldeiktische Adverbien wie *gestern* und

jetzt als Zeitausdrücke mit deiktischer Funktion, sowie *am Vortage* und *zur gleichen Zeit* als Zeitausdrücke mit kontextrelativer Funktion (S. 20). Zwar gibt Markus an gegebener Stelle keine Definition dessen, was er unter Kontext versteht, doch läßt sich aus seinen Ausführungen zum Gebrauch einzelner Tempora herleiten, daß „Kontext“ sprachlichen Kontext oder situativen Kontext meinen kann (S. 32) oder ein „imaginatives Konstrukt, ein[en] Zeitbegriff, den sich die Kommunikationspartner vorstellen“ (S. 36). Für die Beschreibung der Grundbedeutung des Präteritum übernimmt Markus die Formulierung von Wunderlich (1970) t_a vor t_s , das heißt, die Aktzeit liegt vor der Sprechzeit (Markus 1977, S. 48). Diese Formel drückt für ihn die deiktische Funktion des Präteritum aus. Aufgrund der zur Funktion adverbialer Zeitausdrücke aufgestellten Analogie ergäbe sich dann für die kontextrelative Funktion die Formel t_a vor t_k , also Aktzeit vor der Kontextzeit. In diesem Zusammenhang geht es nicht darum, auf alle Inkonssequenzen in den Überlegungen und Formulierungen von Markus hinzuweisen (cf. dazu Rezension, Rauh 1981), sondern das zu prüfen und zu diskutieren, was Markus gemeint zu haben scheint, auch wenn es durch seine sprachliche Kodierung nicht zum Ausdruck kommt. Das bedeutet in diesem Fall, daß die kontextrelative Funktion, die Markus dem Präteritum zuschreibt, nicht in dem Sinne relativ zur Kontextzeit ist wie die deiktische relativ zur Sprechzeit, die Formel t_a vor t_k gilt also nicht, sondern sie ist vielmehr „kontextreferentiell“, ein Terminus, den Markus mit „kontextrelativ“ synonym zu verwenden scheint, ohne sich des wesentlichen Unterschiedes bewußt zu sein³⁴. Die angemessene Formel für die Kontextfunktion des Präteritum wäre dann $t_a = t_k$, die in der Tat aus der Erklärung, die Markus für einige Satzbeispiele gibt, abzuleiten ist. Er erklärt das Präteritum in (26) und (27)

(26) Florenz lag in einem breiten Tal.

(27) Wer bekam das Bier?

³⁴ Ein oberflächlicher Hinweis dafür, daß Markus „kontextreferentiell“ und „kontextrelativ“ synonym verwendet, ist die gemeinsame Eintragung beider Namen im Sachregister (Markus 1977, S. 161f.).

kontextreferentiell und nicht-deiktisch so, daß in beiden Fällen ein situativer Kontext in der Vergangenheit von den Kommunikationspartnern rekonstruiert wird, auf den das Präteritum referiert. Referenz des Präteritum auf einen sprachlich etablierten Kontext liegt, nach Markus, dann vor, wenn entweder durch einen adverbialen Zeitausdruck die Referenzzeit festgelegt ist, wie in (28),

(28) Gestern war ich im Kino.

oder wenn in einer Sequenz von Sätzen auf ein erstes Präteritum mit deiktischer Funktion weitere Präterita folgen, die dann ihrerseits nicht deiktisch zu interpretieren sind, sondern durch ihre Referenz auf den durch das erste Präteritum etablierten Kontext. Das epische Präteritum und seine Kombinationsmöglichkeit mit nicht-vergangenheitsbezogenen zeitdeiktischen Adverbien erklärt Markus so, daß das Präteritum in einem Erzähltext die „Vergangenheit als generellen Kontext und als ‚Orientierungszentrum‘ etabliert hat. Anders gesagt: Der Leser hat sich (mit dem Erzähler) derart in die Vergangenheit versetzt, daß das Präteritum nur noch syntagmatisch die Beibehaltung des perspektivischen status quo signalisiert und die kontextrelative Verwendung von ‚an sich‘ sprecherrelativen Adverbien wie *morgen*, *gestern*, etc. ermöglicht“ (Markus 1977, S. 50). Somit sind in diesem Zusammenhang, nach Markus, sowohl das Präteritum als auch zeitdeiktische Adverbien kontextrelativ, also nicht deiktisch verwendet. Ein Zeitadverb oder ein erstes Präteritum bildet den sprachlichen Kontext für die nachfolgenden Präterita im Erzähltext, und diese Präterita können ihrerseits den sprachlichen Kontext für „an sich“ zeitdeiktische Adverbien bilden. Das Adverb *morgen* in *Morgen ging sein Flugzeug* beschreibt Markus entsprechend als $t_a + \text{ein Tag}$, während das deiktische *morgen* durch $t_s + \text{ein Tag}$ beschrieben wird (S. 50).

Die knappe Darstellung der Position von Markus macht deutlich, daß er, wie auch Hamburger, deiktischen Ausdrücken nur dann eine deiktische Funktion einräumt, wenn sie realdeiktisch verwendet sind. Imaginative Deixis, Textdeixis und Anaphora fallen in seiner Terminologie unter den Begriff Kontext. Dieses Vorgehen müßte nicht notwendigerweise falsch sein, handelte

es sich um eine legitime Generalisierung und wäre gleichzeitig die Möglichkeit gegeben, die generalisierten Teilbereiche jederzeit auch angemessen zu differenzieren. Die von Markus vorgenommene Generalisierung aber ist deshalb nicht legitim, da sie die reale Deixis ausklammert, die genauso die Kontextfunktion deiktischer Ausdrücke aktiviert, wie die anderen Bereiche auch, wobei in diesem Fall der Kontext durch die Situation, nicht durch Sprache oder Vorstellung realisiert ist. Sie ist unglücklich deshalb, da sie einerseits durch die Spaltung von Deixis und Kontext die Gemeinsamkeiten in der Verwendung deiktischer Ausdrücke in beiden Bereichen verkennt, andererseits die Teilbereiche, die unter Kontext fallen, nicht angemessen definiert und als Konsequenz nicht auseinanderhält. Lügen diese Mängel nicht vor, so ergäbe sich in Markus' eigener Terminologie, daß das epische Präteritum in Kombination mit einem nicht-vergangenheitsbezogenen zeitdeiktischen Adverb nicht etwa so zu erklären ist, daß es sich auf einen sprachlich etablierten Kontext bezieht, wie Markus meint, sondern auf ein „imaginatives Konstrukt“, welches Markus selbst auch als möglichen Kontext zuläßt (S. 36). Daß ein solches Konstrukt jedoch nicht unter allen Bedingungen möglich ist, sondern gewissen Restriktionen unterliegt, kann allerdings erst dann erklärt werden, wenn man die deiktische Determination dieses Kontextes erkennt, d.h. also, daß man erkennt, daß es sich hier um den Anwendungsbereich imaginative Deixis handelt. Die Notwendigkeit dafür wird besonders deutlich, wenn man Markus' Erklärung des epischen Präteritum ernst nimmt und als angemessene Beschreibung des Phänomens episches Präteritum auffaßt. Nach Markus etabliert wiederholtes Vorkommen des Präteritum ein Orientierungszentrum und schafft so die Voraussetzung für die Orientierung zeitdeiktischer Ausdrücke wie *gestern*, *heute*, *jetzt* etc. Wäre dies in der Tat der Fall, so müßten die betroffenen Kombinationen auch in der von Stanzel beschriebenen auktorialen Erzählsituation möglich sein, da hier, wie bei der personalen, die solche Kombinationen zuläßt, das Präteritum wiederholt verwendet wird und deshalb als kontextbildend betrachtet werden könnte. Daß dies jedoch nicht möglich ist, zeigt, daß nicht das Präteritum in wiederholter Folge die Eigenschaft hat, ein Orientierungszentrum zu bilden, sondern

daß ein solches durch das Auftretenlassen oder Einführen von Figuren vom Autor gesetzt ist. Und mit einem gesetzten Orientierungszentrum sind potentiell Orientierungspunkte für raum-, zeit- und personendeiktische Beziehungen gesetzt. Auch diese Tatsache widerlegt Markus' Annahme, daß es das Präteritum sei, welches ein Orientierungszentrum etabliere. Denn neben zeitdeiktischen Ausdrücken können, wie gezeigt, im Kontext des epischen Präteritum auch raum- und personendeiktische Ausdrücke an einem gesetzten Orientierungszentrum orientiert sein, und auch Markus dürfte nicht annehmen wollen, daß eine temporale Kategorie, das Präteritum, Orientierungspunkt für lokale und personale Beziehungen sein kann.

Kontextfunktion als Alternative zur deiktischen Funktion ist daher keine angemessene Analyse für das epische Präteritum und seine Begleiterscheinungen. Die negativen Konsequenzen, die sich aus den nicht-deiktischen Analysen sowohl von Hamburger als auch von Markus ergeben und die Lösung der Probleme sowie der Erklärungswert der deiktischen Analyse sollten Einsichten darüber vermitteln, daß es nicht gerechtfertigt ist, dem epischen Präteritum einen Sonderstatus einzuräumen, der ihm die deiktische Funktion abspricht. Eigenarten, die das epische Präteritum und andere deiktische Ausdrücke in Texten, fiktionalen und nicht-fiktionalen, aufweisen, lassen sich im Rahmen einer angemessenen deiktischen Theorie ohne Ausnahmen und Sonderregelungen problemlos beschreiben.

6. Resümee und Ausblick

Die Tatsache, daß selbst jüngere Arbeiten sowohl literaturwissenschaftlicher als auch linguistischer Herkunft in Übereinstimmung mit K. Hamburger das epische Präteritum als eine Sonderform des Präteritum betrachten, die keine deiktische Funktion hat, war Anlaß, der Frage nachzugehen, welche Eigenschaften eigentlich einem sprachlichen Ausdruck zugeordnet werden, der als deiktisch klassifiziert wird. In einem Exkurs wurde deshalb ein Abriß einer deiktischen Theorie präsentiert, wobei für den Problemfall episches Präteritum neben einer klaren Definition des Begriffes deiktisch besonders die Unterscheidung

von Anwendungsbereichen deiktischer Ausdrücke von Bedeutung war. Da das epische Präteritum als eine Sonderform des Präteritum gilt, die frei mit temporaldeiktischen Adverbien kollokieren können soll, galt die weitere Aufmerksamkeit zunächst der deiktischen Funktion des „normalen“ Präteritum und seinen Kollokationsmöglichkeiten mit temporaldeiktischen Adverbien, ehe Thesen zum epischen Präteritum vorgestellt und diskutiert wurden. Vor dem Hintergrund der deiktischen Theorie erwies sich die traditionelle Auffassung vom epischen Präteritum als Fehlinterpretation. Die deiktische Analyse ordnet das epische Präteritum und seine Begleiterscheinungen dem Anwendungsbereich imaginative Deixis zu, der sich dadurch auszeichnet, daß hier, anders als bei der realen Deixis, kein Orientierungszentrum durch einen aktuellen Sprecher vorgegeben ist, sondern daß ein solches willkürlich gesetzt werden kann. Bezugspunkt für temporaldeiktische Ausdrücke bei der imaginativen Deixis ist nicht die reale Jetzt-Origo der Äußerungszeit, sondern eine als Jetzt-Origo zählende imaginäre Kodierungszeit. Von der Möglichkeit, imaginäre Orientierungszentren zu setzen und auf diese deiktische Ausdrücke zu beziehen, kann in narrativen Texten selbst in der Weise Gebrauch gemacht werden, daß in einem einzigen einfachen Satz deiktische Ausdrücke an verschiedenen Orientierungszentren orientiert sind. Daraus ergeben sich dann die scheinbar problematischen Kombinationen von Präteritum, einer vergangenheitsbezogenen Form, und nicht-vergangenheitsbezogenen temporaldeiktischen Adverbien, wobei beide Kombinationsteile sowohl ihre semantische als auch ihre deiktische Funktion behalten.

Die deiktische Analyse des epischen Präteritum erweist sich nicht nur als angemessene linguistische Analyse einer sprachlichen Form, da sie deren Reintegration in den theoretischen Kontext leistet, sondern darüberhinaus auch als relevant für die Erzähltheorie, da sie Möglichkeiten für eine formale und explizite Beschreibung von Erzählperspektive und Perspektivenwechsel eröffnet. Deixis ist der sprachliche Ausdruck von Perspektive, und eine Äußerung präsentiert die Perspektive dessen, der als Kodierer dieser Äußerung zählt, der also das Orientierungszentrum bildet. Wechselt das Orientierungszentrum, so bedeutet dies

zwangsläufig. daß damit auch ein Perspektivenwechsel verbunden ist. Sind andererseits deiktische Ausdrücke in einer Äußerung an zwei Orientierungszentren orientiert, so leitet sich daraus ab, daß hier zwei Perspektiven gleichzeitig präsentiert werden. Ein Vorliegen doppelter Perspektive bei Kombinationen von Präteritum und nicht-vergangenheitsbezogenen temporaldeiktischen Adverbien wurde bereits von W. Kayser (1958) erkannt. Die deiktische Analyse erklärt dieses Phänomen.

Es wurde hier nicht versucht, die Beschreibung deiktischer Ausdrücke in ein Grammatikmodell zu integrieren. Die Ausführungen machen deutlich, daß für ein solches Unternehmen eine adäquate Kontextbeschreibung unerläßlich ist. In Rauh (1978) werden Kontexte als potentielle Kontexte in Form von *hypersentences* in eine syntaktische Beschreibung von Sätzen aufgenommen, wodurch eine formal einheitliche Behandlung von deiktischen Ausdrücken und ihren potentiellen Anwendungsbereichen in dem Sinne möglich wird, daß *hypersentences* syntaktisch Orientierungszentren repräsentieren, einerlei ob sie im Einzelfall realdeiktisch, imaginativdeiktisch oder textdeiktisch zu interpretieren sind. Die Entwicklung der generativen Grammatiktheorie in jüngster Zeit macht eine *hypersentence*-Analyse mehr als fragwürdig, ohne jedoch eine Alternative für den Erklärungswert zu bieten, der dieser zweifelsohne zukommt. Es bleibt zu hoffen, daß die pragmatische Kontexttheorie, wie sie u.a. A. Kratzer (1978) vertritt, in der Zukunft Möglichkeiten aufzeigt, die auch komplexe deiktische Strukturen in adäquater Weise beschreiben können.

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The IE. "ā-Preterite" and Related Forms

§ 1. Reflexes of a verbal suffix **-ā-* (< **-eh₂-*), with both preterital and modal functions, are attested in several early IE. languages. Perhaps the clearest evidence for such a morpheme comes from Baltic, where the spread of the preterite in **-ā-* (Lith. *-o-*; cf. 3 p. *bėgo* 'ran', *gulėjo* 'lay', *sākė* 'said' < **sakiĵā(t)*, etc.) has contributed to the complete elimination of the root and thematic aorists from this branch of the family (cf. § 6). An analogous formation is found in Slavic: here, numerous thematic and *je/o-*presents occur beside infinitives in *-ati* and sigmatized aorists in 1 sg. *-axъ*, 3 sg. *-a* (cf. OCS. *berę* 'I gather', inf. *berati*, aor. *beraxъ*; *glagolĭę* 'I speak', inf. *glagolati*, aor. *glagolaxъ*). Further afield, Latin shows an apparent *ā*-preterite in the imperfect of the verb 'to be' (*eram*, *-ās*, *-at*, etc.), in the preterite of the perfect system (i.e., the pluperfect, cf. *dīxeram* 'I had said', etc.), and probably also in the periphrastic imperfect in *-bam*, *-bās*, *-bat* (cf. *tacēbam* 'I was silent' < **bh_uām*). Latin also employs *-ā-* to mark the present subjunctive of thematic verbs (cf. *dūcam*, *-ās*, *-at* < *dūcō* 'I lead'); this usage recurs not only in Osco-Umbrian (cf. Osc. *kahad* 'capiat', Umbr. *dirsa* 'det'), but in Celtic as well (cf. OIr. 3 sg. *beraid*, **bera* '(may) carry', Lat. *ferat*). The Tocharian *ā*-preterite (cf. 3 sg. B *kauta*, A *kot* 'chopped' < CToch. **-āt*) and *ā*-subjunctive (cf. 3 sg. B *wākam*, A *wākaş* 'will split' < CToch. **wāk-ā-*) are usually reckoned as belonging to the same group of formations.¹

¹ So too is the Armenian aorist passive in *-ā-* (type *lkay* 'I was left', *beray* 'I was carried', etc.), cf. e.g., Godel, *An Introduction to the Study of Classical Armenian*, § 5.353. In my view, however, the *-a-* of these forms is etymologically short and historically unrelated to the **-ā-* of the categories above (see "Notes on the Armenian Personal Endings", KZ. 93, 1979, p. 133–149).

I would like to thank Warren Cowgill for extensive comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Needless to say, all errors in the present version are my responsibility alone.

The precise interrelationships of these categories are obscure; for earlier treatments the reader is referred to the discussion in Szemerényi, Einf., p. 242–3, and the references there cited. For reasons which will become clear, our own investigation will begin with an attempt to clarify the status, still imperfectly understood, of *-ā-* as a preterite marker in Tocharian.

§ 2. The overwhelming majority of preterite stems in Tocharian A and B are characterized by a suffix *-ā-*, which under certain phonetic conditions is weakened to *-a-* or (in Toch. A) zero. This morpheme has clearly enjoyed a period of productivity; its association with the Toch. B *ṣṣ*-preterite (cf. *yamaṣṣa*, *yāmṣa* 'made') and the Common Tocharian *s*-preterite (cf. A *prakās*, B *preksa* 'asked' < **-sāt*), for example, is obviously secondary.² The original locus of the *ā*-preterite is probably to be sought in Krause-Thomas' class I (cf. Tocharisches Elementarbuch I, p. 239ff.), where *-ā-* is added directly to the verbal root, rather than to an already characterized preterite stem. A notable feature of this class is the frequent appearance of paradigmatic ablaut, which is manifested in two ways: 1) roots which in their citation form show zero-grade vocalism exhibit an apparent *o*-grade in the plural forms of the active in Toch. A, and exceptionally also in Toch. B; and 2) a relatively small group of roots show palatalization of their initial consonant—pointing to an earlier *e*-grade—in the singular forms of the active in Toch. A, and (less archaically) throughout the active in Toch. B. Both types of alternation are found in the preterite of AB *kārs-* 'know':

3 sg. act.	A <i>śārs</i> ,	B <i>śarsa</i>	(< <i>*kers-</i>)
3 pl. act.	A <i>krasar</i> ,	[B <i>śārsāre</i>]	(< <i>*kors-</i>)
3 sg. mid.	A <i>kārsāt</i> ,	B <i>*kārsāte</i>	(< <i>*kṛs-</i>)
ptcp.	A <i>kārso</i> ,	B <i>kārsau</i>	(< <i>*kṛs-</i>)

² The *ṣṣ*-preterite clearly owes its suffix to an underlying palatalized **-sk-*; it probably originated as a thematic imperfect (3. Sg. **-sket*) which was later "reinforced" by the addition of **-ā-*. The palatalization before *-ā-* in the Toch. A imperfect (cf. 3. sg. *pālśā* < *pālk-* 'shine') probably has a similar explanation.

Although the appearance of *o*-grade in the active plural of the *ā*-preterite may well be of Common Tocharian date (note the apparent equation B 3 pl. *prautkar*, ptcp. *prutkau* = A *protkar*, *prutko* < *prutk*- 'be fulfilled'), it is unlikely that this feature is an inheritance from Proto-Indo-European. Roots with *o*-grade vocalism were confined to "strong" stems in the parent language; representative formations in this respect are the perfect (cf. Gk. οἶδα, Go. *wait* 'I know', 1 pl. ἴδμεν, *witum*), the present type seen in Hitt. *karāpi* 'eats, frißt', 3 pl. *karipanzi* (cf. "The Position of the *hi*-Conjugation" in E. Neu and W. Meid, edd., Hethitisch und Indogermanisch) and, within Tocharian itself, the class I (athematic) and class V (*-ā-*) subjunctives (cf. B 1 sg. *kewu* 'I will pour' (< **ghou-*), 3 sg. mid. *kutär*; 3 sg. *sālkam* 'will pull out' (< **solk-*),³ 3 pl. mid. *sālkāntär*). It is significant that *o*-grade forms are not found in the middle or past participle of the *ā*-preterite, although these categories, like the plural indicative, were "weak" in Indo-European (cf. Ved. 3 sg. pf. *jūjōṣa* (< *jūṣ-* 'enjoy') vs. 3 pl. *jūjūṣūh*, 3 sg. mid. *jūjūṣé*, ptcp. *jūjūṣvāms-*).⁴

It seems legitimate to conclude, therefore, that the apophony of forms like A *protkar* and B *prautkar* is the result of a Tocharian innovation, and that the plural indicative of ablauting *ā*-preterites was originally characterized by zero-grade vocalism. The reasons for the introduction of **o-* into the preterite paradigm are not altogether clear, but are probably connected with the alternation of *o-* and zero-grade root-forms in the *ā*-subjunctive. The latter category, insofar as it displays ablaut, is characterized by *o*-grade in the active singular and zero-grade elsewhere (cf. above). There is a significant correlation between the appearance of ablaut in the two formations: Toch. A verbs with *o:∅* apophony in the *ā*-subjunctive regularly show *o*-grade in the

³ For a discussion of the rule whereby **o-* was lowered to **ā-* before **ā-* in a following syllable see Cowgill, *Studies* Lane, p. 176ff.

⁴ This statement, of course, does not apply to cases where *o*-grade has been generalized throughout the preterite paradigm, as, e.g., in 3 sg. mid. A *māntat*, ptcp. *māmāntu*, B *mamāntau* (< *mānt-* 'injure'), and 3 sg. mid. A *pekat*, B *paiykāte*, ptcp. A *pāpeku*, B *papaikau* (< *pik-* 'write').

plural forms of the *ā*-preterite, and, conversely, verbs with ablauting preterites have *o*-grade forms in the singular of the subjunctive (cf. pret. 3 sg. *kālk* 'went', pl. *kalkar*; subj. 3 sg. *kalkaš*, pl. *kālkeñc*).⁵ It is thus at least thinkable that the preterite plural was remade by a kind of "reverse analogy" to the subjunctive: since the singular of the preterite had an apparent zero-grade where the subjunctive had **-o-* (pret. sg. **kālk-ā-* : subj. sg. **kālk-ā-*),⁶ the zero-grade stem of the subjunctive plural (**kālk-ā-*) was utilized as a trigger for the introduction of *o*-vocalism into the plural stem of the preterite (**kālk-ā-*, replacing **kālk-ā-*). It is remarkable, of course, that Common Tocharian did not adopt the simpler course of confining *o*-grade to the subjunctive and zero-grade to the preterite; the effect of such a change, however, would have been to eliminate paradigmatic ablaut from the subjunctive entirely, and Tocharian is strikingly resistant to simplifications of this kind.⁷

§ 3. While the *o*: $\emptyset$ ablaut of the *ā*-preterite is almost certain to be an innovation, the same cannot be said of the *e*: $\emptyset$ apophony implicit in the paradigm 3 sg. act. A *śārs*, B *śarsa*: mid. A *kārsāt*, ptp. A *kārso*, B *kārsau*. The appearance of root-initial palatalization, confined to the active singular in Toch. A and generalized to the active plural in Toch. B,⁸ has no obvious analogical source; its distribution is precisely that of the full-grade in such familiar IE. categories as the athematic root presents (cf. Ved. 3 sg. *éti*, Gk. *ἔτι* 'goes', pl. *yánti*, *ἵασι*) and root aorists (cf. Ved.

⁵ Cf. Krause-Thomas, op.cit., p. 227. Given our limited corpus, of course, it frequently happens that no subjunctive forms with *o*-grade are actually quotable.

⁶ Following the merger of **eR* and **R* as CToch. **āR* (*R* = **r*, **l*, **m*, **n*), earlier *e*-grade forms like **śārs-ā-* would also have conformed synchronically to this pattern.

⁷ Alternatively, one might seek to relate the *o*-grade forms of the preterite to the strong (*o*-grade) forms of the IE. perfect; the respective distributions of **-o-* in the two categories, however, speak strongly against such a connection.

⁸ Palatalization has apparently been extended to the middle in B 2 sg. *ñātkatai* (< *nātk-* 'push aside'), which also shows the MQ-writing of *-a-* for *-ā-*; the participle *nātkau* is regular.

3 sg. *ákar* 'did' (= GAv. *čōrat* < **ker-t*), pl. *ákan*). There is good *a priori* reason to believe, therefore, that the ablaut pattern **kers-/krs-* is an archaism; this impression is strengthened by the fact that verbs like *kärs-* constitute a small and unproductive class, comprising only eleven roots in both languages.

The apparent antiquity of root-apophony in the *ā*-preterite has serious consequences. Since the inflectional system of Proto-Indo-European did not otherwise admit paradigms in which an ablauting root was followed by an invariant full-grade suffix, it is highly improbable that the preterite of *kärs-* continues an IE. aorist type **kers-eh₂-/krs-eh₂-*. Several other possibilities, however, may be considered. It is conceivable, for example, that CToch. **šärsā-/kärsā-* acquired its *-*ā-* secondarily: since a morpheme of this shape characterized the great majority of Tocharian preterites, -*ā-* could have been mechanically added to the regular reflex of an inherited root aorist **kers-/krs-*. Alternatively—and, as we shall see, far more probably—the stem-final element of **šärsā-/kärsā-* may represent a vocalized laryngeal (cf. A *ckācar*, B *tkācer* 'daughter' < **dhugh₂tēr*) rather than a full-grade suffix *-*eh₂-*. Two main subcases can be distinguished, depending on whether the laryngeal is regarded as a genuine preterite morpheme (**kers-h_x-/krs-h_x-*) or as a component of the underlying root (**kersh_x-/kresh_x-*).⁹

§ 4. The roots listed by Krause and Thomas (p. 239) as forming *ā*-preterites with initial palatalization are *kāt-* 'scatter', *kātk-* 'transgress', *kärs-* 'know', *kāl-* 'bring', *kutk-* 'embody', *tärk-* 'release', *nātk-* 'push', *lām-* 'sit', *lu-* 'send', *stām-* (*štām-*) 'stand' and *tsuk-* 'drink'.¹⁰ Three of these, *lām-*, *stām-* (*štām-*) and *tsuk-*, are defective and excluded from the present system; their missing forms are supplied by the roots *šām-*, *käly-* and *yok-*,

⁹ These possibilities, of course, are not mutually exclusive: it is perfectly thinkable, for example, that *-*ā-* is old only in a subset of the preterites of the *šärsā*-type, or that it continues a root-component in some forms and a distinct morpheme in others (cf. § 5).

¹⁰ The preterite B 3 sg. *lyāka*, pl. *lyākār(-ne)* (< *lāk-* 'see') is historically a "strong" imperfect of the same type as A 3 sg. *lyāk*, pl. *lyākār*; for further examples see Krause-Thomas, p. 221.

respectively. Of the remainder, it is noteworthy that all but one form nasal presents:

kāt-: cf. A 3 sg. *knāṣ* (class VI), B *katnaṃ* (VI) < CToch. **kātnā-*;

kātk-: cf. A inf. *ktānkātsi* (VI), B 3 sg. *kātkanam* (VI), *kāttānkām* (VII) < CToch. **kātk(ä)nā-*, with partial remodeling to **kāt(t)ānkā-*;

kārs-: cf. A 3 sg. *kārsnāṣ* (VI), B 3 sg. mid. *kārsanatār* (VI) < CToch. **kārs(ä)nā-*;

kāl-: cf. A 3 sg. *källāṣ* (VI), B *källāṣṣām* (X) < CToch. **källā-* < **kälñā-*, extended by *-sk-* in Toch. B;

kutk-: cf. B ptcp. *kutānkmane* (VII), remodeled from CToch. **kutk(ä)nā-*;

tārk-: cf. A 3 sg. *tārnāṣ* (VI), B *tārkanam* (VI) < CToch. **tārk(ä)nā-*;

nātk-: cf. B 3 sg. *natknam* (VI), *nāttānkām* (VII) < CToch. **natk(a)na-*, with partial remodeling to **nāt(t)ānkā-*.

The pattern displayed by these verbs has a close parallel in Vedic Sanskrit. It is well-known that the ninth-class (-*nā-*) presents of Vedic generally correspond to roots with a final laryngeal: forms like *prñāti* 'fills', *grñāti* 'praises' and *punāti* 'purifies' are the normal nasal-infix presents to IE. **pleh₁-*, **g^{er}h_x-* and **peuh_x-*. Predictably, such presents are also made from *seṭ* roots which end synchronically in a stop or sibilant. Among these, a group of special interest consists of the verbs *aś-* 'eat' (*aśnāti*), *gra(b)h-* 'seize' (*gr(b)hnāti*), *pruṣ-* 'drip' (cf. ptcp. *pruṣṇānt-*), *math-* 'snatch away' (*mathnāti*), *muṣ-* 'steal' (*muṣṇāti*), *śrath-* 'slacken' (*śrathnāti*), *skab(m)bh-* 'prop up' (*skabhñāti*) and *sta(m)bh-* 'id.' (*stabhnāti*). Two morphological idiosyncrasies of these roots call for comment: 1) their tendency to form competing quasi-denominative presents in *-āyā-* (cf. *grbhāyā-*, *pruṣāyā-*, *mathāyā-*, *muṣāyā-*, *śrathāyā-*, *skabhāyā-*, *stabhāyā-*), and 2) their association with *iṣ*-aorists of an apophonically deviant type, with full-grade, rather than lengthened-grade root-vocalism (cf. 3 sg. *aśīt*, *agrabhīt*, *mathīt*, 2 sg. *moṣīs*, 3 sg. *(a)stambhīt*, all found

in the Rigveda).¹¹ The former feature has been variously interpreted; the best explanation is probably still that of de Saussure, who saw *-āyá-* in these forms as the continuant of IE. **-nh_x-ie/o-* (Mem., p. 251–2; cf. § 11 below). The position of the aorist type *agrabhīt* is somewhat clearer. For *gra(b)h-* itself, a root aorist 1 sg. *agrabham* is found several times in the Rigveda, and similar non-sigmatic forms are attested from *aś-* (opt. 1 pl. *aśyāma*, YV.), *math-* (subj. 3 sg. *máthat*, AV.), *muṣ-* (subj. 2 pl. *moṣathā*) and *śnath-* (impv. 2 sg. *śnathihi*, subj. 3 sg. *śnathat*). There can be little doubt that such root aorists were once common to the entire group: their transfer to the sigmatic type was obviously triggered by the fact that the endings *-īs* (2 sg.) and *-īt* (3 sg.), which here reflect etymological **-h_x-s* and **-h_x-t*, were also the regular endings of the *iṣ-*aorist (< **-h_x-s-s*, **-h_x-s-t*).¹² For the earliest active aorist of *gra(b)h-* we may reconstruct a paradigm 3 sg. **ghrēbh_x-t*, pl. **ghrbh_x-ént*.

It will now be noted that the relationship of aor. *agrabhīt* to pres. *grbhñāti* can be directly compared with that of Toch. A pret. *śārs* (B *śarsa*) to pres. *kārsnāṣ* (cf. B *kārsanatār*). Independent support is thus provided for a derivation of CToch. **śārsā-/ *kārsā-* and the other preterites discussed above from preforms with a vocalized laryngeal. The purely structural resemblance between Vedic and Tocharian, moreover, can be supplemented by a significant word-equation. The Tocharian cognate of Ved. *muṣñāti*: **āmoṣīt* is AB *musnātār* ‘gives up, raises’, pret. 3 sg. mid. A *musāt*, ptcp. *muso* (= B *musau*); the parallelism between the two languages virtually compels the reconstruction of an IE. aorist **meush_x-/ *mush_x-* and an associated nasal present **mus-né-h_x-ti*. This analysis can clearly be extended to the remaining Tocharian verbs with nasal presents and class I preterites, even where, as in the case of *mus-*, root-initial palatalization is not directly attested in the latter category. Typical further examples are *rām-* ‘bend’ (cf. pres. AB *rāmnā-* (: Ved.

¹¹ The Sanskrit grammarians also give *aproṣīt*, *aśranhīt*, *askambhīt*.

¹² This is also the view taken in J. Narten's *Die sigmatischen Aoriste im Veda*; see especially her discussion under *grabh^t*-. The mechanism by which Vedic substituted *-ī-* for *-i-* in these forms is irrelevant to the present discussion.

ramñd̥ti 'stops'), pret. 3 sg. mid. B *rāmāte*, ptcp. A *rmo*) and *wārp-* 'enjoy' (pres. A *wārpñā-*, B *wārpana-*, pret. 3 sg. mid. A *wārpāt*, B *wārpāte*).¹³

§ 5. The status of the laryngeal in these forms is problematic. The roots *lām-*, *lu-* and *stām-* (*štām-*) lack convincing etymologies, but could in principle easily continue set preforms **lemh_x-*, **leuh_x-* and **stemh_x-*. The assumption of a root-final laryngeal is more difficult, however, in the case of lexical items like *kārs-*, *tārk-*, *tsuk-*, *mus-* and *wārp-*, which end synchronically in a stop or sibilant. Roots of the structure **T(R)E(R)TH-* (where *T* = any obstruent, *R* = resonant, *H* = laryngeal) are exceedingly rare in Indo-European; indeed, the majority of credible cases are furnished by precisely the group of Vedic verbs—*gra(b)h-*, *muṣ-*, *math-*, etc.—which pattern morphologically with the Tocharian forms under discussion. Not all these examples will stand scrutiny. For *grabh-*, aniṭ forms are attested both in the perfect (1 pl. *jaḡrbhmá*, 3 pl. *jaḡrbhré*) and middle root aorist (3 pl. *aḡrbhṛan*);¹⁴ *sta(m)bh-* makes an aniṭ gerund *stabdhvā* in the Atharvaveda and a participle *stabdhā-* in the Brahmanas. Note also that *ram-* (= Toch. *rām-*) forms an aniṭ agent noun *rāntṛ-* as early as the Rigveda; a laryngealless root is presupposed by the cognate verb in Lithuanian (*remiù*, *reĩti* 'support').

The inconvenience of assuming a substantial class of roots in final **-TH* suggests the possibility that the final consonant of the aorist stems **kersh_x-*, **ghrebh_x-* and **meush_x-* may not have been part of the root at all, but an independent morpheme. Pursuing this alternative, let us consider the consequences of positing an IE. "*h₂-aorist*", the choice of laryngeal being dictated, of course, by the voiceless aspirate of Ved. *math-* and *śrath-*. Like the **-s-* of the sigmatic aorist and similar "enlarge-

¹³ In many cases, of course, the absence of palatalization in the preterite is merely a consequence of the fact that no active singular forms are attested; the deponent root *wārp-* is a representative example. The initial consonants *p-*, *m-*, *r-*, *y-* and (A) *w-* are incapable of showing palatalization.

¹⁴ The significance of these forms was pointed out to me by J. Schindler.

ments'', the $*-h_2-$ of this category would presumably have lacked a full-grade; a close formal parallel to the hypothetical paradigm 3 sg. $*ghrēbh-h_2-t$: pl. $*ghṛbh-h_2-ént$ can be seen in the Hittite conjugational type 3 sg. $dāi$ 'puts' : pl. $tiyanzi$ ($< *dhēh_1-i-e(i) : *dhh_1-i-ént(i)$). The new theory would not entail any change in the analysis of presents like $*ghṛbh-né-h_2-ti$, which clearly stand in the same relation to aorists like $*ghrēbh-h_2-t$ as ordinary nasal presents (e.g., $*k̑l-né-u-ti$ 'hears', Ved. $śṛṇóti$) to proper root aorists (e.g. $*kleu-t$, Ved. $ásrot$). It is uncertain whether the existence of $*ghṛbh-né-h_2-ti$ and similar forms in Proto-Indo-European necessitates the conclusion that $*-h_2-$ had already been reinterpreted as a root-constituent within the common period; an eventual reanalysis of this kind must be assumed for Indic, where forms like ptcp. $mathitá-$, $grbhítá-$, fut. $mathiṣyati$, $grahiṣyati$, etc. show the generalization of $-i-$ before consonants throughout the verbal system.¹⁵

If unsupported by further evidence, the hypothesis of an IE. aorist marker $*-h_2-$ would hardly merit further discussion, since the possibility that Ved. $agrabhit$ and CToch. $*śārsā$ represent genuine root aorists clearly cannot be absolutely excluded. Significant new light is shed on these forms, however, by the "ā-preterites" of the other IE. languages, to which we now turn.

§ 6. It has long been recognized that the Baltic preterite in $*-ā-$ and the Slavic "second-stem" aorist in $-a-$ ($-ax-$, $-as-$) are referable to the same original formation. To be sure, the two categories have diverged considerably: in Baltic, the $ā$ -preterite has acquired the endings of the present (cf. Lith. 1 sg. $bėgau$ 'I ran', 3 p. $bėgo$, like 1 sg. $sakaũ$ 'I say', 3 p. $sāko$); in Slavic $-a-$ has spread to the infinitive (cf. OCS. $glagolati$ 'speak'), while the

¹⁵ As a typological parallel, compare the spread of $*-i-$ in "long-diphthongal" roots of the type $*dheh_1-(i-)$ 'suck', $*peh_3-(i-)$ 'drunk', etc.; the original locus of this element was probably in presents like Hitt. $dāi$. It should hardly be necessary to point out that not all the forms here analyzed as " h_2 -aorists" directly continue IE. preforms. The preterites of the Tocharian roots $kātk-$, $kutk-$ and $nātk-$, for example, cannot originally have contained the cluster $-tk-$, the second element of which is historically a vestige of the present suffix $*-ske/o-$.

finite forms of the aorist have been at least partly sigmatized (cf. 1 sg. *glagolax̃* < **-āsom*, 3 pl. *glagolaše* < **-āsnt*, etc.; 2, 3 sg. *glagola* may continue **-ās*, **-āt* or **-ās(s)*, **-āst*).¹⁶ Both branches, but especially Baltic, have considerably extended the list of verbs which form preterites of this kind: in Lithuanian the *ā*-preterite has replaced the thematic aorist, which is preserved in Slavic (cf. Lith. *bùdo* 'awoke' beside OCS. *-bъde*), while in Old Church Slavonic the *a*-aorist has come to be productively associated with *īe/o*-presents, which generally form *ē*-preterites in Baltic (cf. OCS. *orĭjō* 'I plow', 3 sg. aor. *ora* beside Lith. *ariù*, pret. 3 p. *ārė*).¹⁷ For Common Balto-Slavic we may reconstruct an athematic type in **-ām*, **-ās*, **-āt*, etc., the original distribution of which remains to be determined.

Since non-productive morphophonemic alternations often provide a reliable index of antiquity, special interest attaches to a group of Slavic verbs which exhibit zero-grade root-vocalism and *-a-* in the aorist and infinitive, but full-grade of the root and a thematic suffix (**-e/o-* or **-īe/o-*) in the present. The pattern is clearly on the decline: while some verbs, such as OCS. *berō*, *bbrati* 'pick, gather', *ženō*, *gъnati* 'hunt', *stelĭjō*, *stblati* 'spread out', *lějō*, *lijati* 'pour' and *pĭlĭjūjō*, *pĭlĭjvati* 'spit' are consistent in retaining the difference in vocalism, others, such as *židō* (later *žbdō*), *ždati* 'wait', *ližō*, **l̥zati* (normally *lizati*) 'lick', and *pišō*, *p̥sati* (beside *pisati*) 'write' show that leveling was already underway at an early period. Alternations of this kind have generally been reduced in the later Slavic languages; see Vaillant, Gram. Comp. III, p. 207–12, 291–5, 209–17, for further examples and discussion.

The evidence of Slavic thus suggests that the *a*-aorist was originally associated with zero-grade root-vocalism; this con-

¹⁶ It is possible that the spread of **-s-* in such aorists was triggered by presence of **-s-* in denominative forms like *dēlax̃* 'I did' (: pres. *dě-lajō*), the *-a-* of which is ultimately that of the present stem and has nothing to do with the morpheme under discussion. In the sections which follow, the term "ā-aorist", as applied to Slavic, will refer only to the aorists in 1 sg. *-ax̃* of verbs with "second stems".

¹⁷ In general, the Baltic *ē*-preterite appears to have replaced the IE. *s*-aorist; cf. Chr. S. Stang, Vergl. Gr. d. balt. Spr., p. 388f.

clusion is supported by the facts of Baltic. In Lithuanian the $\bar{a}$ -preterite is regularly found beside full-grade thematic presents in $-a-$ ($< *e/o-$); in such cases roots of the structure *TERT*- show zero-grade in the preterite (cf. *liẽka* 'leaves', pret. *lìko*; *vel̃ka* 'drags', pret. *vil̃ko*; *keĩta* 'hits', pret. *kiĩto*).¹⁸ Other common patterns couple zero-grade $\bar{a}$ -preterites with zero-grade thematic presents (cf. *sùpa* 'rocks', pret. *sùpo*; *rìta* 'rolls', pret. *rìto*) and zero-grade presents in $-sta-$ (cf. *diĩngsta* 'disappears', pret. *diĩngo*; *pỹksta* 'is angry', pret. *pỹko*). Likewise showing zero-grade in the preterite, but less archaic, are pairs of the type *miĩnga* 'falls asleep', pret. *mìgo* and *liĩmpa* 'sticks', pret. *lìpo*; the corresponding verbs form thematic aorists in Slavic (cf. OCS. *u-sъnǫti* 'fall asleep', aor. 3 sg. *u-sъpe*; **pri-lъnǫti* 'stick', aor. 3 sg. *pri-lъpe*).¹⁹ Full- and lengthened-grade $\bar{a}$ -preterites, while extremely numerous, are of little diagnostic value for historical purposes, since the preterite stem in such cases almost invariably agrees in vocalism with that of the present (cf. *áuga* 'grows', pret. *áugo*; *jója* 'rides', pret. *jójo*; *běga* 'runs', pret. *běgo*).²⁰

§ 7. The $*\bar{a}$ - of the Balto-Slavic $\bar{a}$ -aorist presumably continues an earlier sequence $*-eh_2-$ which could in principle be analyzed in a number of ways. A superficially attractive possibility might be to regard $*-eh_2-$ as an ablauting suffix with zero-grade $*-h_2-$: a form such as OCS. *pъsaxъ* 'I wrote' could then be referred to an original paradigm of the type 3 sg. **pik-éh_2-t*: 3 pl. **pik-h_2-ént*. The objections to such an analysis, however, are serious. True apophonic suffixes are surprisingly rare in IE. verbal morphology, and unknown within the system of reconstructible tense and aspect markers. The only certain example of a morpheme

¹⁸ The significance of this pattern is in no way affected by the fact that certain of the thematic presents in question—*liẽka*, for example—originally belonged to the athematic conjugation (cf. OLith. 3 p. *liekti*).

¹⁹ It seems reasonable to suppose that the Baltic replacement of the thematic aorist by the $\bar{a}$ -preterite was facilitated by the agreement of two categories in root-vocalism.

²⁰ Here also belong cases like *stója* 'enters', pret. *stójo*, where both present and preterite appear to have been created on the basis of an earlier root aorist (cf. Ved. *ástihāt*).

of this kind is the athematic optative suffix **-ieh₁-*/**-ih₁-* (cf. OLat. *siem* : *sīmus*).²¹ No trace of the putative weak alternant **piĥ-h₂-* is found in Balto-Slavic; while stem-forms of this structure (**mus-h₂-*, etc.) were tentatively reconstructed for Tocharian and Indo-Iranian in § 5, it is clear that the "*h₂-aorist*" of these languages and the *ā*-forms of Balto-Slavic cannot be directly equated.²² In a word, the hypothesis of an ablauting aorist in **-eh₂-*/**-h₂-* is without comparative support.

An obvious alternative would be to assume an invariant aorist marker **-eh₂-*, which could then be regarded either as an unanalyzable suffix or as a sequence of the thematic vowel and a "true" aorist morpheme **-h₂-*. The former possibility does not appear very likely. Non-alternating full-grades are exceptional in athematic active paradigms; the clearest other example of such a suffix in the verbal system is the "stative" morpheme **-eh₁-* (> **-ē-*; cf. Lith. *minėti* 'think of', OCS. *mьněti*, aor. 1 sg. *mьněxъ* 'think', Gk. *ἐμάνη* 'went mad', etc.), which, as I have tried to show in my "Stative and Middle in Indo-European", §§ 102ff., is not a true verbal element at all, but a displaced nominal desinence. An analysis of **-eh₂-* as **-e-h₂-*, on the other hand, would have an exact formal parallel: a homophonous sequence **-eh₂-* must be reconstructed for the IE. factitive present type represented by Hitt. *newahzi* 'makes new', Lat. *(re)nouat* 'id.' and Gk. *νεῖ* 'plows up anew', which show the addition of a denominative morpheme **-h₂-* to an inherited thematic adjective (**néue/o-* 'new'). Under such an interpretation of **piĥé-h₂-* it would obviously be tempting to identify the added **-h₂-* with the stem final laryngeal of Ved. *agrabhīt* and CToch. *šärsä*. The underlying thematic stem **piĥé-*, which could theoretically represent either a thematic aorist or an oxytone present of the "*tudāti*" type, is more easily referred to the latter category, inasmuch as the IE. thematic aorist seems to have been quite

²¹ The nasal infix **-ne-/*-n-*, which is not a suffix at all, is hardly a cogent counterexample.

²² Theoretically, such an equation would still be possible if we could assume earlier "proterokinetic" paradigms of the type 3 sg. **méus-h₂-t*, **péik-h₂-nt*, pl. **mus-éh₂-nt*, **piĥ-éh₂-nt*; this type of inflection, however, appears to have been confined to nominal forms.

capable of yielding aorists in Balto-Slavic without further suffixation.

§ 8. One of the strongest indications that the Balto-Slavic $\bar{a}$ -aorist indeed continues a variety of thematic present extended by $*-h_2-$ is provided by additional evidence from Tocharian. Here, as we have seen, class I preterites corresponding to nasal presents often exhibit root-initial palatalization in the singular, showing that the root in such cases was originally characterized by $e : \emptyset$ apophony. Preterites in $-\bar{a}-$, however, are extremely widespread in both Tocharian languages, and by no means confined to verbs with nasal presents (classes VI and VII). In particular, the largest single group of verbs with class I preterites are those with simple thematic presents, either of the normal type with active and middle forms in $*-e/o-$ (class II, cf. 3 sg. act. A *śoś*, B **śaim* 'lives' < $*g^*iéh_3-u-e-$, mid. A *klyoštär*, B *klyauštär* 'hears' < $*kléus-e-$), or of the special deponent type with $*-o-$ generalized throughout the paradigm (classes III and IV, cf. A *wikatär*, B *wiketär* 'disappears' < $*uik-ó-$ or $*uig-ó-$, A *asatär*, B *osotär* 'gets dry' < $*ās-o-$). At first glance it might seem attractive to regard the preterites of such verbs in the same light as those discussed in § 5, i.e., as set root aorists or as " h_2 -aorists" to roots ending in an obstruent or sonorant.²³ The possibility of such an analysis, however, is seriously compromised by a remarkable fact: while no fewer than seven nasal presents correspond to $\bar{a}$ -preterites with root-initial palatalization, not a single example of a palatalizing preterite is found beside an inherited present of one of the thematic classes.²⁴ The conclusion suggests itself that, unlike the type $*śārsā-$ $*kārsā-$, preterites like A 3 sg. *wik*, ptp. *wiko*, B 3 sg. *wika*, ptp. *wikau*

²³ Naturally, this view would not require us to assume such aorists for all verbs with thematic presents and $\bar{a}$ -preterites, but only for a subset from which the type could plausibly be supposed to have spread.

²⁴ The one seeming exception is the root *lu-* 'send', which shows a preterite of the $śārsā$ -type (cf. 3 sg. A *lyu* (< *lyāwā*), B *lyuwa*, pl. A *lawar*) beside a class III present (cf. B *lyewetär*). It is probable from the $\bar{e}$ -vocalism of *lyewetär*, however, that its thematic inflection is secondary.

(< CToch. **wikā-*) originally lacked paradigmatic ablaut.²⁵ This difference could be explained by referring CToch. **wikā-* to a preform **wikéh₂-*, itself analyzable as the thematic present stem **wiké/ó-* extended by the aorist marker **-h₂-*.

As in Balto-Slavic, there is reason to believe that such preterites in Tocharian were originally associated with zero-grade root-vocalism. Tocharian retains only a very small number of *e*-grade thematic presents from Proto-Indo-European, and these, in the clearest cases, have irregular preterites. Thus, *āk-* 'lead' (: Ved. *ájati*, Gk. *ἄγω*, etc.) and *pār-* 'carry' (pres. 3 sg. B *parām*, A mid. *pärtär*; cf. Ved. *bhárati*, Gk. *φέρω*) are suppletive outside the present system (cf. pret. B 3 sg. *wāya*, A 3 pl. mid. *wānt-* 'led'; pret. 3 sg. mid. A *kāmat*, B *kamāte* 'brought'); A *klyos-*, B *klyaus-* (: Ved. ptcp. *śróṣamāṇa-*) shows root-final palatalization in the preterite (cf. 3 sg. A *klyoṣ*, B *klyauṣa*), suggesting a comparatively late remodeling of an earlier thematic imperfect.²⁶ The remaining presents of class II, insofar as it is possible to draw any historical inferences at all, are typically either petrified *sk*-presents (cf. AB *kātk-* 'rejoice', B *ñäsk-* 'desire', *nāsk-* 'bathe') or post-IE. thematizations of originally athematic formations (cf. A *pānw-* 'sketch', probably based on an inherited type in **-nu-* or **-u-*; B *tek-* 'touch', pres. 3 sg. *ceṣām*, with the vocalism of an ablauting "Narten" present; B *aik-* 'know', apparently cognate with the Gothic preterito-present *aih* 'has'). The same appears to be true of the presents of class IV (cf. A *pārsk-* 'fear' < *pr̥k-sk-*; A *tsälp-* 'be redeemed', ptcp. *śalpmām* < **tēlp-*; AB *yāt-* 'be capable' < **iōt-*); in effect, the only inherited group of thematic root presents with non-suppletive preterites of the type in **-e-h₂-* are those of class III.

The third class has been discussed at length in SMIE., ch. 2. Like classes II and IV, class III includes a certain number of

²⁵ The secondary presence of *o*-grade in the active plural (§ 2), on the other hand, is as characteristic of this group of preterites as of those discussed earlier; cf. A 3 sg. *pärk*, pl. *parkar* (: pres. *pärkatär* 'rises'), A ptcp. *lipo*, 3 pl. *lepar* (cf. B pres. *lipetär* 'is left').

²⁶ Cf. note 2. The majority of *e*-grade thematic presents which survive in Tocharian have been reinterpreted as subjunctives of class III (type A *pkatär*, B *pketär* 'will ripen' < **pék^ue/o-*; cf. § 15).

petrified *sk*-presents and secondarily thematized forms (cf. AB *māsk-* 'be located' < **m_h-sk-*, B *nu-* 'roar', pres. 3 sg. *ñewetar* < **nēy-*). It also contains, however, a sizeable residue of presents with zero-grade root-vocalism and no recognizable suffix other than the thematic vowel. These forms are identical in structure with the presents of the Indo-Iranian sixth (*tudāti*) class, and in a number of cases actually have Vedic or Avestan cognates of this type: representative examples are AB *wik-* (: Ved. *viśāti* 'enters' or *vijáte* 'flees'), A *sik-* 'overflow' (: Av. 3 pl. *frašičanti* 'pour forth'), B *prāñk-* 'restrain oneself' (: Ved. inj. 3 sg. *bhraśat* 'falls away').²⁷ The association of class III presents with non-palatalizing *ā*-preterites in Tocharian, which appears to have been the starting point for the generalization of such preterites to the other thematic types, provides striking support for our provisional conclusion (cf. § 7) that the *ā*-aorists of Balto-Slavic originated as oxytone thematic presents suffixed by *-*h₂*.²⁸

²⁷ This form, it is true, is ordinarily taken to be a thematic aorist. In my opinion, however, it is very questionable whether the distinction between *tudāti*-presents and thematic aorists can in every case be upheld for late Common Indo-European: the two types are formally identical, and *tudāti*-presents, like thematic aorists, appear originally to have lacked (or at least to have avoided) forms with the primary endings (cf. § 16). The semantic difference between injunctives of the two categories is slight (see K. Hoffmann, *Der Injunktiv im Veda*, esp. p. 45–92), and in a number of cases the assignment of a given oxytone thematic stem to the present or aorist system seems to have been uncertain. Note that the Indo-Iranian stem **siča-* 'pour', which underlies a *tudāti*-present in Avestan, serves as a thematic aorist in Ved. 2 sg. inj. *sicaḥ*; compare also the discussion of Ved. *sárat* and *riṣat* in § 12.

²⁸ The interpretation of the Tocharian class III presents given here differs somewhat from that in SMIE. §§ 35–6, where, although conceding the resemblance of these forms to the Indo-Iranian *tudāti*-type, I preferred to regard both formations as largely independent thematizations of earlier middle root aorist injunctives. That oxytone thematic presents are closely related to middle root aorists seems indisputable; for a variety of reasons, however, I now incline to agree with P. Holli-field that the relationship is derivational in nature (On the System of Conjugation in Proto-European, 1977 Harvard University dissertation, ch. 12), and that injunctives of the *tudāti*-type already existed in the parent language.

§ 9. This finding is also corroborated by an important word-equation. The class III present of Toch. A *sik-* points, as we have seen, to an IE. stem **sik-é/ó-*, which is likewise preserved in Indo-Iranian. The Tocharian preterite **sikā-* (cf. ptcp. A *siko*) is thus to be analyzed as **sik-é-h₂-*; significantly, a stem of this shape is also attested in the Slavic verb **sčq* (3 sg. **sčitō*), **sčati* 'piss' (cf. Slov. *šči-*, *scati*, Cz. *šti-*, *scāti*, Russ. *šči-*, *scat'*). The correlation of the infinitive stem **sčca-* with a present in **-i-* is synchronically anomalous, and virtually guarantees the existence of an aorist. **sikā-* in Common Balto-Slavic.²⁹

Although the equation CToch. **sikā-* = BS. **sikā-* is unique, **sčati* is by no means the only Slavic verb in *-ati* with close ties to an attested *tudāti*-present. In four cases such a present is found in Slavic itself:

**sčq*, *sčati* (Russ. *sku*, *skat'*) 'twist': cf. also Lith. *sùka* 'turns' (< **suk-é/ó-*), pret. *sùko* (< **suk-é-h₂-*); the precise agreement of the Baltic and Slavic forms is noteworthy.

OCS. *sčq*, *sčati* 'suck': cf. also OE., OS., OHG. *sūgan* 'id.'; the inherited stem **suk-é/ó-* has undergone the normal lengthening of **-u-* to **-ū-* in Germanic.

**rčq*, OCS. *rčati* 'tear out': cf. perhaps Lat. *ēruō* 'dig up, tear out', *dīruō* 'tear apart', etc.; whether the latter forms reflect an oxytone stem **(h₁)ruh_x-é/ó-* or a full-grade variant **(h₁)réuh_x-e/o-*, however, cannot be determined.

OCS. *tčq*, *tčati* 'weave': neither the present stem **tuk-é/ó-* nor the presumptive root **teuk-* has known connections elsewhere in the family.

To these may be added examples like the following, in which the evidence for a zero-grade thematic present comes from outside Slavic:

OCS. *jěmĭjčq*, *imati* (< **jĕmati*) 'take': cf. Lith. *įma*, OPr. *imma(ts)* 'takes' (< **(h₁)m-é/ó-*).

²⁹ The present **sči-*, which I earlier derived directly from a root aorist injunctive (SMIE. § 96), is perhaps more attractively referred to a zero-grade "causative" **sik-éje/o-*. As will be seen in § 12, such forms are frequently found beside *tudāti*-presents in Vedic.

**serbl̥j̥o*, **s̥rbati* (Russ. dial. *serbát*’, Pol. dial. *siarbac*’) ‘sip’: cf. Lat. *sorbō*, *-ere* (beside *sorbeō*, *-ēre*) ‘suck in’, Arm. aor. (< impf.) *arbi* ‘I drank’ (< **sṛbh-é/ó-*).

OCS. *ziždō*, *z̥dati* ‘build’: the Slavic verb is apparently based on a metathesized form of IE. **dheiǵh-*; cf. the irregular Gothic strong verb *digan* ‘form (of clay)’ (< *dhiǵh-é/ó-*).

OCS. *zovō*, *z̥vati* ‘call’: cf. Ved. inj. 3 sg. *huvati* ‘calls’, opt. 1 pl. *huvéma*, etc. (< *ǵhuh₂-é/ó-*).

When the evidence of such forms is supplemented by the testimony of Baltic pairs like Lith. *sùpa* : *sùpo*, *lìpa* : *lìpo* (< *l̥ipti* ‘climb’), *dìrba* : *dìrbo* (< *d̥irbti* ‘work’), etc., the case for a derivation of the Balto-Slavic *ā*-aorists from an inherited nucleus of *tudāti*-presents becomes still more attractive.³⁰

§ 10. Before proceeding further, it may be useful to survey the results of our investigation thus far. We have recognized the existence of two varieties of *h₂*-aorist. The first, or deradical type, is most clearly preserved in Tocharian and Indo-Iranian, where it is represented by forms like CToch. **śärsā-/kärsā-* (< **kers-h₂-/k̥rs-h₂-*) and Ved. *agrabhīt* (< **ghrebh-h₂-*), respectively. Such aorists are associated in both branches with nasal presents (cf. CToch. **kärs(ä)nā-* < **k̥rs-né-h₂-*, Ved. *gr̥bhñāti* < **ghṛbh-né-h₂-*); the question of their possible representation elsewhere in the family must await further study.³¹ The second

³⁰ The fact that a certain number of zero-grade thematic presents in Slavic, such as OCS. *ml̥zō*, *ml̥sti* ‘milk’ and *čr̥pō*, *čr̥ti* ‘draw (water)’, lack second stems in *-a-* does not seriously compromise our analysis, since **-h₂-* need not have been the only device that was utilized to provide aorists to *tudāti*-presents. Note, moreover, that many of the presents in question are inner-Slavic creations (an earlier athematic present is presupposed by Lith. *mélžu* ‘I milk’ and Ved. 3 sg. *mār̥ṣti*, pl. *m̥r̥jānti* ‘wipe’), while others are historically associated with *ā*-aorists that belong synchronically to other paradigms (cf. *čr̥ēpl̥jō*, *čr̥ēpati*, iterative to *čr̥pō*, *čr̥ti*).

³¹ Thus, Latin perfects of the type *necui* (: *necāre* ‘kill’) and *uetui* (: *uetāre* ‘forbid’) probably continue preforms in 1 sg. **-ā-wai*, which could in principle have replaced earlier *h₂*-aorist forms in **-h₂-m*. But it is impossible to be sure that the perfects of these verbs are not simply

type of h_2 -aorist consists of forms in which $*-h_2$ - serves not to enlarge a root, but the stem of a zero-grade thematic present of the *tudāti*-type. This class is continued in Baltic by the $\bar{a}$ -preterite, in Slavic by the "second-stem" aorist in *-a-*, and in Tocharian by the $\bar{a}$ -preterites of verbs with simple thematic presents (classes II–IV). All three categories have undergone considerable expansion in the dialectal period; in general, the inherited predilection of $*-\bar{a}$ - for zero-grade roots has remained clearer in Balto-Slavic, while the association with thematic presents is more faithfully maintained in Tocharian. For ease of description in the discussion which follows, the IE. representatives of this extended type in $*-é-h_2$ - will be referred to simply as " eh_2 -aorists."

§ 11. The theory set forth above provides a straightforward explanation for the limited distribution of the eh_2 -aorist. As enlarged forms of *tudāti*-presents, preterite stems of the type $*sikā$ - would naturally have tended to disappear everywhere except in those languages where the *tudāti*-type was itself preserved as a significant class, i.e., in Balto-Slavic, Tocharian and Indo-Iranian. It is thus only in Indo-Iranian that the absence of $*-\bar{a}$ - as an aorist marker requires special comment.

It is hardly surprising, of course, that aorists of the type $*(á)tudāt$ are not found in Vedic or Avestan. Such forms would have tended to overlap with present subjunctives and imperfects, and in the optative would have coalesced completely with the corresponding optative forms of the present (IE. $*-eh_2-ih_1$ - and $*-o-ih_1$ - would both have yielded IIr. $*-ai$ -). A morpheme $*-\bar{a}$ - would thus not have been well-suited for survival as a tense-marker in this branch of the family; it is significant that the $*-\bar{a}$ - which regularly resulted from the stative suffix $*-\bar{e}$ - ($< *-eh_1$ -) was likewise suppressed. Considerably more important than the loss of the eh_2 -aorist per se in Indo-Iranian is the fact—hitherto unnoticed—that substantial traces of its former vitality are

analogical to forms like *domuī* $< -\bar{a}-wai$ (: *domāre* 'tame') and *sonuī* $< *-\bar{a}-wai$ (: *sonāre* 'sound'), the $*-\bar{a}$ - of which is etymologically part of the root.

preserved in a synchronically isolated, but historically closely allied present formation.

As seen in § 4, h_2 -aorists of the deradical variety (*agrabhit*) co-occur in Vedic with presents of two kinds—the familiar nasal type in $-nā-$ (*gr̥bhñāti*), and the more exceptional type in $-āyá-$ (*gr̥bhāyāti*). Although attempts have been made to relate the latter formation to the $\bar{a}$ -aorists of Balto-Slavic (e.g., by Kuryłowicz, Étrennes Benveniste, p. 51 ff., who takes $-āyá- < *-\bar{a}-\dot{\imath}é/ó-$), it is clear that no such explanation can be correct: the very fact that *gr̥bhāyāti* is synchronically associated with the reflex of an aorist $*ghrēbh-h_2-$ precludes the possibility of its being formally derived from an aorist $*ghṛbh-é-h_2-$. There is thus every reason to prefer the analysis advanced for these forms by de Saussure (cf. § 4), who, linking *gr̥bhāyá-* to the parallel nasal present *gr̥bhñāti*, derived $-āyá-$ from $*-\eta-h_2-\dot{\imath}é/ó-$. As J. Schindler has pointed out to me in a personal communication, the relationship of *gr̥bhñāti* to *gr̥bhāyāti* recalls that of the nasal present 3 pl. *rñjate* ($< rj-$ ‘direct’) to the irregular $-\dot{\imath}e/o-$ present *irajyāti* ‘rules’, which presupposes a stem $*r-\eta-\dot{g}-\dot{\imath}é/ó-$.³²

Since the aorist types $TéRT-h_2-$ and $TRT-é-h_2-$ are parallel formations, it would not be unreasonable to expect that, just as derived presents $TRT-né-h_2-$ and $TRT-\eta-h_2-\dot{\imath}é/ó-$ were created from $TéRT-h_2-$ in pre-Indo-Iranian times, comparable nasal presents were made to stems of the structure $TRT-é-h_2-$. Such presents would presumably have infixed the nasal element $*-ne-$ (zero-grade $*-n-$) directly before the laryngeal of $*TRT-é-h_2-$: the morphological analogue of *gr̥bhñāti* would thus have had the form $*TRT-e-né-h_2-$ (weak stem $*TRT-e-n-h_2-$), while that of *gr̥bhāyāti* would have had the form $*TRT-e-n-h_2-\dot{\imath}é/ó-$. The latter of these hypothetical types, though posited on purely theoretical grounds, is in fact directly attested.

The sequence $*-e-n-h_2-\dot{\imath}é/ó-$ would have yielded $*-anyá-$ in Indo-Iranian; this, it appears, is the source of the suffix in the present type represented by Ved. *turanyāti* ‘rushes’. Such forms, attested from about a dozen roots, are often regarded as de-

³² The irregular $*r-$ of this form has presumably been taken over from the present $*r-n(e)\dot{g}-$.

nominatives in *-yá-* to nominal stems in *-an-* or *-ana-* (e.g., by Macdonell, *Ved. Gr.*, § 563), but a number of considerations make this impossible. A true denominative to *turána-* 'rushing forward' (RV. 1.121.5) would have had the form **turanāyati* rather than *turanyāti*; *n*-stems of the type **turán-*, while formally a more appropriate source of presents in *-anyá-*, are without any actual basis in the Vedic corpus. Significant also is the fact that the *turanyāti*-type is especially well-attested in the present indicative, contrasting in this respect with the ordinary denominative type in *-ya-*, which shows a heavy preponderance of participial forms in *-ya(n)t-*.

§ 12. In point of fact, the most striking distributional idiosyncrasy of the *-anyá*-presents is their preference for roots with *tudāti*-presents, as can be seen from the following examples:

iṣanyá- 'impel': cf. 1 sg. mid. *iṣe*, 1 pl. opt. *iṣema*, 3 pl. mid. inj. *iṣanta*. Note also the present *iṣáya-*, which, like the majority of other zero-grade "causatives", lacks causative meaning and is probably best regarded as a thematic stem extended by *-ya-*.³³

kṛpanyá- 'desire': cf. *ánu kṛpate* 'longs for'; possibly related are 3 pl. mid. inj. *kṛpanta* and the pseudo-causative *kṛpáya-* (< *krap-* 'lament').

turanyá-: cf. ptcp. *turá(n)t-*, pseudo-caus. *turáya-*; perhaps from the same root is (*prá*, *ví*, etc.) *tirāti*, *-te* 'penetrates, survives', although a connection with *tvarate* 'rushes' is more probable (S. Jamison, personal communication).

pṛtanyá- 'fight, be hostile': cf. YAv. 3 pl. *pəratunte* Yt. 13.27, 45, ptcp. *pəratamna-* Yt. 17.13; the primary verb corresponding to IIr. **pṛt-* has been lost in Vedic.

bhuranyá- 'agitate, be agitated': cf. 3 pl. impv. *bhurántu*, mid. inj. *bhuránta*, ptcp. *bhurámāṇa-*.

ruvanyá- 'cry out': cf. 3 sg. *ruvāti* 'roars', inj. *ruvát*, 2 sg. impv. *ruva*, ptcp. *ruvá(n)t-*.

³³ Cf. note 29. Such zero-grade forms in *-aya-* will be referred to as "pseudo-causatives" in the discussion below.

saranyá- 'rush': cf. 3 sg. *sárat*, *ásarat* 'rushed, flowed', 2 sg. impv. *sárā*; while synchronically interpreted as apophonically abnormal thematic aorists, these forms are clearly inseparable from the *tudāti*-presents enumerated above (cf. note 27). Compare also the pseudo-causative *saráyante* 'rush' RV. 4.17.2, distinguished by its ablaut and intransitive meaning from the true causative (*ánu prá*) *ásārayanta* 'caused to flow forth' RV. 10.56.5.

riṣanyá- 'do wrong': cf. 3 sg. inj. *riṣát* 'suffers harm', 3 pl. *riṣan*, pseudo-caus. inf. *riṣayádhyai*, etc.; these forms too pattern synchronically as thematic aorists.

huvanyá- 'call': cf. 3 sg. inj. *huvat*, 1 pl. opt. *huvéma*, 1 sg. mid. *huvé*, inf. *huvádhyai*, etc.

Only two Vedic stems in *-anyá-* fail to conform to this pattern. The present *dhiṣanyá-* 'be eager (to sacrifice)' is found once in the Rigveda (2.41.6), where it is used in a figura etymologica with instr. sg. *dhiṣā* 'sacrificial wish'; it would perhaps be simplest to regard this stem as an analogical creation on the basis of *dhiṣāṇā* 'offering', according to a proportion of the type *pṛtanā* 'battle': *pṛtanyá-* :: *dhiṣāṇā* : X, X = *dhiṣanyá-*. Likewise confined to a single occurrence (10.99.6) is *damanya-* 'subdue', synonymous with the causative *damáya-* (< **domh*₂-*éje/o-*; cf. Go. *ga-tamjan* 'id.') and possibly formed from it on the model of pairs like *turáya-* : *turanyá-*, *saráya-* : *saranyá-*, etc. To these must be added YAv. *zaraniia-* 'be angry', the historical position of which vis-à-vis Ved. *hṛñīte* 'is angry' is unclear.

The association of the *turanyáti-* and *tudāti-* types provides a strong indication that the complex suffix *-anyá-* consists diachronically of the thematic vowel + *-nya-*. While it is impossible to prove from Indo-Iranian alone that the latter sequence in turn represents **-n-h*₂-*je/ó-*, rather than, e.g., **-n-je/ó-*, the parallelism with the *grbhāyāti-* type, where *-āyá-* clearly continues **-ṇ-h*₂-*je/ó-*, is too striking to be ignored. Positive evidence for the laryngeal, moreover, is supplied by Hittite. Presents like *turanyáti* appear to be represented in Anatolian by "duratives" of the type *iyannāi*, *iyannianzi* 'proceed' (< *iya-* 'march'), *parṣiyannāi*, *-annianzi* 'break' (< *parṣiya-* 'id.'),

walḥannāi, *-annīyanzi* 'play (a musical instrument)' (< *walḥ*- 'strike'), etc. The most significant fact about these forms, for our present purposes, is their geminate *-nn-*, which probably continues earlier **-nh₂-*; it is noteworthy that, like the *turanyāti*-type, the type in *-annāi-/ -anniya-* is characteristically associated with underlying thematic stems, *walḥannāi* itself being the main exception.³⁴ To pursue the consequences of this identification further would take us beyond the scope of the present study; it will readily be seen, however, that if *-anyā-* and *-annāi-/ -anniya-* indeed represent a single inherited sequence, the former existence of an *eh₂*-aorist must be assumed not only for Indo-Iranian, but for Anatolian as well.³⁵

§ 13. We are now in a position to examine the alleged evidence for an *ā*-preterite in Italic and Celtic. Both groups, as is well-known, make extensive use of **-ā-* as a subjunctive marker (cf. § 1); in a now classic paper (Festschr. Kretschmer, p. 267–74, 1926), Trubetzkoy suggested that this value could most easily be assumed to have developed from an earlier optative in **-ā-*, parallel to the thematic optative in **-oi-*. The number of actual preterite forms in Italic and Celtic is small: apart from the obviously innovated Latin pluperfect in **-is-ā-*, examples are

³⁴ Further representatives of the class are given by Kronasser, Etym. d. heth. Spr., § 216.

³⁵ As I have briefly observed elsewhere (cf. "The Position of the *hi*-Conjugation", cited in § 2 above), the athematic *hi*-conjugation inflection of the *iyannāi*-type (note especially the associated supine form in *-anniwan*) strongly suggests an original paradigm in 3 sg. **-néh₂-i-e*, 3 pl. **-nh₂-i-énti*. In Hittite, where **-néh₂-i-e(i)* regularly yielded *-nāi*, an obvious reanalysis led to the creation of a new 1 sg. in *-naḥḥi* (cf. OH. *iyannaḥḥé*); the generalization of *-nn-* throughout the paradigm was triggered by forms like the supine, where **-nh₂-i-* regularly gave *-nni-*. In Indo-Iranian the type was completely thematized, the probably point of departure being the 3 pl. in **-nyanti* **-nh₂-i-énti*. Unclear are the injunctive forms 2 sg. *iṣanah*, 3 sg. *iṣanat*, 3 pl. mid. *iṣananta*, *krpaṇanta* (beside *iṣanya-*, *krpanya-*), which cannot be separated from GAv. 1 pl. opt. *zaranaēmā* (beside *zaranīia-*) and YAv. 3 sg. *pəšanaiti* 'struggles' (cf. Ved. *pṛtanyā-*). Note also 3 pl. mid. *iṣanayanta* (RV. 10. 67.8), which stands in the same formal relation to the injunctive stem *iṣana-* as 3 pl. *iṣayanta*, *turayante*, etc. to *iṣá-*, *turá-*.

confined to the Latin imperfect in *-bā-* < **-bhūā-*, evidently comparable with Osc. *fufans* 'erant'³⁶ and the Old Irish preterite of the copula (cf. 3 sg. *ba* 'was'), and to the imperfect of the verb 'to be' (*eram*, etc.), an apparent counterpart to which is found in MW. *oed* 'was' (< **esāt*).³⁷ In BSL. 47, p. 11–20 (1951), Benveniste succeeded in showing on the basis of typological parallels in Iranian and Tocharian that these forms could plausibly be explained as transformed optatives. He concluded that the modal function of **-ā-* was the only one which could be considered original in Italic and Celtic, and that a direct equation between the "*eh*₂-optative" of these languages and the *eh*₂-aorist of Balto-Slavic was impossible.

This result is confirmed by purely formal considerations. We have seen that the *eh*₂-aorist is archaically found in conjunction with zero-grade root-vocalism, and that apparent exceptions to this pattern are due to the analogical influence of paradigmatically related forms (cf. the replacement OCS. *p̃sati* → *pisati*, pres. *pišŕ*). It is quite otherwise with the *eh*₂-optative. Both Italic and Celtic, but especially the latter, offer abundant evidence that the modal sign **-ā-* was originally associated with full-grade roots. In Old Irish, where the stem of the subjunctive is independent of that of the present, strong verbs with presents in **-ie/o-* (B II) and **-nā-* < **-nh_x-* (B IV) regularly show *e*-grade in the subjunctive: representative examples are *·gainethar* 'is born', subj. *·genathar*, *·moinethar* 'thinks', subj. *·menathar*, *·sern(n)* 'spreads' (with secondary vocalism), subj. *·sera*, *·cren* 'buys' (< **k^rrināt(i)*), subj. *·cria* (< **k^rreġāt(i)*).³⁸ Note also the irregular subjunctive *·fia* (< **ġesāt(i)*) to *fo(a)id* 'spends the night' (< **ġos-*) and, in Welsh, the suppletive form *el* (< **pelāt(i)*), 3 sg. subj. to *af* 'I go'. Latin, in the few instances where the present subjunctive has maintained an independent stem, preserves traces of an identical system, seen in 3 sg. *aduenat* (for **g^em-ā-*) beside *adueniō* 'I arrive' and *tulat* (<

³⁶ Alan Nussbaum, however, points out that this form is perhaps rather to be taken as equivalent to Lat. *fuērunt*.

