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I. AUFSÄTZE

Two True/False Principles of Language Change

Older (and, alas, some younger) linguists have held two indefensible views of language change. To go back, e.g., to Max Müller (who, incidentally, admitted the role of fashion in change), he agreed with many historical linguists of his day in taking his subjekt matter, change, to be - curiously enough - deleterious: Müller regarded innovation with jaundiced eyes. In addition to the view that change is harmful to languages, a second view emerges in Müller's thinking: Diversity of place, or isolation, results in diversity of language. In accord with evidence against an unqualified presentation of this view stands Labov's (1966, p. 7) summation of his findings:[1]

> Traditional dialect studies have shown [??] that isolation leads to linguistic diversity, while the mixing of populations leads to linguistic uniformity. Yet, in the present study of a single speech community, we will see a new and different situation: groups living in close contact are participating in rapid linguistic changes which lead to increased diversity, rather than uniformity.

It is the object of this note to show that the tradition is in error - Labov's findings are more general than he apparently dreamed - and to draw the reader's attention to the opposite principles of linguistic change:

1) Change fills a linguistic need and mostly results in improvements.
2) Contact is the source of important language changes [diversity of place does not cause change unless it results in extensive contact with other ways of speaking].

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[1] My views of what should replace the approaches of traditional dialectology and of sociolinguistics are detailed in Bailey 1980a and 1987b.

On the first point, the writer (cf. references in Bailey 1982, p. 49) has suggested that new dialects and languages arise where there is a sociocommunicative need, not (as in the traditional view) for no external reason at all. Dutch did not yield to Afrikaans (a daughter language of Dutch), or English to Bislama, Krio, Sranan, and Tok Pisin (daughter languages of English), nor indeed Old French and Anglo-Saxon to Middle English, in the absence of a need for something that must be viewed as linguistic "betterment", i.e. something paving the way to something more suitable to the sociocommunicative need. The absence of the communicative dimension in linguistics has led to outrageously counterintuitive reasons for change and linguistic creativity. The burden of proof lies on those that would maintain the counterintuitive viewpoint. Why such a view has seemed reasonable to some specialists in language change must be due to confusing isolation-with-contact and isolation in the absence of contact with other languages. I do feel impelled to remark on how many historical linguistics use static models at war with historical-comparative linguistics (Bailey 1980b, 1984, 1985a, b, 1987a; note especially the migration paradox discussed in Bailey 1982, p. 49–50 and earlier work). Indeed, some "historical" Anglisten would appear to proceed on the assumption that change stopped at the time of World War II; and they seem strangely unaware of, and singularly illequipped to detect, changes currently taking place in English: These might as well not be occurring, for all the recognition they get (cf. Bailey 1987b, Appendix A). However much some books on linguistics may proclaim the non-corrupting nature of change and even the axiological neutrality of change, many historical and "synchronic" linguistics act as though they wished or even believed that change didn't occur nowadays.[2]

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[2] In a recent article on the "Segmental phonology of modern [sic] English" (Linguistic Inquiry 16, p. 57–116), M. Halle and K. P. Mohanan cite (e.g. p. 93) usages from J. S. Kenyon's and T. A. Knott's 1944 pronouncing dictionary. This latter writing represents, with many errors and a very inadequate transcriptional system, a situation long since transformed by far-reaching demographic and linguistic changes (including unconditioned vowel-shifts in the Great Lakes urban areas and elsewhere, as well as conditioned shifts in some

Concerning the second principle, what could be clearer than the archaism of Classical Arabic, so little changed despite the wanderings of the Bedouin, and the Polynesian languages, mutually intelligible two hundred years ago, despite the great local diversity of the Islanders; and what could be more striking than the contrast between these and "languages in contact" like koiné Greek and the diverse languages of the single (large but circumscribed) territory of Papua/New Guinea? The evidence of commonsense observation thus supports the results of Labov's research cited above. Again - but with no wish to flee the fray - I claim that the burden of the argument lies with those who would go on maintaining the contrary view that dialect and language diversity are caused by isolation.[3]

How and why contact causes change has been discussed by me in literature cited above: As borrowing and mixture occur, the connatural patterns of languages are violated; and this triggers changes to set them right again (cf. Bailey 1982, p. 56-57, 66-71).

It is time for historical-comparative linguists to retur to considering general principles, to considering the very models they employ and the laws of change (cf. Bailey 1985 b, etc.). Too long have they unreflectingly accepted insufficiently and uncritically examined notions about linguistic change as well as theoretically defective (cf. Bailey 1985 a) and (when empirically tested) discredited models. Too long have historical-comparative linguistics immersed themselves totally in the analysis of microdata with tools and hand, victims of unexamined theory while

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areas) affecting the data themselves, speakers' evaluations of the data, and which varieties are superseding which. Dialectologists write books describing situations true of rural areas thirty or more years ago as though the descriptions were valid for today. The static mentality is indeed all-pervasive. And, while one might expect historical linguists to have proffered reasonable grounds for the origin of new languages, these seem to be generally lacking (see Bailey 1987 a). See n. 3.

[3] In Bailey 1987 a, I emphasize P. Mühlhäusler's (1986) emphasis on discontinuity in the emergence of new languages, on "catastrophic" development along with gradual development.

claiming disinterest in theory. It has not always been so. Have historical linguists had their fingers so badly burned that they are unwilling to deal with basics, i.e. with the premises on which their work and its validity depends? I hope that historical linguists will not go on another hundred years - as physicians did with leeching against all the evidence - holding views that are really not sustainable.

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Indogermanisch */-eHm/#*

Glaubt man mit Mayrhofer, Idg. Gr. 1, S. 124[1], daß idg. *$H_2weH_1\d{n}to$-* 'Wind' im Indo-Iranischen über **va(H)ata-* zu **vaata-* (woraus durch Kontraktion ved., av. *vāta-*[2], in den anderen nicht-anatolischen Sprachen zu **wento*[3] (durch Aufgabe des Hiats **-e$\d{n}$- < *-e$H_1\d{n}$-*), vgl. lat. *uentus,* got *winds,* usw., geführt hat, wird man dieselbe Lautentwicklung auch für idg. **dhe$H_1\d{m}$#* (in der 1. Sing. Ipf. **dhe/i-dhe$H_1\d{m}$#* und in der 1. Sing. Aor. **(é-)dhe$H_1\d{m}$#* von **dheH_1-* 'setzen')[4] annehmen müssen: idg. **dhe$H_1\d{m}$#* > Indo-Ir. **dha(H)am#* > **dhaam#* (woraus durch Kontraktion ved. *dhām#*)[5], in den anderen nicht-anatolischen Sprachen **dhe$H_1\d{m}$#* > **dhem#* (durch Aufgabe des Hiats **-e$\d{m}$ < *-e$H_1\d{m}$*). Die Vokallänge in **dhēm#* > gr. Ipf. (ἐ-τί-)θην ließe sich als aus den anderen Personen des Sing. (**dhē-s, *dhē-t*) analogisch übertragen erklären. Dem idg. **dhe$H_1\d{m}$#* entsprechen strukturell Bildungen wie **sta$H_2\d{m}$#* (von **steH_2-* 'stehen'), vgl. ved. *á-sthām,* gr. ἔ-στην, und **do$H_3\d{m}$#* (von **deH_3-* 'geben'), vgl. ved. *á-dām,* Ipf. *a-da-dām.*

Aus dieser phonologischen Argumentation folgt, daß die von Mayrhofer, Idg. Gr. 1, S. 163 f., zur Erklärung des Ausgangs des Akk. Sing. der **-eH_2-* Stämme bemühte sog. 'lex Stang', wonach */-eH_2m/# zu **-ām#* geworden sei, in derselben Weise wie **dyewm#* zu **dyēm#* (ved. *dyām*) geführt haben soll, keine rai-

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[1] Vgl. dazu Kuryłowicz, Études Indoeuropéennes, I, S. 35.

[2] Ved. *vā́ta-* und av. *vāta-* sind oft dreisilbig zu sprechen, vgl. Mayrhofer, Idg. Gr. 1, S. 124.

[3] Die Rekonstruktion berücksichtigt nicht die Vokalprothese im Griech., vgl. *áwēsi* 'weht'.

[4] **-$\d{m}$#* ist silbisch in **dhe$H_1\d{m}$#* in der Stellung nach dem vorhergehenden Konsonanten **H,* vgl. auch **bhuH$\d{m}$#* (1. Sing. Aor. von **bhuH-* 'werden') > ved. *bhuvam* (mit 'glide' -v-).

[5] Ved. indic. *dhām* ist stets einsilbig zu sprechen.

son d'être hat[6]. Für den Ausgang des Akk. Sing. der **-eH₂-* Stämme ist auf Kuryłowicz, Études Indoeuropéennes I, S. 36, zu verweisen: „... l'ām de l'acc. sing. peut continuer soit *-e$ə_2$* + *m̥* soit *-ā + m* (refait d'après *-i + m, -u + m,* etc.), ...“[7]

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[6] Zu Stangs Erklärung von ved. *dyām,* usw., s. Verf., NTS. 21, S. 133 f.

[7] Die zweisilbige Messung des *ā* in ved. Akk. Sing. *pánthām* (z. B. I, 127, 6, V, 10, 1) könnte eine Lautfolge */-eHm/ widerspiegeln. Sie kann auch analogischer Herkunft sein, vgl. *vr̥kī́s* : *vr̥kíyam* = *pánthās* : *x.*

The Origin of the Thematic Vowel

An important characteristic of Indo-European conjugation is the division of verb stems into thematics and athematics. "It is generally admitted that the thematic verb stems ... are of more recent origin than the athematics, and have increased at their expense" (Kerns and Schwartz 1968, p. 717), cf. Brugmann 1916, p. 33 and Meillet 1964, p. 202. Indeed, Kerns and Schwartz (1968, p. 717) emphasize that "the paucity (if not complete absence) of simple thematics in Hittite", cf. Sturtevant 1933, p. 303 and Kronasser 1956, p. 89, suggests "that all ultimately monosyllabic verb bases of PIE were, as far back as we can go, bisphasal athematics of the type **és-/ś-* 'be', **éy-/i´* 'go', **bhā́-/bhə´* 'appear, seem, become', **wóid-/wid´* 'know, see'". In contrast to the lack of simple thematics, "there are frequent Hittite thematics characterized by the counterparts of suffixal formants *-ye* and *-ske* of IE proper ... [T]he formants *-ye* and *-ske* (and possibly a few others) are indeed the earliest if not the only progenitors of the thematic verb stems, even though the ablaut variants **e/o* may not yet have been apportioned in the ultimately characteristic pattern of IE proper" (Kerns and Schwartz 1968, p. 717–718). Thus, "during the emergence of Anatolian, the thematic type was becoming popular in incipient IE proper, so that old biphasal **léikʷ-/*likʷ´* developed a thematic competitor ..." (Kerns and Schwartz 1971, p. 3). I am in essential agreement with these conclusions reached by Kerns and Schwartz. What I wish to do in this paper, however, is to present a theory of the original nature of the thematic vowel itself within the broad context of their observations and the more narrow context of some recent research of mine regarding the role of deictic particles in Common Indo-European.[1]