³⁷ See Watkins, IE. Origins of the Celtic Verb, p. 149f.

³⁸ A derivation of *·cria* from **k^rriġāt(i)* would also be possible, but considerably less plausible on morphological grounds.

**telāt*) beside *tollō* 'I lift' (the special case of *fuat* 'be (subj.)' will be treated below). Of particular importance is the form *erat* (= MW. *oed*): if zero-grade root-vocalism had originally been proper to the *eh₂*-optative, it would be difficult to see why it should have been lost here but preserved in the ordinary optative of the root **(h₁)es-* (OLat. *siem*, *siēs*, etc.). In short, any attempt to link the Italic and Celtic *ā*-subjunctive to the Balto-Slavic *ā*-aorist must account not only for the obvious functional difference between the two categories, but for a significant formal disparity as well.

§ 14. Nevertheless, several obstacles stand in the way of Trubetzkoy's view of the *eh₂*-optative as an inherited variant of the thematic optative parallel to the ordinary type in **-oi(h₁)*. First of all, the *eh₂*-optative is found exclusively in Italic and Celtic, contiguous branches of the family notorious for their shared isoglosses; in this respect it contrasts with the *eh₂*-aorist, which is directly attested in Balto-Slavic and Tocharian, indirectly presupposed in Indo-Iranian and Anatolian, and structurally paralleled by forms in Indo-Iranian (*agrabhīt*) and Tocharian (**šärsā*). Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that the optative in **-eh₂* was ever exclusively associated with thematic presents or aorists. Some of the most obviously archaic *ā*-subjunctives, such as OLat. *aduenat*, *tulat* and *fuat*, and the Irish type represented by *·sera*, *·cria*, etc., are built to roots from which only athematic stems are attested in the archaic IE. languages. Benveniste, who recognized this difficulty, posited an early association of the *eh₂*-optative with both thematic stems and "certaines formes radicales attestées seulement par des aoristes radicaux voisinant avec des présents secondaires" (op.cit., p. 19); even so ad hoc a reformulation, however, will not account for the common prototype of Lat. *erat* and MW. *oed*, nor will it explain why the root **(h₁)es-* also underlies an athematic optative of the normal type (*siēt*, *syāt*, etc.).³⁹ In descriptive terms, the *eh₂*-optative

³⁹ Benveniste's view of *erat* as an analogical creation (via a proportion *-bit* (fut.): *-bat* (impf.): *erit* (fut.): X) is badly comprised by the appearance of **esāt* in Celtic.

seems from the earliest period to have been associated with both thematic and athematic root formations; there is no actual evidence to support the assumption that it originally occurred in complementary distribution with the types in **-ieh₁-* and **-oi(h₁)-*.

These observations suggest that the term "*eh₂-optative*", though still perhaps a convenient designation, is inaccurate, and that the category we have referred to by this name was in fact an independent modal formation, probably of dialectal IE. date, which came at an early period in the prehistory of Italic and Celtic to compete with the true optatives in **-ieh₁-* and **-oi(h₁)-*. The *eh₂-optative* is thus basically to be regarded as an innovation, rather than as a feature once common to the entire IE. speech-community—a fact which provides an important clue to its origin.

§ 15. The attested IE. languages have employed three common devices to create new modal forms. The use of auxiliary verbs and particles, as e.g., in NE. *I would read* or Russ. *ja čital by*, is largely confined to the modern and medieval languages; the possibility of such an origin for the *eh₂-optative* is virtually nil. Nor is it likely that the Italic and Celtic *ā*-subjunctives represent displaced present or aorist indicatives, although instances are known elsewhere of indicative forms which have secondarily acquired modal value (cf. Hindi *paṛhe* '(that) he may read' < Skt. *paṭhati*, Toch. B *pketär* 'will, may ripen' < **pék^{re}/o-*). Of greater typological interest, however, are those cases in which a new modal form has been made by providing an existing future stem with preterite inflection: examples include the conditional in Romance (cf. Fr. *lirait* 'would read' < VLat. *legere habebat*, It. *leggerebbe* 'id.' < *legere habuit*, beside fut. *lira*, *leggerà* < *legere habet*) and Sanskrit (cf. *abhariṣyat* 'would carry' beside fut. *bhariṣyati*), and the secondary future in Old Irish (cf. *do·moinfed* 'would think' beside fut. *do·moinfethar*, standing in the same relationship as pres. *do·moinethar* to impf. *do·moined*). An approximation to the same usage can be seen in informal English sentences of the type "*If you had returned it*

promptly I was going to give (i.e. would have given) you a reward."⁴⁰

In addition to employing the desiderative morpheme $*(h_1)s-$, Proto-Indo-European made extensive use of the subjunctive to express futurity. This remains one of the commonest functions of the subjunctive in the oldest Indo-Iranian; it is the only function to survive in Italic, where Latin preserves representatives of both the "short vowel" and normal thematic types (cf. *erō*, -is, -it 'I will be, etc.' < $*(h_1)és-e/o-$, [*ueham*], -ēs, -et 'I will convey, etc.' < $*uég̃h-ē-$ < $-e-e/o-$). It is of more than passing interest, therefore, that the Italic and Celtic *ā*-subjunctive, along with its offshoot, the *ā*-imperfect, can in every case be analyzed as an IE. subjunctive extended by a further element $*-h_2-$. This holds true not only for regular examples like Lat. *uehā-* and OIr. *bera-* (indic. 3 sg. *berid*, 'beir'), which can be derived respectively from $*uég̃h-e-e-h_2-$ and $*bhér-e-e-h_2-$, but also for the archaic types illustrated below.

Lat. *-uenat* < $*g^*em-e-h_2-$: cf. Ved. subj. 3 sg. *gámat*, Toch. A subj. 3 sg. *śmās*, pl. *śmeñc* < $*g^*ém-e/o-$, beside the root aorist preserved in Ved. 3 sg. *ágan* 'went', Arm. *ekn* 'id.'.

Lat. *erat*. MW. *oed* < $*(h_1)és-e-h_2-$: cf. Ved. subj. 3 sg. *ásat* (= Lat. *erit*), beside the root present Ved. *ásti*, Lat. *est*, etc.

Lat. *fuat*, -bat, OIr. *ba* < $*bhuh_x-e-h_2-$: cf. Ved. subj. 3 sg. *bhuvat*, Lat. -bō, -bis, -bit, etc., with a synchronically irregular zero-grade, beside the root aorist Ved. *ábhūt*, Gk. *ἔφϋ* 'became', etc.⁴¹

⁴⁰ The preterital, rather than modal, value of the Sanskrit conditional is still clear in its only Vedic occurrence (*abharīṣyat* 'was going to carry off', RV. 2.30.2). The English *would*-construction may belong here also, despite the fact that *would* is historically the preterite subjunctive, as well as the preterite indicative, of *will*.

⁴¹ The phonological development of $*bhuh_x-e-t$, $*bhuh_x-e-h_2-t$ to $*bhuet$, $*bhūāt$ would have been regular in close composition with a preceding element, as in the Latin future and imperfect; cf. Ved. *ábhva-* 'monstrous' < $*ṇ-bhuh_x-e/o-$, aor. *áhvat* 'called' < $*e-g̃huh_2-e/o-$. OIr. *ba* is probably best explained by supposing an original contrast between $*buuāt$ (cf. Lat. *fuat*) and $*-b(u)āt$ (Lat. -bat), which was leveled in favor of the latter form.

OIr. *·menathar* (indic. *·moinethar*) < **mén-e-h₂-*: cf. Ved. subj. 1 pl. mid. *mánāmahe*, beside the root aorist 3 sg. mid. *ámata* 'thought (of)' (pres. 3 sg. *mányate*).

OIr. *·sera* (indic. *·sern(n)*) < **stér(h₂)-e-h₂-*: cf. Ved. subj. 3 sg. mid. *stárate*, beside the root aorist 3 sg. *ástar* 'laid low' (pres. 3 sg. *strñóti*).⁴²

Interpretable in the same way is the Old Irish type *·cria* (indic. *·cren*; cf. *·bia*, *·ben* 'strikes', *·glia*, *·glen* 'sticks', etc.): although no actual root aorist subjunctive **kráyat* is quotable from Ved. *krī-* 'buy' (pres. *krīñāti*), the existence of an IE. subjunctive stem **k^rréih₂-e/o-* is implied by the Greek root aorist ἐπρίατο (: pres. ὠνεῖται 'buys').

§ 16. The close formal connection between the IE. subjunctive and the Italic and Celtic "optative" in **-ā-*—still palpable in the case of Lat. *erō*: *eram* and *-bō*: *-bam*—suggests a plausible scenario for the rise of the latter forms. At a period when the dialectal differentiation of Proto-Indo-European had already begun, the speech-forms ancestral to Italic and Celtic evidently created a "conditional" by supplying their inherited subjunctive, the value of which was partly that of a future, with a preterite paradigm. Of the formal devices which might have been utilized for this purpose, the two most natural candidates were the aorist morphemes **-s-* and **-h₂-*, which, following the loss of the IE. aspectual system in pre-Italic and pre-Celtic, would presumably have acquired a purely temporal function.⁴³ The actual choice fell on **-h₂-*, doubtless because this suffix was already specifically associated with thematic stems of the *tudáti*-type. It is significant that in the Rigveda *tudáti*-presents display a special preference for injunctive forms, which occasionally overlap with subjunctives in meaning; if a similar situation can be assumed for the IE. dialects ancestral to Italic and Celtic, the pattern

⁴² To be sure, the Irish verb agrees more closely in meaning with *strñáti* 'scatters'; the subjunctive stem *stára-*, however, is not attested in this sense.

⁴³ The secondary endings alone, of course, would have been insufficient to mark the new category: a paradigm in **-om*, **-es*, **-et*, etc. was characteristic of the subjunctive itself.

inj. **sik-é/ó-* : pret. (< aor.) **sik-é-h₂-* would have provided an obvious model for the creation of modal preterites of the type **(h₁)és-e-h₂-*, **g^uém-e-h₂-*, **uéggh-e-e-h₂-* from subjunctives **(h₁)és-e/o-*, **g^uém-e/o-*, **uéggh-e-e/o-*.⁴⁴

Once established as a category, the new conditional would naturally have tended to compete with the inherited optative; compare the typologically similar spread of the secondary future at the expense of the past subjunctive in later Old Irish, or the encroachment of the *would*-construction on the domain of the subjunctive (< optative) in English. In the majority of cases, notably including those in which a conditional in **-ā-* occurred alongside a thematic optative in **-oi(h₁)-*, the ascendancy of the new forms was complete; only in the case of a few athematic presents, such as Lat. *uolō* 'I went', subj. *uelim* and *edō* 'I eat', subj. *edim*, was the old optative able to maintain itself.

The behavior of the roots **(h₁)es-* and **bheuh₂-* was somewhat idiosyncratic. Here the conditionals **(h₁)és-e-h₂-* and **bhuh_x-e-h₂-* developed into preterites (*erat*, *oed*; *-bat*, *ba*), while the optative of **(h₁)es-* survived to yield the Latin subjunctive *siet*. It is not immediately clear whether this situation reflects an earlier period when **esā-* and **bh(u)uā-* were purely modal forms (Benveniste's view), or whether we should not rather envisage a direct development of 3 sg. **(h₁)és-e-h₂-t*, **bhuh_x-e-h₂-t*, lit. 'was going to be' (vs. IE. subj. **(h₁)és-e-t*, **bhuh_x-e-t* 'is going to be') to simple preterites **esāt*, **bh(u)uāt* 'was'. Perhaps favoring the latter possibility are "conative" usages of the type *ea ad hos redibat lege hereditas* 'that inheritance was going to fall to them'. Ter., Hec. 171, or *curiam relinquebat* 'he was for leaving the senate house', Tac., Ann. II. 34, 1; on the other hand, it is certain that **bhuh_x-e-h₂-* underwent the normal development to an optative

⁴⁴ Considerable antiquity must be assumed for this development, as can be seen from the fact that the *eh₂*-aorist itself was subsequently lost in both branches. Formally reminiscent of the new conditional in **-e-h₂-* is the Armenian present subjunctive type 3 sg. *beric'ē* 'will, may carry' < **bheroisketi*, which appears to have originated as a preterite in **-sket* (cf. Gk. φέρεσκε 'would carry') of the optative stem **bheroi(h₁)-* (cf. "Notes on the Armenian Personal Endings", cited in note 1).

in Lat. *fuat*.⁴⁵ Within the pre-Latin period the use of the periphrastic imperfect in *-bam*, *-bās*, *-bat* greatly increased the synchronic importance of the preterite stem **bhūā-*, which in Celtic survives only as a free form (OIr. *ba*).

§ 17. Whatever the merits of the above explanation of the Italic and Celtic subjunctive in **-ā-*, it should be clear from §§ 13–16 that there can be no direct connection between these forms and the class V (*-ā-*) subjunctives of Tocharian. The Italic and Celtic formation, as we have seen, is characterized by full-grade root vocalism and shows no sign of ever having had paradigmatic ablaut; the Tocharian subjunctive, on the other hand, is commonly associated with *o*-grade of the root in the active singular and zero-grade elsewhere (cf. A 3 sg. *krasaṣ* ‘will know’, B *kārsam*, vb. n. A *kārsālune*, B *karsalñe*). This fact is alone sufficient to suggest that, like the **-ā-* of the preterites discussed in § 4, the **-ā-* of the Tocharian subjunctive is properly not a full-grade suffix, but a vocalized laryngeal. In a forthcoming paper, P. Hollifield has compared forms like B *kārsam* with Indo-Iranian aorist “passives” of the type Ved. 3 sg. *āsrāvi*, GAv. *srāuuī* ‘was heard’, which he derives from preforms with a laryngeal suffix and zero-desinence.⁴⁶ Under such an analysis it would be possible to view the class V subjunctives as *h*₂-aorists of a second type, apophonically distinct from the preterites studied above.⁴⁷ No difficulties are presented by the presumed functional transformation indicative → subjunctive, which is amply attested elsewhere in Tocharian (cf. § 15).

⁴⁵ On the use of MW. *oed*, which sometimes has conditional, rather than preterital value, see Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*, p. 110f.

⁴⁶ It remains to be explained, of course, why the 3 sg. ending appears as zero, rather than as *-a* < **-o* (**-e?*) or *-ta* (< **-to*). Possibly comparable is the apparent reduction of **-h₂e* to **-h₂* in the secondary ending of the 1 sg. middle in Indo-Iranian (cf. Ved. *akri* ‘I made’), and in the thematic 1 sg. active elsewhere in the family (cf. Gk. *φέρω*, Go. *baira*, etc. < **-o-h₂*). I do not think it likely that the *-i* of *āsrāvi* is apophonically related to the stative suffix **-ē-* (**-eh₁-*), which seems not to have participated in ablaut alternations of any kind.

⁴⁷ The formal difference between the two *h*₂-aorists would presumably have corresponded to a difference in function, the nature of which, however, cannot yet be determined.

Thus, it is at least possible that the Tocharian *ā*-subjunctive can be added to the list of categories containing the aorist marker **-h₂-*—a list which already includes the following items:

- 1) *h₂*-aorists of the type CToch. **śārsā-/kārsā-*, Ved. *agrabhīt*;
- 2) nasal presents derived from such aorists, such as CToch. **kārs(ā)nā-* and the Vedic types *gr̥bhṇāti* and *gr̥bhāyāti*;
- 3) *eh₂*-aorists of the type Lith. *sùko*, Sl. **sъca*, CToch. **sikā-*;
- 4) nasal presents derived from such aorists, such as Ved. *turanyāti* and the Hittite type *iyannāi*, *-anniyanzi*;
- 5) "*eh₂*-optatives", properly conditionals, of the type Lat. *aduenat*, *erat*, *-bat*, OIr. **menathar*, *ba*, MW. *oed*.

Inevitably, some of our individual conclusions concerning these forms may have to be revised. Taken together, however, they provide us not merely with evidence for a new verbal suffix in the parent language, but with a revealing glimpse into the derivational morphology of the early IE. dialects.

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Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik des Ossetischen*

3. Das Präsens des Verbums für „sein“

Der Reichtum der Formen im Präsens des Verbums *ǝyn* „sein“ hat von Anfang an zu zahlreichen Spekulationen über ihre Deutung Anlaß gegeben. Kaum läßt sich ein durchgängiges Schema erkennen, auch sind die Unterschiede in beiden Dialekten nicht unerheblich. Hier zunächst einmal die Formen¹:

	Iron	Digor
Sg. 1.	<i>dän</i>	<i>dän</i>
2.	<i>dä</i>	<i>dä</i>
3.	<i>u, i, is</i>	<i>äj, je, jes</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>stäm</i>	<i>an</i>
2.	<i>stut</i>	<i>aitä</i>
3.	<i>sty</i>	<i>äncä</i>

Die singularischen Formen beider Dialekte sind teilweise identisch, auch in der 3. Person, wie noch zu zeigen sein wird, durchaus vergleichbar; doch fällt es schwer, z. B. in der 1. und 2. Person etwa *airan*. Formen wie **ahmi* oder **ahi* wiedererkennen zu wollen. Diese beinhalten besondere Probleme, die weiter unten behandelt werden.

Man sollte bei einer historischen Interpretation der Formen am besten von denen des Plurals ausgehen, die noch am ehesten — zumindest in Digor — Anklänge an Gemeiniranisches widerzuspiegeln scheinen. So dürfte die 3. Pl. D *äncä* letztlich auf

* Vgl. IF. 85 (1980) S. 126–137. Auf die dort erklärten Abkürzungen sei hier verwiesen.

¹ S. Miller, GIP. I, Anhang, S. 74; M. I. Isaev, Digorskij dialekt ose-tinskogo jazyka, Moskva 1966, S. 38; ders., Osetinskij jazyk, in: Jazyki narodov SSSR, I, Indoeuropeiskie jazyki, Moskva 1966, S. 248 (beide Arbeiten sind deskriptiv und bieten keine historischen Erklärungen an).

**hanti* beruhen, mit der aus der normalen Verbalflexion des Präsens bekannten Umformung der 3. Pl. *-*nti* zu D -*ncä*².

Während die Endung der 2. Pl. D *aitä* mit Sicherheit durch optativische Formen beeinflusst ist³, bereitet das *a-* (normalerweise **ā-*) der 1. wie auch der 2. Pl. Schwierigkeiten. Wenn für das Iranische allgemein im Plural mit der Schwundstufe der Wurzel **ah-*, also **h-*, zu rechnen ist, so muß hier vielleicht analoger Ausgleich wie etwa **ah-a-* mit Vollstufe und sekundärer Thematisierung (oder eventuell auch Konjunktivformen) vorliegen. Die Endung -*n* der 1. Pl. läßt sich aber mühelos als *-*mah* deuten, mit dem aus dem digorischen Dialekt bekannten Wechsel von *-*m* zu -*n*⁴.

Die Formen des Plurals in Iron sind einheitlicher, bilden alle drei Personen von einem „Stamm“ *st-* (bisweilen auch *yst-* geschrieben), an den in der 1. und 2. Pl. die aus der normalen Verbalflexion bekannten Personalendungen -*äm* und -*ut* angehängt werden. Von daher scheint es durchaus gerechtfertigt, in dem „Stamm“ (*y*)*st-* einen Rest des Prs. iran. **hi-štā-* zu sehen, das in diesen Personen als Ersatz für das Verbum für „sein“ eingetreten sei; dies ist die Meinung, die in einer jüngst erschienenen Publikation vertreten wird⁵. Semantisch läßt sich eine derartige Interpretation durchaus rechtfertigen, da es auch aus dem Iranischen gute Beispiele gibt, in denen die Wurzel **stā-* „stehen“ durchaus die Bedeutung „sein“ annehmen kann⁶. Allerdings gibt die Personalendung der 3. Pl. zu denken. Wenn wirklich **stā-* in dieses Paradigma eingebaut worden wäre, muß man fragen, warum nicht die normale Endung der 3. Pl., näm-

² Vgl. Miller, op. cit., S. 70 und S. 75.

³ Miller, op. cit., S. 70 sieht in der Endung der 2. Pl. Prs. Ind. D -*etä* Einfluß durch die 2. Pl. für „sein“, *aitä*, das selbst unklar bleibt. Man wird wohl eher umgekehrt annehmen dürfen, daß -*etä* selbst einfach eine alte Optativform **ai-θa* ist, die ihrerseits auch auf die Bildung von *aitä* (wenn *a-itä*, vgl. 1. Pl. *a-n*) Einfluß ausüben konnte.

⁴ Miller, op. cit., S. 70; ferner Verf., IF. 85 (1980) S. 130.

⁵ Vgl. R. Bielmeier, Historische Untersuchung zum Erb- und Lehnwortschatzanteil im ossetischen Grundwortschatz, Frankfurt/Main - Bern - Las Vegas 1977, S. 162f.

⁶ Vgl. auch die Bemerkungen von E. Benveniste, Le verbe *stā-* comme auxiliaire en iranien, ActaOr. 30 (1966) S. 45–49.

lich *-ync* (aus **-anti*), verwendet worden ist, sondern eine für die 3. Pl. einmalige Form (nämlich *-y*), die zudem noch die normale Endung für die 3. Sg. ist. Die Verwendung der Wurzel **stā-* und im Anschluß daran die 3. Sg. an Stelle der 3. Pl. hätte nur dann Sinn, wenn auch der Singular Formen der Wurzel **stā-* aufweisen würde und gleichzeitig die 3. Sg. **sty* aus bestimmten, noch zu klärenden Gründen verdrängt worden wäre.

Man kommt ohne solche komplizierten Annahmen aus, wenn man in der 3. Pl. *sty* zwar schon eine singularische Form erblickt, jedoch nicht von der Wurzel **stā-*, sondern den regelrechten Fortsetzer von **asti* „ist“. Geht man davon aus, daß **asti*, wie sonst überall auch, ehemals in der Position der 3. Sg. stand, so sind zunächst die 1. Pl. *st-ām* und die 2. Pl. *st-ut* ohne weiteres als Analogiebildungen wie neupers. *hast-īm*, *hast-īd* oder poln. *jesteśmy*, *jesteście* zu verstehen; in diesen Punkten bleibt also die schon von Miller gegebene Erklärung durchaus bestehen⁷, während für die 3. Pl. nicht mit einer Sonderentwicklung **st-ync* zu *sty* gerechnet werden sollte⁸, sondern mit einer Verschiebung des alten **asti* in die Position der 3. Pl. Denn auffallend ist, daß in der Position der 3. Sg. heute eben kein **asti* oder ein entsprechender Fortsetzer davon steht, sondern, wie man gleich sehen wird, gänzlich andere Elemente, die eventuell verursacht haben könnten, daß das alte **asti* an die Stelle der 3. Pl. gerückt ist⁹.

In der Tat scheint die 3. Sg. den Schlüssel zur Erklärung des ganzen Paradigmas zu bieten. Auffallend ist die Dreiheit der Formen in beiden Dialekten, wobei sie sich formal im großen und ganzen durchaus entsprechen. Während Miller noch für Iron u die Verbalwurzel **bav-* „sein, werden“ voraussetzen wollte¹⁰, weiß man heute, daß sich dahinter ein Pronominalstamm, wahrscheinlich **ava-*, verbirgt; dies ist das Verdienst Benvenistes, der sich mit diesem Problem in anderem Zusammenhang kurz

⁷ Vgl. Miller, op. cit., S. 75.

⁸ Miller, ibid.

⁹ Zu der Frage, warum **asti* aus lautlichen Gründen nicht in *is/jes* reflektiert sein kann, s. weiter unten.

¹⁰ Vgl. Miller, op. cit., S. 75.

auseinandersetzte¹¹. Mit derselben Berechtigung läßt sich auch für Iron *i*, Digor *äj*, *je* pronominaler Ursprung nachweisen, nur daß hier ein anderer Stamm, wahrscheinlich **aya-*, **i-*, vorliegt¹²; es ist interessant festzuhalten, daß bereits Miller hier mit der Möglichkeit pronominaler Herkunft gerechnet hat¹³. Von besonderem Gewicht ist die dritte Form, nämlich Iron *is*, Digor *jes*. Miller ging davon aus, daß in *is/jes* eine lautgesetzliche Weiterentwicklung von **asti* vorliegt; den Annahmen, die für diese Erklärung vonnöten sind, widerspricht Miller zum Teil jedoch selbst, da er z. B. durchaus anerkennt, daß iran. **st* im Ossetischen erhalten geblieben ist, wohingegen für *is/jes* eine Entwicklung zu *s* anzunehmen wäre¹⁴. Auch eine Metathese des **-i* über *-st-* hinweg, wodurch das anlautende **a-* in **asti* „umgelaute“ werden konnte, scheint schwierig, wenn auch nicht gänzlich unmöglich¹⁵. Man wird daher keine lauthistorischen Hilfskonstruktionen bemühen dürfen, um ein iran. **asti* in der Stellung der 3. Sg. retten zu wollen. In der Tat stellt sich die Frage, ob nicht auch in *is/jes* ein pronominaler Stamm vorliegen könnte; vergleicht man lautlich ähnliche Wörter wie z. B. *isyn* „nehmen“, das man auf **ais-* oder **aiš-* zurückführen kann¹⁶, so liegt es nahe, für *is/jes* das Pronomen **aiša-* (wie avest. *aēša-* „dieser“ AIW. 32 ff.) als Ursprung vorauszusetzen. Damit scheint sicher, daß alle drei Formen der 3. Sg. pronominaler Herkunft

¹¹ Vgl. E. Benveniste, *Etudes sur la langue ossète*, Paris 1959, S. 74f.; s. auch seinen Aufsatz: „Etre“ et „avoir“ dans leurs fonctions linguistiques, BSL. 55 (1960) S. 113–134.

¹² Benveniste, op. cit., S. 75f., versucht speziell für D *äj* eine „lautgesetzliche“ Herleitung aus einem postulierten **hati* (sekundär nach 3. Pl. **hanti*, das er ebenfalls in sogd. *γcy* bzw. *xcy* wiedererkennen will; dies ist ein recht willkürliches Verfahren, da das sogd. Wort anders erklärt werden muß, vgl. hier Anm. 18 und 20).

¹³ Miller, loc. cit.

¹⁴ Miller, op. cit., S. 30.

¹⁵ Eine Metathese von *i* (bzw. *ǰ*) über *-st-* hinweg wird allgemein bei *fistäg/festäg* „Fußgänger“ (**pastika-*?) angenommen; vgl. V. I. Abaev, *Istoriko-ëtimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*, I, Moskva-Leningrad 1958, S. 476.

¹⁶ Miller, IF. 21 (1907) S. 238, stellt das Verbum (als Denominativum?) zu *is/jes* „Habe, Eigentum“; vielleicht ist es einfach zu **aiš-* „suchen; icchati“ zu stellen.

sind und keine davon iran. **asti* fortsetzen kann. So wird es verständlich, wenn wir dies allerdings in der 3. Pl. *sty* wiederfinden wollen.

Wenn nun die verschiedenen Formen der 3. Sg. beider Dialekte einheitlich auf pronominale Formen zurückgeführt werden müssen, so reiht sich das Ossetische mit dieser Erscheinung in eine Gruppe iranischer Sprachen, die diese Entwicklung im Prinzip gemeinsam mitgemacht haben, wenn auch die Mittel im einzelnen unterschiedlich sind. Aus dem Pašto und aus verschiedenen Pamirdialekten ist diese Erscheinung wiederholt beschrieben worden¹⁷. Von den mittelliranischen Sprachen des Nordostens zeigt das Sogdische Vergleichbares in der Verwendung des maskulinen Pronomens (')*γw*, *xw* und der erweiterten Form *γcy*, *xcy* (und auch '*yncy*', '*ycy*')¹⁸, wiewohl ihre Zugehörigkeit zu Pronominalstämmen bis in die jüngste Vergangenheit verneint worden ist¹⁹; eine genaue Analyse beweist aber auch hier, daß *γcy* bzw. *xcy* nicht Fortsetzer des iran. **asti* sein kann, sondern aus zwei pronominalen Elementen zusammengesetzt ist. Zudem unterstützt die nur unter bestimmten syntaktischen Bedingungen mögliche Verwendung von *γcy* bzw. *xcy* usw. gegenüber sonstigem '*st(y)*' „es gibt, existiert“ die schon an anderer Stelle vorgetragene Deutung²⁰.

Es bleiben nun noch die 1. Sg. *dän* und die 2. Sg. *dä* zu erklären, Formen, die beiden Dialekten eigen sind. Die Endungen des Futurs z. B. Iron *ūydzyn-än* „ich werde sein“, *ūydzyn-ä* „du wirst sein“, zeigen, daß die ursprünglichen Formen wohl **ān* und **ā* gewesen sind, vor die erst sekundär ein osset. *d-* getreten ist, welches bislang unerklärt zu sein scheint. Die bisher gemachten Versuche, dieses *d-* zu deuten, dürfen als gescheitert angesehen werden²¹. Demgegenüber sind die als ursprünglich

¹⁷ Auch Benveniste, op. cit., S. 75, weist auf diesen Zusammenhang hin.

¹⁸ Über die Herleitung aus pronominalen Stämmen vgl. Verf., Die Stellung der sog. „Inchoativa“ im Mittelliranischen, Diss. Göttingen 1970, S. 24.

¹⁹ S. GMS. § 275.

²⁰ Vgl. Verf., op. cit., S. 20ff.

²¹ Vgl. z. B. V. Tomaševskij, Načalnoe d v formach osetinskogo vspomogatel'nogo glagola *ūyn* (*un*) – sein, in: Jafetičeskij Sbornik, III, 1924 (Leningrad 1925), S. 75–80 (mit älterer Literatur).

anzusetzenden Formen **än* „ich bin“ und **ä* „du bist“ für alle Autoren problemlos aus **ahmi* bzw. **ahi* herleitbar²². Dies kann aus lautlichen Gründen für **ä* aus **ahi* durchaus möglich sein, wenn man einen frühen Verlust des auslautenden **-i* annimmt, so daß ein **ah* dann leicht zu **ä* werden konnte. Osset. **än* aber ist mit Sicherheit nicht so einfach aus **ahmi* herzuleiten, da nur in Digor sekundär *-n* aus **-m* entstehen kann und diese Endung mit *-n* im Verbalsystem für die 1. Sg. gut bezeugt ist. Diese Problematik ist an anderer Stelle im Rahmen dieser Beiträge schon berührt worden²³.

Miller²⁴ vermutet für die Endung *-n* in der 1. Sg. zwei verschiedene Ursprünge; einmal sei bei der Form *-yn* im Indikativ Präsens iran. **-āmi* über **-ām* zu *-yn* geworden (wobei er, was den auslautenden Konsonanten angeht, bezeichnenderweise auf die von ihm akzeptierte Parallele **ahmi* > *-än* verweist), zum andern gehe die Konjunktivendung *-on* auf iran. **-āni* (vgl. auch aind. *bharāni*) zurück. Während man letzteres ohne weiteres akzeptieren kann, wird man die Deutung der Endung *-yn* für die 1. Sg. Prs. Ind. aus schon genannten Gründen verwerfen müssen²⁵. Man könnte höchstens vermuten, die Konjunktivendung *-o-n* sei wie in die alten Optativformen (1. Sg. Konj. Prs. *-i-n*) auch in den Ind. Prs. (also *-y-n*) eingedrungen, wodurch es dann auch möglich wurde, daß ebenfalls die Form für „ich bin“ zu **-än* umgebildet worden sei. Eine solche Übernahme einer Konjunktivendung ist schwer beweisbar, wiewohl nicht gänzlich auszuschließen²⁶.

²² Vgl. z. B. Benveniste, op. cit., S. 74.

²³ S. IF. 85 (1980) S. 130.

²⁴ Miller, op. cit., S. 70.

²⁵ Die Verbalendung für die 1. Sg. Prs. Ind. *-yn* ist sicher nicht getrennt von der 2. Sg. *-ys* und der 3. Sg. *-y* zu beurteilen; dies soll in einer gesonderten Untersuchung geschehen.

²⁶ Es ließe sich aber ebensogut auch eine umgekehrte Entwicklung vorstellen, bei der die Endung von „ich bin“ vorbildhaft auf die 1. Sg. Prs. Ind. gewirkt hat, wobei u. U. die Personalendung der 1. Sg. Konj. *-o-n* eine gewisse Hilfestellung geleistet haben könnte. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch zu fragen, welche etymologische Stellung für parth. *'n* (**an*) „ich“ anzunehmen ist und ob diese Ähnlichkeit sich als zufällig erweist oder nicht.

Wenn zwar das Problem der Endung *-än* „ich bin“ hier nicht voll aufgeklärt werden kann, so ist es aber vielleicht doch möglich, die Herkunft des Konsonanten *d-*, der vor den eigentlichen Endungen steht, aufzuhellen. Es ist unmöglich, dieses *d-* aus irgendwelchen Morphemen des Verbalbereichs herzuleiten, sei es aus irgendeiner zusätzlichen Verbalwurzel, sei es aus bisher noch nicht berücksichtigten Verbalformen oder auch Präverbien oder Präfixen. Die Überlegungen Millers²⁷ müssen deshalb auch abgelehnt werden, der in dem *d-* einen Rest von iran. **hadā* „(zusammen) mit“ sehen wollte, so daß nach seiner Deutung die 1. und 2. Sg. von „sein“ durch eine Zusammenfügung von der genannten Prä- bzw. Postposition(!) und **ahmi* bzw. **ahi* entstanden wäre. Gründe und Ursprünge einer solchen Annahme bleiben dabei dunkel²⁸.

Wir glauben eher, daß für die eigenartigen Formen der 1. und 2. Sg. eine ähnliche Entwicklung wie in der 3. Sg. verantwortlich gemacht werden muß. Wir haben gesehen, daß die 3. Sg. ausschließlich alte Pronomina repräsentiert; wir halten es daher nicht für unmöglich anzunehmen, daß auch in den in Frage stehenden Formen ein Pronominalstamm verbaut ist, in diesem Falle der Stamm **ta-* oder eher noch **aita-*²⁹. Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang daran zu erinnern, daß auch einige Pamirdialekte ihr Präsens von „sein“ auf einem Pronominalstamm *t-* aufbauen, woran dann (sekundär) die geläufigen Personalendun-

²⁷ Miller, op. cit., S. 75.

²⁸ Allerdings ist **hadā* schon von altiranischer Zeit an, besonders aber im Mitteliranischen, im denominalen Bereich präfixal verwendet worden, um z. B. Adjektive zu bilden, so im Chwarezmischen (vgl. W. B. Henning, Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan, Symbolae in honorem Z. V. Togan, Istanbul 1950–55, S. 429f.); interessant ist, daß auch das Ossetische einige Adjektive dieser Art kennt, z. B. *ädbāx* „mit einem Pferd, wer ein Pferd hat“ (vgl. Benveniste, op. cit., S. 103).

²⁹ Die Herleitung aus **ta-* oder **aita-* ist ohne lautliche Komplikationen möglich. Bei letzterem müßte man frühen Wegfall des anlautenden Diphthongs annehmen, was bei häufigem Gebrauch vorausgesetzt werden kann; darauf würde auch die Entwicklung von **t* zu *d-* beruhen.

gen treten³⁰. Die Tatsache, daß im Ossetischen der Plural von dieser Entwicklung ausgenommen ist, spricht nicht gegen diese Erklärung. (Fortsetzung folgt)

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³⁰ Vgl. vor allem Waxī *tei- : tu-* „sein“, wofür Morgenstierne IIFL. II, S. 544 s.v.) unter Verweis auf das Pašto pronominalen Ursprung annehmen möchte; vgl. auch noch M. I. Bogoljubov, K *étimologii vachanskogo vspomogatel'nogo glagola tej- : tu-* „byt’“, Izv. Akad. nauk SSSR, otd. lit. i jazyka, 1947, tom VI, vap. 4, S. 339–340.

OIr. *ucht*, γένος

Old Irish *ucht* 'breast' was apparently a neuter *u*-stem. Therefore we may reconstruct $*uktu < *(p)oktu$. It has seemed clear that somehow this noun should be related to Lat. *pectus*. The latter is of course a perfectly regular and predictable neuter *s*-stem; that is, it has *e*-grade of the base, and could be generated readily. Therefore if we are to see a relation between $*poktu$ and $*péktos$ we must start with the former and generate the latter from it.

An ancient relation between *u*-stems and *s*-stems is to be seen in the compounding form for *u*-stem simplexes: the direction of derivation is $u \rightarrow s$ (βαρύς $\rightarrow$ οἶνο-βαρής). Moreover, in Latin *u*-stem neuters and *s*-stems bear an ancient relation to *-ē*-verbs and verbal adjectives in *-idus* (*gelu* : *gelidus*, *timor* : *timidus*). Therefore we may refer Lat. *pectus* to a very ancient layer of derivation (to a more productive class) from the moribund class of $*poktu$.

Now $*poktu$ as a body-part is reminiscent of $*gónu$ 'knee', both semantically and morphologically. When we reflect on the transformation disclosed by $*poktu \rightarrow *pektos$, we see that $*gónu \rightarrow *génos$ would have given a direct basis in the morphological rules of the language for the IE. cultural connexion between the knee and legitimacy (*genuinus*) and descent (*genus*, *gens*). The above relation must be the mechanism that induced this concept, since originally the etymon of the knee was distinct from that of 'beget'; $*gónu$ (Glotta 48, 1970, p. 72–5) was not a set base like $*genH_e$ - (Ériu 24, 1973, p. 160f.).

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Three Pseudo-Problems

1. Indo-European **tek^w-*

Chr. Peeters rejects (IF 81, 1976, p. 29–30) the derivation of Goth. *þius*, Runic *þewaR* etc. < apparent **þeuz* from **tek^w-* (IEW. p. 1059), and prefers **teu-*. His objections are without foundation if we assume a Vernerized pre-form **tek^wó-* > **þegwaz*, for in any event **gw* would have stood paradigmatically before both back and front vowels; on this aspect of paradigmatic alternation (but with insufficient attention to the incidence of marked and unmarked contexts) see the careful analysis of **-gw-* by G. P. Cubbin, IF. 84 (1979) p. 226–36. Thus, **þegwaz* stood beside **þi(g)wī* < **tek^w-ī* (and not **tek-ūī* as Cubbin p. 227 has.).¹ Regarding the problem of OHG. *sagén* (Cubbin p. 235), to which it is important to add ON. *saga* f. OE. *sagu* (> *saw*) etc., we must remember that the coexistence of the widespread productive **sagwjan* (OE. *secgan*, ON. *segja*; cf. Cubbin p. 234, 235) derived from this would have protected the **g*. There seems to be no firm evidence against **tek^wó-*, and certainly none against **tek^w-ī*.²

What is rather surprising is Peeter's denial (p. 30) of non-Germanic evidence for **tek^w-* (as opposed to **tek-*). Here Celtic has long furnished the conclusive testimony in such forms as British *Voteporīx*, Welsh *godeb* 'refuge' and the name *Godeb-og* (Vendryes, LEIA, 1978, T. 40). On *Voteporīx* see further K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* p. 625, fn. 1, contra

¹ If indeed **þewaz* was not formed on **þiwi* directly.

² Likewise for Goth. *mawi* etc., instead of Cubbin's **mag-wī* I assume **ma(g)wī* < **mak^w-ī*, and relate this base to **mak^wos* > *mapo-* > Welsh Corn. Bret. *mab* and to **mak^wkwos* > Ogam MA Q(Q)· > OIr. *macc* 'lad, son.' This must be a series of areal borrowings from the North European substratum.

Thurneysen, GOI. p. 571, § 920. On *godep* and Med. Welsh *tebet* see Lewis and Pedersen, A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar, 1973, p. 399, § 637 (and for *godech*, Supplement to same, 1961, p. 16). There can be no doubt of British Celtic *tep-* < **tek^w-*, as well as [tex-] < **teks-* < **tek^w-s-*.

Even if Watkins's claim (Linguistic and literary studies in honor of A. A. Hill, 1978, III p. 311) that Toch. B *cake* 'river' is **tek-o-s* is sustained, he recognizes that we have a labio-velar result dialectally for IE. Certainly the British Celtic forms such as Welsh *tebet* can morphologically be only that. Moreover the generalization of the presumably subjunctive *-ch-* in the British stem *tech-* 'flee' is best motivated by seeing this as the elimination of an earlier anomaly **-b- ~ -ch- < *p ~ χs < *k^w : k^w-s*.

2. Eng. *seam*

Chr. Peeters correctly sees (IF. 84, 1979, p. 207) that Germanic **saumaz* could be **sou-* or **sau-*. His $\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ must be a misprint for $\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ (υ), which his argument shows he knows. Chantraine sees (DELG. 1156) the phonological problem, but goes on to doubt the semantic connexion—as others have before him. Indeed, we could well invoke a different root here.

But *sew* is surely **siuH-*, and the rest of the forms, apart from the Greek, conform. The Latin short vowel before vowel simply follows the rule the Romans knew. The Germanic diphthong could be explained in one of two ways. We could have a metathesis seen in glide + laryngeal sequences: **uH > Hu = $\dot{H}u$ = εu > *au**. Or **H* could have been lost before vowel, creating a new anit-base, as must be the case for Germanic *Sohn* = *son* and OIr. *suth*, beside Lith. *sūnùs* < **suH-nu-*.

3. On the medial syllable of 'daughter'

Chr. Peeters (IF. 84, 1979, p. 206–7) is concerned about the exact pre-form of IE. and Germanic 'daughter'. He seems not to be aware of the long-standing assumption of a regular loss of **ə* in medial syllables of the North European branches of IE. If that were the only problem with this word, matters would

be simple. There is the additional problem of the consonantal equation of Indic *-hi-* and Greek *-γα-*; there are, furthermore, Armenian *dustr* and Prasun *lūšt* to be fitted into this. I have tried to deal with these matters JAOS. 90 (1970) p. 228–31.³

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³ I therefore differ on this matter with R. Schmitt, *Grammatik des Klassisch-Armenischen* 1981, p. 63 § 4.5.a.3 and p. 75 note R.

Lat. *sōlor* e „mille“

1. Lat. *sōlor*

Del deponente lat. *sōlārī* ‘mitigare, calmare, consolare’ non mi risulta sia stata fornita una etimologia credibile. Il confronto con ἰλάσκομαι ἔλγηθι è perlomeno avventuroso, quello col got. *sels* ‘buono’ nebuloso, e giustamente Ernout-Meillet, DELL.⁴, citando tali confronti e mostrandone l’inconsistenza, concludono (p. 634): “bref, étymologie incertaine”. Mi si vorrà quindi perdonare se ne propongo una nuova.

Secondo me si tratta di un caso di *l* per *d*, tipo *lingua* da **dīngua*, *lēvir*: δάηρ, sscr. *devār-*, *olēre*: *odor*, *solium*: *sedēo*, ecc. (cfr. Sommer-Pfister, Handb. I, p. 137), e *sōlor* va ricondotto alla radice *sed-* di *sedeō*, ie. **sed-*: semanticamente vicino è *sēdō sēdāre* ‘calmare, acquetare, placare’. Ci troviamo dinnanzi a due tipi di causativi, uno con apofonia *ē*, l’altro con apofonia *ō*, quindi **sēd-āīe-* e **sōd-āīe-*: forse la lunga della vocale potrà spiegarsi come partita da formazioni nominali, per cui cfr. Brugmann, Grundr. II, I², p. 153.

2. „mille“

Com’è noto, mentre le lingue indeuropee hanno fino a 100 (e più centinaia) formazioni parallele risalenti alla stessa formula¹, per ‘1000’ troviamo due aree: una settentrionale germanico-balto-slavo con got. *þūsundi*, ted. *tausend* e lit. *tūkstantis*, paleosl. *tysešta* ecc., l’altra orientale-meridionale con sscr. *sa-hásram*, avest. *hazāhrēm* e gr. χέλλιοι, χείλιοι, χίλιοι ecc. (non mi preoccupo qui del lat. *mille* che in qualche modo hanno

¹ Salvo casi come l’arm. *hariwr*, secondo me una parola d’origine iranica: cfr. HA. 1964/4-6, p. 189-192.

tentato di riconnettere con χίλιοι ecc.). Mentre in *pūsundi*, *túkstantis* ecc. si è ritenuto, credo a ragione, di poter scorgere un derivato della radice **tēu-* 'gonfiarsi, esser forte' (cfr. Pokorny, IEW. p. 1083), del termine ario-greco non si è data una etimologia convincente: se è giusta l'analisi di *sahásram hazayhrəm* in **sm-gheslo-* con **sm-* '1' come in gr. ἐ-κατόν (cfr. ad es. Frisk, GEW. s.v.), sarà da partire da **gheslo-*. E qui credo di poter fare una proposta ragionevole: **ghes-lo-* forma metatetica di **eghs-lo-* con **egh-s-* onde gr. ἐξ ecc. (cfr. Frisk, GEW. s.v.) sarebbe 'quello che sta all'esterno', 'l'ultimo', come ἐσχατος. Mi chiedo inoltre se un valore simile non possa stare alla base di '100', ie. **kmtóm*, che sarebbe quindi il ppp. di **kem-* 'cessare' in sscr. *çāmyati*, gr. κάμνω ἔκαμον indicando il numero finale della serie: si noti però che sscr. *çam-* è una radice set.

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Zum Namen des *Südlichen Bug*

Die von M. Vasmer¹, V. Georgiev², J. Rozwadowski³ und anderen vorgenommene Deutung des Namens des *Südlichen Bug* aus einem Ansatz **Bogъ* ist vor wenigen Jahren von G. Schramm kritisiert worden. „Dieser Ansatz“ bemerkt G. Schramm⁴, „hält einer lautgeschichtlichen Nachprüfung nicht stand. Denn die Ausgangsform, . . ., hätte sich im Ukrainischen — genau wie aslaw. *bogъ* „Gott“ — zu **Bih* statt *Boh* entwickeln müssen.“

Diese Passage enthält einen ersten Fehler, denn im Ukrainischen ist die Form *bih* „Gott“ zwar zu belegen, weiter verbreitet ist jedoch, wie ein Blick in Wörterbücher und Grammatiken zeigt⁵, ukr. *boh* „Gott“. Auf die Gründe für das Abweichen von der Norm wird noch zurückzukommen sein.

G. Schramm folgert weiter: Der Gewässername „*Bogъ*“ enthält vielmehr $o < \text{ъ}$ ⁶ und „*Bъgъ*“, die älteste erschließbare slawische Form, läßt sich als schwundstufige Entsprechung zum Namen des Westlichen Bug (aruss. *Bugъ*) auffassen und wird zu **bheug(h)* „biegen“, aind. *bhūja-* „Arm“ usw. gehören.“⁷ Bei dieser Deutung kommt G. Schramm jedoch in Schwierigkeiten mit der bei Konstantin Porphyrogenetos belegten Form *Boγoũ*, da dadurch die Annahme einer sehr frühen Entwicklung von $\text{ъ} > o$ notwendig ist. W. P. Schmid kritisierte den Ansatz von

¹ Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bd. 1, Heidelberg 1953, S. 133.

² Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Den Haag 1966, S. 189.

³ Studia nad nazwami wód słowiańskich, Kraków 1948, S. 238–241.

⁴ Nordpontische Ströme, Göttingen 1973, S. 97.

⁵ G. L. Luckyj, J. B. Rudnyćkyj, A Modern Ukrainian Grammar, Winnipeg ³1958, S. 147, J. Rudnyćkyj, Lehrbuch der ukrainischen Sprache, Leipzig ³1943, S. 171, H. Nakonetschna, Deutsch-ukrainisches Wörterbuch, Leipzig ³1942, S. 58.

⁶ A. a. O.

⁷ Ebda., S. 98.

G. Schramm mit der Bemerkung⁸ „Βογοῦ, *Bug* lassen sich wegen der ukrainischen Dialektform *Bih*, die nicht auf ein -z- zurückgehen kann, nicht mit der Wurzel **bheugh-* etymologisieren.“ G. Schramm glaubt jedoch, einen neuen Beweis für die Richtigkeit seiner Etymologie gefunden zu haben. In der Replik⁹ auf die Bemerkungen W. P. Schmid's führt er an: Wenn W. P. Schmid „-o- in aruss. *Bogz* „Südl. Bug“ nicht . . . auf -z- zurückführen möchte, so finde ich meine Auffassung durch den Frühbeleg *Bzgz* zu a. 922–39 im Kommissionnyj Spisok der 1. Novgoroder Chronik bestätigt.“

Wir stehen damit vor der Frage, ob der Name des Südlichen Bug auf **Bogz* oder **Bzgz* zurückgeführt werden soll. Klarheit darüber kann m.E. nur eine möglichst vollständige Sammlung der urkundlichen Belege dieses Gewässernamens erbringen, wobei naturgemäß den ukrainischen Quellen eine besondere Bedeutung zukommt. Daneben gilt es zu fragen, wie es mit der Belastbarkeit des von G. Schramm beigebrachten nordwestrussischen Belegs *Bzgz* aussieht. Weiterhin ist zu prüfen, ob der Name des Südlichen Bug auch in Ortsnamen überliefert ist.

Wir beginnen mit der Zusammenstellung der urkundlichen Belege:

Mitte 10. Jh. Βογοῦ (Konstantin Porphyrogennetos)¹⁰.

1086 (Anf. 12. Jh.) *Bug* scilicet et Ztir¹¹.

11. Jh. (1377) *Bogz*, *po Bugu*, *za rěkoju Bōmъ*¹².

nach 1333: *Bzgz*¹³.

⁸ IF. 81 (1976) [1977] S. 440.

⁹ IF. 84 (1979) [1980] S. 63, Anm. 4.

¹⁰ G. Schramm, op. cit., S. 97, L. T. Masenko, *Hidronimija Schidnoho Podillja*, Kyiv 1979, S. 62.

¹¹ Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovakiae, Bd. 1, Bratislava 1971, S. 58, Schlesisches Urkundenbuch, Bd. 1, Wien-Köln-Graz 1971, S. 5, MGH.SS. (in folio) IX, S. 92. Die Identifizierung mit dem Südlichen Bug ist sehr fraglich, wahrscheinlich ist eher an den Westlichen Bug zu denken.

¹² L. T. Masenko, op. cit., S. 62, G. Schramm, op. cit., S. 97, *Slovnyk hidronimiv Ukrainy*, Kyiv 1979, S. 422.

¹³ G. Schramm, a.a.O., vgl. V. Kiparsky, *Russische historische Grammatik*, Bd. 1, Heidelberg 1963, S. 64.

- 1442 (1554) *Boog*¹⁴.
 1444 *na Bogu*¹⁵.
 1450 *nedaleko Boha*¹⁶.
 1470–1480 *Bog*¹⁷.
 15. Jh. *Bogъ, Bog*¹⁸.
 15.–17. Jh. *Bog, Boh, Bohus, Bzугъ*¹⁹.
 1510 *Boh*²⁰.
 1511 *po toy storone Buha, na Buhu*²¹.
 1512 *Boh*²².
 1544 *mež Bohu i Dnestra*²³.
 1545 *od Buha, na Buhu*²⁴.
 1549 *Boh*²⁵.
 1552 *z Bohu, Na Bogu mlyn, nad rekoju Bogomъ, z Bogu*²⁶.
 1554 *Boog[s]!*²⁷.
 1555 *Boh*²⁸.
 1565 *nad rzeka Bohem, miedzi rzekami Bohem . . . , rzeki Boha . . .
 Boh, nad rzeka Bochem*²⁹.

¹⁴ Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich, T. 8, Wrocław usw. 1975, S. 175.

¹⁵ Slovník staroukrajinskoi movy XIV–XV st., Bd. 1, Kyiv 1977, S. 106, Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie, Bd. 1, Lwów 1887, S. 40.

¹⁶ Slovník hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 422–423.

¹⁷ J. Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, Bd. 1, Warszawa 1964, S. 86.

¹⁸ M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I*, S. 133, V. Georgiev, op. cit., S. 189.

¹⁹ L. T. Masenko, op. cit., S. 62, Slovník hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 422–423.

²⁰ *Matricularium Regni Poloniae Summaria*, Bd. 4, T. 1, S. 56 und 61.

²¹ *Zródła dziejowe*, Bd. 10, S. 92 und 110.

²² *Matricularium Regnie Poloniae Summaria*, Bd. 4, T. 1, S. 92.

²³ Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów . . . , Bd. 4, S. 385 und 387.

²⁴ Slovník hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 423.

²⁵ *Matricularium* . . . , Bd. 5, S. 23.

²⁶ G. Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language*, Heidelberg 1979, S. 252, *Akty, odnosjaščiesja k istorii Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii*, Bd. 7, T. 2, S. 19, 22 und 23.

²⁷ *Matricularium* . . . , Bd. 5, T. 2, S. 125: „[s]! = sic!“.

²⁸ Ebda., S. 152.

²⁹ *Akty . . . Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii*, Bd. 7, T. 2, S. 160, 181, 237 und 239.

1566 *Boh*³⁰.

1598 *po reku Boh, od Boha*³¹.

16. Jh. *za Bugoju rěkoju, i prešedše Bugž rěku*, Variante: *bosž rěku, po Bugu*³².

16.–18. Jh. *Bogž, Bugž, Boh, Buh*³³.

um 1630 *Bog*³⁴.

1648 *Boh*³⁵.

1657 *okolo rěki Bogu*³⁶.

1664 *ku Bohu, między Dniestrem a Bohem, między Bohem a Dnieprem*³⁷.

1666 *na Bugu rzece*³⁸.

1667 *na Bohu rzece*³⁹.

1669 *na Bugu*⁴⁰.

um 1670 *na bregu Buga, v Bugu, Bugž*⁴¹

1677 *na Bogu*⁴².

1696–1772 *Bug, Buh*⁴³.

1710 *nad Bogomž*⁴⁴.

1713 *z Bohu*⁴⁵.

1737 *z Bohu, za Boh*⁴⁶.

1743 *na rzece Bohu*⁴⁷.

1750 *na Bogž*⁴⁸.

³⁰ Matricularium . . . , Bd. 5, T. 2, S. 318.

³¹ Slovník hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 423.

³² Polnoe sobranie russkich letopisej, Bd. 9, S. 246, Bd. 10, S. 11 und Bd. 13, S. 326.

³³ L. T. Masenko, op. cit., S. 62.

³⁴ Slovník hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 423.

³⁵ Žerela do istorii Ukrainy-Rusy, Bd. 4, S. 35.

³⁶ Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka, Bd. 8, S. 1282.

³⁷ Slovník hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 423.

³⁸ Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z Archiwum tzw. Bernardyńskiego we Lwowie, Bd. 24, S. 234.

³⁹ Ebda., S. 248.

⁴⁰ Ebda., S. 293.

⁴¹ Slovník hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 423.

⁴² Ebda.

⁴³ Akta grodzkie i ziemskie . . . , Bd. 25. In dieser Quelle treten Formen mit -o- in dem genannten Zeitraum nicht mehr auf.

⁴⁴ Slovník hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 423.

⁴⁵ Ebda.

⁴⁶ Ebda.

⁴⁷ Ebda.

⁴⁸ Ebda.

20. Jh. *Južnyj Bug, Pivdennyj Buh, Buh, Boh*, selten *Bih*⁴⁹,
mundartlich (ukrain. dial.) *Bih*⁵⁰, *Buh, Buhu, do Bohu,*
*nad Bohom, idu do Bohu*⁵¹.

Bevor wir zu einer Auswertung der Quellenbelege kommen, sind weitere Namen, die mit dem Südlichen Bug in Verbindung stehen, mit ihren urkundlichen Belegen anzuführen. So ist hier zunächst ein linker Nebenfluß des Südlichen Bug zu nennen:

1444 *na Božku*⁵².

1825 *Božokъ, Bozek, Božek, Bužokъ*⁵³.

1849 *Bužokъ*⁵⁴.

1889 *Bužokъ, Božokъ*⁵⁵.

20. Jh. *Bužokъ, Božokъ, Bozek, Božek, Božek, Bužekъ*⁵⁶.

Von Bedeutung ist auch ein Beleg zum Jahre 1157: *Pobožbe*⁵⁷, der sich offenbar auf ein Gebiet in der Nähe des Südlichen Bug bezieht.

Von großer, ja entscheidender Bedeutung für die Diskussion um den Namen des Südlichen Bug ist jedoch ein bisher in der Diskussion unberücksichtigt gebliebener Name einer Stadt, die in dem Winkel liegt, den der Südliche Bug und der in ihn einmündende Nebenfluß *Bužok* bilden. Der Ort trägt, der geschichtlichen Entwicklung entsprechend, mehrere Namen.

⁴⁹ Ebda., L. T. Masenko, op. cit., S. 62.

⁵⁰ „na Braclavščyni nazyvajut' *Bih*“ (M. T. Dolenko, IV. Respublikańs'ka onomastyčna konferencija. Tezy, Kyiv 1969, S. 83).

⁵¹ V. T. Horbačuk, Povidomlennja ukrains'koi onomastyčnoj Komisii 10 (1974) S. 26.

⁵² Slovnyk staroukrains'koi movy, Bd. 1, S. 109, Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów . . . , Bd. 1, S. 40.

⁵³ L. T. Masenko, op. cit., S. 20.

⁵⁴ Ebda., Slovnyk hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 74.

⁵⁵ Ebda.

⁵⁶ L. T. Masenko, a.a.O., Slovnyk hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 74, Wörterbuch der russischen Gewässernamen, Bd. 1, Berlin-Wiesbaden 1961, S. 91, O. S. Stryžak, Nazvy ričok Zaporizžja i Chersonščyny, Kyiv 1967, S. 91.

⁵⁷ Slovnyk hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 423.

Russ. *Mežibuž'e*, *Medžibož*, poln. *Międybuże*, *Międyboż*, ukrain. *Medžybiž*⁵⁸, an urkundlichen Belegen können genannt werden zum Jahre 1146 (1325) *Mežibožbe*, *Mečib(ož)ie*⁵⁹, zum Jahre (1148) *Mežib(o)žbe*⁶⁰, 1395 *Medzibosze*⁶¹, 1469 *in bonis regalibus Myedzybože*⁶². In der Nähe lag ein Vorwerk *Międybożek*⁶³.

Es sei schon hier vermerkt, daß die urkundlichen Belege des Namens keinerlei Schwanken im Vokalismus des zweiten Bestandteiles erkennen lassen⁶⁴ und daß die ukrainische Lautung von besonderem Wert ist.

Einen weiteren, in der Lokalisierung jedoch unsicheren Namen lassen wir beiseite, die älteren Formen geben nicht zweifelsfrei zu erkennen, ob auf **Božbškz* oder auf **Bužbškz* zu schließen ist⁶⁵, damit bleibt unklar, ob der Ortsname mit dem Westlichen oder mit dem Südlichen Bug in Verbindung gesetzt werden kann.

Nach Vorstellung der mit dem Südlichen Bug zusammenhängenden Namen und ihrer urkundlichen Überlieferung können wir auf die eingangs gestellte Frage, ob man den Südlichen Bug auf **Bogz* oder auf **Bgz* zurückführen sollte, zurückkommen. Für die These, im Wurzelsvokal des Namens ein altes **-o-* anzusetzen, sprechen folgende Punkte:

1. Der frühe Beleg bei Konstantin Porphyrogennetos *Boγoũ* kann kaum bereits den vollzogenen Wandel von *z > o* reflek-

⁵⁸ Ebda., S. 74, Russisches geographisches Namenbuch, Bd. 5, S. 501; Słownik Geograficzny, Bd. 6, S. 365: „... leży na wzgórzu u zbiegu rz. Boha i Bożka, z kąd otrzymało nazwę“.

⁵⁹ Slovnyk hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 423, I. Barsov, Materialy dlja istoriko-geografičeskogo slovarja Rossii, Nachdruck The Hague-Paris 1970, S. 122, L. T. Masenko, op. cit., S. 5, G. Shevelov, op. cit., S. 65 und 68.

⁶⁰ G. Shevelov, a.a.O.

⁶¹ Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów . . . , Bd. 1, S. 19.

⁶² Źródła dziejowe, Bd. 18, T. 1, S. 66.

⁶³ Słownik Geograficzny 6, S. 370, Russisches geographisches Namenbuch, Bd. 5, S. 501.

⁶⁴ Die ein *-u-* enthaltenden modernen polnischen und russischen Formen sind, wie die Belege zeigen, sekundär entstanden.

⁶⁵ Vgl. I. Barsov, op. cit., S. 16, J. Długosz, op. cit., Bd. 4, S. 203, L. T. Masenko, op. cit., S. 5.

tieren, dieser wird im allgemeinen erst für das 11. Jahrhundert angesetzt⁶⁶.

2. Falls von einer rekonstruierten Form **Bǫgǫ* ausgegangen werden solle, bleibt unklar, warum in dem oben zusammengestellten urkundlichen Material nicht ein einziger Beleg **Bgu*, **Bga* o.dgl. auftritt. Wenn man in der Wurzelsilbe einen reduzierten Vokal ansetzt, muß man damit rechnen, daß bei der Verwendung des Namens in den obliquen Kasus dieser schwindet, wie z.B. parallel verlaufende Prozesse bei den Gewässernamen *Rosǫ*⁶⁷, *Irpǫnǫ*⁶⁸, *Irdynǫ*, *Irǫzavecǫ*⁶⁹ (meist mit Entwicklung eines neuen, prothetischen Vokals wie bei *L'viv*, mua. *Il'viv*) zeigen. Zwar könnte sich eine Ausrichtung der obliquen Kasus an die neu entstehende Form *Bog* < **Bǫgǫ* einstellen, jedoch müßte sich dieser Prozeß in den urkundlichen Belegen nachweisen lassen. Diese jedoch zeigen, wie die Zusammenstellung belegt, immer einen Vokal, zumeist -o-, in der Wurzelsilbe.

3. Die beiden polnischen Quellen entstammenden Belege *Boog* von 1442 (1554) und 1554. Auch ukrainische Schreibungen wie 1266 *voovǫca*, *voovǫčichǫ* weisen auf Dehnung des Wurzelvokals hin⁷⁰, im Polnischen ist diese Graphie für ein -o- in neu geschlossener Silbe im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert weit verbreitet⁷¹.

4. Die urkundlichen Belege lassen keinerlei Entwicklung von **-ǫ-* > -e-, d.h. westslavisch-polnische Züge, erkennen, obwohl der Name den Westslaven sicherlich sehr früh bekannt geworden ist. Die polnischen Quellen weisen vielmehr auf eine Lautentwicklung **-o-* > -ó- > -u- hin, die ursprüngliches **-o-* in der

⁶⁶ V. Kiparsky, op. cit., Bd. 1, S. 153.

⁶⁷ Slovník hidronimiv Ukrainy, S. 475.

⁶⁸ Ebda., S. 224.

⁶⁹ Ebda., S. 223.

⁷⁰ A. Issatschenko, Geschichte der russischen Sprache, Bd. 1, Heidelberg 1980, S. 174. Vorsichtiger beurteilt G. Shevelov, op. cit., S. 320 den Sachverhalt.

⁷¹ Gramatika historyczna języka polskiego, Warszawa 1972, S. 56–57, M. Sulisz, Staropolska fonetyka w świetle materiału onomastycznego do XIV wieku, Warszawa-Wrocław 1976, S. 109, T. Lehr-Splawiński, Język Polski, Warszawa 1978, S. 161, Z. Klemensiewicz, Historia języka polskiego, Warszawa 1974, S. 100.

Wurzelsilbe und in sekundär geschlossenen Silben wahrscheinlich macht.

5. Die mundartlichen Belege *Bih*, die zudem noch aus Gebieten stammen, die in unmittelbarem Kontakt zum Südlichen Bug (Braclav) stehen.

6. Die Überlieferung des Ortsnamens *Medžybiž*, die nur -o- im zweiten Bestandteil des Namens aufweist, sowie die moderne ukrainische Lautung, die nur auf altes *-bož-, nicht aber auf *-božž-, zurückgeführt werden kann. Dieser Ortsname ist deshalb besonders wichtig, weil er offenbar nicht von dem ukrainischen Wort für „Gott“ in dem Maße beeinflußt wurde, wie dieses bei dem Namen des Südlichen Bug der Fall gewesen sein dürfte (dazu s. u.).

Für die Annahme einer Rekonstruktion **Boǵo* „Südlicher Bug“ sprechen:

1. Die Tatsache, daß der Name des Südlichen Bug im Ukrainischen häufig als *Boh* und kaum als *Bih* erscheint.
2. Der von G. Schramm beigebrachte altrussische Beleg *Boǵo*.
3. Der bei G. Shevelov erwähnte altukrainische Beleg *Boǵo* „a zero grade to *Buǵo*“⁷².

Gegen alle drei Punkte lassen sich jedoch schwerwiegende Argumente vorbringen.

Zu 1. Da ein mutmaßlicher Wandel *Boh* > *Bih* nur in neu geschlossenen Silben auftritt und der Wandel selbst erst für das 16. Jahrhundert angesetzt werden darf, ist es zunächst nicht verwunderlich, daß in den ältesten Quellenbelegen nicht -i-, sondern -o- auftritt. Von den jüngeren Belegen, etwa seit 1500, fallen 2/3 für unsere Frage aus, da der Gewässername in obliquen Kasus erscheint, die offene Silben aufweisen und somit in jedem Fall -o- enthalten müssen. Für das letzte Drittel der oben aufgeführten urkundlichen Belege nun gibt es dafür, daß sie nicht

⁷² G. Shevelov, op. cit., S. 252 mit Deutung aus ukrain. *bhaty* „biegen“. Die nur im Ostslavischen nachweisbare Sippe um ukrain. *bhaty* geht jedoch eher auf **ǵbbati* zurück (s. M. Vasmer, Russ. etymol. Wb. I, S. 66) und bleibt besser fern.

-i- enthalten, plausible Gründe. Bei G. Shevelov heißt es⁷³: „The alternation *o, e : i* curtailed. Many a word which was subject to the alternation *o, e : i* in MU [= Mittelukrainisch] lost that alternation and, typically, lost it in favor of *o* (or *e*) generalized“ und „The forms with *i* . . . can be found in such words in old texts or in the dialects or else in their marginal forms within the standard language, but they are no longer there in the basic forms of the words in question.“⁷⁴ Unter den Beispielen, die G. Shevelov dann anführt, steht an erster Stelle ukrain. *boh* „Gott“, dessen -i-haltige Formen vor allem in Kompositionen mit *bih* als zweitem Glied erscheinen: *spasybi, probi, dalebi* neben *pro Bih, bihme, nebižčyk*. An dieser Stelle kann an den schon genannten Ortsnamen *Medžybiž* erinnert werden, der dieselbe Erscheinung aufweist. Daneben fanden sich ja auch in ukrainischen Dialekten Formen mit -i- für den Namen des Südlichen Bug.

Zu 2. Der altrussische Beleg *Bɔgɔ* entstammt der 1. Novgoroder Chronik, die wahrscheinlich in wesentlichen Teilen im Verlauf des 14. Jahrhunderts zusammengestellt wurde. Auf die Graphie des hier genannten Beleges kann jedoch nicht vertraut werden, wie einige Zitate, die wir folgen lassen, belegen werden: „Seit dem 12., besonders seit dem 13. Jh. pflegen nord- und nordwestrussische Schreiber ohne Unterschied *ɔ* und *o* . . . zu gebrauchen“⁷⁵, „Da *e* starkstelliges *ɔ*, *o* ebensolches *ɔ* vertritt, ist manchmal fälschlich . . . *ɔ* statt *o* geschrieben, wo etymologisch nur . . . *o* als ursprünglich erweisbar [ist]“⁷⁶ und „Smolenskaja gramota 1229 g. . . očē' jarko otražaet užē osuščestvivseesja padenie reducirovannyh: v nej nabljudaeťsa samoe besporjadočnoe smešenie *ɔ* i *o* . . . naprimer: . . . *dɔbrii* (vmesto *dobrii*), *miro* (vmesto *mirɔ*).“⁷⁷ Auf einem nordwestrussischen Beleg *Bɔgɔ* die Etymologie eines ukrainischen Gewässernamens aufzubauen, halte ich angesichts der hier angefügten Zitate für

⁷³ Op. cit., S. 724.

⁷⁴ Ebda., S. 725.

⁷⁵ V. Kiparsky, a.a.O., S. 99.

⁷⁶ E. Dickenmann, Altrussische Urkunden, Wiesbaden 1963, S. 19 (für das Nordrussische).

⁷⁷ V. I. Borkovskij, P. S. Kuznecov, *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka*, Moskva 1963, S. 99.

äußerst gewagt, zumindestens kann diesem Beleg nicht dasselbe Gewicht wie ukrainischen dialektalen Lautungen beigemessen werden.

Zu 3. Der altukrainische Beleg *Bogъ* ist wegen ähnlicher Belegen ebenfalls wenig beweiskräftig. G. Shevelov, der diese Form beigebracht hat (Hypatiuschronik?), zählt selbst zahlreiche altukrainische Fälle auf, in denen „spellings of the type *bogъmbъ* „God“ . . . *dovъlni* „satisfied“ . . . *rěkъchъ* „say“ . . . should not be taken at their face value but read as *bogom’*, *dovol’ni*, *re-koch* . . .“⁷⁸.

Wir glauben mit der ausführlichen Behandlung der Quellenbelege für den Südlichen Bug nachgewiesen zu haben, daß für die Etymologie des Namens nur eine Ausgangsform **Bogъ* in Frage kommen kann. Der Name ist dann in der weiteren Entwicklung mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit wie das Homonym ukrain. *boh* „Gott“ behandelt worden, die *-i*-haltigen Formen (entstanden seit dem 16. Jahrhundert) wurden zugunsten der *-o*-Formen aufgegeben und hielten sich nur in Dialekten, aber auch in dem Ortsnamen *Medžybiž*. Die Belegsituation läßt darüberhinaus deutlich erkennen, daß die heutige offizielle Lautung mit *-u-* (*Südlicher Bug*, *Južnyj Bug*, *Pivdennyj Buh*) sekundär entstanden ist. Ältere Belege mit *-u-* sind sicher vom Namen des Westlichen Bug beeinflusst. Die Entwicklung von *Boh* > *Buh* wird verschiedene Ursachen gehabt haben: 1. Die geographische Nähe des Westlichen Bug und das Einwirken dieses Namens auf den des Südlichen Bug; 2. Die polnische Lautentwicklung **Bogъ* > *Bóg* > [*Bug*]⁷⁹; 3. Ein im Ukrainischen weit verbreiteter, dem Polnischen entsprechender, Übergang von *o* > *u* (Ukanje)⁸⁰.

Die Etymologie des Namens muß also, wie wir hoffen, nachgewiesen zu haben, von **Bogъ* ausgehen. Damit bleibt die schon von J. Rozwadowski⁸¹, M. Vasmer⁸², T. Lehr-Splawinski⁸³ und

⁷⁸ Op. cit., S. 244.

⁷⁹ M. T. Dolenko, a.a.O., S. 83, G. Schramm, op. cit., S. 98–99.

⁸⁰ G. Shevelov, op. cit., passim.

⁸¹ *Studia nad nazwami wód słowiańskich*, S. 238ff.

⁸² *Russ. etymol. Wörterbuch* 1, S. 133.

⁸³ *O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowiań*, Poznań 1946, S. 58.

anderen vorgeschlagene Verbindung mit germ. *baki-* „Bach“, ir. *búal* (< **boglo*) und slav. **bagъno* bestehen⁸⁴, einzelsprachliche Herkunft, sei es germanisch⁸⁵, sei es iranisch⁸⁶, ist allerdings wenig wahrscheinlich. Ein „uridg. Ablaut“ **bag-/ *bog-/ *bug-*, den S. Rospond annimmt⁸⁷, bleibt eine Hypothese, die darunter leidet, daß zwei Ablautreihen miteinander verbunden werden, die im allgemeinen getrennt voneinander auftreten.

Als wesentliches Ergebnis dieser Untersuchung möchten wir festhalten: um die Etymologie eines Gewässer- oder Ortsnamens auf eine möglichst sichere Basis zu stellen, ist es notwendig, das urkundliche Material, das für die Deutung des Namens von Bedeutung ist, in seiner Gesamtheit zu berücksichtigen. Weiterhin sollte man sich davor hüten, einzelne Belege, die zudem noch aus Quellen stammen, die weitab von dem hier behandelten Gewässer(namen) verfaßt wurden, allzu stark zu belasten. Schließlich ist es für die Etymologie eines geographischen Namens unerläßlich, die lokalen Quellen und Mundartbelege in gebührendem Maße zu berücksichtigen. Gerade diese zeigen in dem hier behandelten Fall den richtigen Weg zur Deutung des Namens.

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⁸⁴ A. Greule, Vor- und frühgermanische Flußnamen am Oberrhein, Heidelberg 1973, S. 30ff., Z. T. Franko, Hramatyčna budova ukrains'kyh hidronimiv, Kyiv 1979, S. 66–67, W. P. Schmid, Zeitschrift für Ostforschung 28 (1979) S. 411, J. Udolph, Studien zu slavischen Gewässernamen und Gewässerbezeichnungen, Heidelberg 1979, S. 326.

⁸⁵ J. Rozwadowski, a.a.O.

⁸⁶ O. N. Trubačev, Nazvanija rek pravoberežnoj Ukrainy, Moskva 1968, S. 183.

⁸⁷ Vostočnoslavjanskaja onomastika, Moskva 1972, S. 20.