[1] There have been a number of recent proposals concerning the origin of the thematic vowel. For example, Knobloch (1953, p. 411) says that "c'est l'inser-

Before I present my theory in detail, I must outline some of the basic assumptions which underlie it. First of all, I believe that the inflectional system of the early Indo-European verb was much simpler than that ascribed to later stages of the language and attested in some of the dialects. Thus, I subscribe to Lehmann's view (1974, 201–202) that "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. We cannot reconstruct endings in these two numbers which are as well supported as are those of the singular, except for the third plural", cf. Shields 1981 a, p. 267. Similarly, I am in support of the claims of Toporov (1961, p. 68–70), Adrados (1975, p. 538), and Schmalstieg (1980, p. 101) that "originally there was no distinction between the 2nd and 3rd person singular in the Indo-European verbal endings. Evidence of this is the identity of the 2nd and 3rd person singular endings in the following forms: Hittite preterits (*-mi* conjugation) *e-eš-ta* 'was', *e-ip-ta* 'took', *i-ya-at* (beside the 2nd sg. *i-ya-aš*) 'made', (*-ḫi* conjugation) *a-ša-aš-ta* 'set', *da-a-aš* 'took', *da-(a-)iš* 'placed', *tar-na-aš* 'put in', *me-mi-iš-ta* 'said' ... Note also the Slavic 2nd and 3rd sg. aorist forms in *-t* (e.g. *načę-tъ* 'you, he began') and *-stъ* (e.g. *bystъ* 'you were, he was'), and the identity of the Gk. 2nd and 3rd sg. dual endings *estón* 'you two, they two are'" (Schmalstieg 1980, p. 101). In my opinion, the original marker of the second-third person was **-∅*, cf. Watkins 1962, p. 90–106, 1969, p. 49–50, "which was eventually replaced by both **-s* and **-t*, 'with **-s* gradually becoming specialized primarily in the second person and **-t* in the third, although remnants of the original vacillation are still historically attested' (Shields 1979, p. 219) (e.g., Hitt. *dāiš* 'he put', OPers. *āiš* 'he went'). 'The

tion d'une marque pronominale pour renvoyer à l'object (complément direct) dans le complexe verbal, la conjugaison objective." Schmalstieg (1980, p. 92), too, derives it from a pronominal source, although he posits no "objective conjugation". Watkins (1969, p. 106) sees its origin in *o*-stem nominal forms which began to function as verbs, while Adrados (1975, p. 539–540) believes it to be a reanalyzed segment of the enlargements **-e/om*, **-e/os*, **-e/ot*, and **-e/ont*, which came to serve as personal markers.

occurrence of *-*Ø* in the second person function is still attested in the singular imperative (**age* 'lead': Skt. *ája*, Gk. *áge*, Lat. *age*). Moreover, as Erhart (1970, p. 57–58) says: "In einem kleinen Teil der Fälle sind die Endungen der 3. Person Sg. akonsonantisch: aind. *a, e,* gr. *ei, e,* het. *i, a, ari,* toch. AB *Ø*, got. Ø, lit. *a* usw. ...; als ihre Bausteine sind der thematische Vokal und der Präsensdeterminativ *i* (bzw. *r*) zu erkennen"' (Shields 1979b, p. 219, fn. 1)" (Shields 1984, p. 118). I see in these latter desinences reflexes of an old third person ending in *-*Ø*. In addition, "the wealth of forms, tenses and moods that characterize Greek and Sanskrit, and in which an earlier generation saw the prototype of exemplary Indo-European grammatical structure in the verbal system, is nothing but a recent common development of this subgroup of languages" (Polomé 1982a, p. 53). I generally endorse Neu's step-by-step elaboration (1976) of the Indo-European conjugation system (see Figure I). On the basis of Hittite and Germanic evidence, it is probable that the disintegration of the Indo-European speech community commenced at a time when the language "contrasted an 'active' and a 'perfect', to which a middle was added" (Polomé 1982b, p. 15).[2] The active itself distinguished only a present and a non-present.

As another preliminary comment, I want to say that I believe early Indo-European did not possess the complicated ablaut

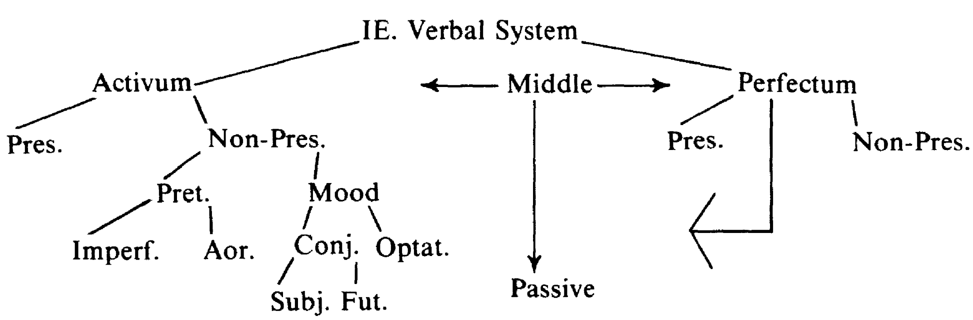
[2] In my view, the perfect of Indo-European proper and the *hi*-conjugation of Hittite "both represent innovative developments from an earlier category in Common Indo-European – a class of verbal stems in *-*ă*-" (Shields 1982b, p. 250), for "serious obstacles ... stand in the way of a direct identification of the present of the *hi*-conjugation with either the IE perfect or present middle" (Jasanoff 1979, p. 79). As far as the medio-passive is concerned, in Shields 1984a I accept the opinion that the middle is a late Common Indo-European development, independent from the perfect and *hi*-conjugation, cf. Kerns and Schwartz 1971, p. 5, Cowgill 1979, p. 27; and "I argue that the exponents of the middle voice are reanalyzed dative-case enclitic pronominal forms" (Shields 1984a, p. 46). See Shields 1982b and 1984a for details. Thus, I believe that the marker *-*o*- of the middle voice has a different origin from the thematic vowel, cf. also Adrados 1981b, p. 47–55. For this reason, I reject the conclusions of Bader (1975) regarding the nature of the thematic vowel in Hittite and its origin in the middle voice, cf. also Watkins 1969, p. 107–108 concerning a middle/stative origin of the thematic vowel.

Shields, Kenneth, Jr, ***The Origin of the Thematic Vowel***, Indogermanische Forschungen, 94 (1989) p.7

variations which are traditionally ascribed to the language. This assertion proceeds from my view that "the development of the complicated system of vowel gradation, or ablaut, so important in late Indo-European and the dialects, ... [was] very gradual, with the ultimate origins of this morphological device stemming from a number of separate linguistic changes (including accentual alterations) whose results were eventually assimilated into a unified scheme" (Shields 1982a, p.52). Interestingly enough, Watkins (1969, p.40) reconstructs the early paradigm of athematic biphasal verbs like **es-* and **gh^{w}en-* as follows:

**és-m̥*	**gh^{w}én-m̥*
**és-s*	**gh^{w}én-s*
**és-t*	**gh^{w}én-t*
*(*e*)*s-e/ont* (?)	*gh^{w}(*e*)*n-e/ont* (?).

Figure I[3]



Now if one accepts the idea that number distinctions within verbal paradigms and the differentiation of the second and the third person are late developments, then this reconstruction yields the still earlier paradigm:

**és-m̥*	**gh^{w}én-m̥*
**és-Ø*	**gh^{w}én-Ø.*

[3] This diagram is adapted form Polomé 1982a, p.53.

Thus, such verbs did not show a biphasal structure in early Indo-European.

Elsewhere (Shields 1981 a) I have adopted the position that "at an early stage of Indo-European deictic markers constituted the formal indication of the grammatical categories expressing time, place, and person" (Markey 1979, p. 65). It was only in late Indo-European that tense distinctions came to be expressed inflectionally. The incorporation of deictic elements into the verbal system and their subsequent reanalysis as true verbal affixes is most obvious in the case of the deictic particle **i,* with 'here and now' signification. This original particle appears in the primary verbal suffixes **-mi, *-si, *-ti,* etc. – contaminations of personal markers (> secondary verbal suffixes) and **i,* cf. Watkins 1962, p. 102–103, Seebold 1971, p. 189, and Szemerényi 1980, p. 301. In a series of recent articles (Shields 1981 a, 1981 b, 1982 c, 1983 a, 1983 b, 1984 c, Forthcoming), I have argued that a variety of other verbal inflectional and derivational suffixes found in a number of Indo-European dialects derive from deictic particles enclitically attached to verb forms. That is, "I believe that after such deictics (X) were affixed to second-third person singular formations in **-Ø,* two reanalyses were possible:

(1) **-Ø-X* > **-X*
(2) **-Ø-X* > **-X-Ø.*

The first gave rise to inflectional markers, the second to derivational suffixes. Because the third person ... tends to impose its structure on other members of its paradigm, cf. Benveniste 1971, these reanalyzed deictics were subject to analogical extension" (Shields Forthcoming). Among the structures which arose in this fashion were the *s*-aorist (1981 a), the *s*-future (1981 a), the Germanic dental preterite (1982 c), the imperative suffix **-u* (1983 a), the Lithuanian imperative ending *-k(i)* (Forthcoming), and the personal markers **-s* (1981 a) and **-t* (1982 c). The second reanalysis was, in my opinion, responsible for the origin of the thematic vowel.

I believe, cf. Shields 1981 a, p. 273–274, that the early Indo-European system of spatio-temporal relations was binary in nature, based on the opposition "now-here : not-now-here"

(Gonda 1956, p. 28–29). Traugott (1978, p. 374) explains: "As a deictic, tense is basically a Proximal-Distal relation ... In some languages [± Proximal] [i.e., now/not-now (then)] may be the only organization of tense, without any concept of time-line ... Orientation to a time-line involves division of *then* into past and future". It is my position that this latter development occurred only in the dialects. "In early Indo-European, I feel that **i* expressed 'now' and that ... other deictic particles denoted various degrees of distance from that temporal point" (Shields 1981 a, 273). Obviously, Neu's hypothesis (1976) that the late Indo-European verb showed two temporal categories – a present and a non-present – embodies the idea that even after deictics were reanalyzed as verbal affixes, the binary spatio-temporal system remained.