Those Gothic Spirants Again

O. Our Gothic manuscripts show alternations between (transliterated) *b d z* and *f þ s*, the former in medial position, the latter after a vowel in absolute finality or before *-s*: nom. sg. *hlaiþs* 'bread', acc. sg. *hlaiþ*, gen. sg. *hlaibis*, dat. sg. *hlaiba* (where *b* = /v/ or /β/, hereinafter designated by the symbol *ḅ*, as in the handbooks); infin. *biḁjan* 'ask for', 1/3 sg. pret. ind. *baþ*; strong masc. nom. sg. *baupþs* 'deaf', acc. sg. *baudana* (where *d* = /ð/); nom. sg. *riqis* 'darkness', gen. sg. *riqizis*, and so on.¹ Germanists have been unanimous in evaluating this graphic alternation as the product of a Pre-Gothic devoicing of spirants in word-final position ("Auslautsverhärtung").²

As unassailable as it may seem, the fixation of the neutralization in the Pre-Gothic period is merely an assumption. One of the great difficulties in determining the relative chronology of such a change is that we have no documentary evidence from which to establish a terminus ante quem. Wulfila's translation of the Scriptures is preserved only in later copies. Anywhere from 150 to 200 years intervened between the time of the translator (4th century A.D.) and the recording of the extant documents (6th century). The interim saw considerable activity in textual criticism and revision on the part of the Gothic clergy. Although the Gothic version had been translated originally from the Greek, its renderings show the influence of Latin (Friedrichsen 1926, 1939). The scribal period may also have witnessed the introduction of certain linguistic features into the texts. There is no reason to presume linguistic homogeneity between translator and

¹ The adjacency of stem-final *b* and *d* to the nom. sg. termination *-s* (< *-z) in Gothic is due to an earlier loss of the thematic vowel. It is normally assumed that the devoicing of *-z caused the devoicing of the entire cluster: *-ḅz, *-ðz > -þs, -ps.

² Unless otherwise indicated, I follow Moulton 1948, p. 78, 1954, p. 41f., 1972, p. 173, Braune/Ebbinghaus ¹⁷1966, §§ 54, 74, Krause ³1968, § 107 on the consonant system of Proto-Germanic.

scribes. But, unlike translation technique, the evidence for revisions of a linguistic nature is almost exclusively internal. Pending the recovery of more extensive documentation, the dating of a linguistic change must inevitably be a matter of approximate guessing and may, in some cases, be so tentative or imprecise that it is hardly worth the effort.

Nevertheless, the chronology of final spirant devoicing in Gothic merits closer scrutiny. If the prevailing view is true, then the results of the devoicing should be uniform throughout the corpus; but they are not. There is a residue of some 226 occurrences of final *-b -d -z* in our manuscripts. The alternate spellings are not the product of orthographic free variation. Nowhere do we find examples of *-b -d -z* for etymological **-f *-þ *-z* (1/3 sg. pret. ind. *qap* 'say', never **qad*). Then there is the problem of the voiced velar spirant */-ɣ/* in final position. It is not immediately apparent from the manuscript evidence exactly how the devoicing affected this segment, for *-g* is not replaced by a different letter, especially not by *h*. Considerations of naturalness and pattern congruity would dictate that */-ɣ/*, too, must have been subject to devoicing, notwithstanding the consistent spellings: nom. sg. *dags* 'day' = */daxs/*, acc. sg. *dag* = */dax/*, gen. sg. *dagis* = */daɣis/* (de Vries 1930, p. 212; Moulton 1954, p. 6f., 1972, p. 156; Marchand 1955 [1973, p. 67]; Krause ³1968, § 107; Vennemann 1972, p. 878n.). Scholars are wont to ascribe the lack of overt graphic representation to a difference in pronunciation between *-g* and *-h* (as in *dags*, *dag* beside *slahs*, *slah* 'blow'). But this is likewise an assumption; see Roberge, to appear.³

With neither the original Bible translation nor reliable younger material from which to establish points of reference, it has been easier to believe that the spirant devoicing had already run its course by Wulfila's time, and account for the deviations by po-

³ The Gothic manuscripts do not show any alternation between *-b/-f*, *-d/-þ* in post-consonantal positions. This is commonly taken as an indication that the occlusive allophones of PGmc. */b̥ d̥ ɣ/* have been extended to all such environments: nom. sg. *lamb* 'lamb', masc. nom. sg. *blinds* acc. sg. *blindana* 'blind', neut. nom./acc. sg. *jugg* 'young', acc. sg. *ald* 'time', nom. sg. *gazds* 'thorn', acc. sg. *gahugd* 'mind, conscience', 1/3 pret. ind. *biswarb* 'wipe dry', etc.

siting impingent or secondary phonological developments. But unless these derivative hypotheses are themselves tenable, then our entire analysis must remain suspect. It may well be that the first hypothesis is indeed correct and that the available evidence is simply too vague to permit any firm conclusions regarding the deviations. But it is also possible that the first hypothesis itself is invalid, in which case the deviations are not likely to find satisfactory explanation at all. In what follows, I want to propose that the patterning of the deviations suggests a rather different analysis of Gothic final spirants, to wit: The diffusion of the spirant devoicing is to be fixed not in Pre-Gothic, as is generally believed, but rather in the period separating the Wulfilian translation from the extant documents.

1.0. Final *-b* and *-bs* are written some 18 and 5 times, respectively, where we should expect to find *-f* and *-fs*: *gadob* for *gadol* 'fitting', *twalib* for *twalif* 'twelve', *hlaib* for *hlaiþ*, *hlaibs* for *hlaiþs*. We find *-d* and *-ds* some 150 and 44 times, respectively, where we should expect to find *-þ* and *-þs*: *haubid* for *haubiþ* 'head', 2 sg. imper. *anabiud* for *anabiþ* 'command', 1/3 sg. pret. ind. *bad* for *baþ*, past. part. *galagid* for *galagiþ* 'laid', 3 sg. pres. ind. *habaid* for *habaiþ* 'have', 2 pl. pres. ind. *frijod* for *frijof* 'love', nom. sg. *bruþfads* for *bruþfaþs* 'bridegroom', *had* for *haþ* 'whither'. And we find *-z* some 9 times where we should expect to find *-s*: *riqiz* for *riqis*, *minz* for *mins* 'less'.⁴ These variant finals are concen-

⁴ The relevant data are collected in Streitberg 1906, p. 396ff., to which the following items should be added: *grob* (Luke 6.48), *anabaud* (John 14.31), *frawaurkjaid* (1 Cor. 15.34A), *stad* (John 14.2 and 14.3) [these reported by Jellinek (1926, p. 57n.)], as well as *stad* (John 18.2), *god* (1 Thes. 5.21A), *habaid* (John 19.11), *Mosez* (2 Cor. 3.13A), and *weitwod* (2 Cor. 1.23A, B). To be deleted from Streitberg's inventory are *galapods* (1 Cor. 7.18) and *ufarhauhids* (1 Tim. 3.6A), which were later read as, respectively, *galapops*, *ufarhauhiþs*, as well as *ungafairino[n]ds* (1 Tim. 3.2 B and Titus 1.6 B). Not included in this count are the proper names *Lod* (Luke 17.29), *Gudilub* (Arezzo Deed), *Iakob* (Rom 9.13)/*Jakob* (Veronese Marginalia, 17.27), and *Daweid* (7 occurrences). In Luke 5.24 Streitberg evidently counted *habaid* twice (1906, p. 398 and 399).

Verification of these figures was facilitated by the indices in de Tolenaere and Jones 1976. The count given in Marchand 1955 [1973,

trated in the first 10 chapters of the Gospel of Luke and Chapters 10–19 of John. They also occur with some frequency in the Epistles (Codices Ambrosiani A and B) and sporadically throughout the remainder of the Gothic corpus.

1.1. This orthographic vacillation represents a classic type of problem in the interpretation of written evidence. Does the periodic substitution of *-b -d -z* for historically justified *-f -þ -s* provide an indication of a pronunciation feature? Or do the ahistorical finals amount to nothing more than inconsequential deviations in the orthography? These finals stimulated perennial interest and, at times, lively debate during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They were taken up for renewed discussion by another generation of linguists committed to structural analysis and who sought to lay the matter to rest once and for all. I do not intend to review in detail the entire literature concerned with this aspect of our problem (much of which is ephemeral anyway). But it will be profitable to characterize—at least briefly—the assumptions and reasoning through which various proposals have evolved in order to determine what these finals are *not*.⁵

For many scholars, the variant finals indicated a phonological innovation, most likely a late dialectal change introduced by the scribes. Kock (1881) believed that final *-b -d -z* remained sporadically (i.e., they were not devoiced) after a vowel in unaccented syllables (e.g., 3 sg. pres. ind. *qīþid* ‘say’, acc. sg. *weitwod* ‘witness’) and after a long vowel or diphthong in accented syllables (acc. sg. neut. *god* ‘good’, 1/3 sg. pret. ind. *baud* ‘offer’). Apparent exceptions such as *sad itan* (Luke 15.16) for *saþ itan* ‘satiates oneself’ and *bad ina* ‘entreated him’ (Luke 15.28) for expected *baþ ina*, etc. were explained away as the preservation of voice due to (respectively) composition and enclisis before a vocalic initial—not unlike 2 pl. pres. ind. *nimiþ* ‘you take’ beside *nimi-*

p. 48] and 1956, p. 148 is in error; that in Voyles 1981, p. 71 is based on Streitberg 1906 and is therefore incomplete.

⁵ I refer the reader to Braun 1913, p. 377–387 for a comprehensive, though uncritical survey of the literature to 1910; also Braune/Ebbinghaus 1966, § 74.

duh 'and you take'. In a later essay (1900) Kock reaffirmed his phonetic explanation and advanced a new chronology. The variant finals were now seen as a post-Wulfilian "Lautentwicklungstendenz" which took place among the Goths in Italy during the sixth century, e.g., PGmc. **γōðaz* > Wulfilian *goþs* > Ostrogothic *gods*.

Braune (⁴1985, §§ 74, 79) acknowledged (diffidently) the possibility that the variant finals may attest to a younger phonological innovation but did not hazard any further conjecture. In his grammatical appendix to the Stamm/Heyne edition of the Gothic texts (⁹1896), Wrede suggested that etymological *f* (< PGmc. **f*) and the secondary Gothic *f* (< **-b*) might have entailed two different points of articulation, the former being labio-velar [f], the latter bilabial [Φ]. Similarly, etymological *þ* (< PGmc. **þ*) was preserved as a voiceless spirant, while Wulfilian intervocalic *-d-* became a stop. The secondary *þ* that had arisen from **-ð* in Wulfilian Gothic also underwent occlusion to [t] in Ostrogothic, either because the two *þ*'s were never completely identical phonetically, or on account of analogical influence from paradigmatically related forms with medial *-d-*. Van Helten (1903, 1910) stood in agreement with the spirit of Wrede's proposal and was amenable to certain aspects of Kock's, but quibbled about matters of detail. Odefey (1908, p. 108) assumed final *-b*, *-d* to represent a late change but did not consider their sound values.⁶

Other scholars tried to explain the occurrence of *-b -d -z* for final *-f -þ -s* as orthographic reflexes of a regular sandhi alternation between voiced and voiceless spirants, depending on the voice feature of the following initial. For Kögel (1885) the exist-

⁶ The theory of Ostrogothic influences from the scribes has been a controversial matter in the history of Gothic studies; see Marchand 1955 [1973, p. 38f.] and 1956, Braune/Ebbinghaus ¹⁷1966, § 74 for discussion and references. Whatever light the name *Gudilub* in the Arezzo Deed (6th century) might shed on our problem is negated by a second name, *Wiljariþ*, in the Naples Document. We can dispose of the matter most expeditiously by recalling Streitberg's query: "Was wissen wir denn überhaupt vom 'ostgotischen Dialekt'?", to which he replied: "Nichts" (1906, p. 392n.).

ence of 3 sg. pres. ind. *bairid* 'bear' beside *bairiþ* pointed to "Satz-doubletten" created by the preservation of *-d* in enclisis (recall *nimiþ* : *nimiduh*) and before vocalic initials. Streitberg (1897, 1906, 1909) maintained that final *-b -d -z* represent orthographic traces of a regular phrase phonological rule (the discovery of which he attributed to Sievers): "vor stimmhaftem Anlaut bleiben die stimmhaften Spiranten des Auslauts erhalten" (1897, § 30). According to Streitberg, the vast majority ("die weitaus überwiegende Mehrzahl") of finals in *-b -d -z* are consistent with the rule, which had originated in Wulfilian times but whose graphic expression was "nachwulfilianisch": *hlaib barne* (Mark 7.27), *þiubs ni* (John 10.10), *weneid andniman* (Luke 6.34), *bruþ-fads miþ* (Luke 5.34), *aiz ak* (Mark 6.8), etc. (where tautosyllabic *-bs*, *-ds* have the phonetic values *-ðz*, *-ðz*). That the voiced alternants were represented only sporadically in the manuscripts was interpreted as scribal vacillation between "Wortschrift" and "Satzschrift."⁷ Seeking to defend the Sievers-Streitberg hypothesis against counterclaims that the correlation between final *-b -d -z* and voiced initials was arbitrary coincidence (Hench 1897; Bethge 1898, 1900), Braun (1913) inferred traces of phrase phonology from the colometric display of the Codices Ambrosiani.

⁷ Statistical considerations alone would seem to provide formidable evidence against any hypothesis of consistent sandhi at word junctions. Only 55% of the instances of voiced finals occur before voiced initials; see Hench 1897, p. 51, Marchand 1955 [1973, p. 48] for discussion. Even if one rejects such counterarguments as "das typische Beispiel einer falsch angewandten statistischen Methode (Streitberg 1906, p. 386), one is still hard-pressed to explain the large number of voiced finals before voiceless initials (e.g., Luke 1.13: *gabairid sunu* 'will bear [a] son') and in pausa (John 10.11: *ik im hairdeis gods. hairdeis sa goda* . . . 'I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd . . .'). Streitberg modified his position somewhat in later editions of his *Elementarbuch*. The sandhi rule was assumed to have operated as formulated in the original Sievers/Streitberg hypothesis. However, *b* and *d* became stops in pre-Wulfilian Gothic, and the residual alternation between voiced and voiceless sounds in final position became dependent on intonation: "*s f þ* erscheinen regelmäßig bei hoher, *z b d* bei tiefer Tonlage. Durch diese Verschiebung des ursprünglichen Verhältnisses erklären sich die vorhandenen Ausnahmen des älteren satz-phonetischen Gesetzes aufs einfachste" (^{5/6}1920, § 25; cf. also §§ 116, 126).

More recently, Voyles (1981) has raised still another possibility. The consistent *g*-finals may indicate that /*ɣ*/ was not subject to devoicing at all. This would not be altogether surprising, since /*ɣ*/ “has often been seen to elude phonological processes which affect front consonants such as /*b̥ ɖ̥*/” (p. 70f.). For example, PGmc. */*b̥*/ and */*ɖ̥*/ became stops initially in West Germanic and Gothic, while */*ɣ*/ remained a continuant. Another such instance is the apparent imperviousness of Go. /*ɣ*/ to devoicing in 2 sg. pres. ind. *magt* ‘can’ und 2 sg. imper. *ogs* ‘fear’ (**maht*, **ohs*). If devoicing was inapplicable to /*ɣ*/, then it may well have been an optional rule with respect to /*b̥ ɖ̥ z*/. And if the orthographic variants are phonetically accurate, Voyles reasoned, then spirant devoicing must have applied most often to /*z*/, less often to /*b̥*/, and least often to /*ɖ̥*/. If correct, this interpretation would imply that the obstruent devoicing so prevalent among the Germanic languages probably began by applying optionally to front continuant consonants, later to back ones, and lastly (in certain dialects) to both continuants and stops (p. 71).

However, Voyles’ arguments are assumptive and counter-intuitive. The phonetic quality of initial *g*- in Gothic is unclear. That *g* could stand for a voiced segment before tautosyllabic *-t*, *-s* is highly unlikely. As Vennemann (1972, p. 878n.) has pointed out, it is very doubtful that rules are possible which devoice [*b̥ ɖ̥ z*] to the exclusion of [*ɣ*]. That spirant devoicing was not categorial at its inception would be a perfectly reasonable assertion. But to say in effect that voiced and voiceless finals are free variants in the later language merely begs the question: Spirant devoicing applied—except when it didn’t; the scribes elected to express this fact—except when they didn’t.

1.2. According to conventional wisdom, instances of final *-b* *-d* *-z* in the Gothic texts are to be seen as secondary scribal deviations, a kind of analogical or “morphophonemic” writing on the order of Modern German *Tag*, *Tages*, *Tage*, *Tagen* (< MHG. *tac*, *tages*, etc.); *geben*, *gibt*, *gib*. It has been noted that this substitution is prevalent in those classes of words in which a morphophonemic relationship exists between (voiceless) final and (voiced) medial spirants; that is, between the nominative and accusative

singular and the oblique cases of nouns (*hlaiḡs*, *hlaiḡ*: gen. sg. *hlaibis*, dat. sg. *hlaiba*, nom. pl. *hlaibos* etc. ÷ *hlaibs*, *hlaib*) and adjectives (strong masc. nom. sg. *goḡs*, acc. sg. *goḡ* : gen. sg. *godis*, dat. sg. *godamma*, etc. ÷ *gods*, *god*); between the 2 sg. imperative and infinitive (*anabiup* : *anabiudan* ‘command’ ÷ *anabiud*); between the 1/3 sg. pret. ind., preterite plural, past participle, and infinitive (*baḡ* : *bedum*, etc., *bidans*, *bidjan* ÷ *bad*); and between the inflected and uninflected forms of the weak past participle (*gasulip* : fem. dat. sg. *gasulidai* ÷ *gasulid*, from *gasuljan* ‘create’). On the basis of these correlations, most scholars are inclined to concur with Hench (1897) that *-f -ḡ -s* must have been written consistently in final position in the ancestors of our extant manuscripts. Wulfila’s orthography was a system of word writing. Final *-b -d -z* were written on occasion by later scribes due to analogical pressures inherent in morphophonemic/paradigmatic relatedness; see also Bethge 1898, 1900; Wright 1910, p. 77, 81, 82; Kluge 1911, p. 26; Jacobsohn 1920, p. 149–157; Jellinek 1926, p. 74; Penzl 1950, p. 223f.; Moulton 1954, p. 4, 1972, p. 145; Marchand 1955 [1973, p. 48f.] and 1956, p. 148f.; Braune-Ebbinghaus ¹⁷1966, §§ 56, 74; Krause ³1968, § 107; Beade 1973, p. 128; Garbe 1980, p. 202; Bennett 1980, p. 75.

1.3. The widely accepted view of “morphophonemic” writing threatens to come unravelled as soon as we take into consideration the apparent substitution of *-d* for historical *-ḡ* in verb terminations: 3 sg. pres. ind. *gaggid* for *gaggiḡ* ‘go’, *lagjid* for *lagjiḡ* ‘lay’, *mikileid* for *mikileiḡ* ‘praise’, *frijod* for *frijoḡ* ‘love’, *habaid* for *habaiḡ* ‘have’; 2 pl. pres. ind. *drigkid* for *drigkiḡ* ‘drink’, *witeid* for *witeiḡ* ‘know’; 2 pl. pres. opt. *frijod* for *frijoḡ* ‘love’, *taujaid* for *taujaiḡ* ‘do’, *leihaid* for *leihaiḡ* ‘lend’; 2 pl. imper. *stojid* for *stojiḡ* ‘judge’; 2 pl. pret. ind. *ussuggwud* for *ussuggwuḡ* ‘recite, sing out’, etc. (see Streitberg 1906, p. 398f.). It should be plainly obvious that these alternate spellings in *-d* could not have been introduced into the texts by “morphophonemic” writing. What would have provided an appropriate model?

Once again, I am reluctant to embark upon a tedious review of the literature. But it is significant that even the most virulent

critics of phonological interpretations of final *-b -d -z* themselves resorted to such solutions in order to explain away the *d*-terminations and preserve the “morphophonemic” writing hypothesis. According to Hench (1897, p. 50f., 57f.), the presence of *-d* in the verb morphology reflects an Ostrogothic sound change, whereby final *-þ* came to be voiced in unstressed syllables (cf. Kock 1881, 1900). Bethge (1898, p. 174) pronounced this “eine unmögliche Verlegenheitshypothese” and suggested (1900) that the *d*-terminations are analogical extensions from cliticized verbs with voiced spirant (e.g., *frijōþ* : *frijoduh* ÷ *frijod*). Bethge’s proposal was in turn vigorously contested by Streitberg (1906, p. 393f.), who pointed out the relative infrequency of cliticized verb forms (none attested in the 3 sg. pres. indicative) and the complete absence of *z*-spellings in 2 sg. terminations, despite their acceptance of enclitics (2 sg. pres. opt. *wileis* : *wileizu* ‘wilt thou?’). Indeed, analogy might just as easily have worked in the opposite direction, as in 2 pl. pres. opt. *bidjaiþuþ-þan* ‘pray’ (1 Thes. 5.25 A, B).

If in little else, Hermann Jacobsohn (1920, p. 149–157) agreed with Streitberg that the *d*-terminations could not have emerged from enclisis. He observed that out of some 74 attestations of this *-d* in the Gothic mss., only 2 are found in the Epistles (2 pl. pres. ind. *frawaurkjaid* ‘sin’ (1 Cor. 15.34 A), *ussiggwaid* ‘sing out, recite’ (Col. 4.16 B)), while 11 occur in John 10–16. The former were analyzed as—what else?—analogical variants patterned after verb terminations with etymological *-d*-, e.g., 1/3 sg. passive optative *ussiggwaidau*, which occurs twice within the same verse as *ussiggwaid*. Of the variant verb terminations in John 10–16, nine occur in verbs of the third weak class: 3 sg. pres. ind. *libaid* ‘live’, *habaid* ‘have’ (3 ×), *fijaid* ‘hate’, 2 pl. pres. ind. *habaid* (2 ×), *fastaid* ‘keep, preserve’ (2 ×). Jacobsohn attributed the alternate forms to phonomorphological overlap among exponents, which projected the *d* of the 1/3 sg. passive optative into the 2 pl. pres. optative (*-aiþ* : *-aidau* ÷ *-aid*) and, from the latter, progressively through the 2 pl. pres. imperative, the 2 pl. pres. indicative, to the 3 sg. pres. indicative (thus, *-aiþ* : *-aiþ/-aid* ÷ *-aiþ/aid*). Subsequently, the *-d* made its way into a few long-stem Class I verbs, whence 3 sg. pres. ind. *galaubeid* ‘believe’ (John

14.12) and 2 pl. pres. ind. *wopeid* 'call' (John 13.13). The 2 pl. pret. opt. *-aiþ/-aid* common to both classes would have provided the link.⁸

As to the remaining 61 *d*-terminations in Luke 1–10, Jacobsohn maintained that *-b*, *-d* had become free variants of *-f*, *-þ* in all contexts where the former had been extended from medial position by analogy (*hlaibs*, *hlaib*, *gods*, *god*, etc.). This variability in the rendering of final spirants subsequently impinged on the *-þ* in verb inflection and engendered alternate forms with *-d*. Such an hypothesis does presuppose that secondary *-þ* (< **-ð* by final devoicing) and etymological *þ* (< PGmc. **þ*) had not fallen together, for words terminating in the latter spirant are consistent in their spelling, as in 1/3 sg. pret. ind. *qaþ*, *qaþuh*, but not **qad*. For that reason, Jacobsohn had to accept Wrede's claim that the articulation of secondary *-þ* differed from that of etymological *þ*.

One need not belabor the rather obvious flaws in Jacobsohn's analysis. To be sure, the possibility of scribal error in the case of *ussiggwaid* must be weighed. But there is no discernible synchronic isomorphism between the *-aid*-element in the exponents of the passive optative (*-aidau*, *-aindau*) and the 2 pl. pres. optative (*-aiþ*), much less those of other morphological categories implemented by *-aiþ/-aid*. Analogical pressures emanating from the former must have been negligible. In any event, the entire scheme rests on the definitely gratuitous assumption that secondary *-þ* and etymological *þ* represent different phonological values, at least in the dialect(s) attested in Luke 1–10. Like other proffered phonological explanations, Jacobsohn's is purely conjectural. One cannot rest one's case on innovations the evidence for which is either unclear or wanting.⁹

⁸ Jacobsohn explained the absence of *d*-terminations among Class II weak verbs in John 10–16 from the fact that the exponent of the pivotal 2 pl. pres. optative in this class is *-oþ*, not *-aiþ*. If so, it is striking that the 1/3sg. passive optative *-odau* failed to exert similar pressures on 2 pl. pres. opt. *-oþ*.

⁹ These same misgivings doubtless underlay Jellinek's rejection (1926, p. 74f.) of Jacobsohn's position on the origin of the *d*-terminations in John 10–16 ("an sich nicht recht wahrscheinlich") and in Luke

2.1. If anything, the occasional manuscript spellings of *-b -d -z* appear to be vestiges of an older orthographic practice. That is to say, the variant finals are neither “scribal errors” in the usual sense of the term (i.e., textual intrusions; see Kluge 1911, p. 26) nor indiscriminate levelings among the graphic values of a morphophonemic variable. Rather, they must be remnants of a tradition long since abandoned.¹⁰

There is general agreement that intrusive deviations (specifically, purely mechanical errors and errors resulting from dialectal interference) should be random, as long as a) the scribes in question sought to be consistent in copying what lay before them, and b) the intrusions were unconscious (cf. Marchand 1956). Non-intrusive deviations—namely, residue from earlier traditions, may also be random. But, unlike intrusive deviations, there is no compelling reason to assume a priori that they must be so. Inept or haphazard integration of a global revision with existing conventions may introduce a measure of orthographic indeterminacy into the texts, especially given the absence prescriptive norms entrenched in a literate populace. Assuming, then, that the “correct” finals *-f -þ -s* were contained in the archetypes to our extant texts and that the scribes sought to reproduce these documents faithfully, one would expect “morphophonemic” spellings to present themselves fairly infrequently and with no specific pattern. And where two manuscripts have the same text, one would anticipate little, if any, overlap between deviant forms.

Instances in which orthographic leveling favors the nonderived or simplex configuration (in terms of constructional iconicity) bear these predictions out: *fragiban* ‘give, seize’ : dat. pl. *in fragibtim* (Luke 1.27) beside *in fragiftim* ‘betrothed’ (Luke 2.5);

1–10 (“steht und fällt mit der Annahme, daß *-þ* aus *-d* anders klang als ursprüngliches”).

¹⁰ Perhaps Kieckers (1928, p. 190f.) had just this possibility in mind in his discussion of the prehistory of Go. 3 sg. pres. ind. *-iþ*: “Ob man sich für *-iði* oder *-iþi* entscheidet, hängt davon ab, wie man die Formen auf *-id* . . . beurteilt. Hält man das *-d* darin für alt, so muß man von *-iði* ausgehen. Sieht man es für eine jüngere Erscheinung aus *-þ* an, so kann man auf beide Formen zurückgreifen . . . Doch ist die Entstehung aus *-iði* schon wegen der 3. Plur. am wahrscheinlichsten.”

unfroþs 'uncomprehending' : nom. pl. *unfroþans* (Gal. 3.3 A) beside historical *unfroðans* (Gal. 3.1 A); nom. sg. *sumsuh* 'and another' (1Cor. 7.7 A) for expected *sumzuh** (cf. *sumzuþ-þan* in 1Cor. 11.21 A); acc. pl. *sumansuþ-þan* (2×) 'and others' beside *sumanzuþ-þan* (all in Eph. 4.11 A) (cf. also *sumanzuh* in Mark 12.5); nom. sg. *bidjandansuþ-þan* 'but in praying' (Matt. 6.7); 2 pl. pres. opt. *bidjaiþuþ-þan* 'pray' (1Th. 5.25 A, B); 3 sg. pret. ind. *urumnoda* (2Cor. 6.11 B) beside *urrunoda* 'open up' in A with the expected rhotacism.¹¹

Concentrations of variant finals within specific portions of manuscripts written by identical hands stand at odds with this scenario. In marked contrast to Chapters 10–19, Chapters 5–9 of the Gospel of John are free from occurrences of final *-b -d -z*. The other Gospel copied by Scribe I, Matthew, shows only three such readings. Chapters 1–10 of Luke contain 108 occurrences, as against 9 in Chapters 11–21, and 6 in the Gospel of Mark (both copied by Scribe II).¹² The disparity between expected and observed distribution is most strikingly illustrated in the Sermon

¹¹ Jacobsohn (1920, p. 174–175) characterized *sumsuh*, *sumansuþ-þan*, and *bidjaiþuþ-þan* as mechanical errors induced by the proximity of noncliticized allomorphs in the same or preceding verse. For example, *sumsuh* for expected *sumzuh* in 1Cor. 7.7 A resulted from the presence of *sums* in *sums swa sumsuh swa* 'one in this way, another in that way.' *bidjandsuþ-þan* (Matth. 6.7) may have been triggered by *standandans* in 6.5, although Jacobsohn found the relative markedness of the form a more believable explanation. With the possible exception of *bijandzuþ-þan* 'at the same time' (Philemon 22), a hapax legomenon the origin of which is obscure, participles co-occurring with *-uþ-þan* are otherwise unattested. Whether a given scribe unwittingly allowed his eye to wander along the page or wrote according to some prior mental image is, of course, entirely moot.

Possible candidates for this list are 1/3 sg. pret. ind. *saislep* 'sleep,' *anasaislep*, 3 pl. pret. ind. *anasaislepun* 'fall asleep' beside *gasaizlep* (John 11.11), *gasaizlepun* (1Cor. 15.6 A) 'sleep.' Streitberg (1906, p. 393 n.) considered the preterites in *-z-* to be "lautgesetzlich," the variants in *-s-* having arisen under the influence of nonreduplicated allomorphs (such as infinitive *slepan*). Given the chronic failure of Gothic strong verbs to show the effects of Verner's Law, one strongly suspects doublets (cf. *aih* 'I have, possess,' 1 pl. *aigum/aihum*).

¹² John 1–4, 20–21 and Luke 21–24 are not preserved.

on the Mount (Luke 6.17–49), which alone contains 25 of the 61 *d*-terminations occurring in the first 10 Chapters of Luke. The majority of these forms represent exponents of 2nd person plural inflection, although one does find, in addition, 3 sg. pres. ind. *rodeid* ‘speak’ (6.45), *usbairid* ‘bring forth’ (6.45), 3 sg. pret. ind. *grob* ‘dig, bury’ (6.48), the participles *gasulid* ‘created’ (6.48) and *gamanwids* ‘perfected’ (6.40), *gods* (6.35, 43), *god* (6.43), *samalaud* ‘as much’ (6.34), *mitads* ‘measure’ (6.38). By contrast, there are but 6 occurrences of the “correct” final *-þ* (< **-ð*) in the Sermon: 2 pl. pres. ind. *wairþiþ* ‘become’ (6.21, 25, 35 [2 ×]), *sijuþ* ‘be’ (6.22), 2 pl. pres. opt. *þiuþjaiþ* ‘bless’ (6.28). (To this list one might wish to add *miþ* (< **miði*) and 2 sg. imp. *giþ*, from *giban* ‘give’.)

Assuming that Scribe II (of Luke and Mark) had before him a copy with the “correct” finals, we would have to believe that in Luke 1–10 he was guilty of either gross negligence or unconscionable tampering with the text, yet exercised reasonable care and restraint in the remainder of this Gospel and in Mark. (The same would have to apply mutatis mutandis to Scribe I on account of John 10–19.) Intrusive deviation seems even less likely if we consider a scribal emendation in Luke 18.11 (. . . *sis þo bad*: *gþ* . . .), where *bad* has been changed from *baþ* (Streitberg, Bibel, p. 151). As Marchand (1956, p. 142) has emphasized, whenever such a correction has been made by either the original scribe or contemporaneously by another, we can be certain that the form deleted was considered by him to be wrong and the form inserted was considered right. Within the framework of the morphophonemic writing hypothesis, such a change would be virtually unthinkable.

It seems altogether more probable that the Argentinian scribes copied as faithfully as they could from manuscripts already containing final *-b -d -z*. If it is true that “der Codex argenteus, wie er uns vorliegt, aus verschiedenen, wahrscheinlich Hss.-Bruchstücken zusammengestellt wurde” (Odefey 1908, p. 108), then one must ascribe the excess of variant finals in Luke 1–10 and John 10–19, at the very least, to multiple parent copies for each of these gospels. If one takes the position that the Codex Argenteus was copied from a complete codex of all four Gospels (Fried-

richsen 1926), then the finals in question must derive from multiple ancestors even more ancient.

The patterning of final *-b -d -z* in parallel texts of Codices Ambrosiani A and B suggest that these finals, too, were present in the archetype. There is a close degree of kinship between these manuscripts, which, if not copies of the same original, as is usually asserted, are copies of parent manuscripts that go back to a common ancestor (Friedrichsen 1939, p. 62–137). There are 7 occurrences of final *-b -d -z* that are common to both manuscripts: *Mosez* (2Cor. 3. 13), *hlaib* (2Thes. 3. 8), *god* (1Tim. 2. 3), *gastigods* ‘hospitable’ (1Tim. 3. 2), *gariuds* ‘honorable’ (1Tim. 3. 2), *gadob* ‘fitting’ (1Tim. 2. 10), *anabiud* (1Tim. 5. 7). If the variant finals are to be understood as random deviations from established orthographic practice, then the likelihood that two different scribes would err in exactly the same places is exceedingly remote. Moreover, it is Cod. B which, 8 times, exhibits final *-b -d -z* in passages where A offers the “correct” spellings: *awiliud/awiliup* ‘thanks’ (1Cor. 15. 57; 2Cor. 2. 14, 8. 16) *faheds/faheps* ‘joy’ (Gal. 5. 22, 2Cor. 2. 3), *minz/mins* (2Cor. 12. 15), *god/gop* (1Tim. 1. 8), *hlaib/hlaij* (2Thes. 3. 12). Nowhere do Codd. A and B diverge such that the former contains a final *-b*, *-d*, or *-z* in passages where the latter shows *-f -p -s*. The variant finals were evidently changed in some of their occurrences by Scribe III of A. Were these deviations gratuitous intrusions into the text on the part of the A and B scribes, then one would not expect divergent readings to divide according to manuscript.¹³

2.2. At this juncture, some readers may be inclined to object that such arguments do not necessarily constitute grounds for rejection of the morphophonemic spelling hypothesis. At best, the evidence attesting to an older usage is only suggestive; at worst, it is merely circumstantial. All that is certain is that the

¹³ In the nonparallel texts of the Codd. Ambrosiani A and B, there are some 30 occurrences of final *-b -d -z*, 14 of which are in A, 16 in B. Acc. sg. *miþgardiwaddju* in Eph. 2. 14 B for *midgardiwaddju* (A) may be a hypercorrection prompted by the preposition *miþ*. Whatever its status, this divergence is of no particular consequence for the problem at hand; cf. Jellinek 1926, p. 75n.

variant finals in our existing manuscripts were inherited from their predecessors. Lapses into morphophonemic spelling are to be credited to earlier scribes, indeed, perhaps even to Wulfila himself (the latter conjecture from Marchand 1956, p. 149). Later scribes perpetuated these spellings and may have even added some of their own.

Anyone committed to an hypothesis that assumes intrusive orthographic leveling is faced not only with the difficult problem of motivating the presence of the *d*-terminations but with comparable difficulties in other categories.

The adjective *gadob* 'fitting' is attested only in a predicative role in the neuter nominative singular. The graphic shape *gadob* cannot be the object of analogical projection from oblique case forms (**gadob-*). One could look to the verb form *gadaban* 'happen' as a model, although this item occurs but once in our texts (Mark 10.32). Murkier still is the model for *minz* (2Cor. 12.15B). As an adverbial, *mins* 'less' (cf. Lat. *minus*) is indeclinable. An analogical projection originating in the comparative adjective *minniza* 'less, smaller' (*mins* : *minniza* ÷ *minz*) would depend on whether the sigmatic element in *mins* is synchronically isomorphic with *-iz-* (< PGmc. **-iz-* < IE. **-is-*).

Conceivably, the number 'twelve' may have come under the influence of inflected oblique forms (gen. *twalibe*, dat. *twalibim*) in the phrase *jah þai twalib miþ imma* 'and the Twelve [were] with him' (Luke 8.1), in which *twalib* functions as a nominal (cf. Jacobsohn 1920, p. 176). But projections of this kind would seem rather unlikely among the numbers 4–19, for the nominative and accusative cases are always uninflected. In such grammatical roles the graphic shape *twalif* (where this occurs in lieu of the numeral *ib*) would certainly be the unmarked member of any analogical equation, as in elliptical *jah gawaljands us im twalib* 'and choosing from them twelve [disciples]' (Luke 6.13). In the compound *twalibwintrus* 'twelve years of age' (Luke 2.42) the appearance of *twalib* is doubly striking. In the first place, the internal word boundary should have permitted devoicing.¹⁴

¹⁴ More ambiguous is the hapax legomenon dat. sg. *gudhusa* 'temple' (John 18.20). Retention of voice in this compound has been explained

Moreover, the numbers 4–19 are always indeclinable when preposed, irrespective of case; compare Luke 8.42 *wintriwe twalibe*.

3.0. Summarizing, we note that while the controversy that once surrounded the manuscript spelling *-b -d -z* may strike the contemporary reader as a tempest in a teapot, the matter remains far from resolved.

It is not probable that these finals represent traces of a productive, phonetically motivated, synchronic rule of phrase phonology in the later language. It is quite probable that in the early stages of devoicing the quality of an initial segment influenced that of a preceding spirant in specific phonosyntactic contexts (pace Jacobsohn 1920, p. 161–165). Whenever such phenomena can be observed directly, it is usually the case that incipient phonological changes are not categorial. They are instead subject to variable constraints (linguistic environments in which a rule operates more or less often), each with a relative weight. The variant spellings frequently appear in words that precede a pronoun, copula, or conjunction with a vocalic initial. These morphemes may have attached themselves as enclitics in certain phonostylistic registers: *bad ina* (Luke 5.12, 8.31, 8.41, 15.28), *gamelid ist* 'it is written' Luke 2.23, 3.4, 4.4, 4.8, 4.10, 7.27), *riqiz ist* (Matth. 6.23), *aiz ak* (Mark 6.8), etc. (cf. Mossé ²1956, § 65, Krause ³1968, § 107). Unfortunately, the actual conditions are not recoverable from the patterning of the variant finals in the extant documents; see Note 7.

Nor does it seem very likely that *-b -d -z* reflect a dialectal innovation in the scribal period. To be sure, the Gothic version of Luke is of a demonstrably younger recension (Friedrichsen 1926), and the first 10 Chapters do contain several orthographic peculiarities that distinguish them from the rest of the corpus.

as due to a loss of stem vowel (cf. ON. *godahus*; also Go. *gudafaurhts* 'godfearing,' nom. pl. *gudalausai* 'godless,' *gþaskaunein* 'image of God') followed by resyllabification occasioned by the weak articulation of *h-*: /ɣuðu:sa/ (Streitberg 1909, p. 181, 1910, p. 157; Moulton 1954, p. 8). Such a change presupposes lexicalization and concomitant reduction of boundary strength. Otherwise, the internal word boundary would have permitted devoicing regardless of the quality of *h* (as in NHG. *Landhaus*).

In view of the fact that the variant finals are found in the hands of at least six scribes and in view of the fact that the *d*-terminations are found in the Epistles and John as well as in Luke 1–10, we cannot consider these features to derive from the dialects of the scribes.¹⁵

The prevailing view of scribal morphophonemic spelling turns out to be replete with difficulties. The observed distribution of variant finals in our texts does not conform with the expected distribution, which we have determined on the basis of widely recognized postulates concerning the nature of intrusive deviation. If these spellings were confined to paradigmatically related forms, there would be at least some justification for ascribing them to younger morphophonemic writing. But the *d*-terminations and uninflected morphemes (*gadob*, *twalib*, *minz*, *had*) have nothing to do with leveling and demand a more credible explanation.

3.1. We know that the devoicing of final spirants was a relatively late innovation in Gothic. It clearly postdates the “breaking” or lowering of short **i*, **u* to *ai* [ɛ], *au* [ɔ] before **χ* or **r* (Go. *jaihu* ‘wealth, cattle’, OHG. *fihu*; Go. *baurgs* ‘city’, OHG. *burg*), as we see from the unbroken *i* in nom. sg. *wigs*, acc. sg. *wig* ‘way, journey’, *gabigs* ‘wealthy’. Consider also the rhotacism in the particle *us* ‘out, from’ before initial *r*–: *urreisan* ‘arise’, *urrinnan* ‘go out, go forth’, acc. sg. *urrist* ‘resurrection’ (Matth. 27.53), *urruns* ‘departure’, *ur riqiza* ‘out of darkness’ (2Cor. 4.6A, B). Now there is general agreement that this is also a relatively late change (Bethge 1900, p. 204, Krause 1968, § 62, Anm. 1). The fact that we find *ur*- and not **aur*- means that rhotacism must be younger than the beaking.¹⁶ By the same token, rhotacism

¹⁵ Marchand (1956, p. 149–151) invoked these criteria in order to establish the incomplete diffusion of *fl*- > *pl*- (*pluhan* ‘flee’ beside *flodus* ‘flood’) and the vocalism of *taujan* ‘do’ beside *stojan* ‘judge’ as due to dialect in the language of the translator and not to the scribes.

¹⁶ Jellinek (1926, p. 84) assumed a difference in articulation between etymological *r* and that in *ur* < **uz* (“Hier ist *ur*- aus *uz*- entstanden . . . und *r* hat die alveolare Artikulation des *z* beibehalten”). However, Vennemann (1972, p. 874) has demonstrated that uvular, alveolar, and retroflex *r*-sounds were all capable of inducing lowering, for they

cannot postdate devoicing, as Jacobsohn (1920, p. 176f.) seems to have thought. Jellinek (1926, p. 74) was quite correct in his assertion that *ur-* could have evolved only from **uz-*. A direct change from **us-* to *ur-* would be phonetically implausible; the quantum is simply too great. Rhotacism is achieved not in a single leap but instead through a combinatory change ("rule telescoping" in modern parlance). Instructive in this regard is Dressler's reconstruction of the progression of Latin rhotacism (*genus* : *generis*): $s > z > r > r$ (1980, p. 42f.).

Our hypothesis, then, is that the devoicing did not reach its full diffusion and implementation until well into the scribal period. We clearly cannot know how far devoicing had progressed in Wulfila's day. It may well have been in its incipient stages, functioning as an optional or variable rule. It may have been fairly advanced in its evolution but hidden behind a conservative orthography. All the same, lexemes and terminations containing etymological final /*b ð γ z*/ were regularly spelled with the characters transliterated as *b d g z* in the original text.

During the two centuries that elapsed between the translation and the recording of the extant manuscripts, final *-f -þ -s* were introduced into the texts in lieu of *-b -d -z* by later critics and scribes in accordance with the then current pronunciation. During various stages in the transmission of the texts, the scribes

share the property of lowered tongue body. Vennemann (1971, p. 100n.) himself looked to formal differences between rule types to account for the absence of breaking in *ur-*. The sandhi rule $z \rightarrow r / ___ \neq r-$ is not a word-level rule but a phrase-level rule. Phrase-level rules follow word-level rules like lowering in the sequence of application. In the same paper Vennemann also made the claim that lowering is "a very low-level rule of Gothic applying without exception to both native words and recent loans . . . [I]t is, in fact, a last rule, i.e., a rule which follows all other rules and precedes none within its subcomponent of grammar" (p. 99). As long as lowering was phonetically motivated and exceptionless, then considerations of rule order and typology should be irrelevant. Wilmanns (³1911, § 100.3, Anm. 2) cited Visigothic and Vandalic names from the 7th century as evidence for the later diffusion of rhotacism: *Ordulphus* = *Huzdulfus*, *Naribardus* = *Nasibardus*. By implication, this expansion would advance the chronology of devoicing still further toward the historical period of biblical Gothic.

occasionally copied a figura exactly as it appeared in the original, perhaps due to inattention brought on by the tedious nature of their work. Even so, we may speak of a sort of “morphophonemic writing,” but only in the sense that the influence of paradigmatically related word-forms interfered with the substitution from time to time.

3.2. The co-occurrence of nom. sg. *-s* with the variant finals in *hlaibs*, *gods*, etc. does not oppose this hypothesis but lends some slight support. Prehistoric syncope of the thematic vowel (**a*, **i*) in the nominative singular juxtaposed the termination with the final segment of the stem. This loss was surely accompanied by voice assimilation in one direction or another. That the stem-final segment determined the value of the feature [α voice] in the termination can be adduced from certain morphotactic properties of biblical Gothic. The omission of *-s* following non-syllabic *r* in *wair* ‘man’ (< **wiraz*), *baur* ‘son’ (< **buriz*) implies earlier rhotacism and thus an intermediate stage **wirz*, **burz*. The absorption of nom. sg. *-s* after *-s-* in nom. sg. *drus* ‘fall’ (< **drusiz*), *laus* ‘empty’ (< **lausaz*) presumes a neutralization of voice in the termination. An unmistakable instance of progressive assimilation occurs in the adverb *þana-seiþs* (< **siþ-iz*) ‘still, further’. If the Gothic 2 dual present indicative termination *-ts* is derivable from PGmc. **-ti/az* (< IE. **-d^e/os* ~ **-t^e/os*; cf. Skt. *-thas*), as Shields (1979) has proposed, then *maguts* ‘ye two can’, *magutsu* also provide appropriate examples.

There is no evidence to suggest that the directionality of the assimilation became reversed. From the spellings *gards*, *alds*, *þans*, we cannot decide between [garts], [alts], [paŋs] or [gardz], [aldz], [panz]. One has been inclined to assume preliterate devoicing of the ending and interpret the preceding consonant as voiceless (e.g., Krause ³1968, § 107). The contrast between *gazds* ‘thorn’ and *gasts* ‘guest’ makes it extremely unlikely that the cluster *-zd-* had become voiceless on account of the termination. And it is almost inconceivable that tautosyllabic *-s* would remain impervious to voice assimilation as long as *-zd-* was voiced.

Prior to devoicing, the Gothic nominative singular morpheme must have been realized by conditioned allomorphs not unlike

those of the English genitive and plural endings: [-s] following voiceless obstruents (*gasts*, *wulfs* 'wolf', *hrops* 'call, cry', *slahs*), [-z] after resonants and voiced obstruents (*gazds*, *akrs* 'field', *ains* 'one', *dags*); cf. English *costs*, *guards*, *acres*, *fans*, etc. Of possible significance is the shape of the nominative singular morpheme in the inscription **tilarids** 'goal pursuer' (Kowel Spearhead, ca. 250 A. D.). The allomorphy imputed to -s was concealed by an "uniformierende Orthographie," as Streitberg (1909, p. 177) contended, but one limited to certain inflectional syllables. Such a practice may be responsible for the co-existence of phonetic and morphophonemic spellings in *sums* : *sumsuh*, *sumzup-þan*; *sumans* : *sumansup-þan*, *sumanzup-þan*; *bidjandans* : *bidjandansup-þan*.

4.1. The variant finals are somewhat skewed with respect to lexeme incidence. Some items appear either exclusively or preponderantly with final -b or -d and suggest fossilized spellings: *þiubs* 'thief' (4×) (**þiuþs* not attested), *gastigods* 'hospitable' (3×) (**gastigops* not attested), *gods* (4×) for *goþs* (2×), *galiuga-weitwods* 'false witness' (3×), acc. sg. *weitwod* 'witness' (2×) (**weitwoþs*, **weitwoþ* unattested), acc. sg. *fahed* (3×) (**faheþ* unattested), *gadob* 'fitting' (5×; also nominalized as *þata gadob* 'propriety' in Skr. 1.16; cf. 3 sg. pret. ind. *gadob* 'was fitting' in Skr. 3.17) for *gadoþ* (1×). One can always claim that the many tokens of these lexemes in their oblique cases and derivatives led to the emergence of unitary graphic images. But appeals to type and token frequency provide weak support for younger orthographic leveling. Such factors might just as easily have inhibited graphic differentiation of allomorphs in the wake of an incipient phonological change.¹⁷

4.2. At the other extreme are high-frequency items which show only an isolated variant spelling (for *miþ* only *mididdjedun* 'they went along' in Luke 7.11) or none at all: *witoþ*, *witodis*

¹⁷ Other lexemes seem particularly prone to etymological spelling even though the "correct" forms are in the majority: *god* (11×) for *goþs* (23×); *riqiz* (4×) for *riqis* (4×); *hlaibs* (1×), *hlaib* (8×) for *hlaiþs* (10×), *hlaiþ* (21×); *faheds* (6×) for *faheþs* (10×); *bad* (6×) for *baþ* (19×); *gamelid* (7×) for *gameliþ* (36×).

'law' (**witod*), 2 sg. imper. *gif*, 1/3 sg. pret. ind. *gaƿ* (**gib*, **gab*). Note that the morphophonemic spelling hypothesis stumbles over these forms as well. Go. *gif*, *gaƿ* show no contamination from an abundance of co-allomorphs in -b-: infin. *giban*, 2 sg. pres. ind. *gibis*, 1 pl. pret. ind. *gebum*, 3 pl. *gebun*. Those who would contend (with Jellinek 1926, p. 74f.) that the graphic shape *gaƿ* found reinforcement in 2 sg. pret. ind. *gaft* (vis-à-vis *anabaup* : *anabaust*, *anabaud*) are confronted with *grob* for **grof*, despite the certain existence of *groft** in the spoken language, and *gadob* for **gadoƿ*, where the semantics and pragmatics of an impersonal verb like *gadaban* would have made second person forms a rarity. Probably the most sensible approach is to assume that the frequent occurrence of the word-forms established *gif*, *gaƿ*, *miþ* as "Schriftbilder" and checked any tendency to favor the etymological spelling. (Cf. Jellinek 1926, p. 75 on **witod*: "... die Häufigkeit von *witop* ... ist durch den Inhalt der Bibel bedingt.") But this is a matter for conjecture.

4.3. More troubling is the interpretation of the word for the Deity: nom. sg. *gþ*, gen. sg. *gþs*, dat. sg. *gþa*. At issue is how the contracted oblique case-forms are to be resolved. Taken at face value, the manuscript spellings would indicate *guþ(i)s*, *guþa* (Traube 1907, Streitberg ^{5/6}1920, § 145.4). In the plural we find the contracted form once in nom. pl. *gþa* (Gal. 4.8A) but *guda* twice as a simplex form (John 10.34, 35) and several times in the compound *galiugaguda* 'false gods'. As the initial element of compounds and in derivatives, both types are attested: *guda-faurhts* 'god-fearing' (Luke 2.25), *gudisks* 'divine', acc. sg. fem. *afgudon* 'godless' (Skr. 4.26), *afgudei* 'godlessness', nom. pl. masc. *gudalausai* 'godless' (Eph. 2.12), *gagudei* 'piety', but *gþblostreis* 'worshipper of God' (John 9.31), dat. sg. *gþaskaunein* 'image of God' (Philipp. 2.6B). The consonantism of the uncontracted forms would indicate *gudis*, *guda* (Hench 1896, Krause ³1968, § 121.2). Comparative evidence also favors the latter resolution (OHG. *got*, ON. *guð/goð*, OE. *zod*) but is not entirely conclusive. Gothic neuter nouns are frequently at odds with their North-west Germanic cognates with respect to Verner's Law, as in Go. *bloþ*, *bloþis*, *bloþa* 'blood', OHG. *bluot*, OE. *blōd*, ON. *blóð*.

If the first interpretation is correct, then this lexeme need not trouble us any further. The same holds true if, as Hatto (1944) argued, the lexeme manifested doublets: *gub-* characterized by reference to the Christian Deity and absence of a plural, *gud-* characterized by generic reference and a plural. (This theory was challenged in Ebbinghaus 1961 on paleographical grounds.) If $\overline{g\bar{p}}$ emerged as a visual sign from the nominative/accusative singular, as appears likely, then one must reckon with the possible existence of $\overline{g\bar{p}} = gub < *gud$ (by devoicing) in the original texts.

Although one hesitates to suggest that the scribes would interfere with the nomina sacra, we have no way of knowing whether $\overline{g\bar{p}}$ was the contraction Wulfila used. The possibility cannot be excluded that $\overline{g\bar{p}}$ is in fact a younger replacement of $*\overline{gd}$. The manuscripts do show some variability in the contraction of sacred names: $\overline{xus}$ (Hand I)/ $\overline{x\bar{s}}$ (Hand II) = *Xristus* 'Christ', $\overline{i\bar{u}s}$ (Hand I)/ $\overline{i\bar{s}}$ (Hand II) = *Iesus* 'Jesus', acc. sg. $\overline{f\bar{a}n}/\overline{f\bar{n}}$ = *frauþan* 'Lord'. The actual form of the contractions was evidently subject to change. The contracted plural $\overline{g\bar{p}a}$ for expected *guda* in Gal. 4.8A is surely scribal and hypercorrect. Traces of the original spelling may survive in the compound *gudhusa* (but see Note 14) and more remotely in the derivative *gaguds* 'honorable' (Mark 15.43). But this is slim evidence indeed. Further conjecture would gain us nothing. And in any event the etymology and interpretation of $\overline{g\bar{p}}$ - is fraught with uncertainty. This item cannot be cited for or against a particular analysis as long as it remains both isolated and problematic.

5.0. In this section our attention shifts to the imperviousness of specific form-classes to variant spellings in *-b -d -z*. We shall pay particularly close attention to the behavior of final spirants in enclisis with the coordinating particle *-uh* (cf. Lat. *-que*), the interrogative particle *-u*, and the relative particle *-ei*.

The particles *af* 'from, of' (< Pre-Gothic $*ab$, according to the handbooks), *uf* 'under, below' (< $*ub$), *us* (< $*uz$) show no orthographic variants whatever, despite the preservation of voiced finals in *abu*, *ubuh-*, *uzuh*, *uzu*. The same holds generally true for these morphemes in their capacity as preverbal and adnominal elements: *afgudei*, *afaikan* 'disavow', *ufwopida* 'he called

out' (*ubuhwopida* 'and he called out'), *usiddja* 'he went out' (*uzuhiddja* 'and he went out'). The only deviations from this pattern are dat. sg. *uzetin* 'crib' φάτνη (Luke 2.7, 2.16) and 3 pret. ind. *uzon* 'he expired', ἐκπνεῖν (Mark 15.37, 39); cf. also *mididdjedun* (Luke 7.11) for 3 pl. pret. ind. *miþiddjedun* 'they went along' (Luke 14.25; Mark 15.41). Inflectional syllables and function words with PGmc. *-z likewise show the expected allomorphs in enclisis but no alternate spellings in -z: a) nom. sg. -s (*ains* 'one', *ainzu*); b) u-stem gen. sg. -aus (*Filippaus* 'Philip', *Filippauzuh*); c) comparative adverb *mais* 'more' (< *mā-is), *maizuþ-þan*; d) personal pronouns: 3 sg. nom. *is* (*izei*); 1 pl. nom. *weis* (*weizuþ-þan*); 2 pl. nom. *jus* (*juzuþ-þan*, *juzei*); 2 pl. dat. *izwis* (*izwizei*); 2 sg. dat. *þus* (*þuzei*); 1 sg. dat. sg. *mis* (unattested in enclisis); e) demonstrative pronouns: masc. acc. pl. *þans* (*þanzei*); fem. nom./acc. pl. *þos* (*þozei*); f) indefinite and interrogative pronouns: masc. nom. sg. *was* (*wazuh* 'each, every'); *warjis* 'who' (*warjizuh* 'each, every'). As Jellinek (1926, p. 74f.) would remind us, the resistance of these forms to etymological spelling can hardly be a matter of chance.¹⁸

5.1. Streitberg (1906, p. 387–397, 1909, p. 177f.) saw no crucial phonosyntactic difference between *abu*, *uzuh*, *ubuh*-, *ainzu* etc. and *af airþi* 'from earth' (John 12.32), *uf anstai* 'under the favor' (1Cor. 9.20), *us allama hairtin* 'from [thy] whole heart' (Mark 12.30; Luke 10.27), *afgudei*, *ufwopida*, *uswagjan*, and so on. The particles must contain voiced spirants in compounds and prepositional phrases, too, in accordance with the Sievers/Streitberg sandhi hypothesis. This discrepancy between phonic reality and graphic representation reflects the triumph of Wulfilian "Wortschrift" over scribal "Satzschrift." An "uniformierende Orthographie" such as this one forced a choice between competing representations, and "das etymologische Prinzip" won out. That final -z occurs for -s chiefly in nominal stems (*riqiz*, *Mosez*, *aiz* 'copper coin', *mimz* 'flesh') can be attributed to the influence of medial -z- from the oblique cases. Since the s-termi-

¹⁸ Still, Jellinek felt that *þis-haduh* 'wherever' and *þadei* 'whither' were responsible for *had* (for *hazþ*) in John 13.36: *had gaggis* 'whither goest thou?'.

nations were obviously free of such influences, there was no impetus for the scribes to stray from Wulfilian practice. The retention of *-s* in nom. sg. *hlaibs*, *gods*, etc. attests further to the tenacity of “Wortschrift.”

Few competent authorities have given much credence to the view that orthographic uniformity masks a conditioned alternation. According to Schulze (1908, p. 622f.), *mididdjedun*, *uzetin*, and *uzon* merely carry over “die orthographische Freiheit des Wortschlusses” from *god*, *habaid*, *rigiz*, etc. Meillet (1908, p. 95–98) rejected any parallelism between prefixation and enclisis beyond atonicity. Clitics function as integral components of the word-forms with which they co-occur, in keeping with their Indo-European heritage. Prefixes are word-forms in their own right and are therefore subject to devoicing. (Note that, as preverbal elements, these morphemes allow tmesis with other particles: *ubuhwopida*, *uzuhiddja*, *miþ-ni-qam siponjam* ‘he did not come with [his] disciples’, John 6.22.) Meillet characterized the spelling of *mididddjedun* as “l’une des sonores introduites sporadiquement devant sonores par les copistes contre l’usage de Wulfila,” and *uzon* as an “innovation pareille des copistes” (p. 96). The *-z-* in *uzetin* is preserved due to the opacity of the compound (literally ‘woraus das Vieh frißt’, according to Feist 1939, p. 528).

Although he would not rule out the possibility that the voicing of an initial segment could have influenced a preceding spirant in certain cases, Wilmanns (³1911, §§ 25, 145) found Streitberg’s proposal entirely ad hoc. Vocalic initials could inhibit devoicing only if their articulation lacked a pronounced “Vokaleinsatz” (similarly, Schulze, loc. cit.). Jacobsohn (1920, p. 161–165) raised the objection that phrasal constituents such as in *god ist*, *bad ina*, *uf anstai*, *sad itan* do not cohere with adjacent elements to the same degree that clitics do.¹⁹ He reaffirmed the foregoing explanations of *mididdjedun* and *uzetin* (p. 176), and looked to the relatively frequent occurrences of *uz* (*uzuh(-)*, *uzu*) to moti-

¹⁹ Jacobsohn based this claim on the premise that voiceless spirants are always indicated before the conjunction *auk* ‘for,’ as in *wairþiþ auk mikils* ‘for he shall be great’ (Luke 1.15); but cf. Luke 6.48: *gasulid auk was ana þamma staina* ‘for it was founded on this rock.’

vate analogical leveling in *uzon* (p. 158). Jellinek (1926, p. 74) summarily dismissed Jacobsohn's proposals on *uzon*, *mididdjedun*, *uzetin* ("Die Auffassung . . . hat wenig für sich") but found Streitberg's analysis equally unacceptable: "daß . . . -s -f vor stimmhaften Lauten in us- dis- af- nur graphische Angleichungen seien, folgt nicht."

Today, most scholars would agree that enclisis bled devoicing; through it a stem-final voiced spirant became medial. Note that etymologically voiceless spirants in stem-final position remain unvoiced when followed by an enclitic: 1/3 sg. pret. ind. *qaþ* 'said': *qaþuh*, *stop* 'stood': *stopuh*, *was* 'was': *wasuh*. If manuscript word-divisions permit any conclusions as to syllabification (which is by no means certain—see Marchand 1957, p. 222ff.), enclisis may have positioned a syllable boundary before the final consonant of the preceding morpheme: *þi/zei* (passim), 2 pl. pres. opt. *sijai/du* (2Cor. 13.5 A), *harji/zuh* (Luke 2.3) (but *qaþ/uh* in Mark 14.13). In composition the concurrence of syllable and grammatical boundaries permitted devoicing: *us·iddja* (*us/iddja* in Mark 1.28), *af·aikan*, *uf·hauseins* 'obedience', and so on (Meillet 1908, Schulze 1908, p. 622f., Wilmanns ³1911, § 145, Jacobsohn 1920, p. 157–183, Jellinek 1926, p. 74f.). By all accounts, the meanings of *uzetin* and *uzon* are no longer derivable from the sums of their morphemes. The weakening of grammatical boundaries implied by lexicalization effectively prevented the requisite environment for devoicing and may have induced resyllabification: *u·zetin* (cf. Jacobsohn 1920, p. 179f.).

Prepositions and *s*-terminations were not susceptible to analogical influences from their co-allomorphs in enclisis, for these were evidently too infrequent to function as viable models. Semantic differentiation between pronominal bases and derivative formations—viz. relatives in *-ei* (*þizei*, *þozei*, *þanzei*, *þizozei*), indefinites in *-uh* (*hazuh*, *hizuh*, *harjizuh*), and emphatic demonstratives in *-uh* (*þizuh*)—precluded any projections of *-z-*. Thus we do not find **þiz* for *þis*, **þoz* for *þos*, **haz* for *has*, etc. Internal pressures within the *sa*-paradigm were probably nowhere near as strong as in nominal and adjectival declensions and would not have extended medial *-z-* of *þizos*, *þizai*, *þizo*, *þize* to *þis*, *þos*, *þans* (Jacobsohn 1920, p. 188). Not even the opposition singular:

plural and requisite configurational overlap between masc. gen. sg. *þis* (demonstrative), *is* (anaphoric) and their plural counterparts *þize*, *ize* gave rise to variant spellings (**þiz*, **iz*).

Assumption of preliterate spirant devoicing and younger morphophonemic spelling would appear to leave no facts unexplained and correctly predicts the absence of variant finals in pronouns, prepositions, and *s*-terminations. But, alas, the morphophonemic spelling hypothesis is beset with problems, as we have already determined. And whatever support the conventional view might derive from the behavior of final spirants in enclisis is illusory.

5.2. Biblical Gothic had not (by the scribal period, at least) unvoiced syllable-final spirants before voiced initials within words—even if the syllable boundary happened to coincide with a morpheme boundary: *gud* + *ja* ‘priest’, *usdaud* + *jan* ‘strive’, etc. There is a residue of isolated particles which consistently show a voiced spirant in composition: *tuzwerjan* ‘doubt’ (< **dusʰ*), dat. sg. *ibdaljin* ‘mountain slope’, *idweit* ‘affront, insult’, *idweitjan* ‘insult, abuse’. Lexicalization is not evident in these words, despite the low frequency of the particles *tuz-*, *ib-*, *id-* in the corpus. The roots with which they cooccur may combine with other particles or stand alone as free forms: *unwerjan* ‘be angry’, acc. sg. *unwerein* ‘anger, resentment’, acc. sg. *dal* ‘ravine, valley’, *dalaþa* ‘below’, *dalaþ* ‘downwards’, *dalaþro* ‘below, from below’, *fairweitjan* ‘gaze, look steadfastly’. Unclear is whether *idreiga* ‘repentance’, *idreigon*, *gaidreigon** (in 3 pl. pret. opt. *gaidreigode-deina*, Luke 10.13) ‘do penance, repent’ are monomorphemic or contain the prefix *id-* (cf. ON. *iðrask* ‘to repent of’, *iðrar* ‘repentance’). Again, if manuscript syllabification is of any probative value, the division *id/reigodane* (2Cor. 12.21A) may attest to the prefixal character of *id-*, even if only indirectly due to folk etymology on the part of the scribe (cf. Schulze 1908, p. 618ff., Jacobsohn 1920, p. 180f.). We shall have to leave this matter up in the air.

The point, of course, is that the presence of *af-*, *uf-*, *us-* in nominal composition is most curious. The shift of adnominal particles from sentential to morphological constituents was relatively ancient (Schmidt 1883, p. 24f., Meillet 1908, Krahe/Meid

1967, p. 41). Devoicing cannot therefore be assumed to have been automatic in such environments. Acc. sg. *midgardiwaddju* 'intervening wall' (Eph. 2.14A) would provide definitive evidence if it could be shown that *mid-* (< **mið*/*miði*) reflects the actual consonantism; cf. *midjis* (adj.) 'middle', dat. sg. *midumai* (noun) 'middle, center', *midjungards* 'the world'. But Manuscript B has *miþgardiwaddju*, making this lexeme uninformative.

Jacobsohn (1920, p. 177–183) speculated that the allomorphy could have been leveled out under the influence of younger *af*, *uf*, *us* from the preposition and adverb. While existing documentary evidence does not preclude it, the probability of such a late (i.e., post-devoicing) leveling is low. Aside from the one occurrence of *usrumnoda* (2Cor. 6.11B), which can be regarded as a scribal deviation (Bethge 1900, p. 204), the rhotic allomorph of *us* is preserved everywhere. (Note that A has *urrunnoda*.) And there is no replacement *ab-*, *ub-*, *uz-* in enclisis (**usuh*). Jacobsohn concluded (1920, p. 183–196) that the uniformly voiceless spirants in nominal composition are more probably explainable from the existence of related verb forms, "wo meistens das Nomen erst aus der verbalen Zusammensetzung gebildet ist" (p. 190): *afletan* 'leave, let go, forgive' : *aflet* 'decree', *usdriusan* 'fall' : nom. pl. *usdrusteis* 'crooked paths'; also *uswaurkjan* 'cause, bring about' : *uswaurhts* 'just, righteous', etc. For non deverbative compounds, Jacobsohn posited original prefix accent.²⁰ For us, the details of Jacobsohn's proposal are of less importance than his explicit recognition that *af-*, *uf-*, *us-* are not the products of spirant devoicing in nominal composition.

²⁰ Jacobsohn's arguments for this are not always convincing. For example, *usliþa* 'paralytic' must be seen as a bahuvrihi compound; the particles in masc. nom. pl. *ufaiþjai* 'bound by oath' (Neh. 6.18) and *uswena* 'hopeless' functioned as a "regierendes Vorderglied" in Indo-European. ON. *orvænn*, OHG. *uruiāni*, OE. *orwēne* provide complete refutation of the latter suggestion. Go. *afgrundīþa* 'abyss' and *usweihs* 'profane' (OHG. *abgrunti*, *uruihaz*) are clearly not deverbative and could not have borne the accent on the prefix. Jacobsohn also failed to consider nominal compounds which appear to be derivable from unprefix forms: nom. pl. *usbalþeins* 'perpetual contention' (1Tim. 6.5) (**balþs* 'bold,' *balþjan* 'dare') and dat. sg. *usbloteinai* 'supplication' (2Cor. 8.4A, B) (*blotan* 'worship').

5.3. The allomorphy exhibited by Go. *af*, *uf* in enclisis (*abu* in John 18.34; *ubuhwopida* in Luke 18.38) has been considered *prima facie* evidence for deriving these morphemes from IE. **apó*, **upó*. The accent shift and attendant apocope converted PGmc. **aþá*, **uþá* to **áb(a)*, **úþ(a)*, Pre-Gothic **aþ*, **uþ*. The Verner's reflex is masked in the simplex forms due to later de-voicing; cf. Sievers 1878, p. 120–122; Jacobsohn 1920, p. 189, *passim*; Jellinek 1926, p. 91; Kieckers 1928, p. 273, 278; Feist 1939, p. 3, 509; Krause ³1968, § 69.

As Schmidt (1883, p. 20ff.) recognized over a century ago, the evidence for reconstruction oxytonal parent forms for Go. *af*, *uf* obtains chiefly from Greek ἀπό, ὑπό. Following Benfey (1878, p. 176f.), he pointed out that the accentuation of these forms is demonstrably secondary in origin. The Indo-European ancestors bore the accent on the initial syllable (**ápo*, **úpo*), a pattern which is preserved in Sanskrit *ápa*, *úpa* and vestigially in Greek ἄπο, ὑπο) in anastrophe and “adverbiell ohne zugehörigen casus” (p. 21). This makes it all but certain that *af*, *uf* are descendent from PGmc. **af* (< **ápo*), **uf* (< **úpo*). If the consonantism of these morphemes was voiceless from the outset, it follows (trivially) that they would have been spelled accordingly in Wulfila's text.

Disyllabic particles probably maintained both “full” and “shortened” allomorphs in early Proto-Germanic, the distribution of which was a function of phonosyntactic context. Such morphemes could occur in sentences either as free forms (i.e., as prepositions) or adnominally or adverbially as proclitics. In the former capacity such morphemes were orthotonal; the atonic final vowel was eventually truncated by apocope (**ápo* > **af*; **úpo* > **uf*). In the latter role the initial vowel became pretonic with respect to the following major category item (noun, verb, adjective); cf. Walde 1900, p. 124. As a consequence, the following stop underwent lenition (**aþaʷ*, **uþaʷ*). At the inception of the accent shift, preverbal clitics were analyzable as constituents of verb phrases; primary accent became fixed on the verbal root. Recall that such concatenations are still expansible in Gothic through the insertion of additional particles (tmesis): Mark 8.23 *ga-u-hva-sehvi* ‘whether he could see anything at all’, Mark 14.44

at-uh-þan-gaf 'and then he delivered', *uzuhiddja*, *ubuhwopida*, and so on. Proclitic accentuation is confirmed by apheresis in OS. *tōgian*, OHG. *zougen* beside Go. *ataugjan*, OE. *ætiewan* 'show'. This relationship subjected the clitic-final vowel to the effects of apocope (as in Go. *andwaurdjan* 'answer'). When adnominal, the prepositional morpheme was analyzable as a constituent of a word. Primary accent became fixed not on the nominal root but on the prefix. No longer standing in final position, the clitic-final vowel was protected from apocope (as in Go. *andawaurdi* 'answer'); cf. *und* 'until, up to', *unþaþliuhan* 'flee from' (Schmidt 1883, Loewe 1933, p. 32, Prokosch 1939, p. 119, Krahe/Meid 1967, p. 36ff., Bennett 1972, p. 107).

Alternation between orthotonal and proclitic accentuation yielded two sets of variants, respectively: **af*, **uf* and **ab-/aba-*, **uþ-/uþa-*. This allomorphy was evidently none too stable. Northwest Germanic dialects overwhelmingly generalized the proclitic variants at the expense of their orthotonal counterparts. Those dialects which have preserved **upo* have virtually eliminated any trace of allomorphy: ON. *of* (< **uþa*; cf. Schmidt 1883, p. 32f.); OHG. *oba/obe*, *obescrift* 'inscription', *obedach* 'lodging, shelter', *obesehen* 'heed, observe', *obesiht* 'protection, care'. Old English and Old Saxon preserve only remnants of this morpheme: OE. *ufe-weard* 'upward'; OS. *ofsittian* 'take possession', *ofliges* 'duty, obligation'. The dialects differ considerably in their treatment of **apo*. Old Norse and Old English coalesce the proclitic variants into a unified phonological shape: OE. *æf/of* (*ob* in earlier texts; cf. Campbell 1959, p. 24, 179), ON. *af*. The form of the preposition in Old High German can be either disyllabic *aba/abe* or monosyllabic *ab*, tokens of which appear frequently in Notker, sporadically elsewhere (cf. OFr. *of/ove*, MLG. *af/ave*). Curiously, the patterning of *ab/aba* in the other grammatical roles is a mirror image of that reconstructed for Proto-Germanic: *ab-* predominates in nominal compounds (*abgot* 'idol', *ablaz* 'remission'); *aba* occurs as a free adverbial (no exceptions) and is prevalent in verbal compounds (*abasnīdan* 'cut off'). Only a handful of forms show the expected distribution: *abfaran* 'depart', *abauuart* 'absent', *abedrunnig* 'disloyal' (also *abdrunnig*). Old Low Franconian has the preposition *ava* beside *af-* in composition: *afgrundi*

'abyss', *aflat* 'remission'; similarly, OS. *afgundi*, *afstan*/*afstandan* 'stand, remain behind', *afhebbian* 'rise' (3 pl. pret. ind. *abhuobun*), pret. *aƿonsta* 'begrudge' (also *abonsta*), *avunst*/*abunst* 'envy'. A possible explanation is that obscuration of the conditioning factors governing the distribution generated competitive alternants in the various phonosyntactic contexts.²¹ Reflexes of other such particles show a similar indeterminacy: OHG. *mit* 'with', adverb *miti*, *mitiuuârî* 'meekness'; *an* (Notker), *ana* (Otfried), *an*/*ane*/*anne* (Williram), adverb *ana*, *anabrechôn* 'rush off (toward someone)', *anagin*/*anagenni* 'beginning'; OS. *anaginne*/*anginne*, *anawerpan*/*anwerpan* 'throw at'. The facts (marshaled in Schmidt 1883, p. 24–42) are well-known and require no further discussion.

Deriving the prepositions *af*, *uf* directly from orthotonal **ápo*, **úpo* (by Occam's Razor) would have the advantage of eliminating brute force analogy in at least one grammatical role. There is, I think, sufficient implicational evidence to support the hypothesis that the preverbal clitic (**ab-*, **uþ-*) fell together with the preposition. The consonantism of *ubuh-* would be seen as a relic of the original variant; *abu* would be explainable by analogy with the morphophonemic alternation created in verb phrases with the interpolation of a clitic. The replacement of **aba-*, **uba-* in nominal compounds was no doubt furthered by the introduction of *af-*, *uf-* from related verbal constructions, as Jacobsohn (1920, p. 190) surmised: *afdomjan* 'condemn, judge' : *afdomeins* 'damnation', *ufhausjan* 'obey', *ufhauseins* 'obedience'. Younger neologisms and loan translations would have come under the influence of the prepositions: *afguþs* 'godless' (ἀσεβής), *afgudei* 'godlessness' (ἀσέβεια), *ufkunnan* 'recognize' (ἐπιγνώσκειν), *ufkunþi* 'recognition' (ἐπίγνωσις), *ufwaira* 'unmarried (woman)' (in Rom. 7.2; ἡ ὑπανδρος γυνή); cf. Feist 1939, p. 5, 512, 514.