I must also point out that although the development of the distinction between primary and secondary endings was an Indo-European phenomenon and that this distinction was regularly utilized there, "it ... became obligatory only in the dialectal period. The original optional character of all primary suffixes is clearly demonstrated by the fact that 'im Altirischen haben wir ursprünglich athematische Verba mit sekundären Endungen in Präsensfunktion in den konjunkten Formen *·tá* 'ist', *·tét* 'geht', *ní* 'ist nicht', *-t* 'ist', *·tarti* 'gibt' < *(*s*)*tā-t*, **ten-t*, **ne est* (**nēst*), **d*(*e*)*est* (enklitisches Verbindungselement **de* : gr. *dé*), **to-ro-ad-*) *dhēt*. Die entsprechenden absoluten Formen sind *táith*, *téit*, *is* < *(*s*)*tā-ti*, **ten-ti*, **es-ti*. Vgl. ved. *sthāt*(*i*), (*a*)*tan*, *asti* (Impf. 3. Sg. *ās* 3×), *dhāt*(*i*). Außerhalb des Keltischen haben wir ein einziges klares Beispiel einer alten Form mit sekundärer Endung in Präsensfunktion: aksl. und aruss. *nĕ* 'ist nicht' < **nēst*, **ne est* (neben 'regelmäßigem' aksl. *nĕstъ*), das direkt mit air. ní gleichzusetzen ist' (Watkins 1969, p. 45–46). Kerns and Schwartz (1971, p. 4) also maintain that 'in some of the dialects "secondary" endings regularly occur in some present forms, e.g. Dor. sg. 2 *phére-s*, Lat. *vehi-s*, Lith. *vẽža*', and 'the OIr. conjunct presents'. These data thus lead Watkins (1963, p. 47) to conclude: 'We may state that from the formal point of view the Old Irish conjunct forms reflect the Indo-European secondary endings, and the absolute forms reflect Indo-European primary endings. But functionally the two sets of endings reflect the Indo-European opposition primary/secondary. The development of that opposition, as we know it in "classical" Indo-European, is only a dialect feature, in which Celtic did not take part. It is clear in most of the early Indo-European languages that the formation of the primary endings was basically by the suffixation of the enclitic particle *-i* ... on the secondary ... ending. The transition was simply from the optional use of the particle *-i* to its obligatory use'" (Shields 1984b, p. 2–3). The deictic **i* (and the subsequent primary affix-type) was thus originally used as a way to "strengthen the indicators of the person in the present tense", that is, to mark "the present tense in a precise meaning" (Safarewicz 1974, p. 52).

Since the iterative suffix **-sk-* appears to play an important role in the early development of thematic verbs, I want to close my preliminary remarks with a few words about the origin and nature of this desinence.[4] In Shields 1984c, I propose that "when the enclitic quantitative adverb (> non-singular marker) **(e)s* was added to non-personal (second-third person) verbs, the following formation resulted: **-Ø-s* (person marker plus enclitic adverb). To this 'verbal plural' structure could also be added a deictic particle whose function was to indicate the time of the action. On the basis of attested forms containing deictic **k*, it would seem that this element originally possessed what Schmid (1972, p. 10–11) calls 'Dieser Deixis'.[5] Since this deixis indicates some distance from 'here and now', it can be assumed

[4] "The iterative category itself is viewed by Dressler (1968, p. 43) as a variant of the category *plurality*, manifested in verbs as well as in nouns" (Shields 1984c, p. 117).

[5] Markey (1980, p. 280–281) reconstructs a deictic particle **k*, "which figures in the formation of, for example, Lat. *ci-s*, Gmc. *hē-r*, OE. *hē*, Goth. *hi-mma*, OHG. *hi-tumum* (cf. Lat. *ci-timis*), Goth. *hi-dre* (cf. Lat. *ci-tra*); OIr. *ce-n*, Corn. *ke-n*, Gaul. *du-ci*; Hitt. *kāš*, *ki-ššan*, directly comparable to Lat. *ci-s*; Gk. **ky-* in Ion. *sễtos* = Att. *tễtos*; Lith. *šis*; OCS *si*; Arm. *s-* (radical of the 1st pers. demonstrative, 'this' *hic*, near the speaker ...). Note, further, OIr. *ol-chen(a)e* 'besides', lit. 'beyond (and) on this side of it', where *ol-* is comparable to OLat. *ollus* > *ille*; possibly also in OIr. *bith-cé* 'this world'; OIr. *cen-alpande* = Lat. *cis-alpine* ..."

that the action or state of a verbal formation marked by **k* occurred in non-present time ... Apparently the formation **-∅-s-k* was reanalyzed, cf. Anttila 1972, p. 94, as **-sk-∅*, with **-k* losing its temporal meaning, perhaps through the simple process of contagion (condensation), cf. Bloomfield 1933, p. 438–439. In any event, the continued existence of Hittite iteratives in **-s-* demonstrates the original optionality of the deictic element **k*. **-s(k)-* was then analogically extended to the first person as a ... stem formant ..." (Shields 1984c, p. 121–122).

Now Indo-European clearly possessed deictic particles in **e/o* and **yo*. According to Hirt (1927, p. 10–11), the particle "*e* erscheint als Verbalpräfix, namentlich als Augment (gr. *é-pheron*, ai. *á-bharam* 'ich trug'),[6] als angetretene Postposition hinter Kasusformen, z. B. ai. Dat. *aśvāj-a*, abg. *kamen-e* usw. und in ai. *a-sáu* 'jener', gr. *e-keî* 'dort', wohl auch in gr. *ei* 'wenn', eig. 'da' < *e* + *i*, vielleicht auch in *é-ti* 'ferner', l. *et* 'und' ... *e* hat sich im Aind. Gen. *a-sja*, D. *a-smāi*, im Germ. ahd. *e-s*, *imu*, im Umbr. Dat. *e-smei* durch Antritt von anderen Partikeln zum Pronomen entwickelt ...[7] Daneben steht ein Verbalpräfix *o*, das namentlich im Griech. ziemlich häufig zu belegen ist. Es steckt ferner als Postposition in gr. *áp-o*, *húp-o*, ai. *áp-a*, *úp-a*, auch wohl in idg. *pro*," cf. also Brugmann 1916, p. 983–984. This ablaut (accent) variant of **e*, cf. Hirt 1927, p. 11, is also attested in the Hittite enclitic personal pronoun in *-a-*, which has its origin as a demonstrative (Sturtevant 1933, p. 198). The etymological connection between **e* and **o* is emphasized clearly by Sturtevant (1933, p. 199) when he says in regard to the Hittite enclitic pronominal stem *-a-*: "Hittite *-as* 'is' contains the pronominal stem that appears in Skt. *asya*, Av. *ahe* 'eius', Osc. *es-ídum* 'idem', etc., but as is natural in an enclitic, it shows the vowel *o* instead of *e*". The two variants appear to be contami-