We know that leveling took place among the particles in Gothic. Only *and*/*anda-* preserves the original alternation, al-

²¹ Schmidt (1883, p. 40–41) concluded that OHG. *aba* must be an innovation: "*aba* ist vielmehr eine Verschmelzung zweier bedeutungsverwandter Präpositionen wie *an-an*, *unt-az*, *unzi* = *unt-zi*. Das zweite Element bildet die selbständig nicht mehr gebrauchte, aber in Nominalzusammensetzungen erhaltene Präp. *ā*," as in *ākezzal*, *abkezzal* 'forgotten.'

though the language has seen the introduction of *and-* into *and-wairþi* ‘person, presence’, *andbahts* ‘servant, officer’, *andhuleins* ‘revelation’ (loan translation of ἀποκάλυψις). I attribute the survival of the allomorphy to the secondary origin of the preposition *and* ‘along, among’. Of the Germanic dialects, only Gothic shows a prepositional usage. In the others it is confined to proclitic and prefixal roles: ON. *and-*, OE. *and-/ond-*, OS. *and-/ant-*, OHG. *ant-/ent-/int-* (Feist 1939, p. 46). Otherwise, we must follow the handbooks (e.g., Kieckers 1928, p. 275) in positing an ad hoc oxytonal prototype: **antá* (but Greek ἄντα) or **antí* (Greek ἀντί but Sanskrit *ánti*). Go. *ufar* ‘over, above’, *ufarfulljan* ‘overfill’, dat. sg. *ufarfullein* ‘abundance’, etc. beside OS. *obar*, OHG. *ubar/ubir*, OE. *ofer*, ON. *yfer* indicate that the direction of the analogy could favor the orthotonal variant. We also know that in nominal compounds *af-*, *uf-* are young. If the disyllabic allomorphs had been preserved, then we should expect to find **abadomeins*, **ubahauseins*, etc.; cf. prep. *ana* ‘into, upon’, *anamahts* ‘abuse, misdeed’, *anamahtjan* ‘rob’. If **ab-*, **ub-* had been generalized out of preverbal clitics, then we should expect voiced spirants in the nominal compounds—at least before voiced initials (**abdomeins*, **ubwaira*). The verb forms *tuzwerjan*, *idweitjan* provide some slight support as well. Since *tuz-*, *id-* are bound morphemes without corresponding prepositions, there is no allomorphy to be leveled out.

5.4. To understand the paucity of variant finals in *-z* in our texts, we would do well to begin by reconsidering the operation of Verner’s Law.

According to Bennett’s formulation (1968b, 1972, p. 100–102), Verner’s Law did not follow the Germanic shift of IE. **/p t k s/* but was part of it. The combined shift yielded two sets of allophones: fortis [f p x s] as well as lenis and voiceless [b ɸ ɣ z]. The former occurred in “strong” positions and were therefore articulated with relatively greater effort: word-initially and medially or finally if the nearest preceding syllabic had borne primary accent. The lenited allophones occurred in “weak” positions and were articulated with relatively diminished effort: in preaccental clitics (IE. **komz* > PGmc. **ga(m)-* > Go. *ga-*), medially or

finally if the nearest preceding syllabic lacked primary accent (IE. **pátér* > Go. *ƿadar*; **uéntós* > *winds* 'wind', etc.), and in pronominals which bore weak accent in sentences (IE. **is* > PGmc. **iz* > OHG. *ir/er* 'he').²²

As is well-known, Gothic frequently fails to show the effects of Verner's Law. Except for the preterite-present verbs *aiħ* 'I have, possess' : *aigum* 'we have', *aigun* 'they have' (also *aihum*, 2 pl. *aihuþ*), *ƿarƿ* 'I need' : *ƿarbum* 'we need', and *gasaizlep*, *gasaizlepum* (Note 11), Gothic verb stems do not show any morphophonemic alternation attributable to the operation of Verner's Law. As illustrations, the familiar examples will suffice: 1/3 sg. pret. ind. *kaus*, 1 pl. pret. ind. *kusum* 'chose', past. part. *kusans* 'chosen' (ON. *kaus*, *kørom*, *kørenn*); *tauħ*, *tauħum*, *tauħans* 'pulled, led' (OHG. *zoh*, *zugum*, *gizogan*); *warþ*, *waurþum* 'became', *waurþans* 'become' (OE. *wearþ*, *wurdon*, *worden*; OHG. *ward*, *wurtum*, *giwortan*).

It is widely held that Verner's Law existed rather extensively in Pre-Gothic but was gradually leveled out by analogy. However, this is at best a weak explanation for its absence in literary times. Hirt (1931, p. 148, 155) flatly dismissed analogical leveling as a possible explanation. He suggested that in some categories Gothic carried out the accent shift sooner than its sister dialects, so that only a few isolated verb forms show the expected alternations. Prokosch (1939, p. 62f.) held essentially the same view, adding that the accent shift was doubtless a gradual process. There must have been a period in which Germanic and Indo-European accent types coexisted side-by-side, which would imply competitive alternants. The diffusion of Verner's Law was impeded by the early separation of Gothic from the parent language. Bennett (1968b, p. 222f.) argued that voiceless spirants in most Class I weak verbs in Gothic rule out analogy altogether: *hausjan* 'hear' (OHG. *hōren*), *laisjan* 'teach' (OHG. *lēren*, OE.

²² Specifically, I concur with Bennett in the unity of Grimm's and Verner's Laws and in his reconstruction of the allophonic distribution. I do not accept his claim that word-initial primary stress was already fixed in Proto-Germanic before */p t k s/ had begun to shift. Rather, I proceed from the conventional assumption of an early period of moveable primary accent.

læran), etc. The home of the Goths may well have lain near the inception area for the fixation of primary stress. It is therefore not surprising that the voicing is so often missing in Gothic.²³

The early fixation of accent in certain word categories and the early departure of the Goths provided for divergent patterns of development. It follows from this that the phonologization of the lenited allophones resulting from the consonant shift was likewise gradual and to a certain extent divergent.

Fortis [f p x s] and lenis [b̥ ɸ γ z] remained allophones of */f p x s/ as long as the accent was moveable in early Proto-Germanic. With the fixation of accent on the root syllable, [b̥ ɸ γ z] came to contrast with their former co-allophones, as in IE. **ués-* > Go. *wisan* 'feast', **ues-* > Go. *wizon** 'indulge oneself' (in fem. nom. sg. pres. part. *wizondei*, 1 Tim. 5. 6). It is conventionally assumed that once the lenited allophones had acceded to phonemic status due to the merger of conditioning environments, they did so in all positions; that is, in weakly accented syllables not affected by the accent shift (e.g., Bennett 1972, p. 102). This assumption is made largely on a priori grounds; it is an artifact of structuralist doctrine embodied in the aphorism "once a phoneme, always a phoneme." It is true that the phones [b̥ ɸ γ z] which appeared as conditioned variants of */f p x s/ contrasted with [f p x s] under primary accent. But they did not automatically do so finally or medially when the contrast was still neutralized by continued weak accent.

The fixation of accent did not create new phonemes out of [b̥ ɸ γ] in tonic syllables but instead occasioned their merger with */b̥ ɸ γ/ < IE. */bh dh gh/. Phonemic reassignment ("primary split" in structuralist terminology) can be motivated in weakly accented syllables on the basis of phonetic similarity between the lenis allophones and [b̥ ɸ γ] ← /b̥ ɸ γ/; thus, *-ið̥i (← */iþi/) > *-ið̥i > *ið̥ > Go. -id/-iþ̥. A regrouping of weakly accented [b̥ ɸ γ] was essentially predetermined. Phonologization of weakly accented [z] could not have been contemporaneous with that of

²³ Cf. also Go. *þahan* 'be silent' (ON. *þegja*), *daup̥s*, *daup̥is* 'dead' (OHG. *tót*, OE. *dēad*, ON. *dauðr*), *bloþ̥*, *bloþ̥is* 'blood' (OHG. *bluot*, ON. *blóð*, OE. *blōd*), etc.

[ḫ ḥ ɣ]. The primary source of */z/ was the lenis allophone [z̥] generated by Verner's Law and phonologized by the accent shift. Indo-European bequeathed [z] only through the combination *d-dh and the assimilation of */s/ to tautosyllabic voiced consonants: *huzd* 'hoard' (< IE. *kudʰdho < kud-dho < *kudh-to), *gazds*, *razda* 'language', *azgo* 'ash', *mizdo* 'reward'. Even after the consonant shift, this [z] remained in complementary distribution with [s], as we see in *gazds* beside *asts* 'branch' (< *ozd-). There is no reason to assume that weakly accented [z̥] immediately became identifiable with */z/ arising from */s/ in newly accented syllables. There was no pre-existing phoneme */z/ to induce primary split. For a time following the accent shift, the lenis allophone [z̥] was phonemically indeterminate.²⁴

By the historical period of each dialect, [s] and [z] (< [z̥]) were fully contrastive in weakly accented medial syllables, as is clear from the comparative suffix: Go. -iza/-oza, ON. -r/-ar-, OE. -ra, OHG. -iro/-ôro. Successive generations of speakers gradually came to associate [z̥] with /z/, probably due to voicing of the former in voiced surroundings. It is entirely possible that such a merger did not come about in Gothic until operation of Thurneysen's Law (whatever its actual mechanism might have been): dat. sg. *riqiza* beside *rimisa* 'rest, peace'. Obviously, this detail cannot be verified on the basis of existing records.

Northwest Germanic dialects saw the nearly complete merger of [z̥] and /z/ in final position as well: masc. nom. sg. ON. -r, OS.OE.OHG. $\emptyset$ (< *-z); 1 pl. nom. ON. *vér/vær*, OE. *we* (*-z > $\emptyset$), OHG. *wir*. Due to its early separation from the Germanic parent language, Gothic kept weakly accented final [-z̥] in suspension or phonemic indeterminacy. The value of the feature [α voice] was of no phonological consequence; that is, [-z] remained a variant of /s/ in absolute finality (whether original or secondary due to apocope): masc. nom. pl. -os, 2 sg. -s, u-stem gen. sg. -aus, 1 pl. nom. *weis*, etc., as well as in the preverbal clitics *dis-*, *us-*, which remained pretonic phrasal constituents in *disdailjan* 'share, divide', *usiddja*, etc. The presence of a clitic provided an environ-

²⁴ The concept "phonemic indeterminacy" is from Haugen 1969.

ment conducive to phonologization: *wileizuh*, *-auzuh*, *weizub-þan*, *dizuh-þansat* 'and then he seized' (*dissitan* 'seize'), *uzuhiddja*.

5.3. The phonemic indeterminacy of final [-z] in Gothic is confirmed by the behavior of masculine/neuter genitive singular forms in enclisis. Pronominal genitives show a voiced spirant with an enclitic, even though their etyma contained */-s-/: *þis* (< **teso*) : *þizuh*, *þizei*; *his* : *hizuh*; *warjis* : *warjuzih* (for expected **þisuh*, **þisei*, **hisuh*, **warjisuh*); cf. further the adverb *faurþis* (= *faur* + *þis*) 'earlier, before' beside the conjunction *faurþizei* 'before'. Germanic pronouns were weakly accented in syntactic structures and were treated like unaccented syllables in major category items with respect to Verner's Law; e.g., fem. gen. sg. *þizos*, *þizozei* (< Pre-Gothic **þizoz*) beside ON. *þeirar*, OS. *thera*, OE. *þære*, OHG. *dera*. Yet comparative evidence points unambiguously to unitary proto-forms with *-s- in the masculine/neuter genitive singular: ON. *þes(s)*, *hues(s)*; OE. *þæs*, *hwæs*, *his*; OS. *thes*, *hwes*; OHG. *des*, (*h*)*wes*, *es*. The genitive singular termination of the *o*-declension occurs once with an enclitic in the adjective *anþar* 'other' in Matth. 11.3: *þau anþarizuh beidaima* 'or should we look for another?'. Although the parent form of this termination has long been a matter of controversy, there is consensus on one critical point: The Germanic dialects unanimously support a prototype with */-s-/.²⁵ Northwest Ger-

²⁵ I have adopted here the traditional view that the Germanic *o*-stem and masculine/neuter pronominal genitive singular obtain from *-*e/oso*. Must's proposal (1953) to derive the Germanic forms from IE. *-*e/osjo* (cf. Skt. *-asya*, pronominal *tasya*; Greek *-οιο, τοιο*) encounters a number of difficulties. It is true that the Indo-European precedents for *-*e/oso* are not unproblematic. (This objection has since been elaborated upon in Markey 1977.) And if post-initial *s* had been preserved before *j* (*-*sj-* > *-*ss-* > *-*s-*), then it would not be hard to understand why this termination does not show the effects of Verner's Law in the Northwest Germanic dialects. But as is obvious to any student of Gothic, PGmc. *-*sjo* would regularly yield *-*isi* for Go. *-is*, **þisi* for Go. *þis*. In absolute final position *-j* would have become syllabic, as in *kuni* 'race' < **kunjom*. PGmc. **s* does show voicing before *-j* in Northwest Germanic: OHG. *nerren/nerien* beside Go. *nasjan* 'save.' And in any event the *-z-* in (*anþar*)*izuh*, *þizuh*, etc. (which Must did not consider) would be all the more perplexing. (See Jones 1979, p. 214f. for a detailed critique of Must's proposal.)

manic cognates of this ending consistently fail to show the effects of Verner's Law (Runic **godagas**, ON. *dags*, OHG. *tages*, OS. *dages*, OE. *dæzes*), which means that *anþarizuh* is similarly aberrant.

There is little likelihood that the primary accent fell upon the clitic, as Prokosch (1939, p. 243) suggested. One cannot therefore view *þis*, etc. as original and derive *þizuh*, etc. as the normal reflex of Verner's Law. (See Bennett 1972, p. 101 on the accentuation of Go. -u, -uh.) Nor is the case for doublets particularly compelling, whether these are construed as early Germanic *-so/-zo, *þeso/þezo, etc. or as younger alternants emerging out of declensions in which gen. sg. *-z- is etymological; e.g., u-stem gen. sg. -aus (*Filippaus* : *Filippauzuh*), ON. -ar, OE. -a, OS, OHG. -ō (where this has not been replaced by -es from the o-stems) (Jacobsohn 1920, p. 183–185, Kieckers 1928, p. 83). From a purely Gothic point of view, the sigmatic genitive could reflect either *-z- or *-s-. But the Northwest Germanic dialects are unanimous in their attestation of unitary *-s-.

Scholars have gravitated toward the position that Go. -z- in *þizuh*, etc. is a replacement of an earlier *-s- (Kluge ³1913, p. 194). What might have initiated this replacement remains unclear. One explanation that has gained a modicum of acceptance is that of A. M. Sturtevant (1940). Save for the alternation between s : z, the allomorphs *þis* : *þiz-* were otherwise identical in form. Wherever -s of *þis* became medial due to enclisis (**þisuh*, **þisei*), it was leveled to -z- after the model of etymologically correct -z- elsewhere in the paradigm: fem. gen. sg. *þizos*, fem. dat. sg. *þizai*, masc./neut. gen. pl. *þize*, fem. gen. pl. *þizo*. The analogical -z- in *þizuh*, *þizei* was subsequently transferred to the other genitive forms: *hizuh*, *harjizuh*, (*anþar*)*izuh*.

But how plausible is this sequence of events? Both semantic and configurational associations constitute the basis for the projection of individual figurae, be they phonic or graphic. The extension of medial -z- would have to be justified by the identity of the shapes contrasted, save for the variable in question. Morphologically, this expansion would be limited to contrasts that coincide with paradigm-internal oppositions or that pair semantically transparent primary and derivative forms. In the postulated projections **þisuh*, **þisei* : *þizai*, *þizos*, *þizo*, *þize* ÷ *þizuh*,

þizei (Sturtevant 1940), only the configurational condition is met. The clitics *-ei* and *-uh* are essentially enlargements of individual members of the *sa*-paradigm and imply a change in semantic content. The connection between *þizai*, *þizos*, etc. and **þisuh*, **þisei* would have been remote, all the more so if Jacobsohn (1920, p. 188) argued correctly when he stated that the suppletive character of the pronominal morphology precluded configurational leveling (1920, p. 188). In **hisuh* : nom. sg. *hazuh* ÷ *hizuh* only the morphological condition is fulfilled (paradigmatic opposition). In **hisuh*, **harjisuh*, **(anþar)isuh* : *þizuh*, *þizei* ÷ *hizuh*, *harjizuh*, *(anþar)izuh* neither condition is satisfied.

Quite recently, Jones (1979, p. 198–204) has reaffirmed Sturtevant's analogical explanation. Literary Gothic maintained a synchronic contrast between underlying */-z/* and */-s/* in absolute finality, as in *has*, *hazuh* : *was* : *wasuh*. The fact that *o*-stem nom. sg. */-z/* and gen. sg. */-s/* appeared as *-s* in surface forms could only have led to restructuring in one of the endings. As it turned out, the genitive underwent this change: gen. sg. **/hwarjis/* : nom. sg. */hwarjiz/* ÷ gen. sg. */hwarjiz/* → *harjis*, *harjizuh*.

That the neutralization between underlying */-z/* and */-s/* could have spawned such a change is no less implausible. Nom. sg. *-s* in *has*, *harjis*, could not have withstood restructuring to */-s/* indefinitely, even though synchronic final */-z/* would be formally admissible for biblical Gothic without violation of widely accepted abstractness constraints. Semantically primary word-forms with derived phonological features are highly susceptible to reanalysis in the form of grammatically conditioned allomorphy (rule inversion), even if the original phonological motivation behind the alternation remains in force, and the underlying (etymological) values are maintained elsewhere (*riqis* : *riqizis*).²⁶

²⁶ Beade (1973, p. 134f.) assumed underlying **/uz/* for the earlier Germanic period, but */us/* for biblical Gothic: "Since Gothic has abandoned the rule of Verner's Law . . . and since the voiceless spirant would be the unmarked member of the pair . . . it will be assumed here that *s* is the underlying segment." This would mean that the alternation *us* : *uzuh*, *uzu* had become morphologized by rule inversion in the historical period. See Section 5.7 below for further remarks on *us*.

Finding no credible explanation in accentuation, doublets, analogical projection, or restructuring of underlying representations, the presence of *-z-* in *þizuh*, (*anþar*)*izuh*, etc. must reflect imperviousness not to the allophony occasioned by the consonant shift but to disassociation from */s/. Go. *anþarizuh* suggests that the *o*-stem genitive singular contained the Verner's allophone [-ʒ(-)] in Proto-Germanic. Go. *þizuh*, etc. suggest that the precursors of *þis*, *his*, *harjis* were not divergent in this regard. With the loss of short final vowels, [ʒ] came to stand in absolute finality. Because of the indeterminacy of the voice contrast between [s : ʒ] in final position, the genitive singular remained identifiable with /s/ in Gothic. In the voiced surroundings provided by the attachment of an enclitic, this allophone became voiced and merged with /z/ as soon as a contrast between [s] and [z] was established in weakly accented syllables.

5-6. The failure of the Northwest Germanic dialects to show the expected reflexes of Verner's Law in the *o*-stem and pronominal genitive singular requires a separate explanation. Long ago, Wood (1896) recognized that each dialect treats IE. *-s(-) in its own way. According to Peeters (1969), this varied development was determined by the grammatical roles which the segment assumed: "die verschiedene Behandlung von idg. auslautendem *s in der nominalen Flexion der altgermanischen Sprachen kann man durch die Notwendigkeit ein Minimum an unterschiedlichen Formen nach den germanischen Auslautsgesetzen zu bewahren" (p. 925). Minimization of formal syncretism was particularly important in those dialects which had not yet fully transferred the primary case marking function from the nominal morphology to prenominal elements.

For Scandinavian, the early loss of final short vowels implied syncretism between the nominative singular (IE. *-os > PGmc. *-az > Runic **-aR**, ON. *-r*) and the genitive singular (IE. *-oso > PGmc. *-az(a) > Runic **-as**, ON. *-s*). Peeters observed that in Old Norse the phonological shape *-r* (and therefore *-z before it) became closely associated with the nominative case (1969, p. 925). The pivotal character of this association is confirmed in the plural, where *-r* distinguishes the nominative (*dagar*) from

the genitive/accusative (*daga*). If gen. sg. */-s/ has been restructured to /-z/ along with the nominative, then both cases would have fallen together as *dagr*. If, on the other hand, the nominative singular had also remained */-s/, it would have coalesced with the genitive (*dags*).

Phonologization of final [-z̥] remained incomplete in West Germanic due to the impingent deletion of final /-z/. “Reductive” phonological changes are often strongly governed by grammatical factors, since they might otherwise delete phonetic material or neutralize oppositions bearing semantic load. Given the presumed variability of z-deletion during its initial stages, final [-z̥] must have become identifiable with either /-z/ or /-s/ according to the consequences its removal boded for the morphology. Peeters pointed out that preservation of */-s/ in the genitive singular became necessary in order to maintain a minimum number of case forms (three) in the paradigm. Restructuring and loss in the genitive would have meant syncretism with the dative: OE. *dæzes*, *dæze* (earlier *-æs*, *-æ*); OS. *dages*, *dage*; OHG. *tages*, *tage*. Significant is the retention of etymological /-s/ in the nominative/accusative plural in Old English (*dagas*) and Old Saxon (*dagos*). If restructuring and deletion had applied to these morphemes, they would have fallen together with the genitive plural (OE. *daga*, OS. *dagc*). In Old High German the difference in vocalism between nom./acc. pl. *taga*, gen. pl. *tago* was available to express the requisite oppositions. The Verner’s allophone could therefore merge with /-z/ and disappear without disrupting the signification of categories.

5.7. If weakly accented [-z̥] remained associated with /s/ in Gothic, it is reasonable to conclude that Wulfila represented this segment with the character *s*. In acc. sg. *aiz* (Mark 6.8) < IE. **aṛios* (Skt. *áyas*), acc. sg. *mimz* (1Cor. 8.13), and the adverb *minz* (2Cor. 12.15B), the spirant came to occur after a tonic vowel. The Verner’s allophone merged with /z/ and was spelled accordingly. The relative chronology proposed here for spirant devoicing does predict that the language of the translator inherited /-z/ in masc. nom. sg. *nau-s* (gen. *nawis*) ‘corpse’ owing to earlier

syncope of the thematic vowel. In *gasts* : *gazds* we have ample proof of a unitary graphic shape for this morpheme. That the non-derived allomorph should be respresented as *naus* and not **nauz* is no more peculiar than the spelling of English /kauz/ by means of *cows* and not **cowz*. Phonologization of [-z̥-] in the oblique cases (*riqizis*, *riqiza*; *Mosezis*, *Moseza*) may have conditioned a late merger of the final with /z/ in *riqiz*/*riqis*, *Mosez*/*Moses* or led to a parallel indeterminacy in spelling. As Wilhelm Braun put it: “Wer schreibt an allen Tagen gleich?” (quoted in Streitberg, *Bibel*, p. 482).

Let us now return very briefly to the particle *us*. While there are some uncertainties surrounding the prehistory of this morpheme (see Feist 1939, p. 528), the handbooks invariably posit **uz* as the Germanic prototype (ON. *or/ur/ør*, OE. *or-*, OHG. *ur/ar/ir*, Go. *uzuh*, *uzu*). It is extremely probable that *us* is etymologically related to the adverbial *ut* ‘out, forth’ (ON. *út*, OS. OE. *ūt*, OHG. *ûz*). The consonantism of these forms points to IE. **ūd*, although the latter is apparently a sandhi form taken by **ūt* before voiced consonants (Kieckers 1928, p. 274, Sturtevant 1932, p. 10). The most widely accepted reconstruction pairs an apophonic variant of this morpheme, **ud*, with a suffix **-s*. From the sandhi alternation **ūt/ūd* (cf. Skt. *ut-/ud-*), Kieckers inferred a parallel alternation for **ud-s*, of which Germanic has preserved only the latter: **uts* (> Old Irish *us-/os-*, as in *osnad* ‘sigh’), **udz* (> **uzz* > PGmc. **uz*).

As was the case with *af-*, *uf-* (Section 5.3), the apparent replacement of **uz-* by *us-* in nominal compounds makes it credible that **us* was available at a more remote period. Unlike the pair **ūd/ūt*, the conditioned allomorph of **uz/us* contained a subphonemic variant. Prior to the operation of Verner’s Law and the accent shift, [s] and [z] did not contrast. As such, **uz* could not have supplanted **us*. We assume instead that Proto-Germanic inherited **us* < Pre-Germanic **uss* < **uts*, or perhaps even **u-s* (Sturtevant 1935, p. 3). As a preverbal clitic, the particle was pretonic and underwent lenition by Verner’s Law. As a monosyllabic preposition, **us* could doubtless receive proclitic accentuation and thereby became subject to Verner’s Law as well (cf.

Bammesberger 1979, p. 30).²⁷ Under continued weak accent, the spirant remained phonemically indeterminate ([uʒ] ← */us/), merging with /z/ only with the attachment of an enclitic (*us(-)* : *uzu*, *uzuh(-)*) and rhotacizing before initial *r-*. As with *tuzwerjan* and *idweitjan*, the voiced spirant in *uzon* probably owes its existence to a reanalysis of the particle as a constituent of a word. The Gothic treatment of **us* in nominal composition would be precisely parallel to that of **af/ab-/aba-*, **uf/ub-/uba*. The prefix came under the influence of a related verb form or the preposition. In *uzetin* it evidently became disassociated from the morpheme **/us/*.

6. The results of the foregoing investigation can be summarized as follows: (1) Instances of final *-b -d -z* in our Gothic manuscripts cannot be attributed to younger analogical or morphophonemic spelling. Rather, they are vestiges of an older, presumably Wulfilian usage. (2) The devoicing of spirants in final position (“Auslautsverhärtung”) cannot have achieved its full diffusion until well into the scribal period. (3) Once devoicing had become fully integrated into the language, later scribes reconciled the spellings with the change, albeit incompletely. Though exhorted in support of scribal morphophonemic writing (e.g., Jacobsohn 1920, p. 188), the nonoccurrence of nom sg. **-bz*, **-dz* (**hlaibz*, **godz*) turns out to be of no particular significance. If the articulation of Go. *h* (< **x*) had weakened to that of a glottal continuant by the later language (Janko 1908), waiver of graphic expression for secondary [-x] in *dags*, *dag*, etc. would be understandable. I shall examine this point in a separate publication (Roberge, to appear). (4) The significance of the consistent spellings in *witoþ*, *giban* (*gif*, *gaf*), *gþ* depends on the relative strength of the claim in (2). These lexemes certainly pose no insurmountable obstacles to the weak version of (2); namely, that spirant

²⁷ Rhotacism in the preposition in the phrase *ur rigiza* may be a legacy of the earlier proclitic accentuation. According to Bethge (1900, p. 204) and Jellinek (1926, p. 74n., 75), the preposition *us* does not occur before *r-* anywhere else in the corpus, although Codd. Ambrosiani A and B both contain this reading.

devoicing was not yet categorial in the fourth century. There is nothing unreasonable in the suggestion that Wulfila was not entirely consistent in specifying the actual configurations of word-forms. He may very well have associated with himself one or more colleagues to assist in his monumental undertaking (Friedrichsen 1939, p. 259). Division of labor would almost certainly have introduced differences in orthographic practice between various portions of the Gothic Scriptures, and perhaps even in individual lexemes. If the “Auslautsverhärtung” is to be seen as a dialect feature, then the vacillation in the rendering of final spirants would have to be the result of dialect mixture in the confluence of Vorlagen underlying the extant manuscripts, or perhaps even in Wulfila’s own speech. Then again, it is thinkable that the scribes were rather thorough in modifying the spellings of selected items. Unfortunately, such questions cannot presently be answered. (5) The absence of variant finals for *af*, *uf* is explainable from the fact that these morphemes must be derived from IE. **ápo*, **úpo*. While perfectly acceptable from a Germanic viewpoint, the assumption of inherited oxytonal **apó*, **upó* cannot be sustained. (6) Gothic *þis*, *þizuh*, etc. attest to the phonemic indeterminacy of IE. **-s* in weakly accented syllables in early Germanic. Perhaps Wilmanns was on the right track when he expressed doubt that final **-z* could have arisen in East Germanic, only to revert back to its original quality with the onset of devoicing. Verner’s Law did not necessarily have the same effect on final spirants that it did on medial ones (³1911, § 25). The paucity of variant finals with *-z* in the manuscripts suggests that this sound may have remained voiceless all along, regardless of how the other spirants developed in the same environment (§ 145). Though cast in the surface-phonetic view typical of his day, Wilmann’s reservations clearly presage the position advanced here.

It is with some diffidence that one undertakes to reopen debate on problems which are considered more or less “solved.” But as anyone who has done comparative linguistics is aware, analyses must be compatible. A fallacy in our approach to one aspect of a problem generally has widespread implications for other facets.

As a former teacher, †William H. Bennett (1968a, p. 59n.) once wrote: “We cannot change facts, to be sure, but we can revise and refine formulations.”

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Germanic *ai* in Old Frisian, Old English and Old Norse

It has been the traditional assumption among historical dialectologists that common innovations exhibited by two or more genetically related, but physically separated languages date back to a period prior to the geographical disruption of the language family or stem from a subsequent period in which there still was some degree of contact between the languages (dialects) in question. Within the sphere of Germanic philology the method of demonstrating shared innovations has been widely employed by scholars concerned with determining the dialectal and geographical provenance of the two most obvious emigrant languages, Gothic and Old English.

However, there is now an increasing understanding that simplificatory processes and other developments governed by the principle of least effort may produce (independent) parallels between closely related languages no longer in contact. A morphological example of this is the replacement of the 2nd pres. sg. ind. form of *willan*, i.e. *wile*, by *wilt* in OE. *-t* forms are also recorded in WNorse (*vilt*) and OFris./OS./MHG. (*wilt*), but the attestations are so late and so irregular that independent development must be assumed. The innovation has probably taken place in the languages affected on the (interparadigmatic) analogy of the indicative of the preterite-present verbs, which ended in *-t*, and which constituted a special group everywhere. The ending in *wile* was formally an optative suffix and was therefore not only anomalous, but also difficult for speakers to handle.

As far as independent phonological parallels are concerned, the principle of least effort can be assumed to govern processes that are usually termed conditioned phonetic changes. Examples of these are:

umlaut phenomena (*a-*, *i-*, *u-*umlaut),

other assimilatory developments (e.g. *nl* > *ll* in ON. *ellefo* and OS. *elleban* (Goth. *ainlif*, OE. *endleofan*, OHG. *einlif*), cf. ModE. *eleven* and MHG. *eilf*, ModG. *elf*),

simplification of consonant clusters (e.g. ON. *kris(t)ne*, *þis(t)le*, OE. *belis(t)nian*, *nos(t)le*, OFris. *droch(t)enis*, *nes(t)la*; ON. *hol(d)gan*, *an(d)lit*, OE. *on(d)gett*, *an(d)lang*, *el(d)cian*, etc.),

loss of consonant in weakly accented use (e.g. loss of *-l-* in Engl. *as* (OE. *(e)alswā*), MLG. *as(e)* (OS. *also*), OFris. *ass*, *asa*),

syncope (e.g. OE. *dēmdē*, OS. *lōsda*, OHG. *hōrta*, ON. *heyrða* (Goth. *sōkida*)),

apocope (e.g. ON. *gestr*, OE. *giest*, OS./OHG. *gast* (Gallehus *gastiR*)),

insertion of transitional segment (e.g. OE. *sim(b)le*, OS. *sim(b)la*, ON. *kum(b)l*, Goth. *tim(b)rjan*; French *hum(b)le* (Lat. *hum(i)le*)),

dissimilation (e.g. dissimilatory loss of *-n-* in OE. *penegas*, *cyne-gas* (*peningas*, *cyningas*), OFris. *panni(n)g*, OS. *penni(n)g*, OHG. *phennig*, *cunig*, ODan. *pænnig*, *kunugs*—note that the loss takes place in weakly accented syllables, i.e. multiple conditioning),

metathesis (e.g. MHG. *kokodrilte*, ME. *cokodrilte* 'crocodile'—very likely the metathesized forms represent lexical borrowings from Romance, cf. OFrench *cocodrilte*, Ital. *coccodrillo*. More often, however, metathesis is taken to denote a reversion of neighbouring segments).

Such changes thus do not presuppose contact. On the other hand, this is not to deny that contact may evoke or speed up simplificatory processes. Bearing all these things in mind, we may now turn to our main topic, viz. the development of Gmc. *ai* in OFris., OE. and ON. This problem has been dealt with briefly in Nielsen 1975 (p. 14), in which a connection between the ON. and OE. (/OFris.) developments was not ruled out, and more detailed in Nielsen 1981 (p. 130–34), in relation to which this paper represents a revised and expanded version.

The regular reflex of Gmc. *ai* in OE. is *ā*, cf. *āþ*, *brād*, *hām*, *māra*, *rāþ*, *stān*. In OFris., on the other hand, Gmc. *ai* is represented by *ē* and *ā*, cf. *ēth/āth*, *brēd*, *hēm/hām*, *māra*, *rāþ*, *stēn* (Goth. *aiþs*, *braiþs*, *haims*, *maiza*, *-raiþ*, *stains*).

In his *Altostfriesische Grammatik* v. Helten (1890, § 22) says that *ē* is regular in OFris. when followed by *i* or *j*; elsewhere *ā* is the regular reflex. Whenever the distribution of *ē* and *ā* in OFris. is different, the cause is primarily to be sought for in analogical levellings. Also, *w*, *m* or *st* may prevent *i*-mutation of the vowel to *ē*. The hypothesis that different paradigmatic levellings were responsible for, e.g., OE. *wāt* (< Gmc. **waita* 'I know') and OFris. *wēt* (< Gmc. **waite* 'he knows') has been taken up recently by Antonsen (1965, p. 34), but otherwise this idea has been abandoned in consequence of the conflicting evidence, cf. such OFris. preterites as *lätte*, *lāt* (Markey 1971, p. 3). Siebs (1901, p. 1228–30) and with him Steller (1928, § 18, cf. also Campbell 1939, p. 96) thought that Gmc. *ai* became *ā* in OFris. in open syllables if a back vowel or *w* followed, cf. *māra*, *ā* (< *aiwa*). If *w* preceded the vowel, the result was also *ā* (*twā*). *ē*, on the other hand, arose in closed syllables (and invariably when followed by *i*, *j*). Walde (1901, p. 386) believed that *ai* became OFris. *ā* when final or before *-ch* or labials (*twā*, *āch*, *rāp*), cf. also Markey 1981, p. 20–21. This tallies indirectly with Heinertz' observation (1912, p. 320–32) that OFris. had a predilection for *ē* before 'dentals' (*ēn*, *hēt*), cf. also Gosses p. 5. However, none of the theories presented so far have been able to account for (the distribution of) the OFris. reflexes of *ai* in a satisfactory manner, and it is therefore small wonder that several scholars have attempted to explain OFris. *ē* (< *ai*) in terms of contact influence. Except for a few instances of *ai* > *ā* in OS. (*hālag*, *lāra*, cf. Holthausen 1921, § 29) and Dutch (*klaver*(?), *ladder*, cf. Garfinkle 1975, p. 60, 93, 123; Schönfeld/v. Loey 1970, § 65a) and some toponymical evidence to the same effect in Holland and Groningen (*Garburg*, *Maarhuizen*, etc., cf. Gysseling 1962, p. 11–12), the regular reflex of *ai* is *ē* in OS. and OLF./ODu., the *ē*-stage having been reached in the Low Countries by 800 (Gysseling 1960, p. 79). According to Miedema (1974, p. 121–5), the earliest OE. and OFris. both acquired new open monophthongized vowel phonemes, OE. *ā* deriving from Gmc. *ai* and OFris. *ā* from Gmc. *au*, and at the same time Gmc. *ai* had an alternative development into OFris. *ā̃*, which later became *ē*. The OS. monophthongizations of Gmc. *ai* and *au* to *ē* and *ō* should probably be seen in a direct chronol-

ological and geographical connection with the OFris. monophthongizations of the same vowels (1974, p. 122). Miedema can thus account for the twofold development of Gmc. *ai* in OFris. in no other way than through the OFris. contacts 'met enerzijds het Oudsaksisch op het continent en anderzijds het Oudengels via de Noordzee' (1974, p. 125). Karstien (1929, p. 191–202, 1939, p. 12–13), supported by Schwarz (1951, p. 240), regards $\bar{a}$ as an early stratum in OFris. because it crops up in certain basic words (*thā*, *thām*, *twā*, *māra*, etc.) and in words that are without 'German' counterparts (e.g. *fāch*, *wāse*). Heeroma (1965, p. 10–33) believes that $\bar{e}$ ($< ai$) was one of the Franconian features penetrating from the south and east into the Low Countries, $\bar{a}$ thus becoming an Ingveonic retention. Krupatkin is also of the opinion that $\bar{a}$ was the original Frisian reflex of *ai*, and that $\bar{e}$ spread from the neighbouring dialects. The fact that *k*, *g* are not palatalized before *ai* (cf. *kai*, *kei*) bears witness to this, cf. Kooper 1970, p. 13 note 17 and Brunner I 1960, p. 79. Campbell (1939, p. 97 note 1), arguing against the hypothesis that OFris. $\bar{e}$ ($< ai$) should be ascribed to contact influence, asks why, e.g., the 'German' influence manifested itself only in forms with Gmc. *ai*: one would have expected $\bar{a}$ to encroach on OFris. $\bar{e}$ ($< \text{Gmc. } \bar{e}^1$) and $\bar{o}$ on OFris. $\bar{a}$ ($< \text{Gmc. } au$).

Hammerich (1937, p. 351) thought that a monophthongization of *ai* took place in OE./Ofris. and OS., in principle independently of a following sound segment. Lehmann (1966, p. 22) believes in a common OE./Ofris. development of *ai* $> \bar{a}$ and a subsequent OFris. fronting of $\bar{a} > \bar{e}$, cf. *āgun* $> \bar{e}gun$ (OE. *āgon*), an idea that already Morsbach (1897, p. 327) had put forward. According to Campbell (1959, § 131–2, § 255) the shift of *ai* to $\bar{a}$ in OE. is later than that of $\bar{a} > \bar{æ}$ (and $\bar{ā}n > \bar{o}n$) and precedes that of $a > \bar{æ}$. The OFris. shift of *ai* to $\bar{e}$, on the other hand, may have taken place after the fronting of $a > e$. In an attempt to amalgamate Siebs' rules for the appearance of $\bar{a}$ and $\bar{e}$ in OFris. with the theory of a late independent Frisian monophthongization of *ai*, Campbell (1939, p. 96–7) suggests that $\bar{a}$ in fact represents an OFris. retraction of the fronted reflex of *ai*, a development that occurred under much the same circumstances as those under which $\bar{æ}$ was retracted to $\bar{a}$ in WS. (see below).

In his doctoral thesis on the accented vowels of the Schiermonnikoog dialect Arne Spenter establishes that more than one $\bar{e}$ -phoneme may be posited for OWFris.: Gmc. *ai*; *au + i*, *i* > OFris. $\bar{e}$ ($\bar{a}$), and Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$; $\bar{u} + i$, *j* > OFris. $\bar{e}$ (Spenter 1968, p. 190–93, 204–7 and esp. 1970, p. 312). Since there is no letter to designate OFris. $\bar{e}$ ($\bar{a}$) unequivocally, the orthographic vacillation between $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{a}$ would hardly be surprising if it had not been for their distributional pattern and for the fact that the OFris. reflex of *au + i*, *j* is represented with great orthographic consistency, cf. *hēra*, *lēva*, *nēd*. See also below, note 2.

Before discussing the development of Gmc. *ai* in OFris. (and OE.) any further, we shall consider the way in which the diphthong is reflected in Norse. In a paper published in 1975, I included the ON. shift of *ai* > $\bar{a}$ 'before *h*, *r* and in weakly accented position' along with OE. *ai* > $\bar{a}$ in my list of parallels between OE. and ON. (cf. above and Nielsen 1975, p. 14), and gave the following Norse examples: ODan. *rā* (< **raihō*), *tā* (< **taihwō*); *ār* (Goth. *air*), OIcel. *sár* (Goth. *sair*); *ávalt* (Goth. *aiw allata*), ODan. *nōkor* (< **nak(k)warr* < **naikwaR*). In early Runic there may be an attestation of $\bar{a}$ < *ai* before *h*, cf. Rö fahido c. 400 vs. Vetteland faihido c. 350 (see Nielsen 1979, ch. I, 3(x)). The question now arises why Gmc. *ai* in these cases did not participate in the regular development to ON. *ei*.

Niels Davidsen-Nielsen and Henning Ørum have recently argued that certain shifts in historical phonology, including the retraction of $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{a}$ and back mutation in WS., should be explained as assimilations involving the acoustic-auditory feature of 'gravity'. The WS. retraction of $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{a}$ took place before a back vowel only if a labial or a velar consonant or *l/r* intervened. The consonants in question are all marked as [+grave] by Davidsen-Nielsen/Ørum (1978, p. 203–5), whereby is meant that they are acoustically at a lower pitch than alveolar and palatal consonants, which in their turn are [—grave]. Among the vowels, the dark resonance of those with back articulation can also be indicated by the acoustic-auditory feature [+grave], whereas front vowels are [—grave]. The WS. retraction of $\bar{a}$ > $\bar{a}$ therefore becomes an example of regressive 'gravity' assimilation.

ON. *ai* > *ā* before *h*, *r* could be explained in similar terms. According to Moulton (1972, p. 172–3) the allophonic distribution of Gmc. *h* may have been [h] initially and [X] in other positions; the latter allophone would explain *ai* > *ā* in early Runic/Norse.¹ A back articulation (primary or secondary)¹ of *r* would account for the monophthongization before this consonant. In Gmc., *r* was a uvular trill (Antonson 1975, p. 17).

As for the shift in syllables with weak (or secondary) accent, the two examples given above have 'grave' consonants (*w/k*) following the vowels affected. An examination of the relevant paragraphs in Brøndum-Nielsen (I 1950, § 104²) and Noreen (1970, § 54³) reveals that a large majority of the words listed have 'grave' consonants after the monophthongized vowel, cf. Runic Dan. *ŪfāgR*, OIcel. *Þorlákr*, *Óláfr*, ONorw. *Monámr*. Personal names in *-stān* do occur, but the name-element may represent a borrowing from OE. according to Brøndum-Nielsen. Also, it is doubtful whether *antlāte* belongs here, cf. MLG. *antlāt* and Noreen 1970, § 54^{3b} and § 64; but in *Únáss* and *heraþ ai* has lost its front glide before an alveolar/dental consonant.

If in principle we are right in attributing the monophthongization of *ai* in weakly accented syllables to regressive 'gravity' assimilation, it is only to be expected that a vowel with less accent should fall more easily prey to the economy of (acoustic) energy than a vowel with a greater amount of accent—this is to explain why the distribution of *ā* < *ai* is not so restricted in weakly accented syllables as it is in strongly accented ones.

But to return to OFris.—it is very tempting to apply the concept of 'gravity' assimilation also to the material of this language in order to account for the distribution of *ā* and *ē* (< *ai*): the frequent occurrence of *ē* before 'dentals' (Heinertz) and the preference for *ā* before *ch* and labials (Walde) and next to *w* (Siebs). Campbell may therefore be right in assuming that *ai* became a long front monophthong in OFris., and that this vowel was again retracted along lines very similar to those of the WS. retraction of *æ* to *ā*. Also, Arne Spenter's findings do not preclude such a solution because Spenter and Campbell both posit *ē* (*æ*)

¹ Davidsen-Nielsen, personal communication.

as an intermediate stage in the development of Gmc. *ai* in Frisian, although it remains an unanswered question why the reflex of Gmc. *au* + *i, j* is represented with orthographic consistency.²

There is reason to believe, then, that the development of *ai* > *ā* took place independently in OE., OFris. and ON. Chronological considerations seem to confirm this. Campbell's theory of the OFris. development presupposes a monophthongization subsequent to the fronting of *a* to *e*, whereas in OE. the change from *ai* to *ā* preceded fronting, cf. above. And as has already been pointed out, *ai* may have been monophthongized before *h* in early Runic.

² On the basis of ModFris. dialect material Jørgensen (1946, p. 109–10) and Hofman (1964, p. 161–3, 183–5, cf. also 1979, p. 15) assume that there was a Proto-Frisian (8th cent.) phonemic system of long vowels consisting of three front and three back monophthongs

<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>ǣ</i>	<i>ā</i>

in which *ǣ* and *ā* derive from Gmc. *ai* (and secondarily, *i*-mutated Gmc. *au*) and *au* (*ai*) respectively. The two scholars make no attempt to account for the distribution of the reflexes of Gmc. *ai*. If we are right in assuming that 'gravity' assimilation should be held responsible for a retraction of *ǣ* to *ā*, Gmc. *au* + *i, j* must have become *ǣ* subsequent to the period in which 'gravity' assimilation took place or alternatively, at a time when the (continued) presence of *i, j* prevented the retraction of *ǣ* before *ch*, labials, etc. The system exhibited by the OFris. manuscripts

<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>ā</i>	

seems to show that Proto-Frisian *ǣ* has merged with *ē*, Gmc. *au* + *i, j*, unlike Gmc. *ai*, being consistently represented by *ē*. But Hofman (1964, p. 162) is careful to stress that the OFris. manuscripts should not be taken as a safe guide to the phonemic system of OFris. 'weil *ē* und *ǣ* vielleicht nur in der Schrift nicht unterschieden, sondern beide durch *e* wiedergegeben wurden (ähnlich wie im Mittelniederdeutschen), jedenfalls in Teilen des altfriesischen Sprachgebiets.'

As a final point it should be noted that in terms of relative chronology the 'gravity' assimilation (retraction) of *ǣ* to *ā* must have preceded the merger of the reflex of Gmc. *ē*¹ with *ǣ* (< Gmc. *ai*) in Insular North Frisian, seeing that no reflexes of Gmc. *ē*¹ in this dialect area participate in the process.

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Greek σέμπρος and Slavic **sebrǫ*

Apart from certain dialectal connotations, the basic meaning of Modern Greek σέμπρος [*sémbros*] is 'equal partner, associate; *métayer*'. To be more specific, σέμπρος is the kind of partner a small farmer becomes upon entering a partnership with another small farmer based on sharing equally arable land, seed, beast of yoke, labor, and produce. In addition, this agricultural term means the holder of land on *métayage* system in which the farmer pays half of the produce as rent to the owner who furnishes seed and stock, or the shepherd who rents a flock of sheep or goats and pays half of the proceeds to the owner.¹ According to G. Meyer, σέμπρος is a Slavic loanword and belongs to the following group of cognates: Old Serbian *sebrǫ* 'commoner; half-partner, partner, associate', Serbo-Croatian *sebar* 'ploughman, tiller, small farmer', Slovene *srebar* 'ploughman', Old Russian *sjabrǫ* 'neighbor, comrade', Russian *sjabër* 'neighbor; comrade, friend, associate', Ukrainian *saber*, *śabro* 'partner, co-farmer', as well as Lithuanian *sẽbras* 'half-partner, business-or work-associate'.² In regard to the connotations of these forms, G. Meyer suggested the following line of semantic evolution: from 'half-partner' (northern Greek, Lithuanian) to 'co-ploughman, co-farmer' (Ionian Islands *et alibi*) and subsequently 'ploughman, farmer' → 'commoner' (Old Serbian).³ It is worth noting that G. Meyer did not attempt to reconstruct a proto-form for the Slavic variants, but simply accepted F. Miklosich's explanation of this term as a Finnish loanword.⁴ It is well to

¹ G. Meyer, *Neugriechische Studien* (NS.) 2, Wien 1894, p. 56–57; Λεξι-
κὸν τῆς νέας ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης (Lex. Proia), ed. Proia, Athens (un-
dated) 2, p. 2154.

² G. Meyer, NS. 2, p. 57; M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörter-
buch* (REW.) 2, Heidelberg 1955, p. 599 and 3, p. 62.

³ G. Meyer, NS. 2, p. 57.

⁴ F. Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen*,
Wien 1886, repr. Amsterdam 1970, p. 289, 297.

point out that F. Miklosich separated Russian *sjabr*, which he considered as a loanword from Esthonian *sóber* 'friend', from Old Serbian *sebrǫ* 'plebejus' whose origin he sought in the ethnic name Σάβειροι Οὐννικὸν ἔθνος (Procop. VIII 3,5), a hardly convincing etymon, as has been rightly observed.⁵

Despite a welter of hypotheses, no satisfactory etymon has been proposed for the Slavic protoform **sebrǫ*, the reconstruction of which is supported by Albanian *sembër* 'co-herdsman; associate; participant, companion', Hungarian *cimbora* 'accomplice', Romanian *sîmbră* 'societas, communio, commercium', and Greek σέμπρος.⁶ There have been two main approaches to the etymological investigation of **sebrǫ*: one that seeks to explain it as a loanword, and the other that considers it as an inherited form in Slavic. Thus, according to A. Bezzenberger and A. Fick, Slavic **sebrǫ* draws on the IE. reflexive pronoun *s(u)ebh(o)-* 'von eigener Art': OInd. *sabhā* 'Versammlung, Gemeindehaus', Gothic *sibja*, OHG. *sipp(e)a* etc. 'Sippe, Gesamtheit der eigenen Leute'.⁷ As has been rightly observed, this etymon suffers from two defects: first, no satisfactory explanation for the nasalized *ę* has been proposed, despite the suggestion that it should be understood as a nasal infix;⁸ and second, the basic meaning of this term is not 'group-associate' but 'half-partner'.⁹ A. Sobolevskij attempted to link **sebrǫ* with *sembja* 'family' and suggested as its origin the protoform **sem-b-rǫ*.¹⁰ His arguments in regard to how **sebrǫ* and *sembja* are morphologically and semantically related did not produce convincing results.¹¹ Elaborating on A. Sobolevskij's etymon, B. Ljapunov suggested the underlying

⁵ M. Vasmer, REW. 3, p. 62.

⁶ M. Vasmer, REW. 3, p. 62.

⁷ A. Fick, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen 1, 4. Auflage, bearb. von A. Bezzenberger, A. Fick und W. Stokes, Göttingen 1890, p. 561; N. Jokl, Sbornik vā česti na Prof. L. Miletič, Sofia 1933, p. 126.

⁸ Cf. J. Kalima, ZSlPh. 17 (1940–1941) p. 343.

⁹ N. Jokl, Sbornik Miletič p. 126ff.

¹⁰ Cf. J. Kalima, op. cit. p. 342.

¹¹ J. Rozwadowski, Sbornik otdelenija russkogo jasyka i slovesnosti imperatorskoj Akademii nauk (= Festschrift Sobolevskij), 101/3, 1928, p. 361.

protoform **sim-b-r̥o* for **sebr̥o* from *seim-*, *soim-* with vowel gradation.¹² Operating on the same idea, A. Vaillant proposed **soim-b-ros* as the source of **sebr̥o*.¹³ On the other hand, J. Rozwadowski saw in **sebr̥o* the output of a Germanic loanword **Himbr-* < **him-ro* < pre-Germanic *kim-ro-*: Κίμβροι, *Cimbri*, Old Danish *Himbersyss*, Danish *Himmerland*, which he considered as a cognate of Gothic *heims* 'village', OCS. *šěmbja*, Lithuanian *šeimyna* 'household; family'.¹⁴ In regard to this etymon, N. Jokl remarked: "Es ist klar, daß auch dieser Erklärung, wie der von Bezzenberger und Fick, der Gedanke zugrunde liegt, der rechtliche Inhalt des Instituts der *sebr-* sei aus der Sippongemeinschaft, dem Familienverbande erwachsen. Daß Wort- und Rechtsgeschichte hierfür keinen Anhalt bieten, ist im Vorhergehenden zu zeigen versucht worden."¹⁵ It should also be pointed out that an earlier attempt by K. Buga to explain this term from the name of the old Prussian tribe *Sembi*, which persists in the geographic name *Samland*,¹⁶ has not been accepted because of morphological as well as semantic difficulties.¹⁷

In view of the fact that the basic meaning of the word in question is 'half-partner' and not 'family-member', N. Jokl, among other scholars, found these etyma unacceptable. Subsequently he sought to explain **sebr̥o* from an earlier **sēmb̥r̥o*, a loanword from a hypothetical East Germanic **sēm-bur* 'halben Ertrag, halben Zins, halbe Abgabe scil., liefernd, bzw. empfangend; Halbzinsmann; Halbbauer'. This compound was thought to consist of *sēm-* (cf. OS., AS. *sām*, Latin *semi*, etc.), as in OS. *sāmquik*, OHG. *sāmiquēk*, AS. *sāmcwic* 'halb lebendig' and the component *-bur*, as in Gothic *gabaur* 'collection'.¹⁸ Needless to say, this extremely artificial etymon has not been accepted.¹⁹

¹² Festschrift Sobolevski, p. 257–263.

¹³ A. Vaillant, *Slavia* 11 (1932) p. 38–40.

¹⁴ J. Rozwadowski, Festschrift Sobolevski p. 361.

¹⁵ N. Jokl, *Sbornik Miletich* p. 130.

¹⁶ Cf. A. Preobraženskij, *Etimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*, fasc. 1–14: *a-suleja*, Moscow 1910–1918, s. v. *ceбepь*.

¹⁷ M. Vasmer, *REW*. 3, p. 62.

¹⁸ N. Jokl, *Sbornik Miletich* p. 131.

¹⁹ M. Vasmer, *REW*. 3, p. 62.

The origin of Lithuanian *sẽbras* 'associate; companion, fellow, comrade' has caused a good amount of controversy.²⁰ Although *sẽbras* (with long *ẽ*) is generally accepted as being a loanword from White Russian *sjabr*, a semantically similar older form *sebras* (with short *e*) is thought to be an inherited form in Lithuanian. The distinction between these forms is based upon the fact that Finnish *seura* 'company, entourage' (*seurata* 'follow, accompany'), which underlies an earlier **sepra*, gen. *seþran*, is a loanword from Old Lithuanian *sebras*. Because *seura* is attested in the Finnish of the East Sea, which contains Baltic but not Slavic loanwords, J. Kalima argued against the Slavic origin of *sebras*. His arguments are as follows: "Auch gibt es keine Möglichkeit, das ostseefinn. Wort auf slaw. **seþrō* zurückzuführen, denn fi. *seura* setzt im Ostseefinnischen die Periode eines lebendigen Stufenwechsels *-pr-* ~ *-þr-* voraus, was wir bei den slawischen Lehnwörtern nie sehen und auch nicht erwarten können, weiter—und dies ist sehr wichtig—kommt das betreffende Wort auch im Lappischen als eine frühe Entlehnung aus dem Finnischen vor (norw. lp. *soerve*, schwed. lp. *seb^ere* 'Gesellschaft' usw.), eine Tatsache, welche den slavischen Ursprung unbedingt ausschließt. Alles deutet darauf hin, daß wir es hier mit einem baltischen Lehnwort der ältesten Entlehnungsschicht zu tun haben."²¹ On the grounds that the reflex of the long *ẽ* before *-pr-* cannot be satisfactorily established for the Baltic loanwords of East Sea Finnish, J. Kalima accepted V. Thomsen's view that **sepra* draws on Old Lithuanian *sebras* which is only accidentally similar to *sẽbras*, a loanword from White Russian *sjabr*. He writes: "Ich nehme mit Thomsen an, daß das baltische Original eher **sebra-* als **sẽbra-* gelautet hat und habe nichts dagegen, daß lit. *sẽbras* für ein weißrussisches Lehnwort erklärt

²⁰ A. Brückner, *Die slavischen Fremdwörter im Litauischen*, Weimar 1877, p. 129, 193; F. Solmsen, *KZ.* 37 (1904) p. 597; K. Brugmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 2. Aufl., Straßburg 1897, XLVII; A. Walde-J. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 2, Heidelberg 1965, p. 457 s.v. *Sabini*; A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* 2, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, p. 456.

²¹ J. Kalima, *op. cit.* 17, p. 345–346.

wird, wenn man nur zugleich die Existenz eines genuin baltischen *sebra- zugibt. Man hat keine genügenden Gründe in lett. *sebrs* ein estnisches Lehnwort zu sehen, und ich glaube, daß Buga Recht hat, indem er dieses Wort für genuin baltisch hält. Außer dem Lettischen hat vielleicht auch das Altlitauische das baltische Wort bewahrt, wenn die Schreibweise *sebras* nicht etwa das heutige *ė* wiedergibt.”²² Subsequently J. Kalima concluded that Lithuanian *sēbras* and Latvian *sēbrs* draw on Slavic *sebr̥, whereas Old Lithuanian *sebras* and Latvian *sebrs* are inherited Baltic forms and belong to the group of Gothic *sibja* ‘Sippenverhältnis, Verwandtschaft’, OHG. *sipp(e)a* ‘Blutsverwandtschaft, Friede, Bündnis’, derivatives of IE. *s(u)e-bh(o) ‘von eigener Art’²³ which is also the source of *sebr̥. This explanation, which is generally accepted,²⁴ has been slightly modified by E. Blesse who claims that not only Lithuanian *sebras* and Latvian *sebrs* draw on *s(u)e-bh(o)- but also the respective variants *sēbras* and *sēbrs*,²⁵ a hardly convincing hypothesis.²⁶ In regard to the problematic origin of Slavic *sebr̥, E. Fraenkel observed: ‘Es ist nicht sicher zu entscheiden, ob slav. *seb- (russ. *sjabr* ‘Nachbar, Kamerad’ usw.) zu russ. *sem̋ja*, lit. *šeimà*, lett. *saimē* ‘Familie’ gehört oder infigierten Nasal aufweist; für das letztere spricht das Baltische.”²⁷

Owing to the ambiguous interpretations that have been proposed for Slavic *sebr̥, and because Albanian *sembër* [*sémbər*] (also *sëmbër* [*sámber*]) came to be used in certain dialects as a synonym of *shemër* [*šémər*], a term used for the second wife of the same man, E. Çabej came to the conclusion that *sembër* and *shemër* are etymologically related.²⁸ His argument is summarized as follows: “A retenir le fait que dans maints parlers albanais du nord aussi bien que du sud, ce mot désigne également l’associé

²² J. Kalima, op. cit. p. 347–348.

²³ J. Kalima, op. cit. p. 348–350.

²⁴ Cf. M. Vasmer, REW. 2, p. 599; E. Fraenkel, Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 2, Heidelberg 1965, p. 768–769.

²⁵ E. Blesse, KZ. 75 (1958) p. 96–100.

²⁶ Cf. E. Fraenkel, loc. cit.

²⁷ E. Fraenkel, op. cit. p. 769.

²⁸ E. Çabej, Studime Filologjike, 19/4 (1965) p. 49.

et la deuxième femme d'un même homme par rapport a l'autre, dite aussi *shemër*. Il s'agit donc probablement d'un seul mot, employé en deux formes et deux acceptions diverse."²⁹

According to N. Jokl, *shemërë* f. [šémərə] 'die zweite Frau bei Lebzeiten der ersten, Nebenfrau, Nebenweib; Konkubine, Rivalin' (cf. also *šemërë* f. 'compagna di concubinato') draws on Proto-Albanian **smmëri* 'Mitfrau, Mitgattin, Beifrau', a compound with **sm-* (cf. OCS. *so-*, OInd. *sa-*, *sam-*, G. *ā-* etc.) and **mëri* a variant of **mari* 'young lady' (: Latin *maritus* 'a married man, husband', OInd. *maryak* 'young man, lover, suitor', Lithuanian *martì* 'bride; daughter-in-law', Greek μεῖραξ f. 'young girl, lass') cf. also *mërkosh* [mərkoš] 'a husband who practices couvade at the time of his wife's childbirth'.³⁰

This term, which N. Jokl understood as being a remnant of Indo-European polygamy in Albanian, has a good number of equivalents in Modern Greek. Thus, in many dialects, σύγκρια f. is someone's dead wife as referred to by his second one. In Mane, it means the second wife that one could marry in case the first one was barren. This was done with the consent of the first wife who remained married to the same man. In Cynouria (Vourvoura), σύγκρια is another name for ἀντεράστρια 'rival in love'. In Calamai, σύγκριες (pl.) are women belonging to the same man. The masculine form σύγκριος means the husband of an ill-reputed woman (Crete: Hierapetra) or the husband of a prostitute (Cythera).³¹ On the grounds that a synonym of σύγκρια is σύγκορμος: σύγκορμος 'sharing the same body' (Samos), next to the widely attested συγκόρμισσα id. (also συγκορμίτισσα id.), σύγκριος has been traced back to **σύγκρεως* adj. (< σύν κρέας 'flesh').³² Thus, the original meaning of σύγκρια was perceived as being 'someone who shares the same flesh'. D. Georgacas rejected the explanation of σύγκριος from **σύγκρεως* and suggested instead that σύγκριος (he writes σύγγραχος) was coined

²⁹ E. Çabej, op. cit. p. 67.

³⁰ N. Jokl, *Linguistisch-kulturhistorische Untersuchung aus dem Bereiche des Albanischen* (LKU.), Berlin-Leipzig 1923, p. 4–10.

³¹ Cf. D. Georgacas, *Λεξικογραφικὸν δελτίον* (LD.) 2, Athens 1940, p. 131.

³² A. Skias, *Λαογραφία* 4 (1912–1913) p. 315; N. Andriotis, *Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten* (LAND.), Wien 1974, p. 532.

after σύγκρια (: σύγγραϊα). The latter he derived from σύν plus γριά: γραϊά 'old lady; wife'.³³ On the strength of συγκύρια f. 'a remarried man's former wife (whether deceased or divorced)' (< σύν plus κυρία 'lady') Epirus: Kourentokhoria, Paramythia, the byform *σύγκυρα (< σύν plus κυρά: κυρία) can be postulated as the source of the synonymous σέγκρα (< *σύγκ(υ)ρία) Epirus: Ionnina, Zagorion, a word of unclear provenience.^{33a} This evidence implies that the origin of these forms is polygenetic rather than monogenetic. Other synonyms of σύγκρια are συγκαινώντζα (Pontos: Khaldia), a derivative of συγκαινώνισσα 'partner', and συμμοίρισσα 'sharer; having the same fate',³⁴ cf. also the variant συμμέρισσα from συμμοίρισσα with the sporadic lowering of [i] (and [ü]) to [e], a widely attested reflex in Late, Middle, and Modern Greek.³⁵

In the Albanian enclaves of East Corinthia, the forms *kolik*, def. *koligu* m. and *kolige* f. (cf. Greek κολλήγας: Latin *collega*) came to mean 'boy-friend' and 'girl-friend; mistress', respectively, in addition to the basic meaning which is similar to that of κολλήγας: σέμπρος.³⁶ It becomes apparent that this semantic innovation developed from the general notion of 'partner, associate' to the specific connotation of 'partner in love'. Since only *sembër* is attested as 'partner' and 'second wife' in contradistinction to *shemër* which does not mean 'partner in general' but only 'second wife', the hypothesis can be made that as *kolige* f. developed the connotation 'mistress, lover' from the general notion of 'partner', likewise *sembër*, in addition to its original meaning 'partner', came to mean 'second wife'. Aside from the phonetic differences between these words, the restricted attestation of *shemër* within Albanian only and the wide at-

³³ D. Georgacas, LD. 2, p. 131–132.

^{33a} E. Bongas, Τὰ γλωσσικά ιδιώματα τῆς Ἡπείρου, Ionnina 1964, p. 371; G. Meyer, NS. 2, p. 78.

³⁴ N. Andriotis, LAND. p. 532. S. Xanthoudides (Ἀθηνᾶ 38, 1926, p. 122–123) perceives this custom, which presently persists in the folklore of Greece, as a reflex of Mohammedan polygamy.

³⁵ K. Dieterich, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, Leipzig 1898, pp. 11–14, 272–273.

³⁶ Cf. Lex. Proia 1, p. 1382.

testation of *sembër* outside Albanian suggest that the latter is not a derivative of the former, as will be shown shortly.

It is worth noting that M. Deffner refused to accept that σέμπρος is a Slavic loanword, and proposed Medieval Latin *semipar* 'qui dimidii feudi ratione dominus subditus est' as its origin.³⁷ Although it is difficult to account for the changes that are needed in order to derive σέμπρος from *semipar*, this etymon reflects the thought that M. Deffner understood σέμπρος as an agricultural term with the specific meaning 'half-partner in farming', a term which has been rightly equated with Latin *partiarius colonus*, Middle and New Low German *halfwinner*, and Swiss-German *halbgenossig*.³⁸ On the other hand, the institution of μορτή 'the portion of a *métayer* in the proceeds of a state' (Poll. 7, 151; Eust. 1857, 31) has a long and uninterrupted tradition in Greek agriculture. Thus, the adjective ἐπίμορτος, which as an epithet of γῆ meant 'land farmed on the *métayer* system' (Sol. ap. Poll. 7, 151) and which is also used in the sense of *partiarius colonus* (cf. ἐπίμορτος· σπόριμος γῆ ἢ ἐπιμεριστή, λέγεται οὕτω καὶ ὁ <ἐπὶ> μέρει ἐργαζόμενος. Μορτή γὰρ τὸ μέρος ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ ἐκτήμοροι οἱ τὸ ἕκτον τελοῦντες Hesychius), persists in the dialect of Chios as 'Acker, dessen Besitzer die Hälfte des Ertrags erhält'.³⁹ In Middle Greek, the equivalent of ἐπίμορτος came to be known as μορτίτης γεωργός 'partiarius colonus cui opponitur χωροδότης is qui fundum colendum dedit'.⁴⁰ On the other hand, μορτή converged with γεώμορον 'métayage' (cf. γεώμορον· ἡ κοινῶς μορτή)⁴¹ from γεώμορος 'one who has a share of land, landowner'. Derivatives of γεώμορον are widely attested in present-day Greek, e.g. γώμορο (Peloponnesus: Gargalianoi), γήμορο (Epirus), γέμπουρο (Epirus: Dibritsa), γέμπουρα (Peloponnesus: Mane), and γέμουρε (Tsaconia). The meaning of these variants is 'Anteil des Grundbesitzers an der Getreideernte'.⁴²

³⁷ M. Deffner, Λεξικὸν τῆς Τσακωνικῆς διαλέκτου, Athens 1923, p. 321.

³⁸ N. Jokl, Sbornik Miletič p. 133.

³⁹ N. Andriotis, LAND. p. 253.

⁴⁰ DuCange, Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis (1688), Graz 1958, p. 957 s.v. μορτή.

⁴¹ DuCange, loc. cit.

⁴² N. Andriotis, LAND. p. 195.

There is evidence from dialectal Modern Greek supporting a new etymon for σέμπρος. The aforementioned συμμοίρισα f. is a derivative of σύμμοιρος 'sharer, partner; lover' (cf. μάγειρος m. 'cook' > μαγείρισα f. 'female cook' LXX I. Ki. 8.13, διάκονος m. 'deacon' > διακόνισσα f. 'deaconess' IG. 3.3527), attested in Cyprus, Macedonia, and Thrace.^{42a} With a semantic development similar to that of κολλήγας from 'colleague, partner, associate' to 'métaγος' and 'lover', σύμμοιρος can provide a sound etymon for σέμπρος. It should be noted that μοῖρα persists in present-day Greek not exclusively as 'fate' but also in the original sense of 'portion, share'.⁴³ cf. also μοιράζω 'share out, distribute', ἰσομοιρῶ 'have an equal share' > σομοιριάζω 'divide equally' (Carpathos),⁴⁴ γεροντομοίρι(ον) 'the share of the elderly',⁴⁵ ζητομοίρι(ον) 'the share of dues paid to the Great Church of Constantinople by an eparchy' (Epirus).⁴⁶

The phonological changes that are required for the derivation of σέμπρος from σύμμοιρος can be fully substantiated. The sporadic lowering of [i] and [ü] to [e] generally, but not exclusively, in the context of a liquid or a nasal consonant is widely attested in Late Greek (e.g.: σκιρτῶν > σκερτῶν; ἐσύρισε > ἐσέρισε; ἄσπιλον > ἄσπελον; γλυκυτάτω > γλεκετάτω; συμψέλιον (: Latin *subsellium*) > σεμψέλλιον; συκαμινέας > σεκαμενέας; συνειδήσει > σενεδήσει)⁴⁷ as well as in Middle and Modern Greek, as the following evidence indicates: σμίνθος 'mouse' > μένθος (Cyrilli glossarium 319),⁴⁸ ἀργίλλα 'clay' > ἀργέλλα 'fuller's earth' (Constantinus of Rhegium), νηρόν 'water' > νερόν (Apophthegmata Patrum)⁴⁹ > Modern Greek νερό id., μεσήμβριον > 'midday' >

^{42a} Information received from the archives of the 'Historical Dictionary of Modern Greek' of the Academy of Athens.

⁴³ N. Andriotis, LAND. p. 380.

⁴⁴ N. Andriotis, LAND. p. 284.

⁴⁵ 'Ιστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς (HLNH.) ed. Academy of Athens, 1 (1933) p. 249, s.v. ἀδερφομοίρι.

⁴⁶ E. Bongas, op. cit. p. 129.

⁴⁷ K. Dieterich, op. cit. pp. 11–14; S. Psaltes, Grammatik der Byzantinischen Chroniken, Leipzig 1913, p. 20–23.

⁴⁸ Cf. Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon, ed. M. Schmidt, Jena 1858–1868, s.v. σμίνθος.

⁴⁹ H. and R. Kahane, Romance Philology 20 (1967) p. 415 and ZRPh. 97 (1981) p. 110; N. Andriotis, LAND. p. 151.

μεσέμβριον id. (Miracula Artemii), μεσέμβρος : μεσημβρινός 'meridian' (Persica Captivitas),⁵⁰ μονήρης 'navis uniremis' dim. μονήριον > μονέριον (Porph. Cer. 673,16),⁵¹ λέβης 'cauldron' dim. λεβήτιον > λεβέτιν (Prodromus 3,101) > common Mod. Greek λεβέτι id.,⁵² κάθροπτρον 'mirror' (CGL. III 22) > *κάθροπτον (cf. κάτοπτρον > κάτροπτον id.) > *κάθρυπτον (cf. ἄροτρον 'plough' > ἄλυτρον PAmh. 143,14)⁵³ dim. καθρύπτιον (Hesychius s.v. ἔσοπτρον) > καθρύπτῃς (> καθρύπτῃς Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe, καρφύχτης Crete) > καθρέπτῃς (: καθρέφτης id.) Syntipas, Moschopoulos,⁵⁴ (σ)μύραινα 'murry' > μέρινα id. (Libistros and

⁵⁰ G. W. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, Oxford 1961, s.vv.

⁵¹ J. Psaltes, op. cit. p. 26.

⁵² Cf. Ph. Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός 2; 2, Athens 1948, p. 100.

⁵³ F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden 1, Heidelberg 1924, p. 62; G. Rohlfs, Lexicon graecanicum italiae inferioris, Tübingen 1964, p. 24. The sporadic lowering of *o* to *u* can also be seen in κόμαρος 'strawberry-tree, Arbutus Undeo' > κύμαρος id. (Hesychius s.v.) > dial. Mod. Greek κύμαρο 'fruit of κόμαρος' Carpathos (N. Andriotis, LAND. p. 339), ὑπώρα 'fruit' : ὑπώρα id. Ostr. Mich. 90.4 > ἱπώρα, τά id. (leg. ὑπώρα) Pontos, ὑπουρα, τά id. Epirus (E. Bongas, op. cit. p. 409; N. Andriotis, LAND. p. 413) and ἔσοπτρον 'mirror' < ἔσυπτρον id., cf. N. Andriotis, LD. 1, p. 113.