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[6] The use of **e/o* as both a verbal prefix and suffix attests to the importance of deictic particles as temporal indicators in Indo-European and to the fact that the position of adverbial elements within the Indo-European sentence was variable, as in attested languages (cf. Jackendoff 1972, p. 67).

[7] Brugmann (1911, p. 311), too, says that "vielleicht sind alle Demonstrativa einmal deiktische Partikeln, also indeklinabele Wörter gewesen".

nated in the demonstrative stem **eo-* (e.g., Lat. *eum*, Osc. *ion-c*). The deictic **yo* "als Relativum fungierte seit uridg. Zeit [e.g., Skt. *yá-s*, Gk. *hó-s*, OCS. *i-že*] ... **yo-s* war dann ursprünglich ein anaphorisches Demonstrativum, das auf einen nominalen oder pronominalen Substantivbegriff des vorausgehenden Satzes hinwies" (Brugmann 1911, p.347), cf. also Brugmann 1916, p.969–971. "In den anderen Sprachen haben wir vereinzelte Reste wie l. *jam* 'jetzt, bereits, schon', lit. *jaũ* 'schon', lett. *jau*, ab. *ju* 'schon', got. *ju* 'schon', got. *jabai* 'wenn' usw., die wohl eine Partikel *jo* erschließen lassen" (Hirt 1927, p.13). At some point in its development, **yo* acquired the accent (> ablaut) variant **ye*. In Shields 1980, p.264, fn.8, I point out that the passage of **o* to **e* is a natural function of placing the accent on an originally unaccented **o*. In any event, it is obvious that the original temporal meaning of both **e/o* and **yo* lay in the non-present since they expressed "Dér-Deixis" (Brugmann 1911, p.333, 347), cf. Schmid 1972, p.10.

I believe that the deictic element **yo* was enclitically attached to active verbs in Indo-European as a means of indicating the non-present function, while the deictic particle **e/o* became contaminated with the iterative verbal structure in **-s-k-* to reinforce the non-present value of **-k-*:[8]

Verb-*Ø-yo*
Verb-*Ø-s-k-o*.

Both constructions were then reanalyzed:

Verb-*yo-Ø*
Verb-*sko-Ø*.

However, as the second-third person marker **-Ø* was gradually replaced by **-s* and **-t*, and as the precise indication of tense became more and more a function of the distinction between primary and secondary endings, **-yo-* evolved into a purely formal element associated with verbs (similar to the for-

[8] As Hirt (1927, p.14–15 indicates, such a contamination of deictic particles is a common occurrence, cf. also Lane 1961, p.469.

mal stem-elements **-i-, *-u-*, etc. found in nouns),[9] while a single morpheme **sko-* came to indicate only the iterative function, having likewise lost all temporal significance. This is precisely the situation attested in Hittite, cf. Kronasser 1956, p. 179, 185.[10] In the dialects of Indo-European proper, **-yo-* did become associated with a variety of more specialized meanings, cf. Meillet 1967, p. 138–142, probably resulting from the influence of the inherent meanings of certain verbs with which **-yo-* habitually appeared. A parallel development occurred in the case of the feminine marker **-ā-* of nominal declension, which acquired its value in Indo-European proper from the semantic structure of certain items to which it was attached, cf. Brugmann 1897. The multiplicity of attested functions of **-yo-* strongly speaks for dialectal specialization.

I would also suggest that before the separation of the Proto-Anatolians, the deictic **e/o* was beginning to be added to simple verbal stems as a means of indicating the non-present:

Verb-*∅-o*.

This structure was reanalyzed as:

Verb-*o-∅*

and **-o-* similarly became a purely formal stem-element without temporal value.[11] Hittite apparently never made **e/o* a productive element, resulting in its eventual disappearance there. However, in Indo-European proper, it achieved productivity and was gradually extended analogically until it became a primary marker of the present stem. It was probably the development of polythematic verbal structure (cf. Adrados 1981 a), or multiple stem conjugation (cf. Kerns and Schwartz 1946), in Indo-European proper which was responsible for its specialization and survial there. Such polythematic verbal structure itself

[9] I am thus modifying my view of the origin of **-yo-* presented in Shields 1979 a.

[10] Kronasser (1956, p. 179) thus ascribes with certainly only one productive function to the Hittite reflex of **-yo-* – the derivation of denominative verbs.

[11] Obviously the development of verbal stress patterns other than root-accent emerged subsequent to the enclitic attachement of such deictic particles.

was a function of the great increase in the number of grammatical categories explicitly expressed by Indo-European proper verb forms. In any case, I believe that the attested use of **e/o* to form the subjunctive (a development from the non-present, cf. Neu 1976) in Greek, Latin, and Indo-Iranian, cf. Kuryłowicz 1964, p. 137–138, represents a hold-over from the time when the primary value of **e/o* was non-present deixis. In other words, **-e/o-* residually retains here its original primary function (non-present) as a secondary function, cf. Kuryłowicz 1964, p. 15–16, just as the personal marker **-s(i)* residually retains its original undifferentiated second-third person function in such secondary verbal forms as Hitt. *dāiš* 'you, he placed', Skt. *bhūyā́s* 'you, he should have been', and OE (Northumbr.) *findes* 'you find, he finds'. As Adrados (1981 b, p. 54) points out: "It is ... an erroneous conception to claim that there were always 1 : 1 ratios in ... Indoeuropean, that is, that each morpheme marked one category and vice-versa ... Only the context dispelled ambiguity".