⁵⁴ Cf. N. Andriotis, LD. 1, p. 111–113; DuCange, op. cit. p. 540, Appendix 88. P. Kretschmer (Byzantinische Zeitschrift [BZ.], 10, 1901, p. 583) proposed that, on the parallel κάτοπτρον < κάτροπτον, the variant κάθροπτρον yielded κάθροπτον (: *κάθρόπτον, Andriotis, LD. 1, p. 113). However, in regard to the derivation of καθρέφτης from *κάθροπτον, he observed: "Die weitere Umgestaltung des Wortes zu καθρέπτῃς wurde wohl durch analogische Einwirkung veranlaßt. Nach κατόπτῃς, ἐπόπτῃς, ὑπόπτῃς mag κάθροπτον zunächst zu καθρόπτῃς, ngr. *καθρόφτης umgebildet worden sein. Wie daraus καθρέφτης wurde, ist weniger deutlich." A somewhat similar interpretation was suggested by N. Andriotis (LD. 1, p. 111–113), though the evidence at hand suggests that this derivation is parallel to that of κά(μ)ψα f. 'basket, case' (< Lat. *capsa*) dim. κα(μ)ψάκιον n. > κα(μ)ψάκης m. 'cruise, flask'. On the strength of this interpretation, K. Latte's καθρέπτῃν (s.v. ἔσοπτρον [6473]) may stand for καθρύπτιον. It is well to point out that πτέον (Ael. Dion Fr. 288; Poll. 6,89 and 10,128), a variant of πτύον 'winnowing-shovel' has been explained by P. Chantraine (Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, Paris 1968, p. 960) as follows: "La forme πτέον pour πτύον provient p.ê. d'une fermeture de *υ* en *ε*, cf. Schwyzler, Gr. Gr. 1,183, qui cite après Kalén,

Rodamne) (> Old Russian *měrena* id.):⁵⁵ Modern Greek σμέρνα id. (cf. CGL. III 317, 63: ζμύρνα id.),⁵⁶ παιδάριον 'little boy' >

Quaestiones Gramm. 13sq., quelques graphies généralement tardives: δξέα pour δξύα, ειλεός pour ιλυός 'repaire' (Theoc. 15,9)". However, T. Kalen's phonetic interpretation of the sporadic υ > ε reflex has not been accepted for the δξύα > δξέα 'beech' transformation (an analogical formation after ιτέα 'willow', μηλέα 'apple-tree', cf. HJ. Frisk, Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 2, Heidelberg 1973, p. 400; P. Chantraine, op. cit. p. 806) and for the etymological relation of ιλυός to the variant ειλεός 'lurking-place, den', cf. HJ. Frisk, op. cit. 1, p. 456; P. Chantraine, op. cit. p. 319, 321. F. Specht (KZ. 61, 1934, p. 277–281) sought to explain the reflex ε in Λεβύα (: Λιβύη), σεκούα (: σικύη, cf. also ἡ Σικυών Σεκυών παρὰ Σικυωνίοις Apollonius de adv.) 555), σέσυφος (: Σίσυφος), ψέδυρα (: ψιθυρός), and τετύσχετο (: τιτύσχετο) as follows (op. cit. p. 279): "Diesen drei Paaren Λιβύη, Λέβύα; σικύα σεκύα; ψιθυρός, ψέδυρα, in denen die dem griechischen Ohre nicht genehme Silbenfolge u-u band zu e-u dissimiliert worden ist, kann man vielleicht noch zwei weitere Fälle anschließen. Von dem Eigennamen Σίσυφος läßt sich das durch Hesych überlieferte σέσυφος· πανοῦργος nicht trennen." This rule has been contested by P. Kretschmer (Glotta 26, 1938, pp. 57–58) on the grounds that is mostly based on loanwords or words of unclear origin. On the other hand, P. Chantraine (op. cit. p. 357) favors the explanation of the Hesychian gloss ἐπέρτερα· μείζω, καὶ ὑψηλότερα from ὑπέρτερα, whereas K. Latte (ad. loc.) equated the semantically unclear gloss ἔπουρος· εἶδος ἰχθύος with ἵππουρος 'Coryphaena hippurus' Ath. 7, 304c. Corroborating evidence for the transformation of ὑπέρτερα to ἐπέρτερα can be adduced from ἐπαγορία (Consilium Constantinopolitanum anno 448), which Lampe (op. cit. p. 505) equates with ὑπαγορία 'composition, compilation' and ἀργυρένδετος : ἀργυρένδυτος 'inlaid with silver, decorated with silver' (J. Crisostomus, hom. 63.4 in Mt.), cf. Lampe, op. cit. p. 223, 224. For the sporadic lowering of phonetic [i] to [e] in common and dialectal Modern Greek, see these references: K. Foy, Lautsystem der griechischen Vulgärsprache, Leipzig 1897, p. 99; K. Dieterich, op. cit. p. 272–273; G. Hatzidakis, Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik, Leipzig 1892, p. 333–334; idem, Ἀθηνᾶ 4 (1892) p. 470–474; idem, Μεσαιωνικά καὶ νέα Ἑλληνικά 1, Athens 1905, p. 239–240; idem, Ἀθηνᾶ 24 (1912) p. 21; *M. Philentas, Γλωσσογνωσία καὶ γλωσσογραφία ἑλληνική 2, Athens 1925, p. 201; Ch. Pantelides, Φωνητική τῶν νεοελληνικῶν ἰδιωματῶν etc., Athens 1929, p. 14–15; N. Andriotis, Ἀθηνᾶ 45 (1934) p. 359; S. Maneses, LD. 11, p. 17–40.

⁵⁵ M. Vasmer, REW. 2, p. 138, s.v. *mirón*.

⁵⁶ D. Georgacas, Ichthyological Terms for the Sturgeon and Etymology of the International Terms Botargo, Caviar and Congeners, Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 43 (1978) p. 138.

παιδαρύλλιον (Cyrillus Alexandrinus ep. 10) > Modern Greek παιδαρέλλι id., φιλύρα 'linden-tree' dim. *φιλύριον > φιλέρι Pontos, κύρτος 'weel' > κέρτος id. Crete.⁵⁷

Phonologically it is possible to assume that with the sporadic lowering of the upsilon to *e*, reduction of the unstressed *oi*⁵⁸ and subsequent epenthesis of the stop *b* in the context *m-r*, σύμμοιρος could yield σέμπρος. But the variant συμμέρισσα of συμμοίρισσα, an exact parallel of the ἀδερφομοίρι 'a brother's inheritance share' (attested in many dialects) > ἀδερφομέρι id. (Laconia) innovation,⁵⁹ (whose derivation may be attributed to the interference of such synonyms as, for example, συμμερίστρια [Sch. rec. A. Pers. 703], συμμεριστής 'partaker, sharer', συμμερίτης 'sharer', cf. also συμμερίζω 'distribute in shares') suggests that from σύμμοιρος one can safely derive *σύμμερος > *σέμμερος > *σέμμος > σέμπρος [sémbros]. Sporadic epenthesis of *b* in the context of *m-r* (cf. Μορμώ > *Μομρώ > Μομβρώ Hesychius) is well attested in the northern or semi-northern dialects, in which clusters of *mr* and *ml* resulted from the reduction of the unstressed high vowels *i* and *u*, a common characteristic of these dialects, cf. βατόμουρα 'blackberries' > βατόμρα > βατόμπρα [vatómbra] (Epirus, Thrace); κακόμοιρος 'unfortunate; poor' > κακόμρος > κακόμπρος [kakómbros] (Locris); μοιράδι 'share' > μράδ' > μπράδ' [(m)bráð] (Epirus); μοιράζω 'share out, distribute' > μράζου > μπράζου [(m)brázu] (Epirus); μηλιά 'apple-tree' μλιά > μπλιά [(m)blá] (Aetolia); μουλάρι 'mule' > μλάρ' > μπλάρ' [(m)blár] (Epirus); χαμπλός 'low' > χαμλός > χαμπλός [xamblós] in many dialects.⁶⁰ This type of epenthesis is by no means restricted to the northern or the semi-northern dialects, but it can also be found in the southern dialects, as well as in common Modern Greek, provided that the required clusters

⁵⁷ N. Andriotis, LAND. p. 341, 583.

⁵⁸ Cf. K. Dieterich, op. cit. p. 29–30.

⁵⁹ S. Xanthoudides, 'Αθηνᾶ 38, p. 122–123; HLNH. 1, p. 249.

⁶⁰ G. Anagnostopoulos, 'Αθηνᾶ 36 (1924) p. 64; G. Hatzidakis, 'Αθηνᾶ 49 (1939) p. 84–85, 118–119; cf. also P. Kretschmer, Der heutige lesbische Dialekt, Wien 1905, p. 213; E. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik 1, München 1939, p. 277; N. Andriotis, Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher 17 (1940) p. 123ff.

m-r and *m-l* are present, cf. μολόχα 'mallow' > *μ(ου)λούχα > μπλούχα [(*m*)blúxa] (Mane) and *ῥμόλυνθος 'wild fig': μλόθος Scyros, μπλόθος [(*m*)blóthos] Chios; μαλαθούνα 'basket' (Cyclades) > μπλαθούνα (Dodecanese: Chalke), cf. also the place name Κούμπλος [kúmblos] < κούμουλος 'pile, heap' Gortynia.⁶¹ On these grounds, the explanation of μπρέ [(*m*)bré] from the vocative μωρέ of μωρός 'foolish, silly' (i.e. μωρέ > μ(ου)ρέ > μπρέ [(*m*)bré], proposed by G. Hatzidakis, is in order. It should be pointed out that the vocative μωρέ gradually came to be used in the sense of an 'unceremonious mode of address.'⁶² The wide attestation of the variants βωρέ m. (< μωρέ) (Cercyra, Cephallenia, Megiste), βωρή f. (< μωρή) (Thrace: Aenos, Imbros, Cercyra, Tenedos) and βουρή f. (< μουρή f.) (Lesbos)⁶³ suggests that the variant βρέ [*vre*] could result from β(ου)ρέ < βωρέ < μωρέ with the well-attested reflex *m* > *v* (cf. μυζάω > βυζάνω 'suckle, suck').⁶⁴ It thus becomes apparent that Middle Greek μωρέ and its derivatives shed light on the origin of Albanian *more*, *mre*, *bre*, Bulgarian *more*, *mori*, *bre*, Serbo-Croatian *more*, *mori*, *bre*, Ukrainian, Polish *bre*, Romanian *bre*, Venetian *morè* etc., as has been rightly proposed.⁶⁵ The suggestion therefore that the origin of these forms is Osmanli Turkish *bre*,⁶⁶ an obvious Greek loanword, is untenable.

⁶¹ Ph. Koukoules, 'Αθηνᾶ 49, p. 85; idem, 'Αθηνᾶ 57 (1953) p. 212–213; N. Andriotis, LAND. p. 612; G. T. Kolias, 'Αθηνᾶ 44 (1932) p. 129.

⁶² G. Hatzidakis, BZ. 4 (1895) p. 418–419, cf. also A. Koraes, 'Ατακτα 5, Paris 1835, p. 33–34.

⁶³ HLNH. 4 (1953) p. 119.

⁶⁴ K. Dieterich, op. cit. p. 29f.; P. Kretschmer, KZ. 35 (1899) p. 606; D. Moutsos, Byzantion 45 (1975) p. 128; Ph. Koukoules, 'Αθηνᾶ 57, p. 201–202.

⁶⁵ G. Meyer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache, Straßburg 1891, p. 286; E. Berneker, Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 2, Heidelberg 1914, p. 77; M. Vasmer, Die griechischen Lehnwörter im Serbo-Kroatischen (Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Nr. 3), Berlin 1944, p. 100–101; M. Cortelazzo, L'influsso linguistico greco a Venezia, Bologna 1970, p. 148.

⁶⁶ Cf. A. Cioranescu, Dictionario etimologico rumano, Tenerife 1958–1966, p. 103; J. Rudnycky, An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language 1, Winnipeg 1962–1972, p. 198.

Although *σέμπρος* is not attested in Middle Greek, the borrowing of it into Slavic must have taken place at a time prior to the denasalization of the vowel *ɛ* of **sebr̥o*, that is, prior to the tenth century.⁶⁷ In regard to the diffusion of this term outside the Slavic language family, it becomes apparent that the Albanian cognates *sembër* and *sëmbër* draw on Greek *σέμπρος*. On the other hand, Romanian *sîmbră* f. 'association, society, company', which is the source of Hungarian *cimbora* 'accomplice',⁶⁸ underlies *σέμπρα* f. [*sémpra*] 'Teilbauerschaft', whereas *sîmbrie* f. 'wages, salary; hire; earning, payment' should be traced to the variant *σεμπρία* f. (Peloponnesus: Mane) > *σεμπριά* f. 'partnership in farming' (Ionian islands).⁶⁹ It is interesting to note that the Aromanian variants *simbru* m. 'homme dont la femme s'est remariée' and *simbră* f. 'femme dont le mari s'est remarié'⁷⁰ are semantically closer to *σύμμοιρος* 'wooer, suitor' (Cyprus) and *συμμοίρισσα* f. 'second wife married to the same man; concubine' than to *σέμπρος* and *σέμπρα*. The variants *šămbără* f. [*šămbərə*] and *šembără* f. [*šėmbərə*], whose meaning is identical to that of *simbră*, have been explained as loanwords from Albanian *shembër*, a variant of *shemër* (cf. also *shemërë*) 'second wife married to the same man'.⁷¹ It is well to point out that in dial. (Tosk) Albanian (Vlorë: Dukat) *shemër* is used in the sense of *sëmbri* (< *σεμπρία*) and in Zagorie *sëmbër* is attested as *shemër* in addition to its original meaning 'half-partner in farming or shepherding' (cf. *punojmë me sëmbër* = *punojmë me dy qe, si gymsatarë* 'we work (plough) with two oxen as half-partners').⁷² It is apparently because of this reason that E. Çabej

⁶⁷ Cf. A. Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves* 1, Paris 1950, p. 144–154; G. Shevelov, *A Prehistory of Slavic: The Historical Phonology of Common Slavic*, New York 1964, p. 311–336, 584.

⁶⁸ Cf. N. Jokl, *Sbornik Miletič* p. 123.

⁶⁹ G. Meyer, *NS.* 2, p. 56–57; D. Vayacacos, *LD.* 6, p. 171; A. Cioranescu, *op. cit.* p. 758; K. Jireček, *ASlPh.* 22 (1900) p. 212; Fonerica și dialectologie, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne 7, București 1971, p. 207; *Dicționarul limbii romîne moderne*, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, București 1958, p. 770.

⁷⁰ T. Papahagi, *Dicționarul dialectului Aromân*, București 1974, p. 1085.

⁷¹ T. Papahagi, *op. cit.* p. 1149.

⁷² E. Çabej, *op. cit.* p. 67.

sought to link *sembër* with *shemër* despite the anomaly that the $\xi:s$ correspondance presents.⁷³ This anomaly lends itself to the assumption that *shemër*, the derivative of Proto-Albanian **sm-m_eri* (Old Ind. *maryah* 'young man', Greek μεῖραξ etc.),⁷⁴ and *sembër*, the loanword from Greek σέμπρος, coalesced semantically in the above Albanian dialects and came to be perceived as congeners instead of synonyms. On the other hand, it is reasonable to assume that the intermediate derivative *σέμμερος of σύμμοιρος, which underlies σέμπρος, is the source of Albanian *shemër* > *shembër* with the $s > \xi$ reflex marking an earlier borrowing, cf. Greek στρούγγα [*strúnga*] > Albanian *shtrungë* [*štrúngə*].⁷⁵ Such explanation, which is semantically and phonologically fully justified, would eventually render the reconstruction of Proto-Albanian **sm-m_eri* unnecessary. The variant συμπρός (: συμπρός) Macedonia: Velvendos is a derivative of σεμπρός with the unstressed *e* raised to *i*, a characteristic of the northern dialects.⁷⁶ Lithuanian *sẽbras* and Latvian *sēbrs* underlie White Russian *sjabr*, whereas Old Lithuanian *sebras* and Latvian *sebrs*, despite their semantic and morphological affinity to the respective *sẽbras* and *sēbrs*, have been curiously left out of this group and have been considered as inherited Baltic forms on account of the discrepancy that arises from the Lithuanian loanword *seura* of the East Sea Finnish.

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⁷³ Cf. N. Jokl, LKU. p. 6.

⁷⁴ Cf. N. Jokl, LKU. p. 4–10.

⁷⁵ D. Moutsos, IF. 77 (1972) p. 755–765; idem, KZ. 94 (1980) p. 153.

⁷⁶ G. Meyer, NS. 2, pp. 56–57; A. Thumb, IF. 14 (1903) p. 349.

“Rennet”

Daco-Romanian (DR.) *rînză*¹, pl. -e (reg. also -î, -uri), also *rânză*, in Moldavia *rîndză* is: I. 1. (pop.) “stomach”; 2. (pop.) “gizzard”; 3. (reg.) “salami prepared in a pigsmaw (or -coecum)” (*rînză umplută* : Cîlnic-Tg. Jiu); 4. a. (esp. in Maramureș, Bucovina, East. Mold., Bassarabia and beyond the Dnjester, but also in the South. Carpathians) “gastric pouch of the sucking, not yet grazing lamb, kid or calf, containing the cheese-running ferment”; b. “rennet”. This sense 4. of *rînză*, not mentioned in DLR. (p. 479–80), nor in Tiktin (p. 1328), Philippide (OR. II, p. 731–2), Șăineanu (p. 531), CADE. (p. 1073), DLRLC. (p. 761), DLRM. (p. 721), DEX. (p. 811), is present in Cihac (II, p. 313), Scriban (p. 1131), Brîncuș (Teza, p. 114–5), Poghirc (TILR. II, p. 347), Russu (Elemente, p. 190–1), Cioranescu (p. 701, Nr. 7203), Rosetti (ILR., p. 821), SDE. (p. 364), having been unequivocally verified for the Rodna Mts. (Morariu p. 179), the Făgăraș Mts. and Bucovina (Herseni, p. 53; 149–50), the Poiana Ruscăi Mts. (“suckling young animal’s stomach”), j. Hunedoara (*rînză de cheag*), r. Pădureni (“pigling’s stomach”), s. Vuia (p. 199). Here also a recent personal information from Grămești-Suceava: “we call *rînză* what we take from a little lamb to make the rennet with it”. II. 1. (reg.) “abdomen; belly”; 2. (reg.: Argeș) “abdominal fat; lard”.

*rînză*² is only a variant of *rînsă* (also *rîză*) “the catkins of a series of shrubs, etc.”.

Derivatives: *rînzúcă*; *rînzîșoară* (reg. dim. of *rînză*¹ I. 1. “stomach”); *rînzár*: 1. (Maram.) “small lamb or kid, the stomach of which is used in milk curdling” (also *rînzîár*: Russu, l.c.); 2. “stomach” (also *rîndzár*: Vornicu-Lăpușna, Rep. Moldovenească, URRS., s. ALRM. I 2, V. I, chart 66); *rînzós*: 1. “pot-bellied”; 2. “nervous, irascible, wicked, evil; mighty”; *rînzosîe*; *a se rînzosîa*-, -zoî, -zuî, -zoli.

Toponyms: the vill. of *Rînzêști* (Fălciu-Vaslui, s. Indicatorul p. 218); *Rînzătêști* (s. Russu, Etnogeneza p. 378). Anthroponyms: the fam. names *Rînză*; *Rînzescu* (s. Lista p. 541; 735).

We must eliminate from our discussion *rînză*², a reg. var. of *rînsă* (Slavic, s. OCS. *reša*: Cihac, l.c.). All etymologies based on this homophony are wrong (s. Cihac, l.c.; Weigand, XVI. Jahresbericht p. 227; Scriban, l.c., with some hesitations; Cioranescu, l.c.).

The oldest DR. form to be directly reconstructed, from the reg. var. *rănză* and *rîndză*, is **rândză*. Theoretically both "stomach" and "rennet; rennet holder" may be taken as the older sense, but the first possibility is to be excluded if we consider the loans (undoubtedly from an old stage of DR.) into Slavic, especially in the Sl. dialects north and east of the Romanian territory (s. Klepikova's excellent lexicographical monography, p. 156–9; 229; 244):

- into the Bojkovskian dial.: *réndza* "rennet";
- into the Transcarpathian Rutenian dial.: *rîndza* "calbsmaw"; *rîndz'a* "rennet"; *réndza* "containings of a suckling's stomach";
- into various Ukrainian dial.: *rîndzja*, *rîndzka* "calbsmaw"; *rîndja*, *rîndzak* "stomach";
- into the Carpathian Polish dial.: *réncza*, *renicka*; *rečka*; *renscka*; *račka*; *ryscka*; *ryndza* (the last in Katowicze);
- into the N.-Slovakian dial.: *rincka*; *rîndzka*; *rencka*; *ryndza*; *ryncka*; *rinzga*;
- in Montenegro (parler of the Kuči pop. musicians): *rəndza* "guts" (Mihăilă-Scărlătoiu, p. 347); *rundza* (Dragomir, Vlahii, p. 39).

**rândză* "suckling animal's stomach, used in cheese-running", is a common Oriental Latin lexeme, as it resulted also in:

Aromanian (AR.) *arîndză*: 1. "gizzard"; 2. (also *rîndză*: Nikolaidi p. 68) "rennet" (s. DDA., p. 202); 3. "lamb's stomach" (also *rândză* in the dial. of the Albanian Fyrsheróts: Brîncuș, Teza, l.c.).

Istro-Romanian (IR.) *rănză*, pl. -e "rennet; stomach of a suckling young animal, used as rennet" (Pușcariu, StIR. II, p. 231; III, p. 130).

Hasdeu (ColTr. 1874, p. 107) has compared DR. (etc.) *rînză* to OInd. *ransa* "mouth; juice"; Avest. *ranha* (cit. after Justi, Hdbch. d. Zendspr. p. 252, Leipzig 1864), but most authors relate it to Alb. *rëndës*.

In Alb. we find: (Tosc.) *rrëndës*; (Greece) *rëndës*; (Italy) *rrëndët* (dim. *rrëndth*); (Geg.) *rëndë*, -s (Leotti p. 1196); (Devoll) *rrëndë*; *rrënd* (Çabej p. 73–4); *rrënë*, -a (Fjalor p. 475); (Geg.) *rrând*; *rrân*; *rrâ*, -ni; *rra*; also (T.) *rrâskë(z)*; *rrask(z)*; *rrâshkë(z)*; (r)*râshkësë*; (Italy) *rrash*, pl. -shqe; (G.) *rrâskë(z)*; *rrâshk*; *rrâckë*; (Aquaformosa-Italy) *rond*: 1. "rennet; suckling lamb's or kid's stomach, used in milk-running"; 2. (*rrashk*, etc.) "curd, junket"; 3. (*rrâshkë*) "maw" (Drizari, cit. by Çabej, l. c.); *përrënd* "curdle the milk"; *rrëndós* (Semen të Fjerit: Çabej, l. c.) "id." (s. Mann p. 431–3; 437; Fjalor p. 469; 475; Giordano p. 415; 420; EWA. p. 365; Leotti p. 1201; 1215; 1229; Jokl, LKU. p. 101; 220; 276–85).

Miklosich (s. Rum. Unters. p. 191, cit. by Russu, Elem., l. c.) is the first author who thought of a relation between DR. (etc.) *rînză* and Alb. *rëndës*; a loan from the last language into the S.-Danubian Romance dialects and into DR. (implied by Miklosich, Çabej, and a series of contemporary authors) is clearly excluded; the words, though of common origin, are separately descending from Illyrian (in the case of Albanian and of the S.-Danubian Romance dialects) and from Daco-Mysian (in that of Daco-Romanian; s. also my study "Illyrian, Thracian, Daco-Mysian, the Substratum of Romanian and Albanian", to be published in JIES., Wa., DC., 1983). -dză (in DR., AR. and IR.), as compared to -dë(s) (in Alb.) makes the common reconstruction somewhat difficult, a fact which has led Poghirc (l. c.) to think of different origins, but we could not accept this opinion. It has also been admitted (by Giuglea, Dacoromania II, p. 643; Çabej, l. c.) that -ză in the Romance words is in reality a dim. suffix applied to *rând-* (a shorter var. known in Alb., s. also the It. dim. *rrëndth*), so *rândză* from **rândăză*, through a (very improbable) process of syncopation.

The Alb. suff. *-ës* is used in the building up of nomina agentis, or of sbs. and adjs. indicating some quality, profession, or origin (for instance: *gjákës*, sb. "murderer", from *gják* "blood"; *kókës*

"chieftain", from *kókë* "head"; *hápës* "door keeper", from *hap* "to open"; *hámës*, sb. and adj. "glutton; voracious", from *ha* "eat", s. Prapashtesat, p. 43, Nr. 70). It would not be right to affirm that all Alb. forms developing the thema *rënd-* of above are bearing this suffix or descend from forms which initially had it, and seemingly this cannot be the case of *rrënd*, *rrâ*, or of *rrásk(ë)z*, *rráshk(ë)z*, *rráckë*, though the theme *rënd-* itself must have been present (in some older stage) in all these words. As for its *-d-*, it may have (theoretically and especially as it is followed by an *-n-*) a multiple origin.

Meyer (EWA., l.c.) has related *rëndës* to *rëndë* "heavy", Jokl on the other hand to *rend*, (G.) *rënd*, also *rëndënj*, *rrânj*, aor. *réna* (in S.-G.: Jokl, l.c.), or *rúna* (Mann p. 430) "to run", and thus to the Gc. group of NHG. *rennen*, *rinnen*; E. *to run*, etc. and above all to OHG. *gi-rinnen* "curdle; conflow; suffice" (Schützeichel p. 153) and to MHG., NHG. *Rennse(l)*, *Rinsel*, *Renne* "rennet" (s. Jokl, l.c.), a doubtful etymology after Çabej.

It is true that in the case of Alb., as in that of Gc., one of the problems is the existence of too many etymological possibilities. Like in Gc., Alb. (r)rVnd- may express the "flowing", the "running", the "curdling of milk", but also the "heaviness", the "putting on a string", or the "damaging, ruining", as here, very probably, more than two homophonous radicals have been involved. We find in Alb. (T.) *rënd* (*-ónj*, *-ënj*); (G.) *rând*, *rânni* "to run"; *rëndje*, *rëndje* "run, running, race"; *rëndë* "haste"; *rëndës* "person who is speeding on". Some forms, after having lost the originary *-d-*, may have suffered a "sense contaminating" from *rrán(i)* "to flow, dribble" (Mann p. 433, also has *randís* "to water, wash, sprinkle").

A clear cognate for the "rennet"-words of above is offered by the English lexique: dial. *rendles*, †*rendlys* (†*renlys*, †*rennelesse*, †*renneles*, †*renels*); here also the related *rennet* (and dial. *runnet*). †*trenning*, dial. (*cheese-*)*running* and *-earning* (OE. *rynning*): "curdled milk in a calf's stomach, preparation used for curdling milk" (ODEE. p. 736); "inner membrane of a calf's stomach used for curdling milk" (Klein p. 829a); both senses also in Webster (p. 1922), where *rennet* also means "something used to curdle milk" (eg. *vegetable rennet*); as a verb: 1. "to cause the

milk to curdle"; 2. "to put the rennet into the milk, when making cheese".

Gc. correspondences: Flem. *ren-*, *rin-*, *runsel*; MDutch *rensel*, *rinsel*; NHG. *Rinnsel*, dial. *Ren-*, *Runsel*, *Rennese(l)*, prob. from MLG. *Rünsel*, *Runsel*, *Rinsel* (s. also NDutch *rünsel*, *runsel* and MHG. *rinsel*, Late MHG. *renne*). Formally very near to E.dial. *rendles* are MDutch *rentsel*, *rintsel*. All these words have the signification "rennet (from the stomach of a suckling young animal)" (s. ODEE., l.c.; Jokl, l.c.; Webster, l.c.; Klein, l.c.; NEW. p. 198; 597; Duden p. 213; Kluge-Mitzka p. 601).

On the same territory of Continental and N.-Sea Gc., also the verbs *rinnan*, *rennan*, prefixed with *ge-*, *gi-*, *ga-*, and bearing the special sense "to curdle (of milk, blood, etc.)", have been used: OE. *ġerinnan* (intr.) "to run together, against; curdle"; *ġerennan* (tr.) "to cause curdling"; *ġerunnen* "curdled"; NE. dial. *to run* "to cause the milk to curdle" (*milk* –, *cheese running*: Webster, 1988a, b, c); OE. *ġerunn* "Quark; curd, junket"; *ġe-runnenes* "curdled" (Holthausen, AEEW. p. 264); OS. *runnen*, *rennen* (ppp. *girunnian*, *girenian*: ODEE. l.c.); MHG. *runnen*; MDutch (*ge*)*rinnen* "to curdle"; (dial.: Kempen) *geronnen melk* (de Vries, NEW. l.c.); OHG. *gi-rinnen*, also "to curdle" (tr. and intr.: Seebold p. 375; Schützeichel p. 153); MHG. *rennen* (*es sint vil ding diu die milch rennent*: Konrad Megenberg, Buch der Natur, 359, 36, cit. by Jokl, l.c.); NHG. *gerinnen* (intr.), *rennen* (tr.) "to curdle (of milk, blood, etc.)"; *Rennin* "the coagulating ferment of the stomach", a new term created by the German physiologists, like its synonym *Labferment*.

Goth. *ga-rinnan* (3. s. pret. *-rann*; 2. pl. *-runuþ*) "συνερχεσθαι; come or go together; assemble; meet; be united or banded together, in one; be joined in one; concurr; happen together (of events); meet in battle (hostile)" (s. Feist p. 398–9; LSD. p. 1712) shows (after Feist, l.c.) how from the sense "to run" the development "to meet, congregate" has been achieved; s. also OE. *ġerynnig* "confluence; congregation" (Holthausen, AEEW p. 226), or OHG. *girinnen* "to curdle" and "to conflow" (Duden p. 213).

The reconstruction of an IE.affix **dʰ* reopens the discussion about its significance. In Gc. we may think of the IE.suffix **dʰ(o)* –, used in deverbals (s. Krahe-Meid III, p. 177–8). According to

Benveniste (Origines p. 189), the **d^h*-affix "exprime l'état, spécialement l'état achevé; les racines auxquelles il s'attache montrent une valeur neutre ou intransitive" (in the OGk. verbs developed with -θ-, the conferred sense was that of the medium or indicating a state, s. Origines p. 189–90). We may admit a development from IE. **ren-* "to run", trans. "to chase (away)", to the base **rend^h* – "to be run together, gathered, crowded, pressed together", in our special case "to be curdled" (speaking either of "the milk as a whole", or of "the cheese which gathers itself out of it"); **rend^h* – "the rennet, the milk coagulating agent" would be then only a deverbal nomen agentis. Such an evolution would be indicated also by the E. suffix -(e)le(s) (s. ODEE. p. 519–20, "-le¹": "Denoting appliances or instruments and a few names of animals and plants . . . The dim. sense was not found in OE."). As for -et (in *rennet*, *runnet*, with -nn- probably from -nd-), this suffix, of OFr. origin, does really confer a diminutival sense (ODEE. p. 328).

In order to realize an as good as possible reconstruction of the old(est) sense of the Pre-Gc.-Alb.-Ill.-DM. theme **rend^h* > *rend-*, let us consider first the different methods applied by the peasants of Găiseni-Dîmbovița (Muntenia), when preparing their *cheág* "rennet":

1. From the "rennet pouch" of an unweaned, up to six weeks old, calf (sacrificed after having sucked itself full), they take the globelets of *colástră*, that is of "curdled milk", they wash them and they put them back in the "rennet-maw" (also washed), together with sweet cow milk (as much as it takes) and with 3–400 g. salt, they bind the pouch up at both ends and they let it dry, suspended on a housebeam, outside, for some six weeks. After the contents have become "butterlike", they take them out and morsel them up, all the resulting tiny clods being diluted in 1 l. of fresh water. Out of this milky fluid they take one spoonful for each 5 l. milk to make "the sweet cheese" (*caș dulce*). (The -l- in *colástră* is a bit surprising and should be considered an archaism, as the "correct" form is thought to be *coráslă*, *corástră*.)

2. Using the "rennet-pouch" of young lambs, sacrificed immediately after suckling; the "rennet" is obtained in the same

way, barring the fact that the dried stomach itself is raked out with a knife; in this case the "rennet" is put in a gauze-bag and as such introduced in the milk to be curdled.

3. Using the "white grass-frog", dried up and pounded; here again the "rennet" is put in a small gauze-bag. This is a method of the shepherds.

4. Using the juice of the plant *susâi*, gathered after rain (an "oldish" proceeding, never used anymore); s. also E.dial. *cheslip*, probably a "plant juice, used as rennet", from OE. *čēselyb*: ODEE. p. 736; s. also Fr. *caille-lait*, litt. *gaillet* "galium verum", DR. *sînziéne*, *drăgăică*, *închegătoăre*, NHG. also *Labkraut*, known "to cause the milk to curdle" (Borza p. 75); in Romania the milk is being curdled in Odorhei also with "Genista sagittalis", DR. *grozămă*, *iarba întruiélelor* and again *închegătoăre* (Butură p. 110).

For our man from Găiseni *rînză* is only: 1. "bellyfat"; 2. "catkins". The "stomach" he calls *burtă* (also a Dacian word!).

It clearly results that **ren-dʰ-* was the "milk curdling gastric ferment" (generalized: any "curdling matter"). According to the different ways of preparing the cheese ("es sint vil ding diu die milch rennent"!), the words of the various IE. tongues which inherited the theme **ren-dʰ-* may signify: 1. "curdled milk in an unweaned young animal's stomach, preparation used in curdling milk for cheese"; 2. "inner membrane of the stomach (etc.), used in curdling milk", or simply 3. "something used to curdle milk". The fact that a *cășuț* ("the small new cheese extracted from the rennet-pouch of a suckling animal") may be used, explains why the Alb. var. *rrask-* also means: 4. "curd cheese, junket" (s. also OE. *ġe-run*n "the same, or DR. *cheág*: 1. "coagulating matter" and 2. "(blood)clot", from Lat. *coagulum*); in AR. and DR. also the sense: 5. "gizzard (of birds)" has been derived and in DR. that of: 6. "stomach, maw" (s. also Alb. *rráshkë* "id."), or that of "belly", "bellyfat", or even "lard".

In fact, the sense 2. of above (found in Klein, l. c.) is the same as that of the so-called *spirloșina de pe rînză* ("the stomachal mucous membrane, raked off the muscular wall", in a method of Cerbăl-Pădureni, s. Vuia p. 199). All these data openly justify the confusion of old and of today between "rennet" and "rennet-

pouch", also the evolution to "stomach", then to "gizzard", "belly", "bellyfat" and "lard".

E. *to rend* has, formally, the same radical as *rendles*, but should be related to OE. *rendan*; OFranconian *renda*; MLG. *rende* "to rend, ruin"; OInd. *rándhra* "fissure, slit, split" (ODEE. p. 755). Here, possibly, also E. *rand* and *rind*, both with clear Gc. cognates; also E. dial. *rendlewood* "wood (as oak) with the bark off" (Webster 1922b). Having the same -*d*-element again: E. *rindle* (to be related to OE. *rinnele*, *rynel(e)*, *runnel* "running water; rivulet"; early NE. *rinel*; NHG. *Rinne*, etc.: Holthausen, AEEW p. 265; Webster 1989b). All these words cannot be referred to E.dial. *rendles*, etc.; DR., AR., IR. *rándzä*; Alb. *réndës*, etc., but must be mentioned here, since Russu (l.c.) has explained the origin of the last group starting from the sense "stomach", sending (wrongly) to OInd. *rándhra*, so implicitly to E. *to rend*, etc.

The Danish words may prove to be of some interest: while all Gc. languages have words from the verbal rad. *rinn-*, *renn-* (pret. *ran(n)-*, ppp. *run(n)-*) "to run; chase" and "to flow", Danish has *rinde* "to run, move" (Nielsen p. 311), *rende*¹ sb. "run", *rende*² "ditch, furrow; channel, etc.", vb. "to run, chase" (Nielsen p. 308; Klein p. 647a) and *rend* "warp" (Wessén p. 376). -*d*-forms, as developments of Gc. *rinn-*, *renn-*, are also Shetl. *ränd* (also *rinn*) and ON. *rend* "run; course" (de Vries, ANEW. p. 441). Maybe the gemminate -*nn-* is from -*nd-* (s. also Lith. *nurendėti* "untergehen (von der Sonne)", as a possible cognate of these Gc. forms: Fraenkel II, p. 718–9; Seebold p. 376).

IEW. (p. 328–9) starts, in what concerns the Gc. verbs, from **ren- η -ō* "to run", deriving it from 3. **er-* "to start moving; stir up; raise, remove" (IEW. p. 326). Seebold (p. 375–7, where no mention of the E., Alb. and E. Romance "rennet"-words is made) relates to a radical **r- η - υ -* (a nasal present of the reduced of **er-*), then to **ren η -* and finally to **renn-*. It looks like some "contaminating" with the **re-i-*, **rĭ-* radicals ("to flow") also has occurred, this last sense being present in the Gc. verbs using the radical *rinn-* in the present forms.

There have been noticed also other remarkable Gc.-Ill.(-Alb.) and Gc.-DM.(-Romanian) correspondences. Together with the common vocalism (IE. **ō*, **ā* > *ǎ* and **ō*, **ā* > *ō* in Gc., Lith.,

Thr., Alb. and the Substratum rests of Romanian), they point to a probable old group community for Pre-Gc., Balt. and the Ancestor of the Pre-Roman Languages of S.-E.-Europe, i.e. Dac., Thrac. and Illyr. "stricto sensu" (s. my study in JIES. 1983). But independently of these aspects, E.dial. *rendles* (etc.), Alb. (*r*)*rëndës* (etc.) and DR. *rînză* (etc.) have to be considered of common origin.

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Hittite Pronominal Suffixes in -l

Hittite pronominal morphology attests two suffixes which have been a puzzlement to Indo-Europeanists since the discovery of the language—namely, the genitive ending *-el* (e.g. *ammel* ‘my’, *tuel* ‘your (sg.)’, *anzel* ‘our’, *šumel* ‘your (pl.)’, *šel* ‘his, her, its’) and “the indeclinable particle *-el* ‘ipse’ . . ., [which—K.S.] may be appended to the nom. of the independent personal pronouns or of *apas* ‘is’” (Sturtevant 1933, p. 203). An etymological connection between these two forms has been suspected, but no satisfactory hypothesis explaining the relationship has been proposed. Thus, Sturtevant (1933, p. 203) says: “. . . the particle [*-el*—K.S.] may very well be connected with the genitival *-el* of the pronominal declension,” while Kronasser (1956, p. 150) observes: “Für ‘selbst’ tritt ein Suffix *-el* an die Pronomina: *a-pa-si-el* oder *a-pa-(a-)si-la* = *apas* + *el* ‘er selbst’, *ú-ki-el* oder *u-ki-la* = *uk* + *el* ‘ich s.’, *zi-ki-la* = *tsik* + *el* ‘du s.’ u. a. Herkunft des *-el* unklar (Beziehung zum g. sg. der Pron. *-el* . . . ??).” These two suffixes have similarly been connected with the *l*-demonstratives of Indo-European proper, e.g., “lat. *ollus ille* und ir. *tall, anall*. Sie gehören vermutlich ebenso mit lat. *alius alter* griech. *állos* usw. etymologisch zusammen . . . Lat. *ollus* wohl aus **olno-s*: slav. **olnī* ‘im vorigen Sommer (Jahr)’ aksl. serb. *lani*, poln. *loni*; dazu *ul-s ultra ul-timus*, osk. *últiumam* ‘ultimam’, ir. *ind-oll* ‘ultra’, *ol* ‘ultra’ . . .” (Brugmann 1911, p. 340). In this regard, Sturtevant (1933, p. 203) says of the Hittite suffixes in *-el*: “As to etymology, one naturally thinks of the IE *l*-demonstratives;” and Misra (1968, p. 82) remarks that the Indo-European demonstrative stem “**el-/elo-/eli-* . . . probably came to be used as Gen sg/pl Pronominal ending in Ht. . . .” But, again, no definitive explanation of this relationship has been posited. It is the purpose of this brief paper to show how all of these forms in **-l* emerged from a com-

mon Indo-European source. Simply, all can be traced to an original deictic particle in **e/ol*.¹

As I have already noted, Indo-European possessed a demonstrative pronoun in **e/ol*-. I believe that this demonstrative form derives from an original deictic element since "vielleicht sind alle Demonstrativa einmal deiktische Partikeln, also indeklinabele Wörter gewesen" (Brugmann 1911, p. 311). Brugmann (1911, p. 340) maintains that the "*l*-Demonstrativa" indicated "Jener-Deixis," "bei der der Hinweis entweder auf etwas im Raum oder in der Zeit entfernter, weiter zurück Liegendes geschieht—wobei teils die Ich-Deixis in Gegensatz tritt (*hier und dort*), teils die Dér-Deixis (*da und dort*)—oder auf etwas auf einer andern Seite sich Befindendes, z.B. *jener, ille*" (1911, p. 312). Of course, in Indo-European deictic particles could be used enclitically, as the

¹ Of course, some recent theories depart significantly from my own proposal and its assumption of an association between the *l*-demonstratives of Indo-European proper and the Hittite suffixes under consideration. For instance, Josephson (1967), relying heavily on the ideas of Benveniste (1962, p. 66–67), derives the Hittite genitive desinence *-el* from an original derivational adverbial suffix. In brief, "When in apposition to a noun the adverbs (like the adjectives) would have developed a 'definitive' or 'qualitative' and ultimately a possessive function . . ." (1967, p. 152). He does, however, indirectly relate the *l*-demonstratives to the Hittite genitive suffix *-el* since he believes that "both personal and demonstrative pronouns were originally adverbs" (1967, p. 150). On the other hand, Puhvel (1967, p. 238), cf. Sommer 1947, p. 86–88, dismisses any connection between the Hittite genitive in *-el* and such adverbial formations, and traces *-el* to the "extended paradigmatic usage" of the borrowed Hattic ending *-il*—a conclusion also embraced by Kronasser (1956, p. 142). Schmidt (1978, p. 91–92) has "diesen *l*-Kasus bei *šel* (d.h. im idg. Reflexivum; vgl. germ. **sel-ba*- 'selbst') in genetivisch-ablativischer Funktion für ererbt gehalten," cf. also Schmidt 1968, p. 239, while Georgiev (1970) traces the *el*-formation to *ammel*, which derives from **amen(e)* < PIE. **mene* "avec dissimilation des deux nasales *m – n* en *m – l* et avec une apocope de la voyelle brève finale qui est survenue probablement après la dissimilation" (1970, p. 20). An excellent bibliography of earlier work on the problem of Hitt. *-el* appears in Georgiev 1970, p. 18. I must emphasize at this point that I find all of these hypotheses to be plausible and that I offer mine merely as *an* alternative, not as *the* alternative.

occurrence of **i*, the particle signifying 'here and now', in verbal suffixes like **-mi*, **-si*, **-ti*, etc. demonstrates (Watkins 1962, p. 102–103). Meillet (1964, p. 369) points out that enclitic forms are especially common in Hittite.

Such deictic particles were of great importance in early Indo-European because they were the primary means through which spatio-temporal relations were expressed. As Markey (1979, p. 65) says: "At an early stage of Indo-European deictic markers constituted the formal indication of the grammatical categories expressing time, place and person." In other words, the inflectional system of early Indo-European was quite uncomplicated in nature. Thus, Lehmann (1974, p. 201–202) writes: "The system of verb endings clearly points to an earlier period in which there was no verbal inflection for number . . . For the dual and plural endings are obviously defective . . . The number system is defective in substantival as well as in verbal inflection . . . Number accordingly was not consistently applied in late PIE and the early dialects in accordance with natural reference. Subsequently application became more regular, and number congruence was carried out for both substantives and verbs . . . The late development of the number system in the noun is also clear from the lack of parallelism between forms of the dual, for which only three forms developed, and the forms of the singular and plural." Similarly, Lehmann (1974, p. 139) says: "In PIE, tense and the time of the action were not indicated by means of verbal affixes. Indications of the time of the action were given by means of particles or adverbs or were implicit in the aspects of the verb forms . . . tense was not a grammatical category in PIE." In regard to the Indo-European case system, Specht (1947, p. 353) points out that "die Zahl der nachweisbaren 7 oder 8 idg. Kasus ist sicher nicht auf einmal entstanden, sondern sie ist allmählich ausgebaut worden," while Lehmann (1958, p. 182–183) argues that "the cases expressing adverbial relationships (instrumental, dative, ablative, locative, and the genitive in some uses) are late: their endings differ from dialect to dialect; the plural endings for these cases are not attested in Hittite. Sandhi phenomena of Sanskrit support the assumption that these endings are late; that of the locative plural of the *s*-stems, for example, indicates that

this construction belongs to the sphere of derivation rather than inflection. The development of the adverbial cases belongs then to the study of late Proto-Indo-European and the individual dialects.”² Mažiulis (1970, especially p. 78–81) also maintains that the adverbial cases of Indo-European are of secondary origin in that they were originally non-paradigmatic (“unparadigmatische” [1970, p. 329] formations, together constituting what he calls the “non-paradigmatic locative” (1970, p. 330). Of course, the various inflectional markers of the so-called adverbial or “concrete” cases, “which may be defined as having a primary *adverbial* meaning” (Kuryłowicz 1964, p. 193), were probably once enclitic deictic particles themselves (Markey 1979, p. 66). Indeed, Schmid (1972), in his “deep structure” analysis of case systems, argues that all case categories have their origin in “verschiedenen Deixisarten” (1972, p. 15), although he does affirm the traditional distinction between grammatical and adverbial cases.

I believe that the deictic origin of the markers of the locative case reconstructed for Indo-European is clearly demonstrated by their homophony with various deictic particles. Thus, the locative singular suffix **-i* (Skt. *-i*, Gk. *-i*, Lat. *-e*) is paralleled by a deictic particle **i*, attested, for example, in ‘l. *i-bi* ‘hier’, l. *i-ta* ‘so’, *i-tidem*, ai. *i-há* ‘hier’, ai. *i-va* ‘wie’, ai. *i-ti* ‘so’ . . .’ (Hirt 1927, p. 11) and in the demonstrative stem **i-* (Lat. *is*, Go. *is*, Lith. *jìs*). The locative plural markers **-si* (Gk. *-si*) and **-su* (Skt. *-su*, OCS. *-xъ*, Lith. *-su*) represent contaminations of the deictic particles **(e/o)s*, attested in the Hittite enclitic personal pronoun *-aš* (which was probably at one time a demonstrative, cf. Sturtevant 1933, p. 198 and Friedrich 1974, p. 63) and the etymologically related, cf. Anttila 1972, p. 359, demonstrative pronoun **so-* (Skt. *sá(s)*, Gk. *hó*, Go. *sa*) (see also Shields 1981); **u*, attested in ‘l. *ubi* ‘wo’, l. *u-ti* ‘so’, aw. *u'ti*, gr. *ē-úte* ‘gleich-

² The possessive function of the genitive is precisely one of these late-developing uses. Originally the genitive was the case that “basically results from the process of converting a sentence into a nominal . . ., the genitive representing a kind of neutralization of the nominative/accusative distinction found in the underlying sentence” (Fillmore 1968, p. 8).

wie', ai. *u-tá* 'auch sogar'" (Hirt 1927, p. 11–12) (see also Shields Forthcoming a); and *i. The locative dual ending *-ous (Skt. -os, OCS. -u) is simply a contamination of the thematic vowel *-o- and the deictic particles *-u and *-(e/o)s (Shields 1981, p. 270).³

I have also argued elsewhere (Shields Forthcoming b) that Indo-European possessed a locative case in *-N (= m or n), which can be seen in locative forms like Skt. *ásvāyām* 'mare' and OP. *schisman* 'this', cf. Gray 1932, p. 192. "A similar element -i(n) is found in Skt. and Av. loc. types like *a-sm-ín*, *a-hm-i*, *a-hm-y-a*, and in Homeric ablatives, instrumentals, and locatives (both sing. and plur. without distinction of form) in -*phi(n)* < *-bh-i(n): abl. sing. *melathróphin*, plur. *osteóphin*; instr. sing. *biēphin*, plur. *theóphin*; loc. sing. *eskharóphin*, plur. *ikrióphin*. Here, too, one must place Dor. *emín*, *tín*, Boeot. *hein* < *seFin, Lesb. *am-mi(n)*, *ummi(n)*, Attic *hēmín*, *humín*" (Gray 1932, p. 192–193). These forms may perhaps also show *-N in contamination with other elements, e.g., the suffix *-i, with *-m > -n in Sanskrit on analogy with the endingless locative of the n-stems. A related locative nasal suffix is probably seen in Hitt. *ketani* 'this' and Sanskrit adverbs like *idānīm* 'now' and *tedānīm* 'then', cf. Josephson 1967, p. 137–138. Likewise, a similar locative construction in Umbrian is described by Brugmann (1911, p. 181): "Neben *tote*, *Akeřunie* auch -em: *Acersoniem*, *totem-e* (mit -e-(n) 'in')." In Shields Forthcoming b, I propose that certain of the problematic Hittite adverbs in -an (e.g., *dagan* 'at the bottom') and the Tocharian locative endings (A -am, B -ne) derive from this same locative-case construction in *-N. The existence of a deictic element in *-N is especially suggested by "die n-Demonstrativa *no-, *eno-, *ono-, *oino, *aino-" (Skt. *aná-*, OCS. *onъ*, Lith. *anàs*) (Brugmann 1911, p. 335).

Now there exists an intimate relationship between locative constructions and genitive constructions in a large number of

³ Since there exists a specifically plural morpheme *-s, the *-s- of the locative plural "can be identified as the plural s which appears in other cases, to which the further elements i and u are added in the two types (Burrow 1973, p. 240). However, I feel that the identification of this *-s- of the locative plural as a locative (< deictic) element has validity because *-s does occur in the locative dual as well.

the world's languages. Lyons (1968, p. 496–500) thus argues that “in many languages . . . what we will translate into English as ‘possessive’ sentences are quite clearly locatives (using a locative case, preposition or postposition)” and that “in many, and perhaps in all, languages existential and possessive constructions derive (both synchronically and diachronically) from locatives.” Clark’s detailed study (1978) of such structures in a wide variety of languages reinforces these same conclusions: “The existential, locative, and possessive constructions examined in the present sample of languages are related to one another in word order, in the verbs used, and in their locative characteristics” (1978, p. 117–118). Moving beyond surface structure evidence, Schmid (1972, p. 15–17) emphasizes the close deep structural relationships between the locative and the genitive categories. I believe that it is because of this natural association of the locative and the genitive cases that they share a common form in the dual number of Indo-European. Indeed, this common form has led Kuryłowicz (1964, p. 200) to propose that “the paradigm of the dual suggests an original identity of the gen. and the loc., i.e. a pre-historical stage attested neither in the sing. (-s, -i) nor in the plural (-ōm, -su/-si).” The original identity of the two cases in Indo-European is also perhaps implied by the fact that the genitive case has residually retained a secondary locative function which Brugmann (1904, p. 438) describes as “Der Gen. von räumlichen und zeitlichen Begriffen.”

Yet, the original unity of locative and genitive formations is demonstrated by even more striking formal parallels. In the first place, *-s is found as a desinence in the genitive case not only in the dual but also in the singular as well (*-(e/o)s: Gk. -os, Lat. -is, Skt. -as), while *-u is limited to the dual function. *-N is attested in the genitive plural suffix *-ōN, a contamination of the thematic vowel and *-N (Schmalstieg 1974, p. 189): Gk. -ōn, Skt. -ām, Lat. -um, Hitt. -an.⁴ In Shields 1979, I argue that Indo-

⁴ The number specifications of the various suffixes under consideration here are relatively unimportant since, as noted earlier, number congruence emerged only in later stages of Indo-European and in the dialects. In other words, many suffixes only gradually became limited

European showed a genitive suffix in **-i*—a direct parallel to the locative suffix **-i*. This genitive desinence is attested in the *o*-stem genitive ending generally reconstructed as **-sṵo* (Skt. *-sya*, Avest. *-he*, Hom. *-io* < **-o-sṵo*), which represents a contamination of the genitive markers **-s* and **-i* with the thematic vowel. Tocharian also possesses a genitive ending in *-i*. Krause and Thomas (1960, p. 105) note that a genitive suffix “*-i* tritt in beiden Dialekten bei Verwandtschaftsnamen auf *-r* auf: A *pācri* = B *pātri* (N. A *pācar*, B *pācer*); entsprechend A *mācri* [B *mātri*], *pracri* [*protri*] . . . Die Genitivendung *-i* findet sich in beiden Dialekten ferner in einer Reihe von fremden Personennamen, z. B. B *Mahākāśyapi* (N. *-e*) [A *Kāśyapi*, N *Kāśyap*] . . .” Krause and Thomas (1960, p. 59) also point out that one etymological source of AB *-i* is **-oi*, and thus these Tocharian forms probably show an analogically extended *o*-stem genitive construction in **-i*. In Shields 1979, I further argue that the problematic Gothic genitive plural ending *-ē* and the Italo-Celtic genitive singular desinence *-ī* are also to be derived from an *o*-stem genitive formation in **-i*. (See Shields 1979 for details.) Thus, the same morphological markers are generally found in both the locative and the genitive of Indo-European.

I would now like to propose that the deictic particle **e/ol* was integrated into the declensional system of Anatolian in the manner described above. Its occurrence as a desinence only in this subgroup is not surprising because the adverbial cases were late developments and therefore subject to a great deal of individual dialectal influence. Hittite paradigmatically attests the inflectional suffix *-el* only in the genitive case of pronouns, but Lydian shows a related oblique (i.e. dative-locative, cf. Josephson 1967, p. 146) case in *-l* in both nominal and pronominal declension. Of course, on the basis of formal and semantic correspondences, the original unity of the Indo-European dative and locative cases has been proposed by Kuryłowicz (1964, p. 199), who main-

to the expression of particular numbers. The original vacillation in number specification inherent in the Indo-European inflectional system can still be seen in the dialects, e.g., in the undifferentiated singular/plural role of the Hittite genitive suffix *-an*, cf. Kronasser 1956, p. 104.

tains that "the *dat.* and the *instr.* seem to have been originally secondary functions of the *loc.*;" so the two functions of the Lydian suffix are not unexpected. Indeed, Hittite likewise shows a formal identity of the dative and the locative singular cases, utilizing the suffix *-i*. Apparently Proto-Anatolian possessed an alternative genitive-locative suffix in **-el* which either developed there uniquely or developed in Indo-European and was eliminated in the other dialects (as well as in most of the Anatolian dialects themselves, cf. Kronasser 1956, p. 142) after the migration of the Anatolians.⁵ This case-form came to be specialized in the genitive function of pronouns in Hittite and in the (dative-) locative function of nouns and pronouns in Lydian as the oblique-case systems of these and the other Indo-European languages were enriched. Such enrichment is merely a manifestation of the universal linguistic tendency for there to be "as much one-to-one symbolization between meaning and form as possible" (Anttila 1978, p. 55).

Finally, the origin of the Hittite indeclinable pronominal suffix *-el* 'ipse' and its apparent relationship to the genitive suffix *-el* is readily explained within the context of the proposal just presented.⁶ The deictic origin of this emphatic particle is quite clear since it is used to reinforce the deixis of the personal pronouns to which it is attached. Evidence provided by the dialects of Indo-European proper suggests, as noted earlier, that the deictic particle **e/ol* originally possessed Jener-Deixis. Now Schmid (1972, p. 10–12) points out the intimate relationship which exists in languages between Jener-Deixis and "Selbst-Deixis." Thus,

⁵ Although it could very well have been the case that a genitive-locative construction in **-l* developed only in Proto-Anatolian, the process by which it was formed (the addition of deitic elements to nominal and pronominal stems) was common in Indo-European. Perhaps if the genitive-locative in **-l* was of Indo-European origin, it disappeared in Indo-European proper before the disintegration of this speech community. This would explain why it has been systematically eliminated in all dialect groups except Anatolian.

⁶ I leave open the question of etymological relationship between the Hittite suffixes in *-l* and adverbs and dimensional adjectives like Lycian *ebeli* 'here' and Lat. *tālis* 'such', cf. Josephson 1967, p. 146.

he emphasizes that the same pronominal form may indicate both concurrently: “. . . so etwa das altindische *svayam* oder das deutsche *selber*, *selbst*, . . . so etwa im Vulgärlatein und Romanischen . . .” (1972, p. 12). Therefore, the Hittite use of the original deictic element **e/ol* in this additional function is a natural evolutionary development.

The complexities involved in the analysis of Hittite data are tremendous and therefore alternative explanations are often possible. Thus, I offer my hypothesis about the Hittite suffixes in -*el* as a reasonable alternative to those which have heretofore been devised.

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Urgermanisch „dritter“

Das urgermanische Zahlwort „dritter“ wird im Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (Oxford 1966, p. 917 s.v. *third*), einem der besten etymologischen Wörterbücher einer modernen germanischen Sprache hinsichtlich der grundsprachlichen Rekonstruktionen, als **þriðjaz* angesetzt. Bei N. Å. Nielsen, Dansk et. Ordbog (3. Aufl. Kopenhagen 1976, p. 423 s.v. *tredje*) das auch grundsätzlich genaue germanische Grundformen bietet, liest man „germ. **þriþja-*“. Andere Wörterbücher, wie z. B. Kluge-Mitzka, Et. Wörterbuch d. d. Spr., 20. Aufl. Berlin 1967, erwähnen keine urgermanische Rekonstruktion. Die bezeugten Formen sind bekanntlich: got. *þriðja*, ae. *þrida*, as. *thriddio*, ahd. *dritto*, aisl. *þriði*.

Got. *-d-* (*ð*) = ae.as. *d* = ahd. *t* ist eine regelmäßige Lautentsprechung, wofür man gewöhnlich urg. **ð* ansetzt.

Nur das Nordische ist hier doppeldeutig: aisl. *ð* könnte in dieser Stellung auch auf urg. **þ* zurückgehen, vgl. urg. **liþan-* ‘gehen’ und urg. **werþan-* ‘werden’ > aisl. *liða* und *verða*. In diesem Fall müßte man got. *þ*, ae. *þ* oder *ð*, as. *ð* oder *th* haben, wie aus den Entsprechungen: got. *-leiþan* und *wairþan*, ae. *liþan* und *weorþan*, as. *lithan* und *werthan* hervorgeht. Daraus ergibt sich, daß **þriþja-* als späturngermanische Rekonstruktion für „dritter“ nicht richtig sein kann. Als viertes Phonem in der Grundform muß man urg. **ð* ansetzen. Regelmäßige Entsprechungen wie urg. **wurða-* ‘Wort’ > got. *waurd*, ae.as. *word*, ahd. *wort*, aisl. *orð* zeigen, daß ein kurzes **a* in der letzten unbetonten Silbe eines urgermanischen Wortes in den bezeugten Sprachen regelmäßig schwindet (vgl. darüber auch Chr. Peeters, On the Infinitive Ending in PGmc, KZ. 88, p. 137–38). Wenn der Halbvokal **j* dem unbetonten **a* vorausgeht, wird er in den bezeugten Sprachen vokalisiert und ergibt folgende Endungen: urg. **kunja-* „Geschlecht“, „Familie“ > got. *kuni*, ae. *cynn*, as. ahd. *kunni*, aisl. *kyn*. Wenn im Urgermanischen die Endung

*jaz vorliegt, dann weist das Gotische eine Endung *-eis* statt *-i* auf: urg. *Xerđjaz 'Hirt' bzw. schon späturng. *Xirdđjaz > got. *hairdeis*. Diese Beispiele zeigen also deutlich, daß eine Grundform *pridđja- > got. *pridi und urg. *pridđjaz > got. *prideis ergeben müßte. Aus urg. *pridđjaz wäre auch as. *thriddi und ahd. *dritti zu erwarten. Urg. *pridđjaz kann also nicht richtig sein. Die Entsprechung got. *-a* = as.ahd. *-o* = ae. *-a* in der letzten unbetonten Silbe des Wortes kommt auch in anderen Wörtern regelmäßig vor, vgl. got. *hana* = as.ahd. *hano* = ae. *hana* = aisl. *hani* 'Hahn'. Das urgermanische Phonem kann kein kurzer Vokal gewesen sein, denn dieser wäre in allen Sprachen geschwunden und man hätte ein einsilbiges Wort erhalten (vgl. oben urg. *wurđa-). Für das Urgermanische muß man also einen langen Vokal der keinen, *i*-Umlaut bewirken konnte, rekonstruieren. Da ae.as. *-dd-* = ahd. *-tt-* einen langen Konsonanten als Ergebnis der westgermanischen Konsonantendehnung aufweisen, muß man vor dem langen Vokal der Endung auch ein urg. *j rekonstruieren. Daraus ergibt sich, daß die richtige Grundform nur urg. *pridđjv̄- sein kann. Darin steht *-v̄- für einen langen Vokal der keinen *i*-Umlaut bewirken konnte, also wahrscheinlich urg. *-ō.

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**Bemerkungen zu A. J. Van Windekens' „Le tokharien“
(Vol. II 1)¹**

Mit dem zur Rezension anstehenden Buch bringt Verf. sein Vorhaben, eine Gesamtdarstellung der historisch-vergleichenden Grammatik des Toch. zu schaffen, die unter Berücksichtigung neuen Materials und inzwischen gewonnener besserer Einsichten und Erkenntnisse über den bisherigen Stand, wie er durch A. J. Van Windekens' *Lexique*² und dessen *Morphologie*³ geprägt und repräsentiert wird, hinausführt, ein gut Stück voran. Es steht dann nämlich nur noch der abschließende Teil II 2 aus, der „la morphologie verbale“ beinhalten wird. Daß ein derartiges Unterfangen mit beträchtlichen Schwierigkeiten verbunden ist, sieht Verf. selbst⁴; das zeigen des weiteren auch die bisher erschienenen Besprechungen⁵, die durchaus Beherzens- und Beachtenswertes bringen und jedenfalls zum Um- und Überdenken mancher Ansätze und Standpunkte veranlassen sollten. Andererseits ist nicht zu leugnen, daß es ohne Wagemut und ein gewisses Maß an Kühnheit nun eben einmal keine Fortschritte gibt („seule une attaque frontale menée jusqu'au bout peut donner des résultats“, Vol. I, S. V), wenn auch dem Verf., der eigentlich alle Probleme angeht und überall nach Lösungsmöglichkeiten sucht, manchmal vielleicht ein wenig mehr Zurückhaltung gut angestanden hätte.

Gegenüber Vol. I ist die eine oder andere Ansicht revidiert.

¹ Der volle Titel lautet: *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, Vol. II 1: *La morphologie nominale*, Louvain 1976, XIII, 324 S., Gr.-8°. FB. 1550.-.

² *Lexique étymologique des dialectes tokhariens*, Louvain 1941.

³ *Morphologie comparée du tokharien*, Louvain 1944.

⁴ Dazu s. die Ausführungen des Rez. in seinem in Kürze erscheinenden Forschungsbericht *Tocharisch* (seit 1960) unter C III.1.

⁵ S. wieder den Anm. 4 zitierten Abschnitt C III.1, der auch über die bisher erschienenen Besprechungen unterrichtet.

So ist beispielsweise B *kapyäre* (S. 87 Anm. 1) eben nicht aus idg. **qap-ia-ro-* (Vol. I, S. 188) abzuleiten, sondern vielmehr Lehnwort aus dem Skt.; so neben W. Couvreur auch L. Isebaert, *De Indo-Iraanse bestanddelen in de Tocharische woordenschat, Vraagstukken van fonetische productinterferentie, met bijzondere aandacht voor de Indo-Iraanse diafonen a, ā*, Diss. Leuven 1980, bes. S. 19 und S. 245. — B *warkšäl* nebst Adj. *wärksaltse* (S. 30 Anm. 1) werden jetzt zu Recht als „autochtones dans le dialecte B, non pas comme empruntés au dialecte A“ (s. Vol. I, S. 560) angesehen. — Für A *kākmart* (S. 98 Anm. 1) ist hinsichtlich des auslautenden *-t-* der Vergleich mit skt. *yākr̥t*, *śākr̥t* (Vol. I, S. 193) aufgegeben. — Manches bleibt dabei nach wie vor schwierig. Ohne weitere Wertung sei hier nur noch verwiesen auf das Verhältnis B *yoko* : A *yoke* (S. 26 Anm. 1 : Vol. I, S. 602f.) oder das von A *yāššuce* : B *yaššūca* (S. 111f. : Vol. I, S. 590); hinsichtlich B *pokai* (Obl.) : A *poke* (S. 27 Anm. 1) wird in toch. A von einem *w*-Umlaut (< altem **pākwe*(-)) und nicht *u*-Umlaut (< altem **pāku*- wie in Vol. I, S. 55 und S. 380f.) ausgegangen. — Des weiteren gehören in diesen Zusammenhang auch die Subst. A *mem*, B *maim* und A *sem*, B *saim*, früher auf ein Suffix *-*mi*- (Vol. I, S. 295f. und S. 425; so übrigens auch W. Couvreur) zurückgeführt, nunmehr bei den *-*men*-Bildungen angesiedelt (mit AB *-m* < idg. *-*m̥n*, S. 43 nebst Anm. 1), und ferner A *palom*, B Pl. *palauna* sowie A *tārsoṃ*, B Pl. *taršauna*, wobei gegenüber Vol. I, S. 498f. (< idg. **ōu* bzw. aufgrund vorausgegangener Palatalisation < idg. **ēu*), folgende Entwicklung angenommen wird (S. 127): „A *-om* et B *-aun-* sera donc A *-o-*, B *-au-*, dénotant un part. prêt., élargi par *-*no-* (B *palaun-a* et B *taršaun-a*⁶, formes du pluriel donc) et par *-*nā-* (A *palom* avec acc. pl. *palonās* et A *tārsoṃ* avec acc. pl. *tārṣonās*, où *-ās* < i.-e. *-*āns*).“ — Schließlich wird bei A *wsom* (S. 148) die Möglichkeit eines alten Neutrums **duesos-* (s. Vol. I, S. 563) ausgeschlossen, wie auch eine Gleichsetzung von G. Sg. A *lāntse* mit B *lāntsoy* (s. noch *Orbis* 23, 1, 1974, S. 99) keine Anerkennung mehr findet.

Aber im ganzen bleibt natürlich das Grundkonzept des ersten Bandes bewahrt („En ce qui concerne plus particulièrement le Volume II 1 sur *La morphologie nominale*, il est évident que cet ouvrage se trouve basé sur le Volume I“, S. III). In den Addenda et corrigenda (S. 316–324) wird zu abweichenden Auffassungen in erst nach Abschluß des Manuskripts erschienenen Beiträgen — ganz selten geht es um Übersehenes in bereits zurückliegenden Aufsätzen — Stellung genommen. Aus all diesen Angaben ersieht

⁶ So für *taršauna* in den Berliner Textausgaben. Im folgenden wird, sofern es sich nicht um ein Zitat handelt, stets *ś* an Stelle von *ç* bei Verf. geschrieben.

man, wie wohlinformiert Verf. ist und wie genau er den Stand und die laufende Forschung auf dem Gebiet des Toch. kennt. Das läßt sich in bezug auf B. Čop, den Verf. zu Recht rügt⁷, in der Tat nicht sagen.

Vorliegender Band II 1 gliedert sich in die drei Hauptteile *La formation des noms* (S. 1–161), *La flexion des noms* (S. 165–259) und *Remarques complémentaires sur les pronoms, les noms de nombre et les indéclinables* (S. 263–284) und ist mit einem Abkürzungsverzeichnis, das in *Abréviations générales* (S. XI–XII) und *Abréviations bibliographiques* (S. XII–XIII) unterteilt ist, sowie *Indices* ausgestattet, in denen die unter A. vertretenen *Langues indo-européennes* (S. 285–315) erwartungsgemäß den Hauptbestandteil bilden, wohingegen unter B. *Langues non-indo-européennes* (S. 315) lediglich fünf Lemmata erscheinen. Mit Hilfe eines solchen Verzeichnisses wird dem Benutzer ein leichteres und schnelleres Auffinden nicht nur des behandelten toch. Wortmaterials, sondern eben auch der zum Vergleich herangezogenen Belege aus anderen idg. Sprachen ermöglicht. Den Beschluß des Bandes bilden dann die bereits im vorhergehenden zitierten *Addenda et corrigenda* (S. 316–324), die eine Arbeit abrunden, die sich wiederum durch außerordentlichen Fleiß auszeichnet und von dem unermüdlichen Bestreben des Verf.s um Lösungen und Deutungen, die zur Aufhellung der toch. Verhältnisse und damit zur Frage der sprachlichen Stellung des Toch. innerhalb des Indogermanischen einen Beitrag leisten wollen, Zeugnis ablegt.

Das Buch in seiner ganzen Breite und Tiefe zu würdigen, verbietet der einer Rezension gesteckte Rahmen. Der Theorien und Probleme, mit denen man befaßt wird, sind einfach zu viele und allzu kontroverse, als daß sie hier umfassend angesprochen werden könnten. So will ich mich im folgenden darauf beschränken, aus der Fülle des Dargebotenen das auf- und herauszugreifen, was mir erwähnenswert erscheint. Die Auswahl ist gewiß subjektiv getroffen und bleibt auch recht unvollständig, vermittelt dem Leser hoffentlich aber doch einen Eindruck von den dem Toch. anhaftenden Schwierigkeiten und den noch vor-

⁷ S. auch die Auseinandersetzung des Verf.s in besagtem Anhang.

handenen zahlreichen Ungelöstheiten und Begrenztheiten, wie sie einem durch die teilweise recht auseinandergehenden Meinungen immer wieder deutlich vor Augen geführt werden. Einer Sprache, von der man wohl keine Entwicklungsstufen kennt⁸, läßt sich eben nicht so einfach beikommen, und bei der Rekonstruktion von Vorformen, einem Urtoch. etwa, und der Annahme von erst sekundärem (internem) Ausgleich, paradigmatischen Umgestaltungen, einzelsprachlichem Lautwandel u.dgl. muß notgedrungen vieles hypothetisch bleiben. Trotzdem gelingen — und das zeigt auch dieser Band — durchaus in manchem bessere Erkenntnisse und beachtenswerte Neuansätze, und der eine oder andere Denkanstoß verdient es schon, weiterverfolgt, vertieft und überprüft zu werden.

Im einzelnen seien die folgenden Bemerkungen erlaubt:

1 a) Was den ersten, die Stammbildung behandelnden Teil anbetrifft, so wird schon aus J. Schindlers kurzer Anzeige dieses Bandes (s. IC. 26a, Nr. 130) deutlich, worin die Schwierigkeiten im einzelnen begründet liegen, dargetan u.a. an *A mañ*, *B meñe*, nach Verf. < N. Sg. **mēn-ē(n)* mit Erweiterung zu einem *n*-Stamm, während der Obl. Sg. auf bloßes **mēn-m* und entsprechend der Obl. Pl. auf **mēn-ṇs* zurückgeführt werden (S. 34f.). In der Tat liegt aber ein Ansatz **mēnēs* (so u.a. auch G. Klingenschmitt, der im weiteren nicht überzeugt) nahe (ein **mēnios* TEB. I, S. 93 und S. 130, ist sicher aufzugeben), den Verf. Vol. I, S. 280, immerhin noch mit gelten läßt, jetzt aber die Zusammenhänge anders sieht. Ob dabei die Genusfrage (hier und auch anderswo) stets so entscheidend für die Herleitung und Zuordnung sein kann (s. H. Pedersens Vergleich mit lat. *caedēs*, *sēdēs*), möchte ich angesichts zahlreicher abweichender und analoger Entwicklungen und Umbildungen im Toch. bezweifeln (s. z.B. auch die diesbezüglichen Verhältnisse im Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit).

Des weiteren erweckt auch die Zurückführung derart vieler toch. Subst. auf ehemals idg. **oi*-Stämme (S. 16f.) J. Schindlers

⁸ Zumindest sind die bisher in diese Richtung gehenden Versuche wenig überzeugend. Dazu s. auch Rez. IF. 82 (1977[78]) S. 110.

Verdacht. Eine ähnliche Äußerung findet sich in T. Burrows Besprechung (s. BSOAS. 43,3, 1980, S. 611–612), in der es nämlich a. a. O. S. 611 heißt: „One may, for instance, doubt the validity of the reconstructed IE stems in *-oi*, and even *-ōi* on the basis of the evidence of Tocharian, which has suffered so much alternation and decay. This fact particularly affects the nominal declension with which the present section deals.“ Dabei muß ich gestehen, daß auch ich diese Skepsis teile, wobei zudem auffällig ist, daß man im Toch. einmal einen N. **-ōi* (> AB *-i*) und zum anderen einen solchen auf **-ō* (> A *-ø*, B *-o*) fortgesetzt finden will. M.E. ist ein nochmaliges Überdenken aller Fälle vonnöten, was sicherlich nicht bedeuten muß, daß solche Bildungen für das Toch. gänzlich ausgeschlossen bleiben (s. z. B. B *yoko* usw.).

Jedenfalls ist es müßig, nun sämtliche Klassen mit all ihren Einzelformen durchzugehen und mit entsprechenden Anmerkungen zu versehen. Aufgrund der Auslautsverhältnisse im Toch. (s. bei Verf. das Kapitel *La fin de mot* in Vol. I, S. 126–135) bleibt notgedrungen manches dunkel und offen. So vermerkt Verf. beispielsweise in dem Abschnitt über Noms en B *-o*, *-ai*(-) (S. 26f.) einleitend, daß dieser Ausgang B *-o*, den er mit idg. **-ō* (Typ griech. *πειθώ*) in Verbindung bringt, durchaus nicht ganz eindeutig sei. „En effet dans ce même dialecte les nominatifs sg. en **-ō(n)* des thèmes en **-n-* (§ 89s.) et les nominatifs sg. en **-ōnt* des thèmes en **-nt-* (§ 105ss.) devaient également présenter une finale *-o* . . . , de sorte qu'il y avait la possibilité de confusion entre les thèmes en **-oi-* à nominatif sg. **-ō* et ces deux catégories“ (S. 26). Überschneidungsmöglichkeiten mit anderen Typen ergeben sich des weiteren auch bezüglich des N./Akk. **-os* der *s*-Stämme (S. 73f.), der in A > *-ø* und in B > *-e* wird. „Pour la finale i.-e. **-os* il y avait donc la possibilité de confusion avec les noms thématiques au nominatif et à l'accusatif sg. des masculins-féminins et au nominatif-accusatif sg. des neutres . . . et aussi avec les thèmes masculins-féminins en **-n-* à finale **-ē(n)* au nominatif sg. où la palatalisation devant **ē* des consonnes palatalisables ne constituait pas une caractéristique morphologique. À la suite de ladite possibilité de confusion la voie était ouverte au passage d'anciens mots masculins-féminins aux

neutres et d'anciens mots neutres aux masculins-féminins“ (S. 74), wobei sich ganz entsprechende Hinweise bei den *o*- (S. 4) und den Nasal-Stämmen (S. 32) finden.

b) Eindeutige Ansätze sind also bisweilen schwer bzw. gar nicht möglich. Man ist dann eben auf Vergleiche mit anderen idg. Sprachen angewiesen, aber auch die können trügen und müssen nicht immer zu zwingenden Schlüssen führen. Jedenfalls bestehen hinsichtlich der Erklärung solcher Ausgänge in vielem unterschiedliche Ansichten.

Hier nun einiges: Bezüglich der Privativa A *-t*, B *-tte* wird von Verf. zu Recht an einer Herleitung aus idg. **-to-* festgehalten (S. 95, zur sekundären Reduplikation s. Vol. I, bes. S. 125); eine solche aus **-tuo-* (W. Krause; s. auch TEB. I) ist aufzugeben (so schon Rez., KZ. 91,2, 1977[78], S. 259 Anm. 11). — Der N. Sg. f. der Part. Prät. A *-us*, B *-usa* wird auf idg. **-us-ā* (S. 76) und nicht **-us-i₂* (W. Winter) zurückgeführt. Diese Formen bilden übrigens nicht den Ausgangspunkt für ein fem. Movierungssuff. A *-s*, B *-sa* (S. 104); anders W. Cuvreur und Verf. in seiner Morphologie. — Schwierigkeiten bereitet gerade auch im Hinblick auf die idg. Verhältnisse das Part. Präs. Med. A *-mām*, B *-mane*, das nach Verf. „ne s'explique qu'à partir d'i.-e. **-mōno-*“ (S. 85), während skt. *-māna-* „peut aussi remonter à i.-e. **-mēno-*“. Der Ansatz eines idg. **-m₁no-*, wie ihn G. Klingenschmitt bringt, wird verworfen („Les tentatives forcées de Klingenschmitt . . . pour partir dans toutes les langues indo-européennes d'un **-m₁no-* unique ne sont pas de nature à emporter la conviction“). Aber das Problem gestaltet sich in der Tat komplizierter. S. dazu jetzt auch M. Mayrhofer, Laryngalreflexe im Indo-Iranischen, ZPhon. 34,4 (1981), spez. S. 434f. — Unter **-sko-*, **-skā*-Bildungen (S. 89f.) findet sich der Typ A **lālamšāk*, B *lalamške* vermerkt, dem auch die Bildungen auf *-ške* (s. z. B. B *lykaške*; s. auch B *šamaške* oder *werpiške*, A *warpiške*), durch Assimilation aus *-šk-* erklärt, angeschlossen werden. Sicherlich ist ein Zusammenhang mit griech. *-ισκος*, *-ισκη* aufzugeben, ebenso V. Georgievs Herleitung aus idg. **-k-īko-*, **-k-īkā-*, und auch G. Klingenschmitts Ansicht der Entlehnung aus einer iranischen Sprache (von Verf. besteht der Hinweis auf H. W. Bailey

zu Recht) überzeugt nicht. Abgelehnt wird übrigens auch dessen Beurteilung eines Ausganges *-mške* mit *-m-* = Endung des Obl. Sg.

Unter den „Suffixes construits par le tokharien au moyen d'éléments indo-européens“ (S. 110–161) sei A *-ši*, B *-sse* (S. 133f.) hervorgehoben, dem ein **-sqio-* (so schon Vol. I, S. 108) und nicht **-sio-* (so auch TEB. I) zugrunde liegt. — Im Gegensatz zu W. Winter ist B *-ñña* in *ñakteñña* (S. 123) nicht „etwas sehr Altes“. Es gehört vielmehr in den Rahmen der B *-ññe-* (A *-ñi-*) Bildungen, „de sorte que cette finale n'a rien de commun, soit directement soit indirectement, avec «**-nyA* aus dem Wort für 'Herrin', **potnyA*»“. — Hinsichtlich des *-ss-* im Adj.-Typ B *akes(s)u* (S. 131f.) denkt Verf. weniger an sekundäre Reduplikation als vielmehr an Herleitung aus idg. **-s-uent-* („le phénomène du redoublement secondaire . . . seul ne me semble pouvoir rendre compte: il faudrait admettre l'adjonction analogique de *-su* à A *swas-*, B *swes-* dont A *-as-*, B *-es-* remonte donc à un thème en **-os-* thématisé; S. 132) und sieht gegen W. Winter B *-as(s)u* als Entlehnung aus A an (s. A *ymassu* > B *ymassu*), während W. Winter umgekehrt *-as(s)u* als B-Suffix charakterisiert. — Bei den Zeugnissen auf A *-im* (*klyomim* usw., S. 116f.) rechnet Verf. nicht mehr mit einem alten Suff. idg. **-inā*, sondern geht von einem **-ōi-* + **-nā-* aus, womit er in Widerspruch zu W. Couvreur gerät. Entsprechend wird A *-em* (*oñkälmem* usw., S. 112f.) als Variante von A *-im* mit „*-e* < i.-e. **-oi-* des noms du type de A *lake* «couche» + **-no-*, **-nā-*“ (S. 117) angesehen (demgegenüber W. Couvreur < *-ā* + *im*). — Übrigens spielen die *oi*-Stämme auch bei der Erklärung von Verbalabstrakta eine Rolle, insofern nämlich als (abweichend von anderen Deutungen) A **-ne* (s. A *-une* S. 156f.) als altes thematisches **-no-*, „passé aux thèmes en **-oi-*“, verstanden wird, und zwar gegenüber B *-ññe* (S. 151f.) < idg. **-n-īē-*. Verweisen möchte ich in diesem Zusammenhang nur auf die obigen skeptischen Bemerkungen zu diesem *oi*-Typ (s. einleitend zum 1. Abschnitt). Sonst sei zu diesem Kapitel lediglich bemerkt, daß B *-auñe* (s. *rätrauñe* usw.) gewiß nicht mit P. Poucha als Entlehnung aus dem Sak. (S. 155) anzusehen ist. Ob man allerdings B *-lyñe* den Vorrang zu geben hat, d.h. *-lñe* als eine Vereinfachung von *-lyñe* zu werten ist

(S. 153), erscheint mir nicht so sicher. Das hängt natürlich sehr von der Beurteilung der Vba. auf B *-lle*, *-lye* ab (s. 1c).

c) Befriedigen will mich, und damit sei noch auf einiges etwas näher eingegangen, nach wie vor nicht die unterschiedliche Herleitung bei den Vba., indem man A *-l* auf idg. **-lo-* zurückführt, für B *-lle/-lye* hingegen ein idg. **-liō-* ansetzt (S. 81f.). Auf das schwierige Problem bin ich ausführlich KZ. 91, 2, a. a. O. S. 256–265, eingegangen, so daß ich mich hier nicht zu wiederholen brauche. Verf. jedenfalls lehnt meinen Vorschlag eines einheitlichen Ansatzes idg. **-lo-* (S. 319 zu S. 80f.), den er in seiner Morphologie selbst einmal vertreten hat, ab (s. auch schon Vol. I, S. 95), wobei m. E. die Bedenken, die einer Entwicklungsrichtung idg. **-liō-* > B *-lye* und durch Assimilation weiter > *-lle* entgegenstehen, doch gravierend sind. Im analog gelagerten Fall der Privativa nämlich lautet eben der N. Sg. m. B *-t(t)e* < idg. **-to-* (S. 94) mit sekundärer Reduplikation, wohingegen der Obl. Sg. m. dann durch Auslautserweichung gekennzeichnet ist — dem entspräche eine Entwicklung *-lle* > *-lye* —, und zeigt, daß eine solche Regelung zwischen unerweichter : erweichter Form einfach zum Charakteristikum einer formalen Opposition N. : Obl. Sg. m. geworden ist⁹, wie übrigens auch bei den Ord-

⁹ Die Erscheinung der Erweichung findet sich bekanntlich besonders in toch. B. „Diese Erweichung trat ursprünglich offenbar nur vor palatalen Vokalen ein, hat sich aber später analogisch auch auf andere Stellungen ausgedehnt“ (TEB. I, § 34, S. 61), wozu man auch Rez., IF. 82 (a. a. O. S. 114f.) vergleiche. Damit wird es nicht immer leicht, den Ausgangspunkt einer solchen Erscheinung zu bestimmen. Zu *-cc-* der Privativa s. Verf. (S. 96), der bezüglich des Obl. Sg. m. *-c-* (auch *-cc-*) bei den Ordinalia gewiß kaum richtig läge, wollte er dieses *-c-* — man erwartete „A *-t*, B *-te* < i.-e. **-to-m*“ — dem „l'influence de formes telles que (A) *tricām*, *ṣtārcām*, *pāñcām* avec *-ām* < i.-e. **-en-ṃ* [dazu s. 2c] ou d'une forme comme (A) *wcam* avec *-am* < i.-e. **-ēn-ṃ*, c.-à-d. des finales d'accusatif sg. des thèmes en **-n-*, qui dans le cas des noms de nombre ordinaux en i.-e. **-to-* sont évidemment d'origine analogique“ (S. 97), zuschreiben (s. auch Orbis 17, 1968, S. 123f.). So sagt er dann an eben zitierter Stelle fortsetzend: „Or l'exemple des privatifs en B *-tte* ... et aussi celui des adjectifs en B *-ts(ts)e* ... m'oblige maintenant à admettre aussi d'autres influences pour ex-

nalía auf den Gegensatz von N. Sg. m. B *wate* : Obl. Sg. m. B *wace* (s. A *wät* : *wác* neben *wcam*) zu verweisen wäre¹⁰.

d) Ganz entsprechend wird man m. E. sich dann den ursprünglichen Aufbau des Paradigmas A *ālak*, B *allek* zu denken haben (s. Rez. KZ. 91, 2, a. a. O. S. 262–263). Dem widerspricht ebenfalls Verf. (s. S. 269–273 sowie S. 323 zu S. 269f.), der allerdings fürs Toch. ohne ein **āl-* (s. A *ālam*, *ālašī* oder B *ālām*, *aletstse*) neben einem idg. **aliō-* auch nicht auskommt, aber meint, „que l'influence du participe du prétérit du verbe AB *āl-* sur A *ālya-*, B *alye-* < i.-e. **aliō-* explique la création de formes sans -y-“ (S. 271). Auf die Verteilung der Formen im einzelnen geht Verf. leider nicht ein. Sie ist aber keineswegs unwichtig und zeigt Parallelen (unter Ausnahme von A *ālu*, das wohl sowieso eine Sonderstellung einnimmt; s. die Erklärung S. 270) zum Vba. In diesem Zusammenhang sei übrigens noch vermerkt, daß bei bloßer Annahme einer Entwicklung *-ly-* > *-ll-* durch Assimilation (hier und bei den Vba.) es doch auffällig ist, daß sie so deutlich gerade beim N. und Obl. Sg. m. (nicht aber beim G. Sg./Pl. m. oder N./Obl. Pl. m.; s. etwa auch die Belege von B *akalšälle* sowie die von B *allek*) begegnet, was gewiß nicht allein mit ungleichen Zahlenverhältnissen (die eben genannten Kasus sind durchaus sämtlich hinreichend bezeugt) zu begründen ist, sondern vielmehr darauf beruht, daß hier mit der Schreibung *-lle* : *-lye* von Haus aus eben ein Funktionsunterschied einherging. Hinsichtlich der Gründe, die Vermischungen aufkommen ließen, sei auf meinen Aufsatz in Die Sprache 13, 1 (1967), bes. S. 29f.¹¹, verwiesen. Überschneidungen zeigen sich ja ganz besonders bei den Vba. (weniger bei B *allek*; s. a. a. O. Anm. 46,

pliquer le -c(-) des formes fléchies des noms de nombre ordinaux, aussi à l'accusatif sg. masc. . . .“ (S. 97; s. auch S. 178 und zu Obl. Pl. A *lāncās* den Abschnitt 2c).

¹⁰ Zu dem Paradigma von A *mättak*, B *makte* s. unten 2e.

¹¹ Diesen Beitrag erwähnt auch Verf. (S. 82 Anm. 1); allerdings bleibt er damit grundsätzlich bei einem Ansatz Sg. m. N. *-lye*, *-lle* < **liō-s* und Obl. *-lye*, *-lle* < **liō-m* und begnügt sich mit dem Vermerk: „Il se peut qu'à un moment donné le tokharien B se soit servi des variantes phonétiques *-lle* : *-lye* pour distinguer («funktionelle Opposition») le nom. sg. masc. de l'acc. sg. masc.“

in der auch die recht deutlichen Verhältnisse bei den Adj. B *empele* und B *emalle* mit behandelt sind). Für sie gilt passivische Konstruktion (und prädikative Verwendung), so daß im Gebrauch der N., und zwar nach Ausweis der Belege der des Sg., dominierte, der Obl. aber viel seltener auftrat, was des weiteren zur Folge hatte, daß auf diese Weise das Gefühl für eine echte Opposition *-lle* : *-lye* leicht verlorengehen konnte. Zum anderen ist nicht zu übersehen, daß sich auch bei den Verbalabstrakta Schreibungen von *-lñe* und *-lyñe* nebeneinander finden, die in unterschiedlicher Verteilung, bisweilen auf einem Blatt (s. die Zusammenstellungen a. a. O. Anm. 36), auftreten¹².

Bei den, wenn auch nicht sehr zahlreichen, B-Zeugnissen eines Obl. Sg. f. vom Pron.-Adj. allerdings herrscht eindeutig *allok* vor (s. z. B. B *allok nano prešyaine* 5 b3 und dazu 14 a8, 42 b3 oder B *(a)llok maiyyätstsai klaiñ* Par. 10 a6 gegenüber einmaligem B *(a)lyok weš(eñai)sa* 244 a1). Diese Form mit *-ll*-¹³ (s. hingegen den Typ B *ayāmāccai*, *trikai* usw.) dürfte durch N./Obl. Pl. f. *alloñk*, *alloñkna* (s. auch B *-llona*, neben vereinzelt *-lyana*, sowie den Typ B *ayāmttona*) beeinflusst sein.

e) Zu verweisen wäre in diesem Zusammenhang auch auf die Paradigmata von A *mättak* und B *makte* (S. 273f.), die in der

¹² Verf.s Schluß „la forme *-lyñe* est primaire par rapport à *-lñe* qui est issu d'une simplification de *-lyñe*“ (S. 153; s. auch Vol. I, S. 117f.) mit dem Zusatz „cependant on peut aussi partir, du moins dans certains cas, de **-l(l)ñe*, c.-à-d. de l'adjonction de *-ñe* à *-l(l)e*“ ist selbstverständlich nur dann gerechtfertigt, wenn man zwingend von einem **-ljo-* auszugehen hat. Dem ist m. E. aber nicht so. Und darum scheinen mir H. Pedersens Überlegungen, die Verf. aufgrund seines eigenen Standpunktes natürlich ablehnen muß, gar nicht so falsch zu sein (s. in diesem Zusammenhang auch Rez., Die Sprache 13,1, a. a. O. Anm. 39), wobei man hinsichtlich der Verteilung von *-lñe* : *-lyñe* vielleicht einmal doch noch zu besseren Einsichten als bisher kommt.

¹³ Dabei ist nicht uninteressant, daß auf dem Hoernle-Fragment H 149.37 ein solcher Obl. Sg. f. *allok* (s. *allok pattrai* a5) neben den Schreibungen Obl. Sg. m. *-lye* bzw. *-lye* (s. *yalye ikene* und *swāsallye ikene* a1; *tärkalye ikene* a2) und N. Sg. f. *-llyā* (s. *prällyā* a2; *käccillyā* a3; *tašällyā* und *kaušällyā* a4; */// llyā*; *pašällyā* a5; *tarkānallyā* a6), die mit ihrer Erweichung regelrecht sind, überliefert ist (s. jedoch Vbabstr. */// ššälñe* a6).

Verteilung der Formen von *-tt-* (bzw. *-t-*): *-cc-* (bzw. *-c-*) einen ganz ähnlichen Aufbau zeigen. Er ist also überall einheitlich durchgeführt und dient zur Differenzierung bestimmter Kategorien. Zu Recht weisen schon SSS auf diesen Parallelismus hin. Ein anderes ist dann natürlich die etymologische Erklärung der jeweiligen Ausgänge, weil eben mit Ausgleich zu rechnen ist¹⁴. Ich glaube, das übersieht Verf. etwas, der m. E. die Formen allzu losgelöst von einem solchen paradigmatischen Zwang sieht und entsprechend beurteilt. Für ihn bleiben trotzdem Schwierigkeiten; s. z. B. den N. Sg. m. A *mättak*. Mit einer Erklärung „s'est substitué à un ancien **mäccak* . . . avec **mäcca*(-) < **meti̇jo*(s)“ (S. 273) macht man es sich in der Tat sehr einfach. Zu einem N. Sg. m. A *ālak*, Typ A *kropnal* oder A *wāt* usw., wo der N. Sg. m. also keineswegs eine sekundäre Umbildung erfahren hat, will das nicht passen. So wird man kaum umhin können, den Ansatz **meti̇jo*(s), wie er auch Vol. I, S. 294f., vertreten wird, neu zu überdenken.

¹⁴ S. z. B. die Umgestaltungen in den Paradigmata vom Typ A *klyom*, B *klyomo* (S. 44f.); A *parno*, B *pernėu* (S. 55f.) oder AB *yāmu* (S. 77f.). Zu erinnern wäre aber auch an die Frage der sekundären Ausbreitung eines *-n-* (s. S. 33) oder an die schwierige Beurteilung auftretender Palatalisierungen. Zu letzteren s. beispielsweise in dem Abschnitt über Nomina auf *-(i)̇jē- auch die Bemerkung: „Les formations primaires présentent la palatalisation de la consonne palatalisable qui se trouve devant *-(i)̇jē-, tandis que les formations secondaires n'offrent pas cette palatalisation“ (S. 106). Hier wird man noch einiges überprüfen müssen, wobei mir eine bessere Kenntnis der Handschriften mit all ihren Besonderheiten und orthographischen wie auch dialektischen Eigentümlichkeiten eine unerläßliche Voraussetzung und Notwendigkeit zu sein scheint. In diesem Zusammenhang s. meine Rezension zu Vol. I (a. a. O., bes. S. 114) mit dem Hinweis auf Dubletten und graphische Varianten. Jedenfalls erscheint es mir nicht undenkbar, damit Zeugnisse wie B **alyiye* oder *lalyiye* (S. 21), die nach Verf. eben in Gegensatz zu B *prosk(i)ye*, *tapākye* usw. (S. 18f.) treten, anders zu bewerten. Verf. muß zwischen einem Typ mit und einem solchen ohne Palatalisierung vor B *-iye* differenzieren. Erstere Formen „sont aussi d'anciens thèmes en B *-i* passés aux thèmes en *-iye*, mais passés à ces thèmes au moment où il y avait encore la palatalisation de la consonne palatalisable se trouvant devant *-iye*: dans ce sens leur formation est donc aussi primaire par rapport à celle du type de B *prosk(i)ye*, etc.“ (S. 21).

f) Hier noch einige andere Bemerkungen:

Da man bei den Vba. gelegentlich mit einer subst. Verwendung im Sinne eines idg. Neutrums zu rechnen hat (s. Rez., Die tocharischen Verbaladjektive auf *-l*, DAW., Institut für Orientalforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 9, Berlin 1952, S. 51–65), ist es in A nicht immer leicht, zwischen solchen Vba. und Nominalbildungen auf *-l*, wie sie auch in B gut bezeugt sind (vgl. B *šamšäl* usw.), zu scheiden. Das gilt für die erwähnten A *el*, *entsäl*, *lkäl*, *sepal* usw. (S. 32), die rein substantivisch flektiert werden, so daß von einem A *el* dann ein Pl. *elant* begegnet. Sie erscheinen mir bei Verf. nicht klar genug voneinander geschieden. — Übrigens liegt für B die Schwierigkeit in der Bewertung der subst. gebrauchten B *-lle*-Bildungen, die auffällig neben entsprechenden Abstrakta auf *-lñe* (s. z. B. B *cmelle* : *cmelñe*, *nkelle* : *nkelñe*, *srukalle* : *srukalñe* und Rez., a. a. O. S. 58f.) einhergehen. Dabei bleibt fraglich, ob ein derartiges *-lle* auf lässigen Schreibungen oder gar dialektischen Eigentümlichkeiten beruht (s. andererseits nämlich auf Fragmenten aus Murtuq und Sängim bei Vbabstr. einen Ausgang *-šñe*, wie er in B *enäšñe* 332 Frgm. 2 a 3 bzw. *enäšñešše* 108 b 4; *miyašñe* 591 a 2; *lakäšñe* 108 b 7 bzw. *lakäšñešše* 108 b 4 usw. bezeugt ist. Dahin gehören dann weiter auch nicht-*sk*-Bildungen mit einer Schreibung *-ññe* bzw. *-ñe* für *-lñe*; s. z. B. B *kraupañe* 586,5; *kseññe* 195 a 6, *nesamñe* u. dgl. Dazu s. Rez., Zur Behandlung von inlautendem *-ä-* bzw. *-a-* in toch. B, IF. 83 (1978[79]) S. 181f. Anm. 162). Bei Verf. (S. 153) stellt sich dieses Problem, wie ich sehe, wohl nicht.

Ganz exakt ist anscheinend nicht immer zwischen Part. Präs. Akt. einer- und Nom. ag. andererseits geschieden. In B ist die Markierung eindeutiger, indem nämlich bei gleicher Bildung vom Präs.-Stamm stets ein formaler Gegensatz zwischen erweichter und unerweichter Form (vgl. B *kauseñca* : *kausenta*, aber in A nur *košant*) besteht. Jedenfalls ist A *āšant* (S. 50, 53) als Part. zu werten (s. auch R. Dietz, Der Gebrauch der Partizipia Präsens im Tocharischen. Eine syntaktische Untersuchung, Diss. Frankfurt/M. 1981, spez. S. 151 Anm. 24); A *pekant* hingegen (s. Präs.-Stamm *pik-*) hat als Nom. ag. (Verf. spricht von „ancien part. prés. act. en **-nt-* passé aux thèmes en **-tā(-)* de A *pik-*“, S. 39)

zu gelten (in B s. neben *kauṣenta* oder *prekṣenta* ein *weñenta*). Ansonsten erscheint mir die Herleitung der Bildungen auf B *-ñca* nach wie vor strittig (S. 99: „Il faut partir d'anciennes formes en **-nt-ĩ* du type de A *kuraç* «froid» < i.-e. **gh^hrē/ont-i(s)*“ oder A *lkäç* < idg. **luqnt-ĩ*. „Ce B **-ñc* < **-nt-ĩ(-)* a subi l'influence des formes en B *-nta*, d'où B *-ñca*“). Ein **(n)tĩā/ə₁* ist, wenn man an einer Entwicklung **tĩ > ts* festhält (W. Couvreur rechnet allerdings mit sekundärem **tĩ + ĭ* bzw. *i > c*; s. auch W. Winter), sicher dann unmöglich. Auch Verf.s früherer Erklärungsversuch, daß „*-ñc-* est dû à la contamination avec d'anciennes formes du pluriel en *-ñc-* < i.-e. **-ntes*“ (Morphologie, S. 132), ist m. E. kaum aufrecht zu erhalten. Bei Behandlung des Typs B *ynūca*, *kārsaUCA*, wo ebenfalls eine Endung *-ca* begegnet, liest man, dieses „*-ca* est un ancien **-tā-* des noms d'agent . . . devenu *-ca* sous l'influence des part. prés. en *-ñca*“ (S. 111). Man könnte auch umgekehrt argumentieren wollen (s. etwa W. Couvreur); aber dann wäre natürlich der von Verf. vorgetragene Ansatz hinfällig. Ist *-ñca* neben *-nta* von Haus aus einfach eine analog nach dem üblichen Muster (Mask. : Fem.) aufgekommene Dublette (s. z. B. B *ayāmātte* : *ayāmācca* oder B *trite* : *trica*), die jedoch bei der Genusindifferenz des Nom. ag.-Typs keine reine fem. Funktion haben konnte¹⁵, so daß in toch. B dann sekundär ein *-ñca* gegenüber einem B *-nta* als eigentliches Part. verstanden wurde? Eine solche Aufspaltung war um so leichter möglich, als sich ohnehin Nom. ag. und Part. Präs. Akt. in der Verwendung nahestanden. In den toch. B-Texten jedenfalls finden sich genügend Belege solcher konkurrierenden Fälle (s. die Diss. von

¹⁵ Ein B *preñtsa* kann sicherlich nicht mit K. T. Schmidt als die dem regulären Part. Präs. B *preñca* („dem Fortsetzer der alten maskulinen Form“, wie er schreibt) eigentlich „zugehörige alte Femininbildung“ („*preñtsa* deckt sich etymologisch wie morphologisch mit ai. *bhārantī*, griech. *φέρουσα* (< **φέρωντια*)“; damit also „lautgesetzliche Entsprechung von idg. **bherontiā-*“) anzusehen sein. Dazu s. Verf.s Verweis im Nachtrag (S. 319) auf seinen später erschienenen Aufsatz in Orbis 26,1 (1977[78]) S. 146f., in dem es um die formale Beurteilung (nicht Part. Präs., sondern Nom. ag.) und den Bedeutungsansatz geht. S. jetzt nochmals Verf. in Orbis 28,2 (1979[82]) S. 329 (Entgegnung auf R. Normier).

R. Dietz). Und der mit dieser Bildung einhergehende Verzicht auf Unterscheidung der beiden Geschlechter (s. allerdings im Pl. m. B *-añ*, *-am*, f. *-ana*) hat bei den Part. Präs. Med. seine Entsprechung (s. vereinzelt lediglich dann B *-ñña* zur fem. Charakterisierung z.B. in B *šār(ps)emaneñña* HMR 3 b 5/6).

Ob die Bewahrung von auslautendem A *-ā*, wie sie sich in A *ñäkteñña* und A *lālamškā* zeigt, ausschließlich damit zu erklären ist, daß diese beiden Nomina „ont été empruntés au dialecte B avant la réduction dans B de *-ā* à *-a*“ (S. 8), ist sicherlich mehr als fraglich. Immerhin kennt man in A diesen N. Sg.-Ausgang bei vielen fem. Eigennamen (s. z. B. A *Bhādrā*, *Mālikā*, *Subhādrā*, *Sumanā* usw.; s. SSS. S. 55), wie auch sonst ein A *-ā* abweichend von der üblichen Regelung (s. A Pl. *kursärwā*; Prät. Sg. 1 *tākā*, *spārtwā* u. dgl.) bezeugt ist. Es sind gewiß unterschiedliche Einflüsse, die in Betracht kommen; s. Verf. später (S. 190f.) und dazu vor allem auch L. Isebaert, *De Indo-Iraanse bestanddelen in de Tocharische woordenschat*, a. a. O. S. 256f.

2a) Der zweite Teil greift einleitend allgemeine Probleme auf, das des Aufbaus der toch. Deklination (S. 165f.) und das mit dem Auftreten sekundärer Kasus verbundene des nichtidg. Einflusses. Es geht um Gruppenflexion (S. 166f.), Genus (S. 167f.) und Numerus (S. 168). Im ganzen wird gut informiert, wobei ich unter Verzicht auf Einzelheiten nur anmerken möchte, daß Verf. an Dual und Paral (S. 168; s. auch später Dual S. 235–240 und Paral S. 240–248) festhält, m. E. zu Recht, wenn man es eben so sieht, daß „le paralis tokharien constitue évidemment une spécialisation du duel“ (S. 168)¹⁶. Umstrittener ist gewiß der Plurativ („le pluriel du dialecte B trouve son origine dans le pluriel, en ce sens qu'il s'agit d'un pluriel distributif“, S. 168; s. aber auch S. 248f.), wobei das TEB. I, S. 78, als „sehr unsicher“ be-

¹⁶ An dieser grundsätzlichen Aufteilung (Paral bei natürlichen Paarverbindungen, Dual bei okkasioneller Zweiheit) vermögen auch die zweifelsohne vorhandenen Abweichungen (wie B *eś* < altem Du. **oq*ī* neben B *eś(a)ne*) und W. Winters wiederholte Einwände (s. zuletzt seine Rezension in *Kratylos* 25, 1980[81], S. 131) nichts zu ändern. Wer kann schon Ausnahmslosigkeit erwarten (s. z. B. auch Pl. A *peyu* 8a5 oder *pes* 56a5 neben Par. *peṃ*)!

zeichnete A *waṣtantu* (neben sonstigem Pl. *waṣtu*) in der Tat wohl besser zu streichen ist. — Zum genus alternans s. jetzt L. Isebaert, Oorzakelijke factoren in de ontwikkeling van het Tocharische „genus neutrum“, HZnMTL. 34 (1980) S. 175–181.

b) Bei der Erklärung der einzelnen Kasus bestehen bis heute erhebliche Unsicherheiten und abweichende Beurteilungen. Daß viele dieser Zweifel auch mit vorliegendem Band nicht auszuräumen sind, wird nur der dem Verf. anlasten wollen, der die toch. Verhältnisse nicht kennt bzw. meint, allein den Schlüssel zur Lösung in der Hand zu haben. Hingewiesen sei hier z. B. auf die Meinungsvielfalt bezüglich des G. Sg. m. A *-(y)āp*, B *-epi* (S. 183f.), hinter dessen Endung nach Verf. „il faut voir une ancienne postposition se rattachant au groupe de A *-pi*, B *pi*, A *pe*, gr. *ἐπί*“ usw.

Schwierigkeiten bereiten vor allem die sonstigen Kasusaffixe. Für Kom. A *-aśśäl* (S. 252f.) und Instr. A *-yo* (S. 257f.) ist zumindest Verbindung zu A *śla*, B *śale*, *śle* „mit“ bzw. A *yo* „und“ sicher, wie man andererseits B *-ñ* des Kausal. (S. 258f.) mit der G.-Endung *-ñ* in Beziehung zu bringen hat. Auffällig ist jedoch, daß toch. A und B sich vorwiegend unterschiedlicher Affixe bedienen. Zusammenzustellen sind ohne Bedenken Lok. A *-am*, B *-ne* (S. 257), aber auch für den Perl. A *-ā*, B *-sa* (S. 250f.) ist man um einen gemeinsamen Ausgang bemüht. Im Gegensatz zu G. Klingenschmitt (< Perl. Pl. **-ns-ā*) meint Verf., B *-s-* sei „un ancien élément prédésinentiel qui a été généralisé par analogie“ (S. 250). Ansonsten gehen in der Erklärung der Affixe die Meinungen recht auseinander. S. beispielsweise die Auseinandersetzung um eben genanntes A *-ā*, B *-a* des Perl. (S. 251), das Verf. mit einem idg. **ad* verbinden möchte (S. 252), um den Kom. B *-mpa* (S. 253; jetzt < idg. **meyā* „lien, liaison, connexion, alliance, association“), wobei Verf. von manch eigenem Standpunkt wieder abrückt (B *-mpa* = B *-m*, Charakteristikum des Obl. Sg., + Instr.-Suff. **-bhi* oder gar uralischen Ursprungs). Mir bleiben Vorbehalte, ohne überzeugende eigene Vorschläge anbieten zu können.

c) Einer gesonderten Erwähnung bedarf es, daß Verf. in der Beurteilung des Obl. Sg. (in der Grammatik ist von Akk. Sg. die

Rede) sich von W. Couvreur¹⁷ abhebt und daran festhält, „qu'en tokharien l'accusatif primaire et les accusatifs secondaires remontent tous à des finales comportant soit i.-e. *-m soit i.-e. *-ṃ“ (S. 179). Im Toch. hat man sicher von einer sekundären Ausweitung des -ṃ auszugehen; so wendet sich Verf. gegen G. Klingenschmitt, der annimmt, daß „das auslautende *-m des urindogermanischen Akkusativ Singular im Vortocharischen nicht in allen Stellungen geschwunden war, sondern etwa im Sandhi vor vokalischem Anlaut gehalten wurde“ (S. 173).

Hinsichtlich der Palatalisierung im Obl. (s. A -c, B -cce, S. 178) ist durchaus mit paradigmatischem Ausgleich zu rechnen. Da die Erweichung für den Obl. Sg. m. der Ordinalia (z.B. B *trite* : *trice*, B *štar(t)e* : *štar(c)e* usw.) bezeichnend ist, findet man dann eben auch in A beispielsweise einen Obl. *štārc* überliefert. Sekundär erweitert, d. h. mit dem charakteristischen -ṃ versehen, heißt es dann *štārcāṃ*, wobei die Palatalisierung nichts mit einer Herleitung von -āṃ < idg. *-en-ṃ (gegenüber A *riṣakāṃ*, *omāskēnāṃ*, *wsā-yokāṃ* u.dgl. < idg. *-en-ṃ oder *-n-ṃ; s. Verf., S. 174) zu tun haben muß. Vielleicht sind die daselbst verzeichneten anderen Fälle analog zu werten; s. in diesem Zusammenhang den Abschnitt „Les accusatifs irréguliers“ (S. 231f.) und die Behandlung der Obl. Pl.-Endung A -ñcās, „où -ñc- au lieu de (B) -nt- est évidemment irrégulier“. Weiter liest man dann: „Il faut partir concrètement d'une forme d'accusatif pl. telle que A *lāntās = B *lāntāṃ* devenue *lāñcās* sous l'influence du nominatif pl. A *lāñc* = B *lāñc*, avec -ñc < i.-e. *-nt-es“ (S. 232).

d) Während auf die Beurteilung von auslautend A -ā im Pl. (S. 189f.) nicht mehr weiter eingegangen werden soll (s. bereits 1f.), sei noch hinsichtlich der Pl.-Bildung auf A -nt, B -nta (S. 200f.) vermerkt, daß man mit Verf. in der Tat nicht an ein altes kollektives -nt-Suffix zu denken hat. Jedenfalls liefert das toch. Material keinen Anhalt für eine derartige Annahme.

¹⁷ Siehe W. Couvreur, *Hoofdzaken van de Tochaarse klank- en vormleer*, Leuven 1947, S. 35: „De Tochaarse obliquusuitgang is dus het deel van het woord onmiddellijk voor den Indogermaansen uitgang, dat ingevolge den wegval van dien uitgang nu zelf als uitgang werd gevoeld, m.a.w. het praedesinentiële bestanddeel (de Saussure's *élément prédésinentiel*) van het Indogermaans werd uitgang in het Tochaars.“

Nach Verf. stehen dahinter vielmehr alte *-nt*-Stämme, bei deren Behandlung er nämlich schreibt: „L'élément suffixal **-nt-* s'est aussi analogiquement introduit dans la flexion proprement dite: en effet A *-nt*, B *-nta* qui caractérise le nominatif-accusatif pl., trouve son origine dans i.-e. **-nt-ā/a₁*“ (S. 49).

3a) Die pronominalen Paradigmata (S. 263f.), nicht zum ersten Mal behandelt, bieten hinreichenden Diskussionsstoff. Namentlich im Pl. des Fem. bereiten die kategorialen Zuweisungen und Aufgliederungen der morphologisch differenten Formen einige Schwierigkeiten. Das liegt zum einen daran, daß die Überlieferungslage bisweilen recht unbefriedigend ist und keine eindeutigen Schlüsse zuläßt. Daran wird, so hat es den Anschein, die Auswertung weiteren unpublizierten Materials im ganzen wohl nicht viel zu ändern vermögen. Andererseits hat man eben mit dialektischen Sonderformen und Varianten zu rechnen. Je nachdem, wie man nun die Akzente setzt, ob man bestimmte formale Erscheinungen als gewichtig ansieht und andere wieder als bloße Entgleisungen, als für die betreffende Handschrift untypische und erst sekundär hinein- und aufgekommene Bildungen abtut, wird dementsprechend das Ergebnis aussehen. Die bisherigen Verfahren einmal eingehender zu beleuchten, erscheint mir lohnenswert und durchaus notwendig. Allerdings ist hier nicht der Ort, die längst fällige Erörterung zu eröffnen¹⁸.

¹⁸ Jedenfalls wird man die Texte genauer befragen müssen, um herauszufinden, was als sprachliches Charakteristikum für Texte einer bestimmten Provenienz zu gelten hat und was lediglich auf einem Schreiberversehen beruhen dürfte. So stellt z. B. P. Stumpf, *Der Plural der westtocharischen Demonstrativ-Pronomina – zugleich ein Beitrag zur Dialekt-Gliederung des Westtocharischen*, *Orbis* 23, 2 (1974) S. 404–428, für Blatt Nr. 199 als bemerkenswert auch „das Schwanken von *-e-* und *-i-*“, wie es sich in B (*še*)*me käššenta* zeigt, heraus (a.a.O. S. 416). Das Zeugnis muß aber nicht viel bedeuten; zugrunde liegt wohl lediglich eine Lässigkeit des Schreibers. S. auf diesem Fragment jedenfalls auch Schreibungen wie B *pañakte* b1, *pelekñenta* a2; *westar* a4 und die nachträglichen Verbesserungen, wobei nicht einmal die eingefügten Skt.-Passagen fehlerfrei sind. Das Urteil fällt oft anders aus, wenn man eine Handschrift in ihrer Gesamtheit, und zwar mit all ihren Besonderheiten, Inkonsequenzen und Unkorrektheiten, erfaßt. Übrigens bieten selbst reine Skt.-Texte ganz entsprechende Versehen; s. in diesem Zusammenhang auch Anm. 22.

b) Was die femininen Pl.-Paradigmata anbetrifft, beläßt es Verf., soweit ich sehe, dabei, B *tom*, *toy*, *tona* und *toyna* (S. 266f.; vgl. auch Vol. I, S. 507) als N./Obl.-Formen zu bewerten, im Gegensatz etwa zu P. Stumpf (a. a. O.), der *toyna* allein als Obl. Pl. gelten lassen will. Ohne auf des letzteren Argumentation im einzelnen einzugehen — er denkt ja an Entwicklungen von einem älteren zu einem jüngeren Paradigma —, ist nicht zu übersehen, daß B *tom* (sicher nicht mit Verf. und gegen G. Klingenschmitt < **toy-m*, S. 267) sowohl als N. als auch Obl. Pl. f. gut bezeugt ist (P. Stumpf, a. a. O. S. 411), was auch für B *tona* gilt (P. Stumpf, a. a. O. S. 417). Das ist eine Verteilung, die man durchaus erwartet und die wohl auch bei B *toy* im Grunde vorgelegen hat. Immerhin kommt man bei B *toy* um zwei Obl.-Zeugnisse (s. B *toy vicanmasa* 504 a4 sowie B *toy vicanma* /// 504 a1)¹⁹ nicht umhin²⁰, und bei B *toyna*, insgesamt nur durch wenige Beispiele gesichert²¹, ist denkbar, daß man auch mit einem N. Pl.-Beleg aufwarten kann. Ich meine damit das in 197 a3 überlieferte B *toyne*, das gewiß als Unkorrektheit des Schreibers zu bewerten ist²². Eine Auffassung als Du. (P. Stumpf, a. a. O. S. 418) ist auszuschließen, wie mich auch die von E. Sieg/W. Siegling in der Textausgabe vorgeschlagene Verbesserung zu *toy no* nicht mehr überzeugt. Vielmehr geht es wohl einfach um B *toyna* (der *e*-Haken ist nach vorausgehendem *inte* später ver-

¹⁹ In Ser. 1 B b 2 ist sicherlich von passivischer Konstruktion auszugehen (B *yokalyi* an Stelle eines zu erwartenden *yokallona*), so daß B *toy prayokänta* als N. Pl. fungiert.

²⁰ P. Stumpf erklärt sie einfach damit, daß sie einer „peripher zu S gehörenden Handschrift“ entstammen und daß man „hierin den Ausdruck einer Flexibilität des Systems zu sehen“ habe. Einmal könne es sich „um eine erhöhte Variabilität während einer Zeit der Umorganisation des Systems handeln . . ., zum anderen aber auch um eine Unsicherheit eines S-Schreibers bei der Bearbeitung eines Nicht-S-Texts bzw. eines MQ-Schreibers bei der Bearbeitung eines S-Texts“ (a. a. O. S. 414).

²¹ S. die Aufstellung bei P. Stumpf, a. a. O. S. 416. Dazu kommt ein weiterer Beleg in einer Gl. zu M 135.2a2; B *toyna* ist hier eindeutig Obl. Pl.

²² Auf diesem aus Murtuq stammenden Blatt s. daneben noch Schreibungen wie B *rekesa* b1, *tā* b3 (für *tāka*; vgl. b5), *krostañasše* b5 usw.

sehentlich nochmals angebracht), das damit N. Pl. wäre. Übrigens fügt sich auch der Obl. Pl. f. B *toym* 19 a 1 (a. a. O. S. 425 f.) nicht so ohne weiteres in das Stumpfsche Schema, wie danach zudem keineswegs ein Verhältnis B N. Pl. f. *mäktom* : G. Pl. f. *mäkttoynas* (a. a. O. S. 427 f.) zu erwarten ist. Man kann alle diese Ungereimtheiten natürlich mit dem Hinweis auf Umgestaltung eines Systems u. dgl. zu erklären versuchen (s. auch Anm. 20), aber das wirkt nicht in jedem Fall überzeugend. Von vornherein hat man wohl mit einem größeren Nebeneinander unterschiedlicher Formen, ohne daß damit jeweils eine erkennbare Bedeutungsdifferenzierung verbunden gewesen wäre, zu rechnen²³; andererseits ist unbestritten, daß sich dialektische Besonderheiten herauskristallisierten, wobei nach Ausweis der Handschriften niemals mit einer ganz konsequenten Verwendung bestimmter Formen und einer völlig einheitlichen Schreibung zu rechnen ist. Aufgrund des bisher zugänglichen Materials erscheint es mir, und zwar trotz der Beleglage in Nr. 107²⁴, gewagt, feminine Bildungen auf *-na* (zu mask. B *ceyna* usw. s. 3 c) allein dem Obl. Pl. (s. jedoch beim Subst. den Typ N./Obl. Pl. f. *asiyana* sowie beim Vba. zweimaliges B N. Pl. f. *kälālyana* 107 b 2. 6) zuweisen zu wollen²⁵. Der augenblickliche Überlieferungsstand

²³ S. z. B. den Wechsel von B *toy* und *tom* innerhalb einer Handschrift und dazu P. Stumpf, a. a. O. S. 415, der den fraglichen Abschnitt mit der Feststellung beschließt, daß „regelhafte Beziehungen von *toy* und *tom* . . . aus dem spärlichen Belegmaterial nicht zu entnehmen“ sind. Vgl. auch das Anm. 24 und 26 zu B *tā/tām* und B *toyna/tom* Gesagte.

²⁴ Auf sie im besonderen beruft sich P. Stumpf (s. a. a. O. S. 417), der andernorts anzutreffende Abweichungen und Überschneidungen dann einfach abwertet. In besagtem Text finden sich nämlich 6 Belege für den N. Pl. f. B *toy* (fünfmal selbständig, einmal attributiv in der Verbindung B *toy ešerñāna*), damit stets die Rede der beiden Schwestern einleitend, denen ein zweimaliger Obl. Pl. f. B *toyna* (s. B *palska toyna šotrūna* 107 a 2 und B *bramñikte toyna weña* 107 b 2) gegenübersteht. Nach Erklärungen zu suchen — das eine oder andere ließe sich durchaus erwägen —, ist m. E. müßig. Über Vermutungen kommt man letzten Endes einfach nicht hinaus. Bemerkte sei jedoch noch, daß hier auch B *tā* und *tām* ohne feststellbaren Grund miteinander konkurrieren.

²⁵ Hinsichtlich der Verteilung von B *alloñk* und *alloñkna* steht es nicht viel besser (s. auch P. Stumpf, a. a. O. S. 426 f.). Bekannt sind bisher

kann täuschen; manches mag auf bloßen Zufälligkeiten und lässigen Schreibergewohnheiten — man überschätzt die Leistung der Verfasser solcher toch. Texte — beruhen und leicht zu ad hoc-Erklärungen und Spekulationen verleiten, vor allem dann, wenn, wie in unserem Fall, sich insgesamt bei den Pron. im Pl. keine völlig eindeutigen Verhältnisse abzeichnen²⁶.

c) Einer gesonderten Bemerkung bedarf es noch hinsichtlich des Obl. Pl. m. B *ceyna* (dazu s. des weiteren z.B. B G. Pl. m. *ceynamts* 371 b6; *ceynats* 197 a1/2 neben *caināts* 197 a1 und *cainats* Fill., Y 3b1; Perl. Pl. m. *ceynasa* 345 b5 usw.²⁷). Mir scheint es nicht befriedigend, wenn Verf. schreibt, daß „la forme *ceyna* à l'acc. pl. masc. a subi l'influence du nom.-acc. pl. fém. *tona*, *toyna*“ (S. 267), denn eigentlich ist es doch verwunderlich, somit eine feminine Endung auf eine Form des mask. Paradigmas übertragen zu sehen. Nach P. Stumpf ist dafür allein ausschlaggebend die Funktion des *-na* als Obl.-Kennzeichen, als Mittel, einen Obl. Pl. von seinem N. Pl. formal abzuheben. Da sich aber im vorhergehenden die Fragwürdigkeit einer derartigen Annahme erwiesen hat, entfällt auch diese Begründung, so daß nach einer anderen Erklärung gesucht werden muß.

lediglich zwei Zeugnisse ohne *-na* (s. B *allomñk* 173a5, B *allonk* 379b2), beide N. Pl., während sonst B *allonkna*, in den eindeutigen Belegen Obl. Pl., erscheint. Dabei sind die beiden Formen (neben B *allonkna* s. die grammatisch nicht genau bestimmbare Variante B *alloykna* und dazu Verf., S. 273) auf unterschiedliche Handschriften verteilt.

²⁶ Das liegt natürlich mit an der ungünstigen Beleglage. So trifft man bisweilen eben innerhalb einer Handschrift überhaupt nur eine einzige feminine Pl.-Form an; andernfalls, d.h. bei Vorliegen mehrerer Zeugnisse, ist das Bild wieder uneinheitlich, wie z.B. in der auch von P. Stumpf (a.a.O. S. 416) erwähnten Textgruppe 415–421 mit den beiden Obl. Pl. f. B *toyna* und *tom* nebeneinander. In diesem Zusammenhang s. auch das bezüglich B *toy/tom* und B *tā/tām* Anm. 23 und 24 Gesagte.

²⁷ S. die Zusammenstellung bei P. Stumpf, a.a.O. S. 419f. Unter den Belegen zu streichen ist der G. Pl. in 108a9. Die Stelle ist heute anders zu lesen; s. Rez. im Kommentar der Neuausgabe von Bd. 1 der „Tocharischen Sprachreste, Sprache B“, AGAW., phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, Nr. 133, Göttingen 1983, S. 259.

Ein Ansatz könnte in Formen wie B *tona* zu finden sein. Hier geht es nämlich m.E. von Haus aus gar nicht um dieses *-na*²⁸. Das zeigt das daneben mit Verstärkungspartikel auftretende B *tonak* — übrigens von P. Stumpf und Verf. nicht erwähnt —, das als N. und Obl. Pl. f. fungiert (s. z.B. N. Pl. 192 a 2 und Obl. Pl. 34 b 4; entsprechende Beispiele finden sich in unpublizierten Fragmenten) und nämlich als *tom* + *ak* aufzufassen ist (s. z.B. noch B *cewak* H 149.188 a 6 sowie das sicher ergänzte *c(e)w(a)k* 6 b 5; *cauwak* 108 a 4, 198 a 1. b 6; *cenak* 362 a 8, H 149 add. 129 b 4. — *tawak* 29 a 3, H 149 add. 133 a 3 neben *tāwak* 373 a 3. — *tampak* unpubl. Berliner Frgm. — Vgl. aber auch die Dubletten B *swak* 197 b 1; *suwak* 197 b 5, H 150.122 a 4 und *twak* 345 b 3; *tuwak* 108 b 9 bzw. *tūwak* 333 b 1)²⁹. Da Formen mit und ohne Verstärkungspartikel nebeneinander einhergingen, ist es denkbar, daß (etwa nach B *entwek* : *entwe*, *omtek* : *omte*, *nemcek* : *nemce*; *cwik* : *cwi*, *caik* : *cai*, L. Pl. *cennek* : *cenne*; *tumpak* : *tumpa* usw.) analog auch ein (falsch verstandenes) B *tona* aufkommen konnte, und zwar um so mehr, als der Ausgang an das charakteristische *-na* des Pl. f. erinnerte.

Daß *-na* daneben auch gerade im Obl. Pl. m. erscheint — ein solches im N. Pl. m. ist nicht überliefert und in der Tat hier nicht zu erwarten —, erklärt sich einfach daraus, daß dieser Kasus ja auf *-m* (bzw. *-n*) auslautete, so daß bei Antritt der Verstärkungspartikel ein *-nak* (s. obiges B *cenak*) und mit falscher Abtrennung der Partikel ein *-na* entstehen mußte. So kann im

²⁸ P. Stumpf (a.a.O. S. 417) sagt zu diesen B *tona*-Belegen, „es handelt sich hier um eine selbständige Entwicklung aus *tom* nach Analogie der femininen Plurale auf *-ona* bei den Adjektiven“ (verwiesen ist in der Anm. auf die Vba. auf *-lle*; s. ähnlich a.a.O. S. 424), während Verf. lediglich vermerkt, daß „la forme du nominatif-accusatif féminin B *tona*, *toyna* offre la caractéristique B *-na* que l'on trouve dans de nombreuses formes du féminin pl.“ (S. 267). — Nach B *toy* : *toyna* oder B *cey* : *ceyna* sollte man dann vielleicht schon eher ein **tomna* bzw. **tonna* (s. L. Pl. *tonne* : N. Pl. *tom*) erwarten (s. auch B *alloñk*, *allomñk* : *alloñkna* neben *alloykna*).

²⁹ Auf die Verteilung von *-k* und *-ak/-äk* im einzelnen kann nicht weiter eingegangen werden. Übrigens liefert das unveröffentlichte Berliner Material neben B *tonak* einmal auch ein *tomk*. Das paßt zu dem Nebeneinander von B *suk* : *swak*, *suwak* usw.

Grunde der Obl. Pl. m. *ceyna* gar nicht so sehr überraschen, ganz gleich, wie man dabei das *cey-* (als Obl.-Variante begegnet bisher nur ein *cenām*) beurteilen mag³⁰.

Damit will ich abschließen, wenn es auch schwerfällt, ein Buch so voller Probleme, Anregungen und offenen Fragen ganz abrupt aus der Hand zu legen. Der Diskussionsstoff ist keineswegs erschöpft, kann es bei der Vielfalt des Dargebotenen und der zahlreichen Unsicherheiten, die sich gerade bei der etymologischen Verknüpfung des Toch. immer wieder zeigen, gar nicht sein. Kritische Äußerungen bleiben einfach nicht aus; sie sind notgedrungene Begleiterscheinungen, die eine auf großem Fleiß beruhende Leistung damit in keiner Weise schmälern, sondern in wohlgemeinter Absicht mit zur weiteren und sichereren Erschließung des Toch. beitragen wollen. Es sind korrigierende Anmerkungen, Ergänzungen, Einschränkungen und Anstöße, manche Ableitung erneut zu überdenken. Einem Vorschlag die Zustimmung zu versagen, heißt gewiß nicht, daß nur allein der Kritiker, wie es einige in Selbstüberschätzung wohl meinen, den Schlüssel zur richtigen Lösung wisse. Andererseits kann es hilfreich sein, von einem, der unvoreingenommen und frei von belastenden Theorien und Zielsetzungen, aus größerer Distanz ein Problem angeht, auf die eine oder andere Alternative und vielleicht überhaupt bessere Deutungsmöglichkeit aufmerksam gemacht zu werden. Wie befruchtend die Lektüre dieses Buches ist, mag man schließlich dem Exkurs bei den Demonstrativpronomina entnehmen, der nämlich über den dargebotenen Inhalt hinausgeht und weniger den Verf. als Adressaten sieht,

³⁰ Über den möglichen Obl. Pl. m. des Paradigmas B *samp* Vermutungen anzustellen — P. Stumpf, a.a.O. S. 425, plädiert seiner Theorie zuliebe für einen Ansatz **ceynam* (!) —, erscheint mir müßig. Man kann nur hoffen, daß das unpublizierte B-Material noch einmal die entsprechende Form zutage fördert. — S. übrigens auch den postum erschienenen, bisher unerwähnt gebliebenen Aufsatz von P. Stumpf, Westtocharisch *se-seṃ*: zwei Paradigmen oder nur eines?, KZ. 90, 1/2 (1976[77]) S. 114–127. Die in den beiden Schemata aufgezeigten Entwicklungsstufen (a.a.O. S. 125f.), wozu man das Anm. 8 Gesagte vergleiche, zeigen, wie spekulativ vieles ist. So erscheint beispielsweise trotz eines als Obl. Pl. f. bezeugten B *toym* dann als Obl.-Form ein **toynam* angesetzt.

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wenn auch er von dem herausgestellten Ergebnis nicht unbetroffen bleibt.

Wie schon zu Band I bemerkt³¹, wird das Werk, in dem der Verf. uns die Ergebnisse eines jahrzehntelangen entsagungsvollen Mühens vorlegt, seine Beachtung finden. Aufgearbeitet ist in ihm ein Kapitel toch. Forschung, das der Verf. stark mitgeprägt hat. Sicher ist damit kein endgültiger Abschluß erzielt — wer wollte dies auch erwarten —; der zukünftigen wissenschaftlichen Arbeit ist es nun vorbehalten, das Erreichte zu erproben und, soweit notwendig, zu korrigieren und fortzuführen. Am Ende bleibt ein Dank an den Verf., der mit diesem umfassenden und schwierigen Unternehmen bewundernswerte Ausdauer und außerordentlichen Mut bewiesen hat.

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³¹ S. Rez., Bemerkungen zu A. J. Van Windekens' Buch „Le tokharien“, IF. 82 (1977[78]) S. 128f.

Reflexe der indogermanischen Wurzel *g^wyō-/g^wī- im Griechischen

1. Daß der griechische Aorist ἐβίωv (zur Bedeutung vgl. 16) und das Substantiv βίος zu der etwa in ai. *jīvā-* 'lebendig', lit. *gývas*, lat. *vīvus* < idg. *g^wī-wó- erkennbaren Wurzel gehören, wird allgemein und sicherlich zu Recht angenommen. Da genaue formale Entsprechungen zu ἐβίωv und βίος in den verwandten Sprachen fehlen, läßt sich ihre Vorgeschichte nur tentativ erschließen. Bei den folgenden Überlegungen sollen auch noch einige weitere hierhergehörige Lexeme des Griechischen einbezogen werden, das außergriechische Material wird jedoch nicht eingehend behandelt¹.

2. Bei dem Versuch, die Vorgeschichte des Aorists ἐβίωv nachzuzeichnen, bereitet die Tatsache, daß die Hochstufe der fraglichen Wurzel nicht ohne weiteres rekonstruiert werden kann, beträchtliche Schwierigkeiten. Zu der in idg. *g^wī-wó- (1.) unverkennbar vorliegenden Schwundstufe *g^wī- < *g^wiā-² kann nach der Wurzeltheorie von Benveniste eine Vollstufe I *g^weyā-, aber auch eine Vollstufe II *g^wyeā- gehören. Für beide Vollstufen scheint die Überlieferung Anhaltspunkte zu bieten. Das gr. Fut. (Konj.) βέομαι (Schwyzer 1939, S. 780) weist unmittel-

¹ Die außergriechischen Verknüpfungsmöglichkeiten sind bei Frisk 1960, S. 238 und Chantraine 1968, S. 176 registriert; besonders eingehend sind die etymologischen Fragen noch von Hamp 1976 erörtert worden. Im vorliegenden Zusammenhang soll es darum gehen, die idg. Anknüpfungspunkte für einige grundlegende Formen der griechischen Wortfamilie klarzulegen, da die innergriechischen Entwicklungen bei Frisk und Chantraine erschöpfend behandelt werden.

² Im Rahmen der Laryngalthorie wird die Schwundstufe der Wurzel als *g^wiā₃- angesetzt, wobei sich jedoch die Identifizierung von -ā- als „Laryngal 3“ nur auf das griechische Material stützt. Für die Annahme, daß -iā- > idg. -ī- im Griechischen als Folge von -i- + ε, α, ο auftritt, liegt kein absolut zuverlässiges Material vor. Daher ist anzunehmen, daß βίω-/βίε- (10.) an Stelle von idg. *g^wī- das Result einer Neuerung ist.

bar auf **gweya-o*-³ (Vollstufe I **gweya*-) zurück, während av. *jyā-tu*- 'Leben' wohl nur auf der Basis einer Vollstufe II **gweya*- gedeutet werden kann. Da der griechische Aorist ἐβίωv auf keinen Fall mit einer Vollstufe I **gweya*- direkt in Verbindung gebracht werden kann, sollte man versuchen, ihn auf der Basis von **gweya*- > **gwyō*- zu erklären, selbst wenn av. *jyātu*- der einzige Anhaltspunkt für diese Wurzelgestalt in den übrigen idg. Sprachen ist (Anttila 1969, S. 137)⁴.

3. Freilich ist auch die auf den ersten Blick naheliegende Verknüpfung von ἐβίωv mit einer Wurzel **gwyō*- nicht unproblematisch. Bei der Annahme, daß ἐβίωv einen Wurzelaorist darstellt, ist kaum ersichtlich, wie eine Ausgangsform **gwyō*- im Griechischen als βίω- erscheinen konnte. Die traditionelle Annahme, daß eine Alternante **gwiyō*- (vgl. die Literaturangaben in Anm. 1) der Wurzel **gwyō*- aufträte, wobei die Realisierung -*iy*- wohl nach der Sievers-Edgertonschen Regel erklärt werden müßte (vgl. dazu Cowgill 1965, S. 150), ist nämlich kaum haltbar, da kein Grund für die Verallgemeinerung dieser sicherlich seltenen Wechselform ersichtlich ist. Insbesondere ist hier auf eine bei Francis 1970, S. 79f. zitierte Äußerung von Cowgill zu verweisen: „... the possibility that a Sievers-Edgerton variant **gwiyō*- appropriate after heavy syllables and pause was generalized over a variant **gwyō*- appropriate after light syllables is somewhat weakened by the fact that augmented indicatives would always have had the shape **gwyō*- after the short vowel of the augment.“

4. Eine ganz andere Erklärung hat Francis 1970, S. 84 vorgeschlagen. Er geht von einem „passiven Aorist“ auf -*η*- aus,

³ Daß es sich bei βέομαι um ein Präsens handle, wie Lindeman 1964 meint, ist unwahrscheinlich, da für den Ansatz eines Präsens idg. **gweya-o*- keinerlei Grund besteht. Als kurzvokaler Konjunktiv mit *e*-stufiger Wurzel läßt sich **gweya-o*- dagegen ohne Schwierigkeit im morphologischen System des Indogermanischen einordnen.

⁴ Obwohl die Vollstufe I **gweya*- weit verbreitet auftritt, so ist doch keineswegs ausgeschlossen, daß sie jüngeren Datums als die Vollstufe II **gweya*- ist. Nach dem bei Anttila 1969 wiederholt erörterten Vorgang konnte zu einer Schwundstufe **gwiā*- sekundär eine Vollstufe I **gweya*- entstehen, selbst wenn die ursprüngliche Vollstufe **gweya*- war.

den er als *gwiO-eE- ansetzt. In dieser Ausgangsform habe der Laryngal -O- das folgende -e- umgefärbt. Normier 1978 hat versucht, die Deutung von Francis zu stützen, nachdem Hettrich 1973, S. 150ff. Zweifel an ihrer Richtigkeit äußerte. Vermutlich läßt sich diese These nicht eindeutig widerlegen. Trotzdem sollte man bedenken, ob die Annahme eines η-Aorists bei dieser Wurzel überhaupt wahrscheinlich ist. Ferner ist es zumindest fraglich, ob wirklich mit einer „Umfärbung“ von -e- durch den vorausgehenden Laryngal -O- gerechnet werden darf.

5. Unter diesen Umständen ist es wohl gestattet, zu der älteren Deutung von ἐβίων als Wurzelaorist zurückzukehren. Allerdings muß es gelingen, diese Derivation besser zu begründen. Man wird dabei versuchen, nach den morphologischen Regeln des Indogermanischen ein Paradigma für die Grundsprache anzusetzen. Dann ist zu fragen, wie sich dieses Paradigma ins Griechische entwickeln konnte. Freilich ist nicht unmittelbar klar, wie Wurzeln auf Langvokal, zu denen *gwyō- gehören müßte, im Aorist ablauteten. Während im Indischen (mit Ausnahme von 3. Pl.) durchweg die Hochstufe durchgeführt wurde, ist wegen einzelner Besonderheiten wie etwa (2 Du.) hom. βάρην (daneben βήτην) vielleicht doch anzunehmen, daß grundsprachlich der Wurzelaorist von Haus aus das gleiche Ablautschema wie das Wurzelpräsens hatte⁵.

6. Die eben vorgebrachten Überlegungen führen zu folgendem grundsprachlichen Paradigma für den Wurzelaorist bei *gwyō-:

- 3. Sg. *gwyō-t
- 1. Pl. *gwiə-mé
- 3. Pl. *gwiə-ént.

In der schwundstufigen Alternante wurde -iə- vor Konsonant zu -i-, so daß für 1. Pl. *gwi-mé anzusetzen ist. Vor Vokal ist -ə- geschwunden. Möglicherweise wurde -i- in 3. Pl. *gwiə-ént > *gwi-ént konsonantisch, so daß für eine Vorstufe des Griechischen

⁵ Die Frage des Ablauts bei Athematica ist wiederholt behandelt worden; vgl. etwa Francis 1970, S. 28ff. In Bammesberger 1982 versuche ich zu zeigen, daß die Ablautverteilung bei Athematica im Präsens- und Aoristparadigma ursprünglich gleich war.

die Form als **gwy-ént* anzusetzen wäre. Somit ergibt sich aufgrund dieser theoretischen Erwägungen folgendes Paradigma für eine Entwicklungsstufe des Vorgriechischen:

- 3. Sg. **gwyō-t*
- 1. Pl. **gwi-mé*
- 3. Pl. **gwy-ént.*

7. Als lautgesetzliche Reflexe dieses Paradigmas sind im Griechischen 3. Sg. **έζω*, 1. Pl. **έβιμε* und 3. Pl. **έζεν* zu erwarten. Da die Ablautalternationen bei allen Wurzelaoristen reduziert wurden, ist damit zu rechnen, daß auch dieses Paradigma Ausgleich erfuhr. Das Paradigma **έζω/έβιμε/έζεν* erweckte durch den Konsonantenwechsel im Wurzelanlaut den Eindruck suppletiv zu sein. Ein analogischer Ausgleich lag daher besonders nahe.

8. Obwohl sich kaum in jeder Einzelheit nachvollziehen läßt, wie die Umbildung des Paradigmas erfolgte, so ist doch folgende Möglichkeit zu erwägen. Bei den ererbten Wurzelaoristen **gnō-* oder **stā-* wurde im Griechischen die starke Alternante im Paradigma durchgeführt. Historisch kann man den Vorgang so deuten, daß etwa bei **gnō-* die Pluralalternante **gnə-* den Vokal *-ō-* aus dem Singular bezog, wobei **gnə-ō-* lautgesetzlich mit Schwund von *-ə-* vor Vokal zu **gnō-* führen mußte. Wenn in in entsprechender Weise die Pluralalternante *βι-* mit der Singularform **ζω-* kontaminiert wurde, so ergab sich *βι-ω-* > *βιω*, also genau die Form, die tatsächlich bezeugt ist. In 3. Pl. mußte *βιω-* vor *-ντ* gekürzt werden (**-βιωντ* > *-βιον*)⁶.

9. Da es immerhin als möglich erscheint, daß *έβιων* auf einem Wurzelaorist **gwyō-/gwi-* > **ζω-/βι-* basiert, der wegen des auseinanderklaffenden Paradigmas zum Ausgleich führte, so erhebt sich weiterhin die Frage, ob vielleicht das Substantiv *βίος* (erst seit Odyssee bezeugt), das ebenso wie der Wurzelaorist keine unmittelbare Entsprechung in den verwandten Sprachen hat,

⁶ Das *nt*-Partizip des Paradigmas **gwyō-/gwiə-* ist als **gwiə-ont-* > **gwi-ont-* > **gwy-ont-* > **ζ-οντ-* zu postulieren. Es wurde nach dem üblichen Verhältnis von *γνω- : γνοντ-* = *βιω- : x* zu *x* = *βιοντ-* umgebildet.

als ein Wurzelnomen (Meillet 1925, S. 16–18) gedeutet werden kann. Dementsprechend wäre mit einem alternierenden Paradigma des Typs Nom. Sg. *gwyō-s, Gen. Sg. *gwiō-os, Dat. Sg. *gwiō-ey etc. zu rechnen. Nach lautgesetzlicher Entwicklung entstand ebenso wie im Wurzelaorist ein suppletiv wirkendes Paradigma Nom. Sg. *ζως, Gen. Sg. *βίος etc. Vermutlich darf auch hier mit Ausgleich gerechnet werden. Daß dann eine Thematisierung auf der Basis eines durch Gelenkheteroklisie entstandenen Stammes βίο- erfolgte, ist wohl annehmbar.

10. Wenn nach den bisherigen Überlegungen die Schwundstufe *gwi- möglicherweise im Paradigma von ἐβίων und βίος noch erkennbar ist, dann erhebt sich weiterhin die Frage, ob vielleicht diese Schwundstufe ebenfalls in den Bildungen βίωτος, βίωτή auftritt. Die *to*-Ableitungen weisen durchweg schwundstufige Wurzel auf, man müßte also *gwi-to- > *βι-το- ansetzen. Obwohl sich kaum strikt beweisen läßt, warum *βι-το- durch βίω-το- ersetzt wurde, so kann vielleicht doch erwähnt werden, daß aufgrund der vorher behandelten Entwicklungen die Schwundstufe *βι- weitgehend ausgemerzt worden war. Damit war aber der Vokal in *gwi-to- > *βι-το- isoliert. Vielleicht wurde aus diesem Grunde in *βιτ- der Diphthong -iō- aus βίω/βίο- (8.) und βίος eingeführt⁷.

11. Vermutlich liegt auch in dem Adjektiv ὀγής die Schwundstufe der Wurzel *gwyō- vor. Die richtige Analyse von ὀγής ist wohl *su-gwiō-ēs (Puhvel 1960, S. 72, Rix 1976, S. 86)⁸. Der lautgesetzliche Reflex von *-gwiō-ēs müßte *-gwi-ēs > *-gwyēs > *-ζής sein, wobei jedoch die vorkonsonantische Alternante *-gwi- sekundär eingeführt wurde. Die Schwundstufe *gwi- (> βι-/γι-) trat somit vor Vokalen auf. In präkonsonantischer Stellung, wo wir *βι- erwarten sollten, waren auf analogischem Wege jeweils diphthongische Formen mit -iō- entstanden.

⁷ Nach den Ausführungen von Francis 1970, S. 155f. ist die dem Kretischen zugeschriebene Form βίωτος völlig unzuverlässig.

⁸ Es besteht keinerlei Grund, eine idg. Ablautwurzel *gwyē- anzusetzen; gegen diesen Ansatz wendet sich auch Anttila 1969, S. 137. Das attische Präsens ζῆν muß innerhalb des Griechischen erklärt werden. Da der Ansatz *gwyē- nicht gerechtfertigt ist, darf in ὀγής nicht eine Wurzelbildung *gwiyē- (so Frisk 1960, S. 238) gesehen werden.

12. Nachdem die Schwundstufe **g^wi-* (> **βi-*) der Wurzel **g^wyō-* somit wenigstens indirekt im Griechischen nachweisbar ist⁹, muß ferner gefragt werden, ob auch die Hochstufe **g^wyō-* erkennbar ist. Hier sind noch die Präsensbildung ζωο- und das Adjektiv ζωφο- (vgl. ζωφο-θεμις) zu erörtern.

13. Wenn die Wurzel **g^wyō-* ursprünglich einen athematischen Wurzelaorist aufwies, dann kann ζωο- kaum ein ererbtes thematisches Präsens repräsentieren, da einem Wurzelaorist gewöhnlich ein besonders charakterisiertes (z.B. durch Reduplikation oder Nasalinflix) Präsens gegenübersteht. Allerdings kommt es häufiger vor, daß bei einer Wurzel, für die ein grundsprachlicher athematischer Wurzelaorist anzusetzen ist, im Griechischen ein *e*-stufiges thematisches Präsens erscheint. Ein klares Beispiel dafür bietet λείπω, da kaum ein Zweifel besteht, daß die Wurzel **leik^w-* ursprünglich neben einem Wurzelaorist ein charakterisiertes Präsens (vgl. ai. *rinakti*, lat. *linguo*) aufwies. Zumindest bei einigen der Präsensien des Typs λείπω dürfte es sich genetisch um Konjunktive zu athematischen Wurzelaoristen handeln.

14. Wenn man in entsprechender Weise zum Wurzelaorist **g^wyō-* ein sekundäres thematisches Präsens **g^wyō-o-* postuliert, so hätte freilich in dieser Ausgangsform Kontraktion erfolgen müssen. Die tatsächliche Erklärung von ζωο- wird also etwas komplizierter sein.

15. An dieser Stelle muß noch das Adjektiv idg. **g^wi-wó-* (1.) in die Betrachtung einbezogen werden. Der lautgesetzliche Reflex **βiφο-* fehlt im Griechischen, an seiner Stelle erscheint ζωφο- (12.). Man gewinnt den Eindruck, als sei auch hier die Schwundstufe **g^wi-* beseitigt worden. An ihre Stelle trat die Hochstufe **g^wyō-* (vgl. Anttila 1969, S. 137)¹⁰. Sobald jedoch das Adjektiv **g^wyō-*

⁹ Die Schwundstufe **g^wi-* ist somit zwar nicht unmittelbar im Griechischen bezeugt, aber doch indirekt faßbar. Die Ansicht von Chantraine 1968, S. 177, daß die Schwundstufe **g^wi-* im Griechischen fehle, bedarf der Revision.

¹⁰ Die Ansicht von Francis 1970, S. 276ff., daß *-iə₃-* (er schreibt „*-iO-*“) im Griechischen lautgesetzlich zu *-yō-* geführt habe, ist unwahrscheinlich, da anzunehmen ist, daß *-iə-* bereits grundsprachlich *-i-* ergab.

wo- in der Sprache vorhanden war, konnte es das Verbum *gwyō-o- beeinflussen und eine Umbildung zu *gwyō-wo- hervorrufen. Man sollte hier ferner bedenken, daß ein scheinbar thematisches Präsens *gwi-wo-, das vermutlich eine ursprünglich andersgeartete Präsensbildung ersetzt, in einigen idg. Sprachen (ai. *jīvati*, lat. *vīvit*) vorkommt.

16. Der angeführte griechische Formenbestand läßt sich durchaus auf der Basis einer ererbten Wurzel *gwyō- und deren Schwundstufe *gwi- erklären. Im einzelnen sind die im Griechischen erfolgten Umbildungen recht vielfältig. Eine Frage spekulativer Art bleibt zum Schluß noch übrig. Wenn die Wurzel *gwyō- einen ererbten athematischen Wurzelaorist aufwies, dann kann ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung nicht ‚leben‘ (durativ) gewesen sein. Sowohl Francis 1970, S. 83 als auch Normier 1978 haben für den Wurzelaorist ἐβίωv die Bedeutung ‚überleben, sich retten, davonkommen‘ erwiesen, Normier hat ἐβίωv insbesondere als Antonym zu ἐάλωv betrachtet und betont, daß beide Verben „überwiegend in der Schilderung von *Entscheidungssituationen, Alternativen*“ (S. 132) vorkommen.

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Il lituano *márgas* e i suoi sinonimi*

I.

In accordo con la notevole concretezza e specificità del lessico lituano in tutti i campi e in particolare nella terminologia dei colori¹, anche gli aggettivi che esprimono a livello sia generico

* Per esigenze tipografiche questo lavoro viene diviso in due parti: nella prima saranno studiati gli aggettivi *márgas*, *ráibas*, *ráinas*, *ráimas*, *ráivas*, nella seconda gli aggettivi *kéršas*, *dėglas*, *drýžas*, *žėbras*, e si trarranno le conclusioni su tutto il complesso del materiale. L'autrice desidera ringraziare i professori Vacys Milius, dell'Accademia Lituana delle Scienze, e Vincas Urbutis, dell'Università di Vilnius, per i consigli che le hanno dato durante lo svolgimento del lavoro.

¹ Non esistono lavori specifici sui nomi di colore in lituano, dei quali però troviamo una lista non completa (manca fra l'altro proprio *márgas*), con bibliografia e qualche osservazione sia generale che particolare alle p. 43-45 del lavoro sul lessico lituano di A. Sabaliauskas (*Lietuvių kalbos leksikos raida*, LKK. 8, 1966, p. 5-141). Possiamo inoltre citare già a partire dal XVIII secolo alcune osservazioni sporadiche, la prima delle quali risale al lituanista Ph. Ruhig (*Betrachtung der Litthauischen Sprache in ihrem Ursprunge, Wesen und Eigenschaften*, Hamburg 1981 [Königsberg 1745], p. 70sg.), già ricordato dal Sabaliauskas, che, facendo notare il contrasto fra il lituano e il tedesco nella ricchezza di sinonimi, porta come esempio anche il caso di lit. *žilas*, *šiřmas*, *pilkas*, *ráinas*, *būras*, ai quali in tedesco corrisponde un unico aggettivo *grau*. Si veda, molto più tardi, J. Schmidt, *Kritik der Sonantentheorie*, Weimar 1895, p. 37, che incidentalmente, portando esempi diversi, mette in evidenza questa particolare situazione del lituano proprio nel campo dei nomi di colore, e viene ripreso da G. Herne nel suo lavoro sui nomi di colore nelle lingue slave (*Die slavischen Farbenbenennungen*, Uppsala 1954, p. 17; cfr. anche P. M. Hill, *Die Farbwörter in der russischen und bulgarischen Sprache der Gegenwart*, Amsterdam 1972, p. 52, che si rifà a sua volta allo Herne). La presenza di diverse denominazioni per indicare lo stesso colore in oggetti o animali diversi, quindi più in generale la concretezza del lessico, che noi riteniamo essere indice di maggiore primitività, è tipica infatti anche delle lingue slave: si veda anche K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian*, Warszawa 1967-68, II 1, p. 77-81, in particolare p. 81, in cui si fa di nuovo un confronto col lituano sempre basandosi sullo Schmidt.

che specifico la nozione del “di più colori”, “di colore non unito” (evitiamo di proposito termini come *variopinto* o *multicolore*, dato che non sono neutri, ma marcati nel senso della vivacità e della brillantezza dei colori) costituiscono una serie ricca e differenziata. Ci è parso dunque opportuno esaminarne a fondo gli elementi più interessanti, per definire meglio sia i rapporti fra di essi all’interno del lituano (come si vedrà non si tratta di veri e propri sinonimi), sia la situazione dal punto di vista diacronico, che in qualche caso può contribuire a chiarire questi rapporti.