Although my central concern has been the development of the thematic vowel of active verbal forms, I want to conclude by pointing out that the ancient verbs with a stem-element in **-ă-*, which gave rise to the Hittite *hi*-conjugation and the perfect of Indo-European proper (see note 2), cf. Shields 1982 b, can similarly be analyzed as having the following original structure:

Verb + person marker **-∅* + deictic particle **a,*

becoming:

Verb-*a*-*∅*.

The existence of a deictic particle **a* is proposed by Hirt (1927, p. 12) on the basis of forms like "gr. *ai* 'wenn', gr. *aû* 'wiederum', l. *au-t* 'oder', got. *au-k*, d. *auch* 'noch dazu', l. *ad* 'zu', l. *ab*, gr. *an*, got. *an* usw.", cf. also Shields 1984 d, p. 409. In Shields 1982 b, I show how the primary/secondary ending dichotomy was extended to this reanalyzed Common Indo-European structure (resulting in the loss of the specific temporal value of **-a-*) and how this structure then underwent divergent developments in Anatolian and Indo-European proper.

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Siginification, Meaning, and the Text Level of Language

Review and Modification of Benveniste's Theory of Language and Language Use

Benveniste's theory of the levels of language offers major insights, and yet some of his views have often been ignored even by those referring to him. A review of his theory, therefore, is still in order. A modification of his theory, too, is called for, however, because he was not willing to consider text, discourse beyond the sentence, a level of language. This has been noted by Franck (1969) and, in a different way, by Baum (1977). These critics, however, did not notice that along with his refusal, Benveniste did not discuss certain characteristics of which language as used is capable at the level of text. In particular, he did not consider that texts are, in his own terms, semiotic rather than semantic, i.e. that predication, the sentence, occupies an intermediary position in language as used.

1. The semiotic and the semantic dimensions: signification and meaning

Benveniste's theory of linguistic levels is based on the view that form and meaning are inseparables (1966, I, p. 22), i.e. that they are the same thing looked at from two distinct levels: "The *form* of a linguistic unit can be defined as its capacity for dissociation into constituant parts of a lower level. The *meaning* (sens) of a linguistic unit can be defined as its capacity for integrating a unit of a higher level" (I, p. 126f.).[1]

Benveniste distinguished four levels of language: 1. the merismatic level of smallest phonic units (below which there are only physiologic and acoustic phenomena); 2. the phonematic level

[1] My translation here as throughout the paper.

of discrete signifiers; 3. the lexical level of verbal signs or words (these two terms may or may not carry the same meaning, cf. below); and 4. the phrastic level of sentences (I, p. 119–131). He refused to accept a fifth, one above the sentence. He argued that units at the first three levels, having distribution, can form part of a structure, and can be integrated into higher units; sentences, by contrast, being infinite in number, have no distribution and they do not integrate into higher units (I, p. 128f; II, p. 227).

Benveniste introduced, in addition, a twofold distinction between what he called the 'two dimensions' of language (II, p. 65), the semiotics of verbal signs and the semantics of words and sentences (II, p. 224f; II, p. 21). This distinction is quite decisive as far as his general theory of language is concerned, and it is in my view one of its most attractive features. His thesis of the non-arbitrariness of the verbal sign is directly based on it.

His scheme is, then, as follows.

Verbal signs are units of a semiotic system of language conceived as prior to, or independent of, any actual use (i.e. as *langue* distinct from *language,* II, p. 130f). They are lexemes (I, p. 124). A semiotic system consists of a repertory of signs and rules of arrangement (II, p. 56). The semiotic system, constantly menaced and restored (I, p. 54), is the sole context in which any given sign receives its value: "There is no transsystematic sign" (II, p. 53). If two systems seem to have the same sign, they do not in fact have the same one: "the substantial identity of a sign does not count, only its functional difference does" (II, p. 53).

When a speaker speaks he selects signs from the repertory and uses them in a sentence. By so doing, he turns verbal signs into words. The same lexeme, verbal sign, carries different meanings according whether it is considered a sign or a word (II, p. 227). For the meaning of a word is given by its employment in a given sentence (II, p. 226). The meaning of a verbal sign is paradigmatically given; this is the nature of semiotic meaning (I, p. 124; II, p. 225), whereas the meaning of a word is syntagmatically generated: it depends on the other words in the sentence and, ultimately, on the total idea of the sentence. Verbal signs need to be recognized, words – or rather semantic meaning – needs to be comprehended (II, p. 64). Semantic expression is given in a given sentence (II, p. 224) by means of words (II, p. 228), whereas the semiotic system is a repertory based on the consistency of signs (II, p. 228).

The sentence is made of signs but is not a sign (I, p. 120). The (total) idea, as the meaning of a sentence, is an intent (intenté) (II, p. 54, 225): that which the speaker wants to say[2]. Words and sentence are generated together. The sentence is evanescent (II, p. 227) and the words can only be words of a given sentence. This is why "each word retains only a small part of the value it has as a sign. A distinct description is, therefore, required of each element according to the domain in which it is engaged whether it is a sign or a word" (II, p. 229).