Il punto di partenza del nostro lavoro è stato naturalmente la raccolta del materiale, quindi prima di tutto lo spoglio del dizionario del Niedermann-Senn-Brender-Salys, tanto più che i dati forniti dalla prima edizione del dizionario dei sinonimi del Lyberis alla voce *márgas*, che è come vedremo il termine superordinato della serie, ci sembravano incompleti. Questo materiale ha trovato in gran parte una conferma nella seconda edizione di questo stesso dizionario, uscita nel 1981², che abbiamo potuto vedere al momento della stesura del lavoro.

Le forme più interessanti dal nostro punto di vista non sono quelle evidentemente secondarie come per esempio *gegužėtas*, *kanapėtas*, *gervėtas/geřvinas*, *garniúotas*, *gegūžraibis*, *šlakúotas* (cfr. Lyberis, loc. cit.), rispettivamente derivati trasparenti di *gegužė* = “cuculo”, *kanāpė* = “canapa”, *gėrvė* = “gru”, *garnỹs* = “airone”, *gegužė + ráibas* (cfr. più oltre per *ráibas*), *šlākas* = “macchia”, ma piuttosto le forme primarie come *márgas*, *ráibas*, *ráinas*, *ráimas*, *ráivas*, *kėršas*, *dėglas*, *drýžas*, *žėbras*, che presentano dei problemi sia sul piano sincronico che sul piano diacronico. E’ chiaro quindi che non ci proponiamo di studiare questa terminologia nel suo complesso, ma solo gli elementi più antichi e più significativi di essa.

² A. Lyberis, *Lietuvių kalbos sinonimų žodynas*, Kaunas 1961, e Id., *Sinonimų žodynas*, Vilnius 1981, s.v. Questa seconda edizione è quasi raddoppiata ed è strutturata in modo completamente diverso dalla prima, ma l’esigenza di sintetizzare l’enorme materiale non consente all’autore di soffermarsi su troppi particolari, quindi solo su questa base non riusciremmo a farci un’idea precisa dei rapporti reciproci fra tutti questi aggettivi.

Per un esame approfondito delle occorrenze di queste parole ci siamo basati essenzialmente sul *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, sulle raccolte di canti popolari degli Juška, sulla raccolta di letteratura popolare *Lietuvių tautosaka*, all'interno della quale abbiamo schedato i testi dei canti (vol. I, II), della narrativa (fiabe, leggende, racconti di vario genere, ecc., vol. III, IV), dei proverbi e modi di dire (parte del vol. V), e infine su qualche altra raccolta di dimensioni minori, come per esempio quella dello Stanevičius³. Data la ricchezza e l'importanza della letteratura popolare all'interno della documentazione lituana, abbiamo ritenuto che questo materiale potesse costituire un campione sufficientemente ampio.

Come considerazione generale, a proposito di questi testi si può dire che alcuni degli aggettivi che sono oggetto della nostra ricerca sono completamente o quasi completamente assenti mentre altri, come del resto i veri e propri nomi di colore, hanno una frequenza molto bassa in prosa, altissima invece nei canti popolari (si trovano addirittura forme testimoniate solo qui), nei quali essi assumono la funzione di epiteti poetici e compaiono in formule fisse. Sarebbe anzi più corretto in questo caso parlare di frequenza di certi nessi o di certe formule, più che di certi epiteti, dal momento che questi ultimi sono spesso inseparabili da determinati sostantivi, e può accadere che abbiano una frequenza molto alta proprio per la ripetizione di una stessa formula (si veda per esempio *bėras*, che è uno degli epiteti più frequenti nei canti popolari ma è praticamente sempre riferito a *žirgas*, che indica in poesia il cavallo). Sarebbe certamente inter-

³ Cfr. *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, I, II, Vilnius 1968–69²; III–XII, Vilnius 1956–81 (del quale usiamo di solito le abbreviazioni, gli accenti e le intonazioni); *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, Vilnius 1972²; M. Niedermann-A. Senn-F. Brender-A. Salys, *Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache*, Heidelberg 1932–68; A. Kurschat, *Litauisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, Göttingen 1968–73. Per i testi si vedano *Lietuvių tautosaka*, I–V, Vilnius 1962–68; *Lietuviškos dainos*, užr. A. Juška, I–III, Vilnius 1954 (Kazan' 1880–82); *Lietuviškos svotbinės dainos*, užr. A. Juškos ir išl. J. Juškos, I, II, Vilnius 1955 (Sanktpeterburg 1883); S. Stanevičius, *Dainos Žemaičių*, Vilnius 1954 (1829); *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen aus dem Preußischen und Russischen Litauen*, gesammelt von A. Leskien und K. Brugmann, Straßburg 1882.

essante affrontare qui il problema dell'epitesi e in generale della formularità in questi testi, ma si tratta di una questione che andrebbe approfondita a parte e che del resto per noi non è fondamentale. Ci limiteremo quindi a dire che, come è noto, nesso nome-aggettivo del tipo di quelli lituani, formati attraverso una lunga tradizione orale, li troviamo per esempio anche nella poesia popolare slava⁴.

Il gruppo di aggettivi che esamineremo è costituito, come risulta anche dall'esame dei testi, da elementi con caratteristiche diverse, sia formali che semantiche: accanto a un termine di uso molto ampio e molto bene attestato a tutti i livelli, come *márgas*, ne troviamo altri più o meno specifici, che non compaiono indifferentemente in qualunque tipo di testo. Oltre a una disparità sul piano sincronico troviamo naturalmente anche una disparità sul piano diacronico, dato che si tratta di formazioni di età diverse, dotate o no di confronti esterni al lituano e al baltico.

1 – Nel nostro esame cominceremo da *márgas*, dato che si tratta del termine di impiego più ampio e di maggiore diffusione. Prendendo in considerazione prima di tutto le occorrenze nella lingua quotidiana e nei testi in prosa vediamo che questo aggettivo è traducibile di solito con “di più colori, macchiato, pezzato” e viene usato in situazioni diverse, ma prevalentemente con riferi-

⁴ Per gli epiteti nella poesia popolare lituana si vedano R. van der Meulen, *Die Naturvergleiche bei den Liedern und Totenklagen der Litauer*, Leiden 1907, p. 6sg.; B. Sruoga, *Dainų poetikos etidai*, Kaunas 1927, p. 67–71; V. Jungfer, *Litauen. Antlitz eines Volkes*, Leipzig 1938, p. 58sg.; A. Senn, *Storia della letteratura lituana*, in: *Storia delle letterature baltiche*, a cura di G. Devoto, Milano 1957, p. 336; *Lietuvių tautosakos apybraiža*, Vilnius 1963, p. 268sg., che però trattano questo argomento molto brevemente. Per una trattazione più ampia si veda invece D. Sauka, *Tautosakos savitumas ir vertė*, Vilnius 1970, p. 182–198, che avremo ancora occasione di citare. Per gli epiteti nella poesia popolare slava, che come è noto ha un carattere quasi esclusivamente lirico nell'area occidentale, che va d'accordo con quella lituana e lettone, mentre è prevalentemente epica-eroica, senza riscontro in area baltica, nell'area orientale e meridionale (cfr. B. Meriggi, *Considerazioni su alcune caratteristiche della poesia popolare delle terre ceche in confronto con quella degli altri paesi slavi*, *RSlav.* 4, 1955 = *Scritti minori*, Brescia 1975, p. 298sgg.), si veda Moszyński, op. cit., II 2, p. 722–726.

mento agli animali, per indicare sia il mantello pezzato nel caso per esempio dei bovini, del cavallo o del cane, sia la diversa colorazione delle piume degli uccelli o delle scaglie dei pesci. Questo uso è testimoniato fin dall'inizio della documentazione, dato che compare in Breškūnas (BB. 1 Moz. 30,32: *Ir išskirsiu . . . margas avis ir visas juodas avis* = "E separerò . . . le pecore pezzate e tutte quelle nere", nel testo di Lutero *alle fleckete vnd bundte schafe vnd alle schwartze schafe*, con *margas* = *fleckete vnd bundte*), e come vedremo è molto frequente anche in poesia.

Di qui *margas* può passare a indicare la varietà in generale, come si vede anche in proverbi come *Genys margas, sviets dar margesnis* = "Il picchio è variopinto, il mondo è ancora più vario(pinto)"⁵, o meglio ancora *Margai sviete nusiduoda* = "Nel mondo accadono cose varie", in cui è ormai completamente generalizzato.

Passando ai canti popolari, vediamo che qui *margas* è testimoniato con una frequenza molto alta (cfr. sopra): si tratta infatti di un epiteto poetico fra i più frequenti e caratteristici, che dà vita in coppia con determinati sostantivi a formule in gran parte fisse, senza possibili varianti. Inoltre è caratteristico dei testi poetici in certi casi un valore particolare, che come vedremo si ritrova anche nei proverbi.

Partendo dalle occorrenze in cui questo aggettivo è traducibile genericamente con "di più colori", quindi dello stesso tipo di quelle già viste, vediamo che anche nei testi che ora prendiamo in considerazione *margas* è spesso riferito agli animali: fra le attestazioni più frequenti abbiamo *marga lydekelė*, detto del luccio, *margas kurtelis*, detto del levriero, *margas genelis*, del picchio. Questi due ultimi casi costituiscono una formula fissa (in un proverbio troviamo *Genys raibas — gegutė dar raibesnė, vargas sunkus — badas dar sunkesnis* = "Il picchio è variopinto — il cuculo è ancora più variopinto, la fatica è dura — la miseria è ancora più dura", ma si può supporre che *raibas* sia presente qui al posto

⁵ Citiamo qui a titolo di curiosità il titolo di un brevissimo articolo pubblicato da K. Būga nel 1900 sulla rivista "Tėvynės sargas", che è uno dei suoi primi lavori e riguarda il problema della grafia, attualissimo a quell'epoca: *Genys margas . . . o lietuviška rašyba dar margesnė*.

di *margas* per una esigenza di parallelismo), mentre *marga lydekelė* può avere qualche variante, per quanto di rado: si trova infatti anche *raiba lydekelė* (LTs. II 350) o *pilka lydekelė* (Lts. II 342). *Pilkas* è uno degli aggettivi che indicano il colore grigio, e in questo stesso canto è epiteto anche di *sakalėlis* = “falco”, che di solito viceversa è accompagnato da *margas* o da *raibas*. Per quanto riguarda *raibas*, di cui parleremo più ampiamente in seguito, è interessante anticipare fin da ora che di solito è questo il termine specifico per indicare il colore delle piume degli uccelli: *raibas* compare nella maggior parte dei casi come epiteto quasi esclusivo del cuculo (*gegūtė*, *geguzė* e altre varianti), che solo qualche rara volta può essere in coppia con *margas* (cfr. più oltre per le occorrenze), mentre come si è già visto di regola non è epiteto di *genys*.

Sempre nell’ambito del mondo animale *margas* compare anche, con una frequenza minore rispetto ai casi già visti, in coppia con *jautis* o *kārvė* (“bue”, “mucca”), ma non è epiteto esclusivo di questi sostantivi, come viceversa lo sono *pālšas* = “color cenere chiaro, giallastro” e *šėmas* = “grigio chiaro, grigio cenere”, che non compaiono mai in casi diversi.

Un impiego meno frequente di quelli che abbiamo appena preso in considerazione, anzi senz’altro piuttosto raro, è quello di questo aggettivo come epiteto di nomi di fiore: più di una volta è attestato il nesso *margas dobilėlis*, detto del trifoglio (LTs. II 357; I 290, 314), che però si trova molto più spesso in coppia con *baltas* = “bianco” (questo nesso d’altra parte spesso non è a sua volta che un epiteto poetico riferito a un giovane come il figlio, *sūnėlis*, il fratello, *brolielis*, o il fidanzato, *bernėlis*, come del resto *margas dobilėlis* in LTs. II 357).

Passando a prendere in considerazione impieghi che non abbiamo mai riscontrato nei testi in prosa esaminati direttamente, mentre sono normali nei canti popolari e sono inoltre possibili solo per *margas* fra tutti gli aggettivi dello stesso ambito semantico, vediamo che ancora più frequente del riferimento agli animali è l’uso di questo aggettivo come epiteto di oggetti che fanno parte dell’arredamento o del corredo della casa, o che sono comunque di uso comune nella vita di tutti i giorni. I nessi di questo tipo più frequenti in assoluto sono *marga skrynja*, più

spesso *skrynelė*, e *marga lova, lovelė*. La prima espressione indica la cassapanca che contiene il corredo della sposa, tanto che è tipica proprio dei canti nuziali (LTs. I 389, 392, 395, 401, 402, 418; JV. passim; JD. III 1156, 1172, 1234, ecc.). *Marga lovelė* indica invece il letto (LTs. I 352, 406, 429; LTs. II 35; JD. II 701, 738; III 1027; JV. I 220, ecc.), e più raramente troviamo anche *marga vygelė*, detto della culla (LTs. I 277, 398, 430, ecc.), o *margas lopšys*, con lo stesso significato (LTs. I 257).

Qui ci troviamo di fronte a oggetti che potevano essere decorati con motivi policromi, anzi le cassapanche in particolare si distinguevano per questa caratteristica (motivi stilizzati di piante, uccellini, ecc.⁶), quindi *margas* in questi casi è traducibile con “ornato, decorato con pitture a più colori”, come si deduce anche da contesti in cui si ha un parallelismo con *rašytas*, traducibile qui non con “scritto”, ma con “decorato, a disegni” (è da notare però che mai *rašytas* è epiteto di *skrynià*): si veda per esempio JD. II 786: *Iš tavo šakelių-/Margų vygelė, / O iš liemenėlio-/Rašyta lovele* = “Dai tuoi rami (costruirò) una culla . . ., dal tuo tronco un letto . . .”, o JD. III 7 (p. 735): *Kas, -tar’-, margas, / Margas nerašytas? . . . Genelis margas, / Margas nerašytas* = “Chi, di’, è variopinto (dipinto) per natura (lett.: senza che nessuno lo abbia dipinto)? . . . Il picchio variopinto, lui è variopinto per natura”⁷. Una sinonimia parziale fra *margas* e *rašytas*, fra *marginti* e *rašyti* del resto non crea problemi, dato che la coesistenza fra i valori di “scrivere” e “disegnare, dipingere, ornare” è frequente, sia in uno stesso verbo che all’interno di una radice che dà vita a verbi diversi: si vedano per esempio i casi di got. *mēljan* = “scrivere”, che si confronta con a.a.t. *mālōn* = “dipingere” (cfr. anche gr. μέλας); di a.sl. *pīsati*, russ. *pisát’* = “scrivere”, che si confrontano con a.sl. *pīstrū* = “ποικίλος”, lit. *piēšti* = “disegnare, dipingere”, ma in determinati contesti anche “scrivere”, gr. ποικίλος, a.a.t., a.sass. *fēh* =

⁶ Lietuvių etnografijos bruožai, Vilnius 1964, p. 245sg., 247sgg., 451sgg., 516sg.; V. Jungfer, op. cit., p. 133sg.; Sodžiaus menas 3 (1931) p. 10–13.

⁷ Solo durante la stesura del nostro lavoro abbiamo potuto vedere il volume già citato del Sauka, che a p. 188sg. si occupa proprio di *margas*, portando esempi analoghi ai nostri per la sinonimia con *rašytas* in questi contesti.

“variopinto”, a. isl *fār* = “id.”, sscr. *peças-* = “forma, aspetto, colore, ornamento”, lat. *pingō* (da una forma in gutturale sonora), ecc.⁸. A questo proposito è molto significativo che il nesso forse più frequente in assoluto nei canti popolari che abbiamo esaminato sia *marga gromatėlė*, detto della lettera, che costituisce una formula fissa (LTs. II 313, 314, 325, 564, ecc.; JD. II 561, III 1109, 1119, 1125, 1132, ecc., cfr. anche espressioni come *margas parašėlis*, col significato arcaico di “lettera” in LTs. II 347 o *margas atrašas* = “risposta”, JD. III 1539): qui i segni scuri della scrittura sulla carta di colore chiaro vengono visti come un disegno, come una decorazione.

Sempre con riferimento a un disegno a più colori troviamo fra gli altri il nesso *marga juosta* (LTs. I 197, 455, 545; LTs. II 91, 328 e altrove), la cintura a nastro a disegni vivaci che è stata un elemento importante dell’abbigliamento popolare tradizionale lituano fino alla fine del XIX secolo, o *margas patalas*, più spesso *patalėlis*, che indica il piumino o la biancheria del letto, o il letto con la sua biancheria (col significato di “piumino, biancheria del letto” è molto spesso al plurale), mentre *lovà* si riferisce, come si vede chiaramente dai testi che citiamo, alla parte di legno del letto stesso: si trova così per esempio JV. I 656: *Kur šianakt nakvojai? | Svirnely lovelėj, marguos patalėliuos*, o JV. II 993: *Gulk, berneli, į lovele | Po margaisiais patalėliais* = “Sdraiati, mio amato, nel letto, sotto il piumino variopinto”. L’uso di *margas* qui è giustificato appunto dal fatto che della biancheria che copriva i piumini e dei lenzuoli stessi era tipica la vivacità del disegno a più colori, come del resto di tutto il corredo della casa lituana, dalle coperte del letto alle tovaglie e ai tappeti⁹. Una situazione dello stesso tipo si ritrova nel gr. ποικίλος, che si riferisce non solo a ciò che è di più colori per natura,

⁸ C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*, Chicago 1949, p. 1283; J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern - München 1959-69, p. 720sg., 794sg.; J. de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Leiden 1962, p. 112.

⁹ Lietuvių etnografijos bruožai cit., p. 354sg., 318sgg., in particolare p. 328sg.; Jungfer, op. cit., p. 135-140; Sodžiaus menas 4, 1932; ibid. 7-8 (1939) p. 27-33; ibid. 6 (1934) p. 9-15.

ma anche a ciò che lo è per opera dell'uomo, quindi sia al mantello degli animali che alle stoffe tessute o ricamate in vari colori o alle armi lavorate in più metalli¹⁰.

Sempre nei canti (le attestazioni sono però limitate questa volta alle raccolte degli Juška) troviamo abbastanza spesso il nesso *marga plintelė* (lit. *plinta* < ted. *Flinte* = "fucile") o *marga šaudyklė*, *šaudyklėlė*, che indicano il fucile (JV. I 92, 119, 458, ecc.; JD. II 624, 641, 798, 896; JD. III 1072, 1087, 1094, ecc.), o anche, ma molto di rado, *margas muškietėlis* (JD. III 1119). In questi testi si ha in molti casi un parallelismo fra *marga plintelė*, *marga šaudyklėlė* da una parte, e *šviesus kardelis* o più raramente *šviesus dalgėlis* dall'altra, che indicano rispettivamente la spada e la falce fienaia con un riferimento al luccichio del metallo: *šviesus* significa infatti "chiaro, luminoso, splendente", tanto che può essere detto del sole e del fuoco (si veda per tutti questi casi JD. III 1173: *Šviesusis kardelis* - / *Mūs tėvelis*, / *Margoji plintelė* - / *Mūs motutė* = "La spada lucente è il nostro babbo, il fucile... la nostra mamma"). Esaminando le attestazioni di *plintelė*, *šaudyklėlė*, *muškietėlis* in cui *margas* non compare, vediamo che esiste qualche caso in cui l'epiteto di questi sostantivi è *šviesus* (JD. III 1154, 1257, ecc.; JV. I 191; cfr. del resto anche JV. I 308: *Reiks plintelę šveisti* = "Bisognerà pulire il fucile fino a renderlo lucido", parallelo a JD. III 1110, 1123: *Šveiskit kardelius*, *Kam šveitei kardelį?*), anzi in JV. I 191 *šviesus* fa coppia sia con *plintelė* che con *dalgėlis*. *Margas* però non è intercambiabile con *šviesus*, dato che non è mai attestato, perlomeno nei canti che abbiamo esaminato, come epiteto di *kardelis* o di *dalgėlis*, quindi non si può supporre che nel nesso *marga plintelė* sia traducibile con "lucente, splendente". Si potrebbe piuttosto trattare di una situazione del tipo *marga skrynelė*, *marga lovelė*, già visto prima, perché anche qui l'uso di questo epiteto potrebbe essere giustificato dal lavoro di decorazione che poteva caratterizzare il fucile¹¹, mentre nel caso della spada o della falce fienaia era il brillio della lama metallica a colpire l'immaginazione.

¹⁰ Si veda H. H. Schmidt, *Synonymik der griechischen Sprache*, Leipzig 1876-86, IV, p. 361 sg.

¹¹ Si veda W. Boenheim, *Das Waffenwesen in seiner historischen Entwicklung*, Leipzig 1890, p. 468 e figg. 533, 536, 545, 556, 561.

Nei canti popolari oltre alle situazioni già viste, che si possono tutte ricondurre a un valore base di “di più colori”, abbiamo però anche molti nessi in cui *margas* secondo i parlanti (cfr. anche il Lietuvių kalbos žodynas, il Niedermann-Senn-Brender-Salys, il Lyberis stesso e il lavoro del Sauka citato alla nota 7) è traducibile piuttosto con “meraviglioso, splendido, bello”. Questo aggettivo sembra in questi contesti trascendere il suo valore letterale concreto per assumerne uno affettivo ed evocativo particolare, come *báltas*, che molto spesso nei canti non corrisponde a “bianco”, ma può essere per esempio epiteto della madre, del fratello, del figlio (*balta močiutė, baltas brolelis*, ecc.), quindi di persone legate a chi parla da rapporti di affetto (cfr. ancora il lavoro del Sauka, p. 186–188). Come si vedrà però nel caso di *margas* questa può non essere che la reinterpretazione a posteriori di una situazione di fatto che probabilmente richiede una spiegazione diversa, basata sulla storia stessa della parola.

Il nesso più frequente in assoluto fra quelli di questo tipo è *margas dvaras*, più spesso *dvarelis*, formula fissa in cui *dvāras* ha il significato arcaico di “palazzo, castello”. Troviamo così, per citare qualche esempio: *Ir nunešė nulingavo / Pas brolelio margą dvarą* = “E l’ha portata l’ha cullata (si parla di una corona di ruta trasportata dalla corrente di un fiume) allo splendido palazzo del fratello” (LTs. I 449), o *Eina motinėle / Per margą dvarelį, / Sūnelius kilnodama* = “Va la mamma per lo splendido palazzo, svegliando i figli” (JD. II 582, cfr. anche 478, 608, 815; JD. III 1044, 1097, 1118, 1264, ecc.; JV. I 369, 450, ecc.; LTs. I 286, 549; LTs. II 66, 232, 431). E’ da notare che lo stesso nesso compare anche nei proverbi, come per esempio *Margi dvarai, šalti barščiai* = “Palazzi splendidi, minestra fredda”.

Un altro tipo un po’ meno frequente ma sempre bene attestato è *marga karčema, karčemėlė, karčemužė*, ecc. (< pol. *karczma*), l’osteria dove si beve, si balla e si fa festa. Abbiamo così per esempio *Toje girelėj, / Toje žalioje / Stov marga karčemėlė* = “In quel bosco, in quel bosco verde c’è una splendida osteria” (JD. I 31), oppure *Mes prikeliavom, / Mes privandravom / Tris margas karčėmės* = “Noi abbiamo viaggiato, abbiamo camminato fino a tre splendide osterie” (JD. III 1065), oppure *Į bažnyčią joti, / Karčemoj sustoti / Ir toj margoj karčemėlėj / Su mergelėms šokti!* =

“Cavalcare verso la chiesa, fermarsi all’osteria, e in quella bella osteria danzare con le fanciulle!” (JD. III 1128; cfr. anche JD. I 79; II 195; III 1040, ecc.; JV. I 181, 292, 455; II 929, ecc.).

Altri casi notevolmente più rari sono per esempio *marga bažnyčia*, *bažnytėlė*, detto della chiesa (JD. I 78; III 1216), *margas miestelis*, detto della città (JD. III 1076, 1101): è interessante notare che in JD. II 947 questo aggettivo è riferito a una città in particolare: *O kur tu eisi, | Mano bernužėli, | Dobilėli tu mano? | Į svečių šalelę, | Į margą Rygelę . . .* = “Dove andrai, mio amato, mio trifoglio? In un paese straniero, nella splendida Riga . . .”.

L’uso di *margas* in questi nessi si potrebbe giustificare in modo convincente anche supponendo che sia avvenuto un passaggio da “ornato, decorato a più colori”, quindi “bello, splendido per la decorazione”, a “splendido” tout court¹². Potrebbe trattarsi dunque anche qui di un caso originariamente del tipo *marga skrynelė*, *marga lovelė*, ma non meno probabile di questa ci sembra un’altra soluzione, alla quale si arriva come vedremo attraverso l’esame di tutte le attestazioni, anche al di fuori del lituano. Sarà quindi opportuno prendere in considerazione tutto il complesso della famiglia lessicale di questo aggettivo e dei derivati della radice a cui esso risale, per poterlo inquadrare meglio dal punto di vista semantico oltre che formale.

Prima di tutto va fatto notare che *marga*, antico neutro di *margas*, compare con valore avverbiale in espressioni del tipo *Akyse marga darytis* K. Būg. = “rimanere abbagliati” (cfr. ted. *Es wird mir bunt vor den Augen*). Per quanto riguarda poi le forme nominali derivate da *margas*, troviamo sia aggettivi che sostantivi, che spesso appartengono alla terminologia dei tessuti o sono denominazioni di animali: per esempio *margėnis* = “tessuto a disegni, a quadri” come sostantivo, e “a quadri, *margas*”

¹² E’ da notare che Chr. Bartsch in *Dainų balsai*, Heidelberg 1886–89, I, p. 237sg. attribuisce a *margas* nei canti popolari proprio un valore costante di “mehrfarbig-schön”, giustificandone l’uso nei nessi come *margas dvaras* o *marga karčemėlė* con la particolare vivacità di decorazione ed eleganza di questi tipi di costruzione rispetto alle case dei contadini. Per la decorazione dell’esterno della casa lituana, notevole soprattutto in area alto lituana, si veda *Lietuvių etnografijos bruožai* cit., p. 241sgg.

come aggettivo; *marginė* = “tessuto a più colori, vestito da donna a disegni”; *marginis* (agg.) = “di tessuto a più colori”; *mārgis*, -ė = “bue o mucca pezzata” o anche “capo di bestiame” in generale (*žalai margeliai* LTR.(Ds.) = “capi di bestiame fulvi”), con una perdita completa del significato originario; *maĩgius* = “cane di pelo macchiato”, *margūtė* = “mucca pezzata”, e infine *margūtis* = “uovo decorato, dipinto” (si tratta di uova di Pasqua dipinte con vari motivi policromi, in alcuni casi delle piccole opere d’arte¹³). Passando alle forme verbali, vediamo che deriva da *mārgas maĩgti*, traducibile oltre che con “diventare di più di un colore, variopinto” anche con “vedere scintille, cominciare a vedere male a causa di uno scintillio davanti agli occhi”. Alla stessa radice risalgono *mĩrgti* = “splendere riflettendo la luce; avere gli occhi abbagliati; fare un cenno con gli occhi a qualcuno”, e *mĩrgėti*, più usato, traducibile con “splendere, riflettere la luce; muoversi, vibrare, essere multicolore; avere gli occhi abbagliati”, entrambi con vocalismo radicale in alternanza con quello di *mārgas*. In lettone troviamo *marga*, *margs* = “bagliore, luccichio”, *mirgs* = “momento”, *mĩrga* = “bagliore”, *mĩrgt* = “scintillare”, e al di fuori dell’area baltica russ. *morgát* = “chiudere e aprire gli occhi, ammiccare”, con lo stesso vocalismo di *mĩrgti*, a.isl. *myrkr*, a.sass. *mirki*, ags. *mierce* = “scuro”, forse sscr. *mrga-* = “gazzella”. Sulla base di queste forme possiamo ricostruire una radice indeuropea **mer(ə)-gʷ-*, ampliamento in labiovelare sonora di **mer-* = “scintillare, sfavillare” (gr. *μαρμαίρω* = “luccico”, ags. *mėrian* = “purificare, pulire, ecc.”, lat. *merus* = “puro”, russ.dial. *mar* = “calore solare”, ecc.), parallelo a **mer(ə)-k-* (si vedano a.irl. *mrecht* = “screziato” < **mřkto-*, got. *maĩrgins* = “mattina”, lit. *mėrkti* = “chiudere gli occhi, ammiccare con gli occhi”, a.sl. *mřknŕti* = “σκοτίζεσθαι”, *mřakŭ* = “γνόφος, ἀμαύρωσις”, russ. *mórok* = “oscurità, nebbia”)¹⁴.

¹³ Jungfer, op. cit., p. 134sg.; Lietuvių etnografijos bruožai cit., p. 546sg.; Sodžiaus menas 3 (1931) p. 24–29. Cfr. anche, per l’area slava, Moszyński, op. cit., II 2, figg. 122–128 ed E. Gasparini, Il matriarcato slavo, Firenze 1973, p. 695sgg.

¹⁴ E. Fraenkel, Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg-Göttingen 1955–65, I, p. 410sg.; K. Mühlenbach-J. Endzelin, Lettisch-

Dal punto di vista formale possiamo dire che lit. *margas*, identico al lett. *margs*, appartiene come derivato nominale tematico semplice a una categoria indeuropea che comprende sia forme non riconducibili a radici verbali (cfr. per esempio gr. ὥμός = "crudo", a.irl. *om*, arm. *hum*, sscr. *āma-*), sia tutta una serie di forme deverbali, fra cui il tipo più antico, ancora produttivo in indoiranico, greco, baltico e slavo presenta proprio vocalismo radicale *o*¹⁵. Come struttura di formazione *margas* rappresenta dunque un modello anteriore all'età delle singole lingue, ma in sé e per sé, data la mancanza di confronti esterni al baltico e dato che d'altra parte il lett. *margs*, identico solo dal punto di vista formale, potrebbe essere il risultato di una poligenesi, può non risalire più indietro dell'età lituana, tanto più che non è isolato, ma compare accanto alle forme verbali del tipo *mĩrgti*, con le quali alterna. E' da notare però che proprio questa alternanza ci consente allo stesso tempo di escludere che questo aggettivo appartenga allo strato delle formazioni più recenti (cfr. invece per esempio *tylas* = "taciturno" / *tylēti* = "tacere", *diŗzas* = "cinghia" / *diŗŗti* = "indurirsi", ecc., che hanno lo stesso vocalismo radicale del verbo e quindi sono ancora più recenti).

Passando al problema semantico, vediamo che il quadro completo dei derivati della radice ci consente di proporre una cronologia relativa fra i vari valori testimoniati di *margas*. La radice esprime chiaramente la nozione di una luce brillante e mobile,

deutsches Wörterbuch, Riga 1923-25, II, p. 563, 632; J. Pokorny, op. cit., p. 733sg.; A. Walde-J. Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, Berlin-Leipzig 1927-32, II, p. 275; C. D. Buck, op. cit., p. 61 (per la terminologia dell'"oscurità"). Il lit. *margas* dà vita anche ad idronimi, come avviene spesso nel caso dei nomi di colore (cfr. A. Vanagas, Lietuvių kalbos hidronimų daryba, Vilnius 1970, p. 65 e altrove).

¹⁵ Si vedano K. Brugmann, Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, II² 1, Straßburg 1906, p. 148sgg.; J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II 2: Die Nominalsuffixe von A. Debrunner, Göttingen 1954, p. 59sgg.; A. Vaillant, Grammaire comparée des langues slaves, IV, Paris 1974, p. 265sgg., e per uno sguardo generale alla situazione lituana J. Otrębski, Grammatika języka litewskiego, II, Warszawa 1965, p. 29sgg., per quanto il criterio di classificazione sia a volte discutibile e non sempre i dati siano riportati con esattezza.

di un bagliore, da cui attraverso uno stadio intermedio di “crepuscolo” si può arrivare a “scuro, oscurità”, come nelle forme germaniche a.isl. *myrkr*, a.sass. *mirki*, ecc. In baltico la situazione originaria si è mantenuta bene a livello sia verbale che nominale (lit. *mìrgti*, lett. *margs*, *marga*, *mīgt*), ma non nel lit. *margas*, che ne conserva solo delle tracce. Il primo significato di questo aggettivo sarà stato infatti quello di “balenante, splendente, abbagliante”, mantenuto ancora molto probabilmente, per quanto banalizzato, nei nessi visti prima, ormai cristallizzati, in cui *margas*, traducibile con “splendido, bello”, è epiteto inscindibile di sostantivi come *dvāras*, *karčemà*, *miēstas*, ecc. Ci sembra significativo in questo senso anche il fatto che nel nesso *margas dvaras*, che come si è detto è quello meglio testimoniato, lo stesso sostantivo *dvāras* abbia un significato arcaico, che del resto è il più frequente nei canti popolari e compare anche nei testi più antichi (Mažvydas, Daukša). Inoltre questo nesso è presente non solo nei canti popolari ma anche nei proverbi, e questa è una ulteriore garanzia di antichità. Dunque piuttosto che supporre, come si è proposto sopra, che *margas* possa aver subito una evoluzione da “splendido per la decorazione” a “splendido, bello”, ci sembra che in questi casi particolari si debba al contrario vedere una traccia dello stadio più antico, un mantenimento del significato originario di “balenante, brillante, splendente”, ormai al livello di fossile. Nel resto della documentazione infatti è testimoniato un passaggio da “brillante, balenante” a “di più colori (sia per natura che per opera dell'uomo)”, che è relativamente recente, come del resto avremo la possibilità di confermare studiando le attestazioni di *ráibas*. Una evoluzione di questo tipo d'altra parte non crea problemi, come si può vedere sempre all'interno della nostra radice nell'a.irl. *mrecht* = “screziato”, che è una formazione diversa da *margas*.

A questo punto possiamo di nuovo fare un confronto col greco, dato che una situazione in parte confrontabile con quella ricostruita per *margas* la ritroviamo nel gr. αἰόλος, che diversamente da ποικίλος non ha come valore originario quello di “di più colori”, testimoniato solo dai tragici in poi (si veda per esempio ἔκτων αἰόλος in Callimaco), ma arriva a questo partendo da “scintillante”, detto in Omero prima di tutto delle armi di bronzo.

Queste due parole hanno però antefatti diversi, perlomeno per quello che possiamo ricostruire: in αἰόλος infatti neppure il valore di "scintillante" è primario, perché questo aggettivo viene usato specificamente per indicare il luccichio di un oggetto metallico dovuto a un movimento molto rapido, ed è proprio "agile, che si muove rapidamente" il suo punto di partenza (cfr. πόδας αἰόλος ἵππος, o αἰόλαι εὐλαί, detto in Omero di vermi che si contorcono: da "brulicante" si passa a "scintillante", quindi a "di più colori")¹⁶. Una associazione fra questi concetti del resto è comune, come si vede anche dal verbo lituano *mirgėti*, che è traducibile anche con "muoversi rapidamente, brulicare, ecc.", cfr. per esempio *Šitoj merga mirga kaip gyvasai sidabras, negali vietoje stovėti* An. = "Questa ragazza si agita come l'argento vivo, non riesce a star ferma", oppure *Visi pašaliai mirgėjo karūmenės Žr.* = "Dappertutto brulicava di soldati".

2 – Il lituano *ráibas* (anche *raibas*), parzialmente sinonimo di *márgas*, è anch'esso molto ben testimoniato, ma è di impiego più ristretto e quindi ci offre un insieme di attestazioni meno complesso. *Ráibas*, che il Lietuvių kalbos žodynas definisce come "taškuotai margas, gegužėtas, kanapėtas; šlakuotas", quindi un tipo particolare di *márgas*, grosso modo corrispondente al nostro "punteggiato, macchiettato"¹⁷, viene usato quasi esclusivamente per indicare il colore non unito nel caso delle piume degli uccelli. Nei canti popolari, dove è frequentissimo, mentre non compare mai nei testi in prosa che abbiamo esaminato direttamente, questo aggettivo nella maggior parte dei casi è epiteto del cuculo, molto spesso presente in questo tipo di testo. Troviamo così i nessi *raiba gegelė, gegutė, gegužėlė*, ecc., che sono vere e proprie

¹⁶ Si veda P. Chantraine, RPhil. 37 (1963) p. 12sg.; Id., Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, Paris 1968-80, I, p. 37; Schmidt, op. cit., p. 363sg., E' da notare che uno dei nomi del bue in miceneo è *aiworo* = αἰόλος, che secondo alcuni avrebbe già qui il valore di "pezzato" (cfr. Chantraine, RPhil. cit., che però preferisce una soluzione diversa).

¹⁷ E' da notare che il Niedermann-Senn-Brender-Salys traduce questo aggettivo con "graubunt, buntscheckig, braungelb gesprenkelt", il Kurschat con "graubunt, gesprenkelt", facendo quindi in parte riferimento a colori precisi, come avviene del resto per *ráinas* (cfr. sotto).

formule fisse, con qualche variante molto rara come *marga gegužė* (JD. III 1256; LTs. III 124, p. 312, in un canto inserito in un racconto; III 173, p. 474) o anche *pilka gegužė, gegelė* (LTs. I 342, 374, 377, 633, ecc.: come si è già notato a proposito di epiteti alternativi rispetto a *margas, pilkas*, che indica un tipo di grigio, può comparire in coppia con altri nomi di uccello più spesso accompagnati da *ráibas* o da *margas*, come per esempio *antėlė* = “anatra”, *sakalėlis* = “falco”). Per quanto riguarda i nessi *raima*, più raramente *raiva gegelė*, ne parleremo in seguito a parte.

Ráibas oltre che come epiteto del cuculo può comparire in coppia con *gaidỹs* = “gallo”, *karvėlis* = “colombo”, *paukštėlis* = “uccello” e in altri casi analoghi, mentre molto di rado si riferisce ad animali diversi (si veda per esempio LTs. II 350: *Su raibaisiais lydekėliais*, dove è detto del luccio, del quale come si è già visto è *margas* l’epiteto più caratteristico).

I derivati nominali di *ráibas* nella maggior parte dei casi mostrano anch’essi questa specializzazione, come si vede da *ráibis, raĩbius, raibōkas, raibūtis*, che indicano comunemente un uccello. Il neutro *ráiba* compare invece in frasi come *Akyse raiba, nieko nematau* Sb. = “Ho gli occhi abbagliati, non vedo niente”, analoghe a quelle già viste nel caso di *marga*, e lo stesso si può dire di *raĩbti*, che è confrontabile dal punto di vista semantico con *maĩgti* come *raĩbti, raĩbėti* sono confrontabili con *mĩrgti, mĩrgėti*. E’ da notare invece che la generalizzazione da “di più colori” a “vario” che abbiamo visto per *margas* non è testimoniata per *ráibas*, come del resto è prevedibile dato il campo di applicazione ristretto di questo aggettivo. Infatti anche nei proverbi, come per esempio *Pelėda neišperi vanagėlio raibojo* = “Una civetta non cova un falco variopinto”, oppure *Genys raibas – gegutė dar raibesnė, Vargas sunkus – badas dar sunkesnis* = “Il picchio è variopinto – il cuculo è ancora più variopinto, la fatica è dura – la miseria è ancora più dura” (cfr. sopra), *ráibas* ha un valore specifico. In lettone, diversamente dal lituano, l’aggettivo corrispondente *rāibs*, del quale ripareremo in seguito, si confronta piuttosto funzionalmente con *margas*, dato che ha un campo di applicazione molto ampio e può assumere anche un valore generico, come si vede per esempio dal proverbio *Dzenis raibs, bet cilvēka*

mūžs vėl raibāks, corrispondente al lituano *Genys margas, žmogaus gyvenimas dar margesnis* (cfr. ted. *Der Vogel ist bunt, das Leben noch bunter*).

Ma prima di occuparci dei confronti di *ráibas* all'interno e all'esterno del gruppo baltico è necessario far notare che dalla stessa radice si sono formati in lituano con suffissi diversi altri aggettivi che abbiamo già citato all'inizio di questo lavoro: *ráinas*, *ráimas*, *ráivas*. Partendo da *ráinas* (anche *raĩnas*), che è il meglio testimoniato, vediamo che questo aggettivo è chiaramente differenziato rispetto a *ráibas*, dal momento che indica l'essere a strisce di colore diverso ("ruožuotai margas, dryžas" LKŽ): *ráinas* si riferisce fra gli animali soprattutto al gatto (cfr. *ráinis*, che può significare "gatto", e *rainys* = "gatto tigrato, tigre"), si può dire di un tessuto (*rainas sijonas*) e può indicare il colore di un tipo di pisello (*raini žirniai*)¹⁸. Questo aggettivo è attestato fino dai primi documenti lituani, dato che lo troviamo in *Bretkūnas* (BB. 1Moz 31,10: ... *ant šlakeliais apkrapytu, šlakuotu, rainų ir margų guotu*, nel testo di Lutero *auff die sprenckliche fleckete vnd bundte Herde*), ma non compare mai nei canti popolari e si trova solo due volte nei testi in prosa che abbiamo esaminato, riferito al gatto (LTs. III 32, p. 102) o alla coda del gatto e del gallo (LTs. IV 306, p. 408).

Le forme *ráimas* e *ráivas*, la prima delle quali ha anche la variante circonflessa, compaiono in un gruppo limitato di testi: *ráimas* soltanto nel vocabolario e nelle raccolte di canti degli Juška, *ráivas* in questi stessi canti e nelle raccolte manoscritte di folclore letterario dell'Istituto di Lingua e Letteratura Lituaniana dell'Università di Vilnius (si veda per esempio JD. I 91, II 467, III 1251: *raima gegelė*; JV. II 1084: *gegutę raimąjį*; JD. I 128: *O strazduži strazduži, tu raimasis paukštuži*, detto del

¹⁸ Il Niedermann-Senn-Brender-Salys concorda sostanzialmente con il LKŽ., mentre il Kurschat traduce *ráinas* con "grau und schwarz gestreift, graubunt" (cfr. sopra per *ráibas*), e l'espressione *raini žirniai* con "graue Erbsen". E' possibile che fonte della traduzione di *ráinas* con "grau" sia proprio il Ruhig, citato alla nota 1, che include come si è visto *ráinas* fra gli aggettivi che indicano il colore grigio, accanto a *pilkas*, *žilas*, ecc., dando come esempio proprio *raini žirniai*.

tordo; JD. I 217, II 568, JV. II 1056: *raimas sakalėlis*, detto del falco; JD. I 275, II 854: *raimi gaideliai*, del gallo, ecc.; JD. II 779: *O strazduži strazduži, tu raivasis paukštuži*; JD. II 690: *raivus paukštelius, raivoms gegelėms*, ecc. ecc.). Questi aggettivi si riferiscono esclusivamente al colore delle piume di determinati uccelli, quindi sono di impiego ancora più ristretto di *ráibas*. Attualmente *ráimas* e *ráivas* non sono dell'uso comune, tanto che non compaiono nel Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas, che registra solo *ráibas* e *ráinas*.

Prendiamo ora in considerazione questo gruppo di aggettivi dal punto di vista formale. La prima osservazione da fare è che siamo di fronte ad una alternanza suffissale, fenomeno testimoniato non solo all'interno di singole lingue (cfr. per esempio lit. *láibas* / *láinas*, *leĩnas* = "sottile", lit. *šlùbas* / lett. *slums* = "zoppo", ecc.), ma anche nel confronto fra lingue diverse, come si vede da una serie di esempi: a.a.t. *hasan* = "lucidato, grazioso", a.pr. *sasnis* = "lepre", lat. *cānus* = "grigio, bianco", in *-no-, contro ags. *hasu*, a.isl. *hoss* = "grigio", in *-uo-, e lat. *cascus* = "grigio per l'età", in *-ko- (è da notare che come vedremo l'unico confronto extrabaltico sicuro per il nostro gruppo di aggettivi è proprio una serie di forme germaniche in *-ko- tipo a.a.t. *rēho*, *rēh*); a.pers. *naiba-* = "bello, buono", a.irl. *noib* = "santo", in *-bho-, contro a.irl. *nīam* < **nei-mā* = "splendore, bellezza", in *-mo-, probabilmente sscr. *nīla-* = "scuro, blu scuro, nero", in *-lo-; lit. *šėmas* = "grigio cenere, grigio blu", sscr. *çyāma-*, av. *sāma-* = "nero, scuro", contro lit. *šyvas*, a.sl. *sivũ* = "grigio", sscr. *çyāva-* = "marrone scuro, marrone", av. **syāva-* = "nero", tutte forme con suffisso *-uo-, ecc.

Passando ad esaminare questi suffissi uno per uno, vediamo che *-bho- non è fra i meglio testimoniati nelle varie lingue indoeuropee, ma dà vita in particolare a un certo numero di nomi di colore e di animale, questi ultimi qualche volta risalenti a un nome di colore (cfr. per esempio lat. *albus*, gr. *ἄλφός* = "bianco", a.a.t. *elbiz*, *albiz*, a.isl. *elptr*, *qlpt*, a.sl. *lebedĩ*, russ. *lébed'* = "cigno", che è anche questo un caso alternante, come si vede da lit. *alvas*, a.pr. *alwis* = "piombo", a.sl. , a.russ. *olovo* = "stagno", ecc.). Le formazioni primarie come *ráibas* sono piuttosto rare, quelle secondarie sono più frequenti, tanto che in qualche

caso il suffisso è stato molto produttivo (si vedano per esempio gli astratti sia deverbali che denominali in lit. *-yba*, *-ybé*, lett. *-iba*, a.sl. *-ība*).

Per quanto riguarda **-no-*, questo è uno dei suffissi più frequenti nelle varie lingue indeuropee per la formazione di nomi di colore, e compare sia in forme molto antiche (sscr. *kr̥ṣṇa-*, a.sl. *črŭnŭ*, a.pr. *kirsnan* = “nero”; lat. *cānus*, a.a.t. *hasan*, ecc., citati sopra; gr. μέλας, lett. *mėl̃ns* = “nero”, ecc.), sia in forme più recenti, come per esempio a.sl. *zelenŭ* = “χλωρός” contro lit. *žalias* (cfr. con diverso vocalismo radicale sscr. *hiranya-* = “oro”), o addirittura recentissime: all’interno del baltico infatti troviamo casi di nomi di colore con suffisso **-no-* che tendono a sostituire forme più antiche, ancora testimoniate, prive di questo suffisso, come esempio lit. *geltonas*, lett. *dzeltāns* = “giallo” contro lit. *geltas*; lett. *sařkans* = “rosso”, lit. *sārkanas* = “chiaro, limpido; di colorito roseo” contro lett. *sarks* = “rossiccio”; lit. *raudonas* = “rosso” contro *raũdas* = “rossiccio (degli animali), rosso”.

Il suffisso **-mo-* di *ráimas* è scarsamente rappresentato nella formazione di nomi di colore, ma compare anche nel lit. *šėmas*, già visto sopra (cfr. sscr. *çyāma-*, e con **-uo-* lit. *šývas*, sscr. *çyāva-*, ecc.), e nel lit. *šiřmas*, che ha anch’esso una variante *šiřvas* = “bianco, bianco-grigio”. Infine per quanto riguarda il suffisso **-uo-* di *ráivas*, molto ben testimoniato nelle varie lingue indoeuropee per la formazione di questi aggettivi, abbiamo, oltre agli esempi già citati, forme antiche come lit. *palvas* = “color cenere chiaro, giallastro” (con la variante *palšas*), a.sl. *plavŭ*, a.a.t. *ƒalo*, a.isl. *ƒolr* = “giallo pallido, giallastro”, gr. πολι(Ϝ)ός = “grigio”, o come lat. *flāvus* = “biondo”, a.a.t. *blāo*, a.isl. *blār* = “blu”, ma anche forme recenti. In lituano è stato particolarmente produttivo soprattutto il tipo *-sva-*, che indica l’approssimazione rispetto a un colore¹⁹.

¹⁹ Per tutti questi suffissi si vedano Brugmann, op. cit., p. 386sgg. (**-bho-*), 255sg. (**-no-*), 249sg. (**-mo-*), 201sg. (**-uo-*); A. Meillet, Etudes sur l’étymologie et sur le vocabulaire du vieux slave, Paris 1902, p. 271sgg., in particolare p. 274, che fa notare la presenza di una alternanza *-bh-/m-* fra gli astratti tipo lit. *-yba* e quelli in *-ima-*, *-ima* o *-uma-*, *-uma*, e naturalmente nelle desinenze nominali; Vaillant,

Passando ai confronti della famiglia di *ráibas* al di fuori del lituano, troviamo in lettone e in prussiano antico soltanto forme corrispondenti a *ráibas*: lett. *ràibs* = “di più colori, variopinto; pezzato, a macchie”, di uso come si è già detto molto più ampio del lituano, e a. pr. *roaban* = “gestreift” (Voc. 467), che nel Vocabolario di Elbing si trova fra i nomi di colore, preceduto da *may-sotan* = “gemenget”, letteralmente “mescolato”, quindi “vario-pinto”, evidentemente secondario. Formalmente il lettone *ràibs* concorda col lit. *raibas* con intonazione circonflessa: i casi di doppia intonazione, sia nel confronto fra lettone e lituano che all’interno dello stesso lituano, sono comunque molto frequenti e costituirebbero di per sé un interessante oggetto di indagine (cfr. più oltre a proposito di *kéršas*)²⁰.

Al di fuori del baltico *ráibas* ha un confronto forse solo con ucr. *ribyj*, dato che quello con a.irl. *riabach* è praticamente da escludere, mentre dalla stessa radice ma con un suffisso diverso deriva, come si è già accennato, il tipo germ. **roi-ko-*, al quale risalgono a.a.t. *rēho*, *rēh*, ted. *Reh*, ags. *rā*, *rāha* = “capriolo”, a.isl. *rā* = “femmina del capriolo”²¹.

op. cit., p. 487sg.; Otrębski, op. cit., p. 230sgg., 153sg., 166sg., 86–88. Per il suffisso **-no-* nei nomi di colore si veda anche E. P. Hamp, IJSIP. 14 (1971) p. 1sgg., del quale ripareremo a proposito di *kéršas*.

²⁰ K. Būga, KZ. 52 (1924) p. 91sg. = Rinktiniai raštai, Vilnius 1958–62, II, p. 421sg.

²¹ Fraenkel, op. cit., II, p. 686sg.; Mühlenbach-Endzelin, op. cit., III, p. 468sg.; Pokorny, op. cit., p. 859; Walde-Pokorny, op. cit., II, p. 346; R. Trautmann, Baltisch-slavisches Wörterbuch, Göttingen 1923, p. 235sg.; Id., Die altpreußischen Sprachdenkmäler, Göttingen 1910, p. 416; J. Vendryès, Lexique étymologique de l’irlandais ancien, RS, Paris 1974, R 25 (*riab*). Per quanto riguarda l’ucr. *ribyj* noi ci limitiamo qui a riportare una forma data da tutti i dizionari etimologici, che viene confrontata con *ráibas* perlomeno fino da un lavoro dello Zubatý (J. Zubatý, ASlPh. 16, 1897, p. 409sg.), sulla quale però non abbiamo trovato nessun dato più diretto. C’è da dire inoltre, sempre a proposito dei confronti extrabaltici di *ráibas*, che alcuni studiosi come il Vasmer (M. Vasmer, Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1953–58, II, p. 561) e prima di lui il Miklosich (F. Miklosich, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen, Wien 1886, p. 275) sostengono il confronto con russ. *rjabój* = “vario-pinto, pezzato (di un animale)”, mentre il Trautmann (Baltisch-slavisches

Per quanto riguarda il problema semantico, mentre nel caso di *margas* i confronti sia all'interno che all'esterno del lituano inducevano senz'altro a ricostruire una radice verbale con significato originario di "splendere, brillare", nel caso di *ráibas* non abbiamo elementi di questo genere. Infatti, lasciando da parte *raĩbti*, che è secondario rispetto a *ráibas* e quindi non ci interessa qui, e prendendo in considerazione *ribti*, che potrebbe in teoria essere una forma antica, parallela a *mĩrgti*, vediamo che invece si tratta con ogni probabilità di una forma molto recente. Questo perché, mentre sia la radice semplice **mer-* che i suoi ampliamenti sono vitali in molte lingue indeuropee con vari vocalismi radicali e in forme sia verbali che nominali (cfr., oltre alle testimonianze lituane, gr. $\mu\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\iota\rho\omega$, russ. *morgát'*, a.sl. *mrŭknŭti*, ecc., questi ultimi con lo stesso vocalismo di *mĩrgti*), la nostra radice appare piuttosto come un fossile, dato che non compare mai in forma semplice, mostra sempre lo stesso vocalismo tranne che nel caso di *ribti*, *ribēti*, isolato in lituano, e a parte questo caso non dà vita ad altre forme verbali che abbiano la possibilità almeno teorica di essere antiche. Sulla base di questi dati è legittima l'ipotesi che *ribti* non rappresenti un grado zero originario e antico come *mĩrgti*, ma sia sorto sulla base dell'esistenza di *raĩbti*, per il processo di rivitalizzazione dell'alternanza vocalica che come è noto è tipico dell'area baltica. Si potrebbe così stabilire una opposizione fra **mer(ə)gʷ-/*mor(ə)gʷ-/*mr(ə)gʷ- → margas* ($\rightarrow$ *maĩrgti*)/*mĩrgti*, e **roi-bh- → ráibas → raĩbti → ribti*. Questa ricostruzione naturalmente non esclude che in un'epoca molto antica la radice **rei-* possa aver avuto lo stesso valore morfologico e semantico di **mer-*, anzi questo è probabile, ma si tratta di un fatto antecedente alla nostra documentazione.

E' da notare a questo proposito che proprio basandosi su un presunto significato originario di "brillare" il Būga, ripreso dal Fraenkel, ha supposto l'appartenenza a questa famiglia di lit. *ribà* = "linea di confine, confine di un campo, zona di foresta

Wörterbuch cit., p. 104sg. s.v. **irbiā-*) e il Preobrazhensky (A. G. Preobrazhensky, *Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language*, New York 1951, s.v.) non citano neppure questa possibilità. A noi sembra, in accordo col Fraenkel (loc. cit.), che si possa supporre al massimo un parallelismo **remb-/*roib-*.

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tagliata, radura", in cui "radura", che sarebbe il punto di partenza, deriverebbe da "zona luminosa"²². A noi sembra invece che questa parola possa più probabilmente risalire a una radice **rei-* = "tagliare", come "zona nella quale gli alberi sono stati tagliati", da cui "radura, zona luminosa" (cfr. lit. *raivẽ* = "striscia", forse m.irl. *rēo* < **ri-uo-* = "id.", a.isl. *rein* = "striscia di confine", ted. *Rain*, o anche lat. *rīpa*, m.a.t. *rīf* = "riva"²³), e che quindi non sia da connettere con la nostra famiglia di parole.

Quanto a *ráibas*, per il quale secondo la nostra ricostruzione non si può andare oltre il valore di "di più colori" che ci offre la documentazione, abbiamo visto che questo aggettivo è testimoniato — a differenza di *ráinas*, *ráimas*, *ráivas*, che potrebbero in teoria essere anch'essi forme antiche, ma in pratica non si possono classificare che come varianti di livello lituano — in tutto il gruppo baltico compreso il prussiano antico, e forse anche in ucraino. *Ráibas* quindi risale sicuramente perlomeno all'età baltica ed è più antico di *margas*, che come si è visto è privo di confronti che siano identici non solo formalmente ma anche semanticamente. Questa ipotesi sembra confermata dal fatto che mentre *margas* è pienamente vitale, dato che compare in testi di qualunque tipo ed è di uso molto ampio, *ráibas* è assai più ristretto e specifico e prevalentemente poetico, quindi potrebbe essere in fase di recessione. In lettone del resto, come si è già visto, è *ràibs* che corrisponde funzionalmente a *margas*, mentre manca il corrispondente di *margas*, dato che *margs*, formalmente identico, è invece un sostantivo traducibile con "bagliore, luccichio". *Margas* quindi perlomeno nell'accezione di "di più colori" è una innovazione lituana, che sembra essersi fatta strada a spese di *ráibas*, mentre il lettone avrebbe conservato una situazione più antica.

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²² Būga, *Švietimo darbas* 1920, 12, p. 44sg. = op. cit., II, p. 38.

²³ Pokorny cit., p. 857sgg., Walde-Pokorny cit., II, p. 343sg.

Zum baltischen Dialekt auf der Kurischen Nehrung*

Durch zwei Veröffentlichungen hat Richard Pietsch (*1915, Nidden) die Aufmerksamkeit auf den baltischen Dialekt der Kurischen Nehrung gelenkt: Durch sein im Kern aus dem Nachlaß des Memeler Rektors Paul Kwauka (†1970) stammendes Kurisches Wörterbuch (Berlin 1977) und durch sein Textbuch: Fischerleben auf der Kurischen Nehrung (Berlin 1982), durch welches erstmalig umfangreichere Texte in die Hand des interessierten Sprachwissenschaftlers kommen. Das erste Buch hat noch E. Hofmann mit einem Vorwort versehen, das zweite hat F. Scholz eingeleitet. F. Scholz's Einleitung könnte wegen ihrer begrifflichen Unklarheit leicht dazu führen, falsche Vorstellungen hervorzurufen. Um diese zu vermeiden, muß vor allen Einzelheiten zunächst einmal der Begriff Kurisch festgelegt werden.

Im Folgenden wird unterschieden zwischen:

1. dem einheimischen baltischen Dialekt auf der Kurischen Nehrung bis 1945 (im Folgenden nehrungskurisch, abgekürzt: nkur.),
2. den heutigen kurisch-lettischen Dialekten (im Folgenden kurländisch, abgekürzt: kurl.) und
3. dem nur aus Ortsnamen, Glossen, Entlehnungen und Substrat-Einwirkungen zu erschließenden Altkurischen (abgekürzt: altkur.).

Auf der Grundlage dieser Differenzierungen wird man Sätzen wie: „Es ist nun durchaus möglich, daß wir in den Kuren der

* Die folgenden Ausführungen bieten eine kritische Würdigung des Buches von Richard Pietsch, Fischerleben auf der Kurischen Nehrung, dargestellt in kurischer und deutscher Sprache mit einer Einleitung von Prof. Dr. Friedrich Scholz und mit 24 Zeichnungen des Verfassers, Verlag Ulrich Camen, Berlin 1982. Die jeweils in Klammern angegebenen Seitenzahlen beziehen sich auf dieses Buch.

Nehrung Reste des alten Kurenvolkes vor uns haben“ (Einleitung S. 6) schon wegen der historischen Nachrichten¹ eine gehörige Portion Mißtrauen entgegenbringen. Noch problematischer ist F. Scholz's Behauptung, daß sich die Sprache der vorliegenden Texte schon auf einer weiteren Entwicklungsstufe präsentiere als die der kurzen Texte aus den Jahren 1888 und 1927 (Einleitung S. 7)². Zum einen wird man berücksichtigen müssen, was R. Pietsch in seinem Vorwort selbst schreibt: „Leider geht die Kenntnis der kurischen Sprache allmählich verloren, aber die meisten der Gewährsleute bedienten sich ihrer zur Zeit ihrer Befragung noch gelegentlich“ (S. 3), d. h. es bleibt offen, wie weit nicht die Nachkriegsjahre und die neue Umgebung auf die Sprecher eingewirkt haben. Zum zweiten wird man die Möglichkeit nicht ausschließen können, daß gewisse Differenzierungen entweder überhört oder hineininterpretiert wurden, je nach der Muttersprache der Beobachter. Zum dritten stellt sich heraus, daß die schriftliche Fixierung von R. Pietsch keineswegs deckungsgleich ist mit dem, was ich selbst aus den Tonbandproben, die mir Herr A. Bernowskis, Eutin, freundlicherweise zur Verfügung gestellt hat, zu hören vermag. Endlich ist eine Reihe von Erscheinungen, die man vielleicht für jüngere Entwicklungsstufen halten könnte, schon von K. Būga in den zwanziger Jahren beschrieben worden³, so daß man schon jetzt vor denselben Interpretationsschwierigkeiten steht, wie sie uns aus den altpreußischen Texten zur Genüge bekannt sind. Weder die heutige litauische Dialektologie noch die lettische können uns Hilfestellungen noch Kontrollmöglichkeiten bieten.

Leider sind nun auch R. Pietsch's Textwiedergaben und Übersetzungen nicht immer zuverlässig. Das beginnt mit reinen Druckfehlern wie *žiabs* (S. 256) für *žaibs*, *liake* (S. 52) für *laike* oder *ratse* (S. 236) für *raste*, *dziemes* (S. 200) statt *dziesmes*, *id* (S. 82) für *is*. Zwei ganze Zeilen sind S. 132 doppelt gesetzt. —

¹ Zu diesem zuletzt J. Kabelka, *Baltų filologijos įvadas*, Vilnius 1982, S. 63ff.

² Gemeint sind die Veröffentlichungen von A. Bezzenberger, *Über die Sprache der preußischen Letten*, Göttingen 1888, und J. Plāķis, *Kur-senieku valoda*, Rīgā 1927.

³ Vgl. K. Būga, *Rinktiniai Raštai III*, Vilnius 1961, S. 156–251.

Damit wird fraglich, ob *sameniekes* (S. 238) statt *saimeniekes* oder *plaudume* (S. 208) gegen sonstiges *plūdume* (S. 136) sprachrichtig oder einfache Druckfehler sind. Außerdem werden zwischen Präverb (+ Reflexiv) und Verb häufig Pausen gesetzt (z.B. *sase enge* S. 18, *iese urbe* S. 60, *pase zurgaj* S. 70, gegen richtiges *pasezurgaj* S. 76, *par plēce* S. 132, *nuoa stipes* S. 130, *piese prasties* S. 264 etc.), welche weder phonetisch noch phonologisch verständlich sind. Endlich wird der Diphthong *-uo-* (wie schon im Wörterbuch) konsequent als *uoa* wiedergegeben, was phonologisch ein Unding ist und phonetisch durch andere Aufnahmen nicht bestätigt wird. Der Diphthong *-ei-* wird konsequent als *-ē-* geschrieben (*rēze*, *vēde*, *cētunge*, *mēstums*, *grēte*, *rēkate*, ON. *Prēle*). Da selbst *cētunge* = Zeitung vorkommt, wird es fraglich, ob die Angabe „*ē* wie in Ehre“ (S. 16) eine ausreichende Umschreibung ist. — Anders als in altlettischen Texten, in welchen auslautendes *-e* oft als Rest eines auslautenden Vokals gewertet werden kann, hat hier das auslautende *-e* z.B. in *lasēte* (S. 20), *būse* (S. 192, 198), *darise* (S. 236), aber auch *saltīze* (S. 32) neben *šaltīze* „Schultheiß“ (S. 20), *grundiže* „Grundeis“ (S. 28), *petroleume* (S. 246) keine historische Aussagekraft. Welchen Wert es überhaupt hat ([θ], bestimmt nicht „*e* wie in wenn“ S. 16), bleibt unklar, da es von anderen Texten und Tonbändern nicht bestätigt wird. Auch sonst hat es den Anschein, als ob phonologische Differenzen nicht gehört wurden (z.B. *s/z*: *svejes/zvejes*, *k/g*: *ūksmas/ūgsmas*, *e/ē*: *vezums/vēzums*).

Den Übergang von der orthographischen und lautlichen Seite auf die den Texten gegenübergestellte Übersetzungsseite bildet S. 56: *zuves zvejibe*, welchem S. 57 „Aalfischerei“ entspricht, d.h. man muß *zuves* in *zušes* verbessern. S. 118 wird die 1. Pers. Plur. *vise laike iesejemam mēs virtes ēdines par seves* mit der 3. Pers. Sing. „man nahm überwiegend gekochte Gerichte zu sich“ (S. 119) übersetzt, wobei außerdem *vise laike* „die ganze Zeit, immer“ mit „überwiegend“ auch nicht eben treffend wiedergegeben wird. (Ebenso *sacijame* S. 120 „nannte man“ statt „nannten wir“.) S. 32/33 sind die Aufzählung der Hotels und Pensionen und die Übernachtungskosten in der Reihenfolge vertauscht; S. 40 fehlt *raugies ka is vadezvejibe* in der Übersetzung S. 41 ganz. Die Aufzählung ließe sich beliebig verlängern.

Zusammenfassend wird man also sagen müssen, daß wir in R. Pietsch's Fischerleben zwar eine hochinteressante, leider aber keine zuverlässige zweisprachige Textausgabe in die Hand bekommen haben.

Allen Unsicherheiten zum Trotz läßt sich doch eine Reihe von Aussagen über das Nehrungskurische festhalten. Zunächst wird es ganz klar, daß das Nehrungskurische zum Lettischen gehört. Das geht hervor 1. aus der Form der Pronomina *vinš* „er“, *vinģe* „sie“, 2. der Form des bestimmten Adjektivs: *tas magaišs kruoagirs* (S. 44) „Der kleine Kolonialwarenladen“ (S. 45) gegen *viens mač nare kauls* (S. 102) „ein kleiner Gelenkknochen“ (S. 105), 3. aus der Form der Lokative auf *-a* (= lett. *-ā*), z. B. *mara un jūra* (S. 22, 44) „im Haff und in der Ostsee“, *pavasara* (S. 196) „im Frühjahr“, *vasara* (S. 22) „im Sommer“, *rudina un ziema* (S. 32) „im Herbst und Winter“, *nakta* (S. 32) „bei Nacht“, *tumsa* (S. 28) „in der Dunkelheit“, 4. aus den Deminutivbildungen: *mēnistens* (S. 196) „Mond“, *acemirštins* (S. 208) „Augenblick“ (aber auch *žingstines*, S. 252, „Schritte“) und endlich aus dem verbalen Suppletivparadigma *iet-gāj* „gehen“ und *ese-bij* „sein“.

Das bedeutet, daß man die lettische Vertretung von interkonsonantischen **an* (> lett. *uo*), **en* (> lett. *ie*), **in* (> lett. *ī*) und **un* (> lett. *ū*) als Normalvertretung anzusehen hat. Ihr entsprechen denn auch mit **an* > *uo*: *luoages* (S. 74) „Fenster“, *ruoakes* (S. 76) „Hände“, *tas uoatraišs* (S. 70) „der andere“, *suoabe* (S. 70) „Säge“, *suoabe*, *zuoabe* (S. 110) „Zahn“, *tuoap* (S. 72) „wird“, *uoageles* (S. 120, 236) „Kohle“, *uoazuoales* (S. 142) „Eichen“, *parsekuoadas* (S. 162) „stärkten sich“; mit **en* > *ie*: *viegile* (S. 76) „leicht“, *pieces*, *tas piektaišs* (S. 104) „fünf, der fünfte“, mit **in* > *ī*: *pazīstames* (S. 68) „Bekannte“, *tikiles* (S. 68) „Netze“ (*tikile*, Lokativ *tikla* S. 94, 126), *grīdes* (S. 114) „Fußboden“, *ietīte* (S. 176) „eingepackt“, und mit **un* > *ū*: *ar ūdine* (S. 76) „mit Wasser“, *ūksmas* (S. 28, 30, 196, 252) „Schatten“⁴.

Nun bietet aber das Nehrungskurische eine Fülle von Beispielen mit bewahrtem *an*, *en*, *in*, *un*. Sie sind nicht einheitlicher

⁴ Vgl. auch die Zusammenstellung in E. Hofmanns Einleitung zu P. Kwauka/R. Pietsch, Kurisches Wörterbuch, Berlin 1977, S. 11.

Herkunft. Zum einen handelt es sich um litauische Lehnwörter wie z. B. *landžaj* (S. 252) : lit. *landžioti* „kriechen“; *ar gares rankāves* (S. 76) „mit langen Ärmeln“: lit. *rankovė*; *dangs* (S. 76, 252, 258) „Himmel“ : lit. *dangus*; *zvejibe žėnkile* (S. 194) „Fischereischein“, *žėnkile* (S. 234) „Erlaubnisschein“ (: lit. *ženklas* „Zeichen“); *linksmes un laiminge* (S. 176) „froh und glücklich“ (vom Markttreiben in Heidekrug); *apsejinkluoate* (S. 130) „bewaffnet“ : lit. *ginklas* „Waffe“; *džaugsminks* (S. 236), *džaugsminge* (S. 254) : lit. *džiaugsmingas* „froh“. Natürlich wurden diese Lehnwörter dem nehrungskurischen morphologischen System eingepaßt, so daß man nicht nur Adjektive wie *slinkaišs* „der Faule“ (S. 268), *brangaišs vīns* (S. 282) „herrlicher Wein“ (Akkusativ: *branguoše dzērume*, S. 282) oder Ableitungen wie *žingstine* (S. 196) „Schritte“ : lit. *žingsnis*, sondern auch *šventinatume* (S. 144) „Feier“ : lit. *šventinti* findet⁵.

Ein zweiter Teil von Wörtern zeigt nun aber neben bewahrtem -n- lett. Lautvertretung. Als Musterbeispiel mag *dzintars* „Bernstein“ (Kur. Wb. S. 31; hier S. 234: *dzintāres lasate* „Bernstein sammeln“ dienen. Es kann nicht litauisch sein, denn hier heißt es *gintaras*; lett. muß es *dzitars* lauten. Die Verbreitung des Wortes *dzintars*, ebenso wie das in den lettischen Dainas vorkommende *dzintārzeme* „Bernsteinland“ weisen auf einen Streifen vom preußischen Samland bis zum nördlichen Livland. Schon 1253 wird aus dem Bereich Bihavelanc der ON. *Sintere* bezeugt,

⁵ Weitere Lituanismen, die durch Religions- und Schulunterricht, durch Handel und Verkehr, durch die Verwaltung und durch Einheiraten ins Nehrungskurische gelangten, sind etwa: *šuoale virausibe nu mieste* (S. 20) „Schulbehörde aus Memel“; *zvejes virausibe* „Fischereibehörde“ (S. 150); *virausibe* „Behörde“ (S. 318) : lit. *vyriausybė*; *aiške* „laut“ (S. 60) : lit. *aiškus* „klar“; *džaugas* „freuten sich“ (S. 94) : lit. *džiaugti*; *pradžės* „Anfang“ (S. 94) : lit. *pradžia*; *kurnars* „irgendwo“ (S. 110) : lit. *kurnors*; *lašings* „Speck“ (S. 110) : lit. *lašiniai*; *spēge* „Frost“ (S. 78, 112, 292) : lit. *speigas*; *kaušes* „Eier“ (S. 116) : lit. *kiaušis*; *kerdes* „Hirten“ (S. 126) : lit. *kerdžius*; *prešaste* „Grund“ (S. 206) : lit. *priežastis*; *kulše* „Hüfte“ (S. 208) : lit. *kulšė*; *šėre* „fütterten“ (S. 242) : lit. *šerti*; *panšes* „Fesseln“ (S. 250) : lit. *pančios*; *žaibs* „Blitz“ (S. 256) : lit. *žaibas*; *prankes* „Enten“ (S. 302) : lit. (Memel) *pranka*; *kele* „einige“ (S. 310) : lit. *keli*; *išsimtins* „Altenteil“ (S. 318) : lit. *išimtinė*; *adriekes* „Tauwetter“ (S. 266) : lit. *atodėkis*.

so daß man mit gutem Recht *dzintars* für ein altkurisches Lehnwort hält⁶. Ein weiteres Beispiel dieser Art ist *apselanceties* „(sich) besuchen“ (S. 138), *aplanci* „besuchte“, *tape aplancate* „wurde besucht“ (S. 108). Dieses Wort steht einem litauischen *ap(si)lankyti* „besuchen“ gegenüber und zeigt ähnlich wie *dzintars* bewahrtes -an-, aber -c- gegenüber lit. -k-. Auch die Fischnamen *brunčs* „Plötze“ (S. 166) und *ménce*, *méncs* „Dorsch“ (S. 40, 166) können als altkurisch angesehen werden⁷.

Wenn nun aber im Nehrungskurischen wie in den lettischen und litauisch-žemaitischen Mundarten mit altkurischen Lehnwörtern zu rechnen ist, dann wird in all den Fällen die Entscheidung schwierig, in denen zwar *an*, *en*, *in*, *un* bewahrt sind, aber eine dem widersprechende „lettische“ Lautvertretung nicht vorkommt. So ist allein auf Grund lautlicher Indizien in folgenden Fällen eine Entscheidung zwischen Kuronismus und Litanismus nicht möglich: *banges* „Wogen“ (S. 168, 170) mit *banquoate jūre* „wogendes Meer“ (S. 52); *pabandij* „versuchten“ (S. 84, 92, 120, 140, 214), *nuoasegandas* „erschrak“ (S. 200); *sagrandij* „kratzte“ (S. 120) mit *sagrandate* (S. 140); *saselénkumes* „Verrenkungen“ (S. 244), *duies rindes* „zwei Reihen“ (S. 102), *saserénke* „sammeln sich“ (S. 22), *ierinke* „sammelte“ (S. 126)⁸, *tanke* „dicht“ (S. 74), *tvanke* „Hitze“ (S. 22, 96), *spindules* „Strahlen“ (S. 252), *sprande* „Nacken“ (S. 254), *ventirs* „Art Fischnetz“ (S. 54, Kur. Wb. S. 83).