There are three important aspects of conceiving the relation between sign and word in this way. First, the linguistic sign is non-arbitrary. The relationship between signifier and signified is necessary for any native speaker: there is nothing arbitrary in *cow* signifying "cow"; what is arbitrary is that 'cow' and 'vache' can be used for referring to the same animal (II, p. 226). Second, the meaning of a sign within the semiotic repertory of a system is always general, whereas the (semantic) meaning of a word is always particular (II, p. 225). Third, this particularity depends not merely on the syntagmatic relation which dominates over a paradigmatic relation of signs among each other but also on referents, i.e. on the actual context in which a sentence is generated. This is why "semantics necessarily considers (prend en

[2] Benveniste's 'intenté', I think, may be related to Derrida's 'vouloir-dire' which he introduced as a translation of German 'Bedeutung' (1972, p. 190; 1967, p. 34 ff.) which in turn is one of the translations of English 'meaning'. In German, 'Bedeutung' and 'Sinn' are fairly synonymous in general usage (as distinct from Frege's, for instance), though 'Bedeutung' alone can translate English 'significance'. I am using these examples to indicate my awareness of the risk I am taking in trying to establish a difference between semiotic 'signification' and semantic 'meaning'. – Derrida's translation is, to some extent, misconceived, since the sense of the English word 'meaning', as used in regard to word and sentence, could be translated also into German with 'Sagen-Wollen' or 'Meinen', for instance, in the case of 'What do you mean'?

charge) the ensemble of referents while semiotics is principally removed from, and independent of, all reference" (II, p.64).

Moving from the semiotic dimension to the semantic dimension involves a radical change of perspective (II, p.225). We have two ways of producing meaning (signifier) (II, p.63, 65) due to the difference between language and language use (II, p.48, 225). This is also, to repeat, the difference between recognizing and comprehending (II, p.64). And the two dimensions are two aspects of the same thing, the same utterance: "Language is the only system with its meaning articulating itself in this way in two dimensions. The other systems have monodimensional meaning: either semiotic (gestures of politeness; mudras) without semantics, or semantic (artistic expression) without semiotics.[3] It is the privilege of language to carry at the same time the meaning of signs and the meaning of enunciation. This gives its major power to create a second level of enunciation at which it is possible to consider (tenir des propos) meaning meaningfully". This is its "metalinguistic" capacity (II, p. 65).

There is a problem of terminology in Benveniste which needs to be mentioned at this point. In the passage just quoted, he used the word 'signifiance' each time I have translated 'meaning'. On other occasions, he used the word 'sens' in speaking both of *semiotic* meaning and *semantic* meaning. This latter has been noted by Baum (1977, p.16). We have to bear in mind that, in French, there is only a single verb, 'signifier', to be coupled with the nouns 'signifiance' and 'sens', whereas in English there are two verbs, 'to signify' and 'to mean', and three nouns, 'signification', 'meaning', and 'sense'.

From now on, and in so far as I am discussing Benveniste or putting forward my own ideas, I am going to be technical and rigid in my terminology. I am going to use 'signification' in the case of signs, and 'meaning' in the case of words and sentences. As to 'sense', I will use it in regard to words only. The 'sense' that signs or sentences can have is why or how they are used, not what they signify or mean respectively. When we say that a

[3] Benveniste's idea that artistic expression is 'semantic' is inexplicable as far as I am concerned.

word is meant or used in this or that 'sense' we bear witness to the circumstance that a verbal sign is used with a particular meaning generated together with the sentence (cf. Baum 1977, p. 10).[4]

Baum makes it quite clear that, for Benveniste, the very same element of language is now a 'sign' and now a 'word' according to the semiotic or the semantic perspective (1977, p. 12) but he considers this disctinction a liability, in fact a defect. In his view, Benveniste intended to go beyond Saussure's system-linguistics (p. 35) and did in fact initiate a "linguistics of the speech act", proving himself to be "a pioneer of 'linguistic pragmatics'" (p. 29). This meant a return to Humboldt who had insisted that "language proper consists in the act of its actual production ... This alone should be thought of as true and primary in all investigations intended to penetrate the living essence (lebendige Wesenheit) of language. Breaking it up into words and rules is nothing but dead contrivance of scientific dissection" (p. 34). But Benveniste was unable to leave behind Saussure's system-linguistics completely, since he retained the semiotic system of verbal signs (p. 32) and placed the linguistics of speech act next to it (p. 35), conceiving the analysis of texts in terms of hermeneutic interpretation rather than in terms of linguistics proper (p. 23 f.). Baum's point is that the "Saussurean system linguistics would be left behind, not by placing next to it a 'linguistics of the speech act', but rather by making language as expression and text in context of situation the basis of theory construction" (p. 36).

The problem with Baum's proposal is that he loses sight of the virtue of conceiving the specific transformation which Benveniste's theory located at the sentence level. In addition, he does not seem to have noticed that the ambiguous relationship between 'verbal sign' and 'word' is as if repeated by the ambiguous relationship between 'sentence' and 'discourse': the very same utterance is 'semantic' from the point of view of the 'sentence', and 'metasemantic' from the point of view of 'discourse'.

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[4] It includes, of course, the indication of the signified of the signifier of the verbal sign, i. e. which verbal sign is used.

Sandor, Andras, **Signification, Meaning, and the Text Level of Language** , Indogermanische Forschungen, 94 (1989) p.45

The sentence, being semantic, is 'inter-linguistic' because the transformation occurs linguistically; but the (very same) utterance, in so far it is 'discourse', is 'translinguistic' because it is turned toward a world of referents