⁶ Vgl. A. Bielenstein, Die Grenzen des lettischen Volksstammes, St. Petersburg 1892, S. 218; dazu K. Būga, RR. III, Vilnius 1961, S. 170, 179; J. Endzelins, Darbu izlase II, Rīgā 1974, S. 506; Latvijas PSR vietvārds I, Rīgā 1956, S. 259; E. Fraenkel, Die baltischen Sprachen, Heidelberg 1950, S. 61f.; Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I, Heidelberg 1962, S. 152; A. Gāters, *Dzintarzeme* (Bernsteinland) in den Dainas und die lettische Bezeichnung für Bernstein, in: Festschr. für Haralds Biezais, Uppsala 1979, S. 283–294. Über das Verhältnis von *gintaras*, *dzintars* zu russ. *jantar* vgl. V. Urbutis, Baltistica 5,2 (1969) S. 159; J. Laučiutė, Kalbotyra 22,2 (1971) S. 86; Slovar' baltizmov v slavjanskich jazykach, Leningrad 1982, S. 26. Anders O. N. Trubačev, Ėtimologija, 1978, S. 7ff., der lit. *gintaras* aus slav. *jantar* herleiten möchte.

⁷ Vgl. K. Būga, RR. III, S. 179, 194; B. Laumane, Zivju nosaukumi latviešu valodā, Rīgā 1973, S. 135–137; 200.

⁸ Dagegen ist *surinķime* „Versammlung“ (S. 306) eindeutig lit. Lehnwort.

Manchmal vermag hier die Verbreitung des Wortes auch in den kurländischen Dialekten ein Indiz für die Bodenständigkeit des Wortes liefern. So können z.B. *bangā* „Welle, Woge“⁹, *rinda* „Reihe“¹⁰, *tvānke* „Hitze, Schwüle“¹¹ oder *ventirs* „Netz“¹² auch als kurisch gelten.

Auch dann, wenn lautliche Kennzeichnungen fehlen, wird man einige in Pietsch's Texten vorkommende Wörter auf Grund ihrer geographischen Verbreitung dem Altkurischen zuschreiben dürfen. Hierher gehören z.B.: *pabēngti* „beenden“ (S. 130, 138, 144, 160) mit žem. *bengti* gegen lit. *pabaigti*, -*beigti*¹³; *dag* „Ernte“ (Kur. Wb. S. 29) mit žem. *daga* „Ernte“, apr. *dagis* „Sommer“ gegen lit. *derlius*¹⁴. *dižs* „groß“ (passim) gegen lit. *didelis*, lett. *liels*¹⁵; *dui* „zwei“ (Kur. Wb. S. 31) gegen lit. *du*, lett. *divi*¹⁶; *dziervuoat* im Sinne von „arbeiten“ (passim) gegen lit. *dirbti*, lett. *strādāt*¹⁷; *jāt* im Sinne von „fahren“ (Kur. Wb. S. 40)¹⁸, *kadiks* „Wacholder“ (S. 114, Kur. Wb. S. 41), vgl. apr. *kadegis* „Wacholder“ (Elb. Vok. S. 208), lit. *kadagys* „Wacholder“, lett. *kadags*¹⁹; *ķiekužes* „Tannenzapfen“ (S. 96, Kur. Wb. S. 43) gegen lett. *ciekuzis*, lit. *kankorėžis*²⁰; *kimine* „Moos“ (S. 50, 74, 238) mit žem. *kiminai* gegen lit. *samanos*, lett. *sūna*²¹; *kurne zvejībe* (S. 164 mit Beschreibung der Kurrenfischerei und des Netzes S. 167) vgl. žem. *kurnai* „Zugnetz“²²; *launage* „Mittagessen“,

⁹ Dazu K. Būga, RR. III, S. 188.

¹⁰ E. Fraenkel, Die baltischen Sprachen S. 62.

¹¹ K. Būga, RR. III, S. 197.

¹² K. Būga, RR. III, S. 187.

¹³ K. Masiliūnas, *Kalbotyra* 21 (1970) S. 45.

¹⁴ K. Masiliūnas, a.a.O. S. 26.

¹⁵ K. Būga, RR. III, S. 205.

¹⁶ K. Būga, RR. III, S. 165, 224.

¹⁷ K. Būga, RR. III, S. 206f.

¹⁸ E. Fraenkel, Die baltische Sprachwissenschaft in den Jahren 1938–1940, Helsinki 1941, S. 86.

¹⁹ K. Būga, RR. III, S. 208; E. Fraenkel, Lit. etym. Wb. I, S. 201.

²⁰ K. Būga, RR. III, S. 209.

²¹ K. Masiliūnas, a.a.O. S. 48.

²² K. Masiliūnas, a.a.O. S. 31 mit Belegen von der Venta-Mündung. Hinsichtlich der Bewahrung von -*ln*- und -*rn*- sind die vorliegenden Texte nicht einheitlich: *vile* „Wolle“ (S. 128) < *vilna*; *vēls* „Teufel“ (S. 288, 290) neben *vēlns* (Kur. Wb. S. 83); *bērnes* „Kinder“ (S. 92, 94, 98)

palaunage „Nachmittag“ (S. 90, Kur. Wb. S. 57 *palaunags*) gehört zu žem. *palaunage*, *launagas* „Vesperbrot“ (dafür nkur. *vakarine*, S. 90), lett. *launags*, *palaunadze*. Dazu *launadz* „Süden“ (S. 37). Dieses Wort wird für eine frühe Entlehnung aus dem Ostseefinnischen (vgl. liv. *lēnaG* „Südosten“, *lēnagist* „Mittagsmahlzeit“, estn. *lõuna*) in das Altkurische gehalten²³. *mač*, *magaišs* „klein“ (S. 102, 44) ist auch aus dem Dialekt von Perkuhnen (westl. des Libauer Sees) bezeugt²⁴ und steht apr. *massais* „weniger“, lit. *mažas*, lett. *mazs* „klein“ gegenüber. — Auch *pūķes* „Kaulbarsch“ (S. 116, 160, *pūķs* S. 166) zeigt eine typisch kurische Verbreitung (vgl. *pūce* aus Usmā, Kurland, žem. *puokys*) im Unterschied zu lett. *ķisis*, lit. *pūgžlys* „Kaulbarsch“²⁵. — *ruoans* „Seehund“ (S. 206) geht mit lett. *ruonis* und žem. *ruinis* (Memelgebiet)²⁶; *smilks* „Sand“ (Kur. Wb. S. 72), *smilks* (S. 122), *smilkše kruoage* „Sandkrug“ (S. 68) weichen durch den *k*-Einschub von lit. *smiltis*, lett. *smilts* ab²⁷; — *striks*, *strikte* „Köder“ (S. 24, 260, 224) geht mit žem. *strigtas* „Köder“ gegen lit. *striegalas* „Köder“, aber mit lett. *strigts* „Köder“²⁸; *truš(e)*, *trušes* „Rohr, Schilf“ (S. 70, 134, Kur. Wb. S. 79, unrichtig mit „Stroh“ übersetzt: S. 30, 70) verbindet sich mit žem. *tr(i)ušis*, lett. *trusis* „Schilfrohr“. Die Opposition *truše* „Schilf“ — *salme* „Stroh“ kann im Litauischen durch *nendri-šiaudas*, im Lettischen durch *niedre-salms* zum Ausdruck gebracht werden²⁹. Wahrscheinlich wird auch *valte*, *valts* „Kahn“ (S. 44, 142), dessen Bau S. 142ff. beschrieben wird, mit lett. *valte*, lit. *valtis*, und *valktis* zunächst ein altkurisches Wort sein³⁰. — Das Wort für „Reisig“ *čākare* (S. 20),

neben *bērs* (S. 96, Kur. Wb. S. 26), immer *kaln*, *kalns* „Hügel“ (Kur. Wb. S. 41), *kalnes* (S. 28), *kalne* (S. 30), *kalns* (S. 50), *pile* „voll“ (S. 228) < *pīlns*.

²³ E. Fraenkel, Lit. etym. Wb. S. 346; K. Masiliūnas, a. a. O. S. 34; L. Kettunen, Livisches Wörterbuch, Helsinki 1938, S. 191a.

²⁴ E. Fraenkel, Die baltische Sprachwissenschaft S. 81f.

²⁵ K. Būga, RR. III, S. 228; E. Fraenkel, Lit. etym. Wb. II, S. 664; B. Laumane, Zivju nosaukumi S. 113.

²⁶ K. Būga, RR. III, S. 228; E. Fraenkel, Lit. etym. Wb. II, S. 746.

²⁷ K. Būga, RR. III, S. 214f. Vgl. E. Fraenkel, Lit. Etym. Wb. II, S. 846f.

²⁸ K. Būga, RR. III, S. 215f.

²⁹ K. Masiliūnas, a. a. O. S. 40; E. Fraenkel, Lit. Etym. Wb. II, S. 1133.

³⁰ E. Fraenkel, Lit. etym. Wb. II, S. 1192, 1193.

čākares (S. 232) hängt sicherlich mit lit. *žāgaras* „dürerer Ast“, *žagaraĩ* „Reisig“ zusammen. Die Lautverhältnisse bleiben allerdings auch bei Hinzuziehung alter Ortsnamen wie *Sagare* (Semgallen)³¹ unklar. — Für das im vorliegenden Text häufig vorkommende *parākuoat* „erzählen“ (*parakuoaje* S. 22, *parkuoajume* „Erklärung“ S. 24, *parakuoanieks* „Erzähler“ S. 32, *parakuoajumes* „Vorträge“ S. 82, *parakuoajume* „Erzählung“ S. 206, *paserākuoajes* „erzählten sich“ S. 214 vgl. auch *ni aprākuoate* „unberechenbar“ S. 24) kann man zwar auf lit. *rokuoti*, *parokuoti* „erzählen“ verweisen, eine speziell žemaitische oder gar kurische Verbreitung scheint sich jedoch nicht zu ergeben³². Um so mehr gibt das nkur. Wort und seine Bedeutung Anlaß, die Herleitung aus poln. *rokować* „verhandeln“ bzw. *rachować* „abrechnen“ in Zweifel zu ziehen³³.

Abgesehen vom Wortschatz kann auch auf die Präverbien *āz-* (lett. *aiz-*) und *uoaz-* (lett. *uz-*) verwiesen werden. *āz-* liegt vor z. B. in *āzmirst* „vergessen“ (S. 92), *āzbars* „Gewürz“ (S. 124), *āspelnij* „verdienten“ (S. 116), *assepelnijas* „verdiente sich“ (S. 130), *āzdrauste* „verboten“ (S. 160), *āzmaksate* „bezahlt“ (S. 162, 204), *asserāvas* „zogen sich“ (S. 224), *āstiek(e)* „genug, ausreichend“ (S. 228, 318, Kur. Wb. S. 23), *āzsiste* „zugeschlagen“ (S. 250). Dieses *āz-* statt lett. *aiz-* läßt sich auch in den kurländischen Dialekten ebenso wie in den altkurischen Ortsnamen nachweisen³⁴. Das sehr häufige Präverb *uoaz-*, das stets deutschem *auf-* entspricht (z. B. *uoazdalēt* „aufteilen“, *uoazduot* „aufgeben“, *uoaskart* „aufhängen“, *uoaziets* „Aufgang“, *uoassildat* „aufwärmen“, *uoazzobinat* „aufzäumen“) läßt sich ebenfalls im Kurländischen belegen³⁵, während *pic*, *pits* (< lett. *pēc*) „in, nach, zu“ offenbar auf die Kurische Nehrung beschränkt bleibt³⁶.

³¹ K. Būga, RR. III, S. 257.

³² Vgl. die Belege in Lietuvių kalbos žodynas XI, Vilnius 1978, S. 821 ff.

³³ E. Fraenkel, Lit. etym. Wb. II, S. 742.

³⁴ Belege bei K. Būga, Rinktiniai Rastai III, S. 203, 238.

³⁵ J. Endzelīns, Latviešu valodas gramatika, Rīgā 1951, § 573. Bei D. Nitiņa, Prievārdu sistema latviešu rakstu valodā, Rīgā 1978, fehlt ein entsprechender Hinweis.

³⁶ J. Endzelīns, a. a. O. § 556; E. Fraenkel, Die baltische Sprachwissenschaft S. 84.

Die Steigerung der Adjektive mit *juaa* + Positiv begegnet ebenso auf der Kurischen Nehrung wie in SW.-Kurland³⁷. — Das Vordringen des maskulinen Genus (*tas mars* „Haff“ S. 160, *tas maizs* „Brot“ S. 118, *tas mīkils* „Teig“ S. 118, *tas smiekils* „Gelächter“ S. 140³⁸, *tas laivs* „Boot“ S. 208, 212³⁹, *tas ikirs* „Rogen“ S. 216, *tas rupužs* „Kröte“ S. 254 [hier Schimpfwort]) wurde auch in der Gegend von Goldingen (Kuldigs) registriert⁴⁰.

Endlich sei hier noch erwähnt, daß die für die kurisch-letti-schen Dialekte bezeugte Vereinfachung von *-lv-* > *-l-* in den vorliegenden Texten nur für *cilēks* „Mensch“ (S. 110, 140, 256, 260, 288), nicht für *galve*, *galvs* „Kopf“⁴¹ gilt.

Die starke Kürzung auslautender Längen, der Schwund der Kürzen und die Schwächung der Binnensilben wird man ebenfalls bereits dem Altkurischen zuschreiben dürfen, da diese Folgen eines Anfangsakzents sowohl in den kurländischen als auch in den žemaitischen Dialekten ihre Spuren hinterlassen haben.

Aus der vorgelegten Auswahl des Materials, die weder hinsichtlich des Materials selbst noch hinsichtlich der angeführten Belege Vollständigkeit anstrebt, geht m. E. klar hervor, daß das Nehrungskurische ein kurländischer Dialekt ist und sich von den kurländischen Dialekten — von Kleinigkeiten einmal abgesehen — durch einen starken litauischen und noch stärkeren deutschen Einfluß unterscheidet⁴².

³⁷ J. Endzelīns, a.a.O. § 326 b; E. Fraenkel, Die baltische Sprachwissenschaft S. 82.

³⁸ Beispiele dieser Art zeigen, daß man mit dem Ansatz eines kurischen Suffixes *-ila-* vorsichtig sein muß. Einerseits handelt es sich um anaptyktisches *kil-* < **kl-*, zum anderen ist es wohl mit Schwächung der Mittelsilbe aus *-ela-* entstanden. Vgl. noch J. Kabelka, Baltų filologijos įvadas S. 72.

³⁹ Beachte aber auch lit. *laivas*, *laivė* neben lett. *laiva*.

⁴⁰ E. Fraenkel, Baltische Sprachwissenschaft S. 79.

⁴¹ Dazu K. Būga, RR. III, S. 223.

⁴² Ein schönes Beispiel für eine falsche Umsetzung aus dem Deutschen ist etwa *Pradieme es bij us vale un iesite tuoā cele pits jūre plūdume* (S. 252) „Bald war ich auf der Vordüne und schlug den Weg zum Ostseestrand ein“ mit *iesist* „einschlagen“ (z. B. von Nägeln), um von Fällen wie *vecājš sieves vasars* „Altweibersommer“ (S. 254) gar nicht erst zu reden.

Es erhebt sich abschließend die Frage, wie sich denn das Nehrungskurische und die kurländischen Dialekte zum Altkurischen verhalten. Zunächst ist hervorzuheben, daß sich mit Ausnahme der Diphthongierung vor *r* die wichtigsten lautlichen Merkmale wie *k* > *c*, *g* > *dz*, Bewahrung von *an*, *en*, *in*, *un*, von *ei* (> *é*), *š* > *s*, *ž* > *z*⁴³ sowohl aus den kurländischen Dialekten als auch in den altkurischen Ortsnamen belegen lassen. Aus der Morphologie kann man dazu auch noch den Dat. Plur. auf *-ams* stellen. Diese Merkmale finden sich auch in Simon Grunaus Vaterunser aus dem Jahre 1526⁴⁴. Abgesehen von F. Scholz's eingangs erwähnter Meinung (oben S. 257 f.) ist man jedoch der Ansicht, daß das Nehrungskurische nicht die Fortsetzung des Altkurischen ist⁴⁵. Die Aussage, daß das Altkurische einen Übergangsdialekt zwischen West- und Ostbaltisch darstellt⁴⁶, beruht im Wesentlichen auf Fällen des oben besprochenen Typus *dzintars*, *mēnce*, sowie auf einer beträchtlichen Reihe preußisch-altkurischer Ortsnamengleichungen⁴⁷. Da uns aber ein Einblick in das kurische Flexionssystem fehlt, könnte der Beweis, daß die kurländischen Dialekte direkte Nachfolger des Altkurischen sind, nur dadurch erbracht werden, daß z.B. die Wörter, die *an*, *en*, *un* bewahrt haben, nicht zum kurischen Substrat gehören, sondern zu kurländischen Dialekten, während die Wörter mit normaler lettischer Vertretung entlehnt sind. Das trifft in manchem Einzelfall gewiß zu (z.B. für *priede* „Kiefer“), führt aber zu schwerwiegenden Widersprüchen in der Morphologie (z.B. im bestimmten Adjektiv, in der Nominal- und Verbalflexion), so daß man das

⁴³ Vgl. dazu J. Endzelins, *Darbu izlase II*, Rīgā 1974, S. 440–453 (1912); S. 454–465 (1912); II, S. 504–512 (1913/14); III 1, Rīgā 1979, S. 431–434; S. 549 ff. (1926, 1931); III 2, Rīgā 1980, S. 553–565 (1940); *Latviešu valodas gramatika* § 2; K. Būga, R.R. III, Vilnius 1961, S. 156–251 (1924). J. Kabelka, *Ivadas* S. 63–73. A. Girdenis in: *Iš lietuvių etnogenezės*, Vilnius 1981, S. 19–26. Vgl. auch M. Rudzīte, *Latviešu Dialektoloģija*, Rīgā 1964, S. 149 ff.

⁴⁴ Dazu W. P. Schmid, IF. 67 (1962) S. 261–273.

⁴⁵ Zuletzt J. Kabelka, *Ivadas* S. 73.

⁴⁶ J. Endzelins, *Darbu izlase II*, S. 443, 456.

⁴⁷ Dazu zuletzt W. P. Schmid, *Baltische Namen längs der Ostseeküste* (im Druck).

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Altkurische besser auch weiterhin als baltisches Substrat von den kurländischen Dialekten getrennt hält.

Die vorangehenden Ausführungen können nur ein erster Versuch sein, mit den Problemen, die das Nehrungskurische bietet, fertig zu werden. Ihr Hauptanliegen war es, den Zusammenhang mit den kurländischen Dialekten darzustellen, so daß andere Fragen wie z.B. die slavischen Lehnwörter (wie z.B. *nebastiks* „der Verstorbene“ S. 318, < lit. *nabaštikas* [weißruss. poln. *nieboszczyk*], *vičere* „Abendmahl“ S. 296: *smertaišs* „der Tote“, oder *cīsts* „sauber“ und *miest* „Stadt = Memel“) oder die deutschen Einflüsse auf Syntax und Wortschatz unberücksichtigt blieben. Man wird hoffen, daß weiteres, sorgfältiger publiziertes Material das jetzt vorliegende abzusichern, zu ergänzen und aufzuhellen vermag.

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II. BESPREDHUNGS AUFSATZ

Mutamenti di prospettiva nella linguistica*

“noi non siamo abituati a manuali che postulano un taglio netto tra linguistica sincronica e linguistica diacronica. Questa concezione è sorpassata” (R. Jakobson)

I.

Giulio Carlo Lepschy costituisce forse uno dei pochissimi e rarissimi esempi di studiosi italiani conosciuti ed apprezzati anche nel panorama internazionale. Nato a Venezia nel 1935, ha studiato alla Scuola Normale Superiore e alla Università di Pisa, sotto Tristano Bolelli, fino a giungere — a poco meno di trent'anni — ad ottenere un incarico di linguistica italiana presso l'Università britannica di Reading, dove tuttora insegna. Ci si domanderà probabilmente la ragione di questo successo conseguito in età così giovane, ma non ci si stupirà qualora si prenda in considerazione la sua attività scientifica. In realtà, riguardo ai saggi concernenti precipuamente la linguistica italiana, entro il 1965 egli ha scritto un articolo di fonematica italiana (*Note sulla fonematica italiana, Italia Dialettale* 27, 1964, p. 53–67), cinque contributi dialettologici e storici (*Fonematica veneziana*, *ibid.* 25, 1962, p. 1–22; *Morfologia veneziana*, *ibid.* 26, 1963, p. 129–143; *Una fonologia milanese del 1606: il Prissian de Milan della parnonzia Milanese*, *ibid.* 28, 1965, p. 143–180; [K] e [g], *ibid.* 28, 1965, p. 181–196; *Giusto Lipsio e il volgare nel VI secolo, Italia medioevale e umanistica* 8, 1965, p. 295–308) e due ulteriori lavori legati e collegati al saussurismo (*Sintagmatica e linearità, Studi e saggi linguistici* 5, 1965, p. 21–36; *L'arbitrarietà del segno, Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa* 31, 1962, p. 65–102), oltre a *Osservazioni sul termine Struttura* (*ibid.* 31, 1962, p. 173–197), riportato nel volume che ci apprestiamo a considerare. Si tratta — come ben si può vedere — di un nutrito numero di saggi, la cui originalità maggiore e il cui valore consistevano (e in larga parte consistono ancora) nel tentativo, senz'altro ben riuscito, di far conoscere in Italia le tendenze proprie dello strutturalismo che allora — agli inizi degli anni sessanta — cominciava timida-

* A proposito di: Giulio Carlo Lepschy, *Mutamenti di prospettiva nella linguistica*, *Studi linguistici e semiologici* 14, Bologna, Il Mulino 1981. 209 p., lit. 15000.

mente a diffondersi e ad attirare l'attenzione dei glottologi, dopo la preminenza assoluta assunta dal crocianesimo (G. Nencioni), dalla indoeuropeistica più tradizionale — di taglio storico-comparato non lontanamente dissimile dalle tesi dei neogrammatici e di A. Schleicher — (V. Pisani) e da un fenomeno tipico dell'ambiente italiano, il neolinguismo (G. Bartoli e G. Bonfante). In tale orizzonte non mancarono certo studiosi italiani che cercassero di aprirsi e si aprissero alle proposte della etnolinguistica (A. Pagliaro) e si interessassero ad impostazioni a carattere anche più interdisciplinare (Bottiglioni), ma è solo con il rinnovamento — intorno agli anni cinquanta — delle figure di scienziati preposti alle cattedre di glottologia di Bologna e di Pisa che gli addetti ai lavori più giovani cominciarono a prendere in esame le proposte più serie provenienti da oltralpe, in particolare dagli Stati Uniti, da Praga, da Copenhagen e da Parigi. E' merito del bolognese L. Heilmann di aver condotto uno studio fonologico accurato sulla parlata di Fassa verso la metà degli anni cinquanta; T. Bolelli l'aver fondato un validissimo centro di studi certo ortodosso ma anche controcorrente a Pisa, unendo la ricerca comparata a quella più aggiornata in ambito sincronico, fino a giungere alla tetrapartizione attuale delle cattedre di glottologia e alla introduzione di varie altre discipline associate (linguistica generale, linguistica applicata, ecc.) di recente taglio; di Prosdocimi e Giacomelli l'aver esteso all'ambito internazionale le ricerche italiane concernenti le lingue italiche autoctone. In questo ultimo ambiente così promettente e stimolante, bibliograficamente dotato riccamente di testi, riviste e *working papers* giungenti dai principali centri di ricerca linguistica europea e mondiale — quasi un *unicum* nel panorama tutto sommato stagnante e tradizionale della cultura italiana —, si colloca la preparazione di Lepschy, il quale ha saputo unire favorevolmente agli incitamenti progressisti del suo maestro un non comune impegno ed una applicazione indefessa, maturati anche durante periodi di soggiorno operoso e produttivo a Zurigo, Oxford, Parigi e Londra, in seguito ai quali ottenne la libera docenza in linguistica generale. Fino alla metà degli anni sessanta egli ha proceduto in due direzioni complementari. Una di queste è rappresentata dal tentativo di diffondere in ambiente italiano alcune delle più valide proposte proprie dello strutturalismo americano, impegno caratterizzato altresì da osservazioni perlopiù tutte giudiziose e criticamente accettabili, nonché da non marginali indugi sulle scuole europee di maggiore attrattiva in ambito fonologico/fonetico e letterario. Contemporaneamente Lepschy si è rivolto allo studio approfondito del Cours de linguistique générale di Saussure, tramite indagini e sondaggi concernenti le principali coppie concettuali introdotte dal linguista ginevrino, nonché ricorrendo all'esame criticamente costruttivo delle opere di rilievo riguardanti il dibattito post-saussuriano. Gli ambiti di competenza del Nostro si possono quindi considerare la sintassi e la morfofonologia dialettale e nazionale sincroniche, la storia della concettualistica e delle idee linguistiche; il tutto non risulta privo poi di *excursus* riservati a glottologi dei secoli scorsi (ad esempio, oltre al lavoro

su Giusto Lipsio — già citato —, il Contributo all'identificazione degli ascoltatori di Saussure a Parigi: Fedor Friedrich Braun, Studi e saggi linguistici 9, 1969, p. 206–210 e quello su Freud, Abel e gli opposti, Atti del Convegno A. Rizzoli su la comunicazione spiritosa, Venezia 13–14 dicembre 1980, in stampa). Da questi due filoni principali sono derivate, con il tempo, opere tutte assai utili e valide, dall'ormai lontana eppure intramontabile *La linguistica strutturale* (Torino 1966) — tradotta in più lingue (francese, inglese, tedesco, spagnolo, russo) e imprescindibile per chi voglia iniziarsi con rigore e metodo al variegato panorama della linguistica post-saussuriana — fino ai più recenti *Saggi di linguistica italiana* (Bologna 1978), *Intorno a Saussure* (Torino 1979) e *La lingua italiana* (Milano 1981), quest'ultimo adattamento e traduzione dell'esaustivo *The Italian Language today* (London 1977). Perdipiù, Lepschy sta attualmente preparando una *Antologia della linguistica strutturale*, forse volendo implicitamente seguire l'esempio del suo maestro T. Bolelli, che oltre quindici anni or sono apprestò l'interessante reading *Per una storia della ricerca linguistica. Saggi e note introduttive* (Napoli 1965), ricorrendo all'aiuto di molti suoi allievi, allora figure promettenti ed oggi ormai affermati. Sono poi sufficientemente noti gli sforzi e l'impegno mostrati dal linguista di Reading al fine di diffondere in Italia e all'estero lavori più circoscritti e specialistici di linguistica generativo-trasformativa concernenti la lingua italiana: si pensi solo alla sua appartenenza alla direzione della "Rivista di grammatica generativa" (Padova) e del "Journal of Italian Linguistics" (Amsterdam).

Tutto questo insieme di considerazioni fa di Lepschy uno degli studiosi italiani più validi e seri. Si spiega così l'impegno assunto dal comitato scientifico degli "Studi linguistici e semiologici" a voler ora pubblicare un suo secondo volume di scritti sparsi più o meno recenti, già editi in enciclopedie, in riviste e in miscellanee italiane e straniere talora di non facile consultazione o reperimento da parte del linguista italiano ("The Cambridge Quarterly") o di quello straniero („Il Verri", "Comunità").

II.

In particolare, per la presente opera sono stati scelti dodici articoli per i quali — a giudizio di Lepschy — si è proceduto ad un coordinamento tematico. Così, i primi cinque concernono panorami generali informativi legati a diversificate correnti e scuole proprie della linguistica odierna, lo strutturalismo („Strutturalismo", *Enciclopedia del Novecento*, Roma, in stampa; qui alle p. 7–35), le sue origini genetiche (*Osservazioni sul termine Struttura*, cit.; qui alle p. 37–71), la scuola di Praga (*La scuola linguistica di Praga*, *Il Verri* 24, 1967, p. 19–34; qui alle p. 73–87), le varie tendenze della linguistica russa (*Nota sullo strutturalismo e sulla linguistica sovietica recente*, *Studi e saggi linguistici* 7, 1967, p. 1–22; qui alle p. 89–105) e la grammatica generativa (*Grammatica generativa*, *Enciclopedia Italiana*, quarta appendice, voll. II, Roma 1979, p. 96–97; qui

alle p. 107–113). A questi lavori generali seguono due studi legati ad una analisi circostanziata delle proposte avanzate dalla linguistica moderna a proposito di due tematiche ben precise, il problema della distintività fonologica (*Identico o diverso?*, *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Linguists*, vol. I, Bologna 1974, p. 705–711; qui alle p. 115–126) e quello dei cambiamenti metodologici propri della storiografia linguistica che legghi e colleghi il presente al passato (*Mutamenti di prospettiva nella linguistica*, *Comunità* 165, 1971, p. 288–303; qui alle p. 127–141). I restanti cinque saggi sono riservati a questioni di vario tipo, tutti comunque caratterizzati da un collegamento costante stabilito tra linguistica generale e dimensione diacronica della disciplina; vi si tratta della relazione tra parlato e scritto (*Il parlato e lo scritto*, *Bollettino del centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani* 11, 1970, p. 253–260; qui alle p. 143–150; *Simultaneità nel parlato e nello scritto*, *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics Presented to Shirô Hattori*, Tokyo 1970, p. 410–414; qui alle p. 151–156; *Letteratura orale*, *The Cambridge Quarterly* 8, 1979, p. 179–187; qui alle p. 157–165), alla funzione specifica ricoperta dall'articolo (l'uso dell'articolo: confronti interlinguistici, *Recherches de Linguistique. Hommage à Maurice Leroy*, Bruxelles 1980, p. 119–124; qui alle p. 167–172), ed infine sulla enantiosemia a partire dalla tradizione ottocentesca fino alla psicanalisi freudiana (Freud, Abel e gli opposti, già citato in precedenza).

III.

Vediamo quindi di soffermarci su punti ed aspetti di ogni singolo contributo che possano risultare degni di attenzione e di qualche più approfondita discussione. Il primo di essi, consistente in una voce enciclopedica, pur presentando tutti i limiti di un articolo che voglia più informare e fornire una netta visione dell'universo strutturalistico che procedere a precisi approfondimenti a carattere scientifico, tuttavia si distingue dalle omologhe e parallele trattazioni tipiche di dizionari enciclopedici, anche riservati al complesso delle scienze del linguaggio, per la capacità di ben evidenziare i nodi essenziali della corrente esaminata e di suscitare interesse e desiderio di ulteriori approfondimenti da parte del lettore. In particolare, vi si sostiene che lo strutturalismo è uno di quei movimenti che, pur avendo permeato l'intera cultura novecentesca, peraltro sfugge a definizioni precise e deve la sua notorietà più alla diffusione in scienze strettamente umane che alla linguistica in accezione tecnica: si pensi solo al successo che esso ha conseguito nella filosofia, nella letteratura, nella antropologia, nella critica letteraria e nella psicanalisi. Nel primo ambito, si è notato un progressivo suo avanzamento rispetto all'esistenzialismo e al marxismo, al fine di precisare delle configurazioni e delle regole astratte che fossero in grado di giustificare e spiegare i variabili e diversificati aspetti fenomenologici, anche se giustamente qualche critico (in particolare S. Timpanaro) ha sottolineato le aporie di taluni strutturalisti ad

evitare discorsi e discussioni fumosi ed accademici. In antropologia, si sono cercate delle costanti che spiegassero e chiarissero i legami reciproci delle persone (soprattutto C. Lévi-Strauss); in letteratura è noto il successo ottenuto da R. Jakobson con le sue funzioni del linguaggio e con la diffusione della semiologia, mentre J. Lacan ha proceduto ad un riesame delle teorie freudiane dimostrando che la mente è strutturata come il linguaggio e in ambito politico C. Luporini parla di struttura economica che innerverebbe il Capitale di C. Marx. E si potrebbero citare tanti altri studiosi che hanno proceduto allo stesso modo. In ogni caso, Lepschy sarebbe dell'avviso che lo strutturalismo si possa considerare — almeno alle sue origini — come un movimento di importazione in Italia rispetto a quanto si verificava — in senso opposto — in Francia. Prima di entrare nell'ambito più propriamente linguistico, noi però desidereremmo precisare che non ci pare accettabile in toto l'asserzione di Lepschy: nessuno nega che lo strutturalismo costituisca una griglia metodologica che ha pervaso tutte le discipline, ma contesteremmo l'opinione secondo la quale esso debba la sua fortuna più alle scienze umane che alla linguistica, e ciò per la semplice ragione che forse l'Autore si è lasciato influenzare dalla attività e dall'impegno — senza dubbio avveniristici — che svolse agli inizi degli anni sessanta. Allora effettivamente si conosceva poco e male lo strutturalismo linguistico, prevaleva in Italia il crocianesimo o la grammatica comparata, lo stesso ambiente culturale era ancora ripiegato in un suo solipsismo isolato e per di più pericolosamente e supinamente accettato. Ma alla data in cui Lepschy scrisse il presente contributo — non datato, ma il cui terminus post quem può essere situato nel 1976, come risulta da una opera citata nella bibliografia terminale — ormai lo strutturalismo linguistico aveva assunto una notevole diffusione in Italia, anche se talora tutta particolare, nel senso che si erano frettolosamente saltate a piè pari le scuole europee e quella statunitense del tassonomismo per passare direttamente ed indiscriminatamente al generativismo, per il semplice (ed ingenuo) gusto di sembrare a tutti i costi aggiornatissimi e dimenticare la realtà dell'oscurantismo tradizionalistico, come purtroppo è spesso tipico dei parvenus culturali (e dispiace doverlo dire). Noteremmo quindi una parziale mancanza di prospettiva storica e di obiettività nella prima parte del contributo lepschyano. Un secondo pregiudizio da vincere è quello secondo il quale parrebbe che l'Autore tenda a riservare e sostenere sempre questa sua priorità alle cosiddette discipline umane rispetto alla linguistica sulla base del successo e della maggiore fruibilità di esse da parte del grosso pubblico dei lettori di media cultura. Ma se certo l'acquisizione delle basi della linguistica novecentesca può parere ed è spesso ostica a chi non sia già almeno in minima parte un addetto ai lavori, non meno impegno richiedono le altre discipline, come può notare chi si accosti alle opere di un Brémont, di un Lotman o di un Segre (e si limita l'esemplificazione al solo complesso dell'ambito letterario). Un conto poi è limitarsi alla loro lettura, notandone fuggevolmente gli aspetti se vogliamo più suggestivi e controcorrenziali, un altro acquisirne a fondo

i concetti e coglierne le effettive diversificazioni di valore rispetto alle analisi e agli approcci tradizionali.

Nel seguito dell'articolo, Lepschy procede alla enunciazione degli elementi di fondo tipici dell'universo strutturale, l'evidenziazione degli elementi portanti rispetto a quelli accessori, l'interdipendenza di collegamento delle varie parti, la modellizzazione astratta degli aspetti pertinenti ad un certo fenomeno. Si tratta, in ogni caso, di una tendenza galileiana ad identificare delle costanti astratte riferibili e sovrastanti alla mutevolezza dei fenomeni concreti. Queste caratteristiche si dice che siano varie, ma non si specifica da parte di Lepschy se siano correlate tra di loro, del tutto indipendenti, o talora collegabili parzialmente tra di loro. In ogni caso non si può aderire con sicurezza né all'una né all'altra né alla terza soluzione, eppure si potrebbe procedere a qualche ulteriore precisazione che nel testo dello studioso inglese è del tutto assente, almeno per quanto concerne questo contributo iniziale. In particolare, noi saremmo dell'idea che sia possibile stabilire una scala gerarchica che proceda da quanto è più generico a quello che risulta più specifico in ambito di affinamento storico della nozione di struttura. Così, la semplice scissione tra essenziale ed accessorio è in realtà non solo tipica dello strutturalismo di prima maniera, bensì trova la sua ragione di fondo nella grammatica tradizionale, mentre l'interdipendenza degli elementi valevole più della pura somma delle parti è enunciazione che certo era già presente nell'ambiente ottocentesco ma trova la sua prima e più rigorosa enunciazione solo a partire da Saussure. E' poi chiaro che, una volta evidenziati tali rapporti di reciproca relazione, si nota da parte degli ingegni più portati anche il desiderio di procedere alla riflessione metalinguistica e teorica, bloccando ed ipostatizzando il quadro di questo costante o diversificato divenire ricorrendo alla modellizzazione, così come nelle scienze della natura si procede prima alla rielaborazione dei dati verso delle conclusioni e poi da queste verso la deduzione di una teoria che pieghi e giustifichi non isolatamente i fenomeni singoli e nel loro complesso.

Il resto dell'articolo è dedicato alla delineazione delle principali figure e scuole che hanno fatto parte dello strutturalismo. Si comincia con Saussure e con le sue ovvie e conosciute dicotomie, la cui discussione da parte di Lepschy a volte peraltro non è chiara ed incontrovertibile. Così, riguardo a diacronia/sincronia, si dice che essa è assimilabile a quella che nel secolo scorso vedeva contrapposti storici ed antiquari, e che non si deve confondere però storico con diacronico. A parte il fatto che l'accostamento tra storici/antiquari e diacronisti/sincronisti non ci pare accettabile in toto, dato che spesso l'ambito di applicazione scientifica proprio dei rispettivi studiosi nel passato era allottio, nel senso che gli antiquari si interessavano di archeologia e gli storici di storia in senso proprio o di glottologia, non molto probante potrebbe apparire il prospettare la scissione tra dimensione storica e dimensione diacronica. A tale proposito Lepschy sostiene che una grammatica diacronica che proceda dall'indoeuropeo al latino non è solitamente di taglio storico, mentre la storia stessa può offrire una ana-

lisi di un certo periodo alquanto ristretto. Qui l'Autore in realtà non pare contrapporre storico a diacronico, ma nel primo caso due dimensioni allotrie interdisciplinarmente e nel secondo due dimensioni monodisciplinari ma opposte. Infatti una trattazione stricto sensu linguistica può essere diacronica (si pensi alle cosiddette grammatiche storiche dell'Ottocento) e può essere anche storica, ma solo qualora si integri la trattazione con dati forniti da altre discipline (antropologia, letteratura, storia sociale ed economica, ecc.): eppure in questa eventualità si esorbita dall'ambito linguistico per operare una storia della cultura che eventualmente può privilegiare la lingua rispetto ad altri ambiti considerati puramente accessori. Ma allora se Lepschy intende così — come di fatto fa —, non può limitarsi a scindere storico da diacronico, tanto semplicisticamente. Nel secondo caso, non si avrà pura contrapposizione tra sincronia e diacronia, ma a nostro avviso una compenetrazione della dimensione sincronica in quella diacronica, come appunto nel caso di chi si limiti a studiare — ad esempio — solo le caratteristiche del periodo arcaico (o classico, o tardo) della lingua latina. Si opera cioè un taglio sincronico nella diacronia, mentre non sarebbe mai possibile l'opposto, vale a dire un accostamento diacronico specifico nella sincronia se non per tematiche specifiche (l'origine latina del nostro articolo o di talune forme verbali). Nella prima evenienza si studia l'intero complesso dei fenomeni linguistici di un'epoca conosciuta, nel secondo caso ci si accosta ad un numero limitato di fenomeni nella loro diacronia. Quanto alla coppia "lingua"/"parola", sarebbe stato preferibile mantenere inalterati nella loro origine francese i due termini, tanto più se si pensi che il lettore principiante tende a confondere "langue" con "language"/"langage" e la "parole" con la „parola", il vocabolo singolo. Anche l'accostamento di "lingua"/"parola" con competenza/esecuzione di chomskyana origine può apparire fuorviante, quando Lepschy si limiti a far riferimento a concezioni diverse di visione del linguaggio, ora nominalistica ora sostanzialistica: meglio sarebbe stato evidenziare il carattere tutto sommato sociale del binomio saussuriano rispetto a quello psicolinguistico di quello chomskyano. Non si capisce altresì perché Lepschy si sia poi limitato a riportare al cenacolo praghese studiosi di origine e formazione ben più complessa, come E. Benveniste, J. Kurilowicz e M. Halliday, i quali in realtà o partecipano di una giudiziosa utilizzazione della grammatica storico-comparata o introducono teorie linguistiche abbastanza originali ed autonome. Anche la conclusione del lavoro è discutibile, giacché vi si asserisce acriticamente che si è diffusa l'abitudine ad accomunare "i critici più acuti dello strutturalismo allo strutturalismo stesso, invece che contrapporli ad esso come antistrutturalisti" (p. 30). Qui non si capisce a chi Lepschy intenda fare riferimento, se ai generativisti rispetto a praghensi, danesi o tassonomisti, oppure a marxisti o esistenzialisti rispetto agli strutturalisti in ampio senso. La cosa risulta tanto più ambigua se si pensi solo al fatto che l'ultimo paragrafo del presente studio è dedicato allo strutturalismo extralinguistico. Nel primo caso, comunque, si resterà nell'ambito solo prettamente lin-

guistico, nel secondo se ne varcheranno i confini. Nel complesso, il saggio suscita una buona impressione ed è abbastanza chiaro, a parte queste precisazioni e postille che ci parrebbero indispensabili.

Il secondo contributo è un articolo-recensione riferito al libro di R. Bastide, *Sens et usages du terme Structure dans les sciences humaines et sociales* (The Hague 1962), del quale si critica — forse un poco unilateralmente — il fatto che un solo lavoro della miscellanea sia stato dedicato precipuamente alla linguistica (quello di E. Benveniste) rispetto agli altri saggi che concernono le più svariate discipline e soprattutto non presentano molti agganci con la materia in esame. Debole appare, senza sorta di dubbio, la presentazione ad opera di Bastide del concetto di “struttura”, riportata solo a Spencer, Morgan e Marx e limitata poi al senso che le danno Lévi-Strauss e Gurvitch nel corso del libro. Per sopperire a queste imprecisioni e talora alle genericità, Lepschy procede ad un lungo e documentatissimo excursus sul termine *structura* — dai latini fino ai neogrammatici —, ricco di interessanti spunti per chi voglia approfondire il valore di tale nozione nella storia della linguistica. Se per i latini l’informazione fornita da Lepschy pare abbastanza accettabile (disposizione architettonica delle parti con riferimento ad animali, vegetali, alla lingua e metaforicamente), anche se non si sarebbe dovuto comunque trascurare altresì un articolo sul termine *structura* nei latini apparso su “Lingua e Stile” ad opera di Godo Lieberg, poi non si spiega perché il Nostro sia saltato a piè pari ai fratelli Grimm tralasciando tutti i medioevali, i rinascimentali, i filosofi francesi inglesi e tedeschi del Seicento e del Settecento, così ricchi di spunti e suggerimenti anche nel solo ambito linguistico. Utili i rinvii a Cassirer, pur parendoci oggi un poco semplificante ed acritica la distinzione del filosofo anglo-tedesco tra “seguaci della materia” e “amici delle idee”, superata solo da Kant che non oppone dati sensitivi (Hume) a verità razionali (Descartes). Non inutili i rinvii documentatissimi a Cuvier e Lamarck/Darwin, soprattutto per la caratterizzazione del primo come morfologista e degli altri come ecologisti ed evolucionisti. Esatto pure l’ideale legame di continuità stabilito tra i fratelli Grimm (privilegiando le lingue naturali), Müller e Schleicher, all’opposto dell’isolato Humboldt che evidenziò il concetto di organismo ora psicolinguistico ora sociale/individuale, che ebbe poi grande diffusione con Schmidt, Steinthal, Paul e molti neogrammatici. Nella parte terminale dell’articolo, Lepschy sostiene che attualmente (ma si era nel 1962) la comparativistica più sensata ed aperta pone come base per le sue riflessioni e per gli studi storici (ovviamente di taglio diacronico) la grammatica descrittiva, considerata “preliminare nella gerarchia delle discipline linguistiche” (p. 65) e si fa preciso riferimento a O. Szemerényi: parrebbe cioè che Lepschy voglia alludere a precisi esiti derivati dallo studio sincronico dei singoli fenomeni linguistici. Eppure nel passo di Szemerényi si dice invece che contano “the principles, techniques and results of descriptive linguistics, taking into account all the varieties that claim our attention today (e.g. functionalism, structuralism, etc.)”. Si tratterà allora

di modelli teorici e non di dati minuti e dispersi, come si ricaverebbe da una lettura di Lepschy.

Nulla da dire si avrebbe sul successivo capitolo — una accorta e piana esposizione delle teorie praghensi —, mentre più stimolante e degno di qualche considerazione appare quello riguardante la linguistica sovietica, anche perché l'articolo originale di Lepschy costituì per l'Italia il primo tentativo di aprirsi verso una direzione non solo statunitense o europea occidentale. Tipica del linguista di ambiente inglese è l'inutile precisazione di aver cercato di "superare certi scrupoli" (p. 89) sul pubblicare la rassegna e di temere delle "interpretazioni 'ideologiche' del tutto estranee alle intenzioni" (ibid.) da parte di linguisti o cultori bigotti. Ma si era nel 1967 e non si vede proprio come uno scritto così densamente contenutistico e poco ideologico, se non per la parte riservata strettamente alla esposizione delle convinzioni politiche proprie di questo o quel glottologo, potesse far pensare a qualche connivenza di Lepschy con i russi. Sono precisazioni che uno studioso serio ed imparziale non si periterebbe di avanzare e che stupiscono a tuttoggi per un linguista di grande talento come è il Nostro. A titolo di paradosso, che cosa avrebbe dovuto dire allora un E. Rigotti, quando tradusse in lingua italiana nel 1970 la *Strukturnaja lingvistika* di Shaumjan, pur insegnando alla Università Cattolica di Milano? Chiudendo comunque questa osservazione, vediamo come Lepschy cerchi di stabilire qualche analogia tra Russia ed Italia, nel senso che in entrambe le nazioni a suo dire si sarebbe notata una chiusura verso lo strutturalismo, dato che in Unione Sovietica dominò fino ad anni recenti il marxismo e da noi il crocianesimo. La cosa in linea di massima può risultare accettabile, ma non sarà meno veritiera la precisazione da parte nostra che da noi lo strutturalismo incontrò notevoli opposizioni anche da parte di tutto l'ambiente culturale marxista e di quello cattolico, che videro rispettivamente in quello o il ritorno al formalismo o l'accantonamento dell'umanesimo. Anche l'altra osservazione lepschyana per cui in Russia lo strutturalismo fu introdotto da oppositori e da noi ad opera di promotori (p. 91) è poco sfumata, giacché almeno nei primi anni sessanta i cosiddetti antesignani costituirono pure degli oppositori alle imperanti tendenze prima menzionate, così come gli antagonisti del comparativismo, del marxismo e dello stalinismo sovietici furono pure anticipatori: le due asserzioni del Nostro sono allora non molto convincenti, se considerate in toto e senza doverosi distinguo. Anche sulla asserzione della mancata presenza di "valutazione storica e critica dei fondamenti teorici e delle implicazioni ideologiche dello strutturalismo" (ibid.) in ragione della sua acquisizione relativamente recente in entrambi gli Stati, nutriremmo qualche dubbio, se ci riferiamo agli anni più prossimi e agli studiosi più seri e preparati e non a dilettanti. Il quadro successivamente presentato da Lepschy è senz'altro soddisfacente, giacché ci dà una delineazione profondamente realistica della faticosa ascesa della linguistica russa dagli errori macroscopici del marxismo alle implicazioni volutamente politiche degli stalinisti fino all'affermarsi dello strutturalismo, con i silenzi, i siluramenti,

le palinodie propri di situazioni così confuse ed intricate. Si va dalla ovvia accusa rivolta da O. Axmanova alla linguistica borghese contrapposta a quella marxista (p. 97), alla dissociazione — nel 1953 — del direttivo delle “Izvestija” dalle prese di posizione dell’antesignano ed eretico Shaumjan, alla virata di “Voprosy Jazykoznanija” (nel 1956) rispetto al dogmatismo di Stalin, alla polemica del comitato della stessa rivista (nel 1965) rispetto ad un lavoro antistrutturalistico di V. Abaev. Ne può derivare che le linee di tendenza furono quasi sempre dominate dalle considerazioni e condizioni del momento e che oggi si mira ad uniformarsi a binari fortemente astratti e formalizzati, specialmente negli ultimi anni, anche in misura maggiore rispetto a quanto si è verificato e si verifica negli Stati Uniti. Noi potremmo quindi dire, rispetto a Lepschy, che forse la linguistica sovietica odierna è la scienza meno legata e vincolata a principi politico-sociali, e stranamente ciò viene accettato dalle autorità, le quali finiscono pure per vedere in essa un altro modo e settore nel quale gareggiare con gli Stati Uniti sul piano specialistico. Indicativi sono comunque i rifiuti di posizioni più propriamente sapiriane e whorfiane. Inutile del resto è che si confessi alla fine del lavoro la difficoltà di evidenziare la linguistica più propriamente marxista. La risposta più vicina al vero sarà che negli ultimi due decenni il problema ha interessato sostanzialmente poco tutti i linguisti sovietici, i quali sono coscienti di operare in un ambito esterno rispetto alle strutture economiche e preferiscono non porre più a fuoco il problema relazionale tra politica e scienze differenti, ben consci della triste serie di avvertimenti ed ingiunzioni “suggeriti” dai vari gruppi alternatisi al vertice del potere nel corso del Novecento.

Segue la voce di enciclopedia “generativismo”, molto piana e lineare ma del tutto ignorante — nel 1979 — le ipotesi della “struttura standard estesa” e della teoria della traccia: forse però questo mancato aggiornamento sarà imputabile ai lunghissimi lassi di tempo che sempre intercorrono tra stesura di contributi lessicologici e relative date effettive di pubblicazione.

Passando a *Identico e diverso*, vi si affronta il problema della relazione esistente tra questi due concetti su un piano fonologico e sintattico e ci si chiede se esista una compartecipazione di qualche sorta da parte della semantica (noi diremmo della psicologia cognitivistica/acquisitiva). Soprattutto si pone la necessità di distinguere tra elementi/tratti diversi che “non impediscono di considerare ‘identici’ due enunciati” (p. 115) e differenze che ci inducono a propendere per la priorità di una netta divergenza. A tale proposito, il modo di procedere di Lepschy è storico, nel senso che egli presenta una accurata rassegna delle opinioni sostenute al riguardo, da Swadesh nel 1933 fino a Postal nel 1968 e ad Halle nell’anno successivo. Sia che si riferisca alla fonologia sia che si privilegi la sintassi, entrerà in gioco sempre la competenza linguistica che ci fa interpretare come identico o diverso un suono nell’ambito di una parola o un lessema rispetto ad una frase (p. 112). Ciò significa che i parlanti posseggono la precisa capacità di ricorrere alla scissione o alla identità, ma che la loro è più una

abilità acquisita con l'uso che una esplicita capacità metalinguistica. Se infatti si chiedesse volutamente a qualcuno di dire perché noti diversità o identità tra due frasi o parole e di teorizzare la sua deduzione, egli potrebbe fallire o risultare impreciso per quest'ambito, ma non per quello empirico. In definitiva, quindi, il tema finisce per riportarci non alla semantica (come dice Lepschy) ma alla psicologia, vale a dire alla analisi dei meccanismi mentali e della struttura delle nostre conoscenze, come parrebbe ricavabile dalla asserzione alquanto mitigata propria di Lepschy. Giusta apparirà, senza dubbio, la distinzione che noi opereremmo tra diverso "parziale" e diverso "essenziale" (ci sia consentito il ricorso ai due termini) oppure — cosa che è corrispondente — tra identico "parziale" e identico "totale". Quanto alla competenza, è un qualcosa di parzialmente acquisito e che quindi risente della socialità saussuriana, del tener comunque conto della "langue" generale nonché delle "paroles" individuali, ma che pure a volte appare inspiegabile, nel senso che può apparire innato o perlomeno posseduto dai parlanti ormai da numerose generazioni.

Decisamente più interessante appare il saggio successivo, il quale dà anche il titolo al volume della raccolta. Prendendo spunto da un articolo del 1945 di G. Lane — il quale collocava i punti di passaggio fondamentali della storia della linguistica rispettivamente nel 1880 con H. Paul e nel 1933 con il *Language* di L. Bloomfield — e dal volumetto *Breve storia della linguistica* di T. Waterman — il quale collocava al termine dell'era bloomfieldiana i *Methods in Structural Linguistics* (1951) di Z. Harris —, Lepschy evidenzia i limiti dell'una e dell'altra opinione; nel primo caso si tratterebbe puramente di superamento cronologico, nel senso che l'articolo andava senza dubbio bene nel 1945 ma oggi risulterebbe accettabile solo più se datato, nel secondo di una asserzione imprecisa e fuorviante da un punto di vista storico, giacché più che aprire nuovi orizzonti nella linguistica a giudizio dello studioso inglese li chiuderebbe. Se Lane è in grado di mantenere una certa obiettività di visione storica, lo stesso non si potrebbe sostenere per Waterman, il quale — come è noto — fu un harrisiano entusiasta e quindi ebbe interesse a sostenere l'importanza del suo maestro. A titolo di obiettività, in questo caso si potrebbe osservare che in realtà lo stesso Chomsky nomina espressamente come suo maestro Harris e gli attribuisce lo sviluppo dei suoi interessi in ambito linguistico, pur se non è certo nostra intenzione negare la profonda divergenza sussistente tra questo e quello. Comunque, Lepschy avrebbe fatto meglio a moderare la sua asserzione. In ogni caso, egli osserva poi giustamente che, limitando la analisi alla storia della linguistica puramente tale e cioè non legata ad altri ambiti specialistici (filologia classica, grammatica moderna, grammatica italiana, grammatica rinascimentale, ecc. ecc.), da tali testi tra i più approfonditi finisce per emergere una linea teorica di sviluppo piuttosto simile ed uniforme. Si pensi solo a quanto fecero autori come Tagliavini, Varvaro, Mounin, Leroy e Robins, i quali sceverano tra grammatica pre-comparata, grammatica storico-comparata e strutturalismo, fino a giungere a Chomsky e ai semanticisti scissionisti (ma chi

accenna ad essi effettivamente?). Come si può osservare, le suddivisioni sono perlopiù le stesse e risultano convenzionalmente ormai accettabili, anche se diversificato e differente può risultare il grado di interesse e l'estensione della sezione dedicata all'uno o all'altro di questi gruppi di linguisti. Non è cioè tanto o solo la storia della linguistica che finisce per assumere la preminenza, quanto la prospettiva nell'ambito della quale si pone il singolo studioso della disciplina. Così il comparativista potrà considerare con sospetto, commiserazione e diffidenza la linguistica fino agli Schlegel e ad Humboldt, sopravvalutare per inverso Bopp, Pott, Schleicher e Brugmann, ed accusare di scarsa scientificità lo strutturalismo; a sua volta, lo studioso che si ponga dal punto di vista di quest'ultima scuola stricto sensu, darà inizio alla linguistica scientifica solo con la pubblicazione del Cours saussuriano, con la fondazione dei circoli di Praga o di Copenhagen o con il Language di Bloomfield; così come il generativista svaluterà tutta la linguistica precedente e cercherà dei precursori delle sue teorie in alcuni filosofi e cultori che riceveranno la grazia di questa scoperta e di tale elogio postumo. Oltre a tale interessamento pilotato volutamente, si può notare a volte un più larvato ed ambiguo atteggiamento, consistente nel rivalutare solo alcuni dei predecessori, che pure appartenevano a scuole del resto criticate ed attaccate violentemente ed aspramente. Un tale modo di fare storia della disciplina appare a Lepschy profondamente interessato e fumoso, nel senso che si evita di situare gli autori nel contesto più estesamente culturale delle loro opere e si tralascia di studiare i rispettivi scritti nelle parti altresì meno adattabili di volta in volta alla ideologia dello specifico storico. In definitiva, non si tratterebbe quindi di fare storia della linguistica, ma solo di andare alla ricerca di „antenati intellettuali, effettuata dal proprio punto di osservazione e con in mente i propri problemi” (p. 133). Sarebbero sì mutamenti di prospettiva nella linguistica, ma interessanti più i curatori che gli autori esaminati. Qualche osservazione sulle conclusioni avanzate da Lepschy è doverosa, a questo punto. Senza dubbio egli ha ragione quando dice che, in definitiva, quasi tutte le storie della linguistica procedono a blocchi fissi, ormai standardizzati ed immutabili, con l'essenziale turning point di fine Settecento e quello di inizio Novecento, e pure quando asserisce che esse finiscono per non distinguere granché più quanto ai contenuti di fondo: gli autori sono sempre gli stessi, mai che si riservi spazio ulteriore a studiosi degni almeno di interesse (del tipo di Baudoin de Courtenay, Ascoli, Biondelli, ecc.). Eppure si finisce per sostenere a priori una propria posizione pregiudiziale non sempre accettabile, come hanno fatto recentemente un linguista pure stimato come il canadese E. Koerner — nel porre il 1876 come data di particolare rilevanza ai fini del mutamento di un paradigma — o la statunitense K. Percival con il ridurre ai minimi termini Saussure, svalutandone le presunte originalità del Cours e del Saggio sul vocalismo indoeuropeo, con il ripescare questo o quel passo anticipatore del tale o tal altro autore. Si può trattare di ricerche degne di lettura per la rigorosa documentazione ma tutto sommato di parte, perché in

esse o ci si sforza di dimostrare un alcunché di stabilito spesso a priori oppure si intende procedere più alla critica distruttiva altrui per il piacere della critica senza saper offrire in cambio nulla di costruttivo. Non è più un lavorare per il progresso della propria disciplina, ma esclusivamente un dimostrare la propria abilità nel saper spesso convincere e convertire sofisticamente ora a questa ora a quella opinione. Nessuno certo negherà che anche lo storico debba assumere delle posizioni ben precise e fornire un taglio critico alla sua opera, ma un conto è farlo travisando spesso i dati, un altro è dichiarare di dare la preminenza ad un certo aspetto o a certi autori per determinati motivi che potrebbero pure non essere accolti ma se non altro riconosciuti validi da un punto di vista obiettivo. Sotto questo punto di vista è significativa la polemica rivolta da R. Lakoff contro l'edizione della grammatica di Port-Royal allestita da E. Brekle o l'attacco di H. Aarsleff contro la Cartesian Linguistics di N. Chomsky; nel primo caso la studiosa mette in luce il fatto che Brekle trascurò di vedere in F. Sánchez l'antesignano di molte idee della *grammaire générale*, nel secondo Aarsleff attaccò con violenza Chomsky asserendo che “non si può salvare niente di utile dalla versione della [sua] storia linguistica. Questa versione è fundamentalmente falsa dal principio alla fine — poiché la serietà scientifica è scarsa, poiché i testi non sono stati letti, poiché gli argomenti non sono stati compresi, poiché le opere secondarie che avrebbero dovuto essere d'ausilio sono state tralasciate o non lette, anche quando ad esse è fatto riferimento”. Come si può notare, si tratta di atteggiamenti polemici, ma mentre la Lakoff si limita nella critica, Aarsleff — pur avendo peraltro perfettamente ragione — assume un atteggiamento profondamente denigratorio e da invettiva di cattivo gusto, nel senso che non fa un solo riferimento ai principi che sottostanno alla teoria standard, a carattere psicolinguistico e mentale. Se cioè dobbiamo concordare con lui nel biasimare una certa faciloneria di Chomsky, non possiamo non prendere in esame gli aspetti più originali — anche se certo discutibili — delle sue proposte, che senza dubbio resteranno nella storia della linguistica.

Gli ulteriori due saggi raggruppano idee relative al rapporto tra parlato e scritto. Nel primo di essi vengono presentate le due visioni fondamentali secondo le quali la scrittura viene considerata come un sostituto della parola oppure come una entità autonoma ed indipendente. La prima di esse risalirebbe già ad Aristotele, il quale nel primo capitolo del *De interpretatione* osserva che ἔστι μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθημάτων σύμβολα, καὶ τὰ γραφόμενα τῶν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ, mentre la seconda potrebbe trovare un supporto nelle *Institutiones* di Prisciano (GL. II 7), il quale asserisce che “abusive tamen et elementa pro literis et literae pro elementis vocantur”, con la posteriore suddivisione tra *nomen*, *figura* (parola scritta) e *potestas* (parola pronunciata). Naturalmente a noi apparirà più rispondente al vero la seconda versione, giacché — come ben dice Lepschy (p. 144) — “il parlato ha molti tratti” che lo caratterizzano e che non potrebbero essere estesi allo scritto: si pensi solo al volume, all'altezza

musicale, alla velocità del discorso e — più in generale — a tutto il contesto extralinguistico, vale a dire pragmatico; ciò non significherà che anche lo scritto non abbia suoi precisi caratteri (iconografici, ideografici, fonografici), ma presenta il grosso limite di non poter fornire delle norme precise ed indiscutibili sulla relativa pronuncia. Legato a questo aspetto è quello a cui Lepschy accenna nel secondo contributo, nel quale si sostiene che mentre gli elementi fonici si seguono vicendevolmente in una dimensione temporale, quelli grafici concernono gli aspetti spaziali (le scritture destrorse, sinistrorse, ecc.). Si è detto che nello scritto “predomina” ma non è unica la spazialità, nel senso che — a voler essere sottili — anche una pagina di libro perché sia stampata richiede il trascorrere di un determinato lasso di tempo o una sua lettura necessita di qualche minuto giacché l’occhio non è in grado di procedere ad una comprensione globale di tutta la pagina.

Legato a questi due è pure il lavoro successivo, nel quale Lepschy prende spunto da una recente pubblicazione di una miscellanea dedicata alla letteratura orale per sostenere che la letteratura è comunque sempre primieramente orale e che la scrittura costituisce di fatto la sua resa tramite la rappresentazione fonologica. Ma allora si potrà osservare uno strano condizionamento esercitato dallo scritto sull’orale, nel senso che anche i documenti originariamente solo orali sono da noi conosciuti tramite il ricorso a documenti scritti che li riferiscano o ne facciano menzione; difficile e poco sicuro sarà quindi il tentativo di identificare in essi dei tratti propri della cultura popolare. Nel complesso anche questo insieme di saggi legati tra loro appare interessante e ben documentato, con rinvii a testi antichi e moderni, ma il loro pregio maggiore consisterà nell’aver ben delineato e chiarito un binomio che non molto frequentemente viene trascurato o solo affrontato en passant, senza alcun tentativo di sforzo unitario. Interesserà dire che sovente si verifica una svalutazione o un disinteresse complessivo per la grafematica a favore decisivo della morfonologia, senza tener conto che soprattutto dai testi più attuali noi possiamo conoscere gli elementi linguistici tramite lo scritto, mancando qualsiasi indicazione (perlopiù) della loro relativa pronuncia. E sarà pure chiaro che ancora più interessante — ma allora procederemo extra moenia linguistica — risulterà quell’orizzonte così tanto sfumato e spesso oscuro proprio della letteratura o della cultura orale.

Il penultimo lavoro è una breve nota relativa alla utilizzazione dell’articolo da parte dei traduttori delle principali lingue europee, tramite esemplificazioni su un testo che ne era privo nel passato (250 versi della *Aulularia* plautina) o che presenta un sistema casuale complesso (il primo capitolo della *Figlia del capitano* di Puškin). Dall’esame statistico complessivo deriva che “l’italiano usa più articoli determinati del francese, e questo più dell’inglese” (p. 168).

L’ultimo lavoro concerne la validità in ambito scientifico strettamente linguistico — da un punto di vista storico e sincronico — delle proposte di C. Abel sugli *antonima*, riprese poi da Freud nella cosiddetta “Dar-

stellung durch das Gegenteil", che — a detta del famoso psicanalista — non sarebbe propria solo del motto di spirito ma anche dei sogni. Come base glottologica dei suoi principi, Freud sostenne che il significato diametralmente opposto di molti termini ha la sua ragione d'essere non solo nello stato onirico ma anche nella lingua reale, come esemplificò lo stesso Abel quando scrisse che *ken* in egizio può voler dire tanto "forte" quanto "debole" oppure che il latino *altus* significherà ora "alto" ora "profondo". Da tali preziose analogie Freud ritenne di poter concludere che "la nostra comprensione e traduzione del linguaggio onirico sarebbe migliore se fossimo più informati sull'evoluzione delle lingue". Questi preliminari offrono naturalmente a Lepschy la possibilità di approfondire la dottrina abeliana non tanto dal punto di vista della variabilità o no delle asserzioni di quello (Benveniste sostenne che *altus* indica l'estensione dal basso in alto, senza alcuna importanza riservata alla posizione di visione o di giudizio assunta dallo spettatore/lettore), quanto della originalità o meno di esse. A tal fine, Lepschy ci fornisce un eccellente quadro d'insieme tanto sulla figura dello studioso tedesco, quanto della tradizione che lo riprese e di quella che lo precedette. Per il primo punto, interesserà al lettore sapere che Abel (1827–1906) nacque a Berlino e morì a Wiesbaden, studiò a Berlino, Monaco e Tubinga, si impiegò prima nella editoria poi entrò al ministero degli esteri prussiano e fu corrispondente del Times da Berlino. Visse parecchi anni a Londra, interessandosi di linguistica generale, di egittologia, di traduzioni dall'inglese e da numerose altre lingue (ne conobbe ben settanta). I suoi primi saggi concernono il copto e proseguono poi con considerazioni linguistiche relative al rapporto tra lingua e modo di pensare nelle rispettive lingue nazionali. Naturalmente qui ci interesserà la genesi della sua teoria sul "Gegensinn" e sul "Gegenlaut". Essa risale ad un grosso volume di ricerche concernenti il copto, datato 1876. Il nucleo di base del suo pensiero a proposito degli *antonima* consiste nell'asserire che l'egizio del quarto millennio — in quanto lingua arcaica — presentava una estrema variabilità fono-semantica, anteriore alla cristallizzazione avvenuta in epoca successiva: "Gegensinn" e "Gegenlaut" nel proto-egizio erano all'ordine del giorno, come pure i significati opposti riferiti ad un medesimo lessema. Sulla fondatezza di tali tesi, Lepschy riterrebbe di dover dubitare fortemente, sia perché alcuni suoi colleghi inglesi specialisti di egittologia gli hanno confermato che la ipotesi abeliana non ha supporti plausibili sia perché nessun serio egittologo riprese le sue asserzioni se non da un punto esclusivamente documentario di storia della disciplina. Quanto alla presunta originalità di formulazione di Abel, egli fa presente che già K. Meyer nel 1841 aveva sostenuto la mobilità notevole delle parole dell'egizio, nel senso che "le due parti componenti della parola cambiavano posizione l'una rispetto all'altra" (p. 180), e che addirittura G. C. Scaligero nel suo *De causis linguae Latinae* (III 67) aveva assunto l'inversione semantica, come per la radice *cald-* — che può indicare il "caldo" in latino e il "freddo" in tedesco — e per *obesus* — che può indicare il "grasso" o il "magro". Tale aspetto di enantiosemia fu poi

continuato da altri. fino a giungere agli stessi Bopp, J. Grimm, Tobler e M. Müller. Quanto all'aspetto che ci interessa maggiormente, la variabilità "fonetica", essa fu spesso estrapolata dal contesto abeliano e giudicata partitivamente nell'ambito dei due gruppi opposti dei "catastrofisti" e degli "uniformisti", i quali si disputavano anche per le fasi più antiche delle lingue l'utilizzazione o meno di leggi fisse ed immutabili: uniformisti erano naturalmente i neogrammatici nel loro complesso, catastrofisti di fatto i loro predecessori tra cui il grande Schleicher, con qualche personalità oscillante tra i primi o tra i secondi, ad esempio M. Müller.

Nell'ambito di questa antitetica e fortemente contrapposta polemica, è chiaro che spesso gli spunti e le asserzioni di Abel furono valutati negativamente dagli uniformisti, spesso però per pura presa di posizione di scuola, anche se non mancarono critici che riconobbero la sua profonda conoscenza delle lingue antiche e moderne. La mancanza di prove sufficienti a sostenere la sua tesi fu del resto notata dallo stesso Pott, che pure fu catastrofista quant'altri mai. Tenendo conto di tutto questo orizzonte così variegato e complesso — che noi per forza maggiore abbiamo dovuto ridurre ai minimi termini in questa presentazione —, si spiega come la polemica relativa ad Abel abbia finito per giungere allo stesso Freud, il quale ne trasse a proprio favore la teoria degli opposti, trascurandone gli impliciti sottintesi più vastamente propri della genesi delle lingue (Abel sostenne una appartenenza comune per egizio, indoeuropeo e semitico). Del resto egli forse provò ammirazione per questo glottologo così competente eppure tanto isolato dalla linguistica ufficiale ed accademica, che sembrava riservare tanta importanza a qualcosa che non si riducesse puramente a *nuda verba* e a tecnicismi incomprensibili a un non addetto ai lavori. Concluse queste considerazioni storiche, Lepschy trae alcune deduzioni sulla ipotesi degli *antonima*, sulla base delle conoscenze attuali. Siccome nessuna lingua è in grado di presentare e preservare caratteristiche più antiche di quelle presenti in altre lingue e giacché tali fenomeni di opposizione non sono certo più comuni nelle lingue antiche che in quelle moderne, se ne deduce pure che nessuna lingua può rispecchiare più delle sue coeve o di quelle anteriori o posteriori le proprietà tipiche dell'inconscio. Tutto ciò servirà a giungere alla conclusione che non si potrà nemmeno tout court sostenere che le loquele presentino fenomeni di significato opposto oppure il suo contrario, ma piuttosto che si deve riflettere su particolari fenomeni linguistici senza trarne delle deduzioni azzardate e soprattutto acriticamente uniformi. Si pensi al fatto che certe frasi possono avere interpretazioni opposte come nelle negative (*non dorme perché soffre*), che certe parole talora assumono accezioni diverse e talora opposte nella loro evoluzione diacronica ("feriale", "bravo") o pendolari ("impiantabile"), che alcune espressioni composte possono comprendere degli elementi antitetici ("agrodolce", "odio-amore"), che esistono *voces mediae* ("uomo", "fortuna"), che a livello testuale una frase può assumere valori opposti (per inversione o antifrasi). Del resto non si dovrebbe neppure ignorare che già Aristotele sceverava tra due modalità di opposto, quello

dei contrari e quello dei contraddittori (“odio”/“amo” rispetto a “odio”/“non odio”), aspetto sul quale né il linguista Abel né lo psicanalista Freud si soffermarono nelle loro pur rilevanti riflessioni.

Il lavoro appare esemplare per le informazioni fornite da un punto di vista storico, nonché per il bel taglio critico che Lepschy ha saputo operare sui puri dati, piegandoli ed adattandoli ad una problematicità finale estremamente stimolante ed aperta a possibili ulteriori indagini ed approfondimenti. Qualche cosa in meno avrebbe potuto essere detto a proposito del lungo excursus su catastrofisti/uniformisti, per il quale talora Lepschy indugia su informazioni generali di taglio non strettamente rispondente al tema più precipuo del saggio: ma ciò si potrebbe pure giustificare con il tipo di pubblico al quale “Freud, Abel e gli opposti” era rivolto, vale a dire un insieme di studiosi non specialisti di linguistica e quindi bisognosi di ulteriori, più larghe ed estese informazioni.

Il volume è chiuso da un index nominum, che però a volte sono errati (ad esempio su Shaumjan) — in quanto riferiti alla impaginazione originaria o preprint — oppure incompleti.

Nel complesso il volume sarà sicuramente accolto con molto interesse da parte della critica europea italiana e straniera, in ragione della varietà di tematiche affrontate, della fama di Lepschy e della serietà del suo modo di procedere in ambito tanto diacronico quanto sincronico. Qualche dubbio nutriremmo sulla suddivisione dei saggi per gruppi separati, per cui prima si troverebbero quelli “informativi” (cap. 1-5) e poi due relativi ad “una visione d’insieme della linguistica teorica moderna” (p. 5, Prefazione) ai quali seguirebbero questioni di linguistica generale (cap. 8-12). Dato che, come osserva lo stesso Autore, in molti di essi il taglio sincronico è unito a quello diacronico e storico, sarebbe stato meglio sceverare tra lavori “informativi” e lavori “specialistici” (cioè più originali), oppure tra saggi più marcatamente sincronici e saggi precipuamente storico-diacronici. Oppure si sarebbe potuto non cercare di operare alcuna segmentazione tra alcuni ed altri, per cui spesso il lettore si domanderà se sia possibile farli rientrare in una sottocategoria o in una altra, limitandosi a dire a parole ben chiare che per *Mutamenti di prospettiva nella linguistica* si deve mantenere valido il riferimento non solo alla dimensione storica, ma altresì a quella di studio descrittivo dei fenomeni linguistici. Il titolo del volume allora supererebbe per maggiore comprensività quello dell’analogo saggio inserito nella silloge come settimo capitolo, riferendosi ora alla storia della disciplina in generale, ora alla storia della genesi e dello sviluppo di singoli concetti od elementi di essa in ambito pancronico (cioè sincronico e diacronico), ora a visioni altresì interdisciplinari su particolari punti della vita culturale antica e moderna. Il volume di Lepschy rappresenta quindi un esempio concreto di come si possa fare ricerca linguistica in toto e di come le prospettive proprie della nostra disciplina siano e debbano continuamente essere soggette a verifica, ad aggiornamento e a sforzi indefessi di impegno e di modestia. Dal volume lepschyano emerge, oltre a tutti questi pregi, la capacità di fare

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fruire al lettore tanto gli aspetti più ovvi (per noi) delle correnti linguistiche quanto quelli più specialistici ed esoterici. Da un punto di vista editoriale si potrà solamente sollevare qualche dubbio sulla validità di accostamento nel medesimo volume tra saggi più divulgativi ad altri più specialistici. Ma ciò naturalmente non infirma il sostanziale giudizio positivo che si è riservato al volume.

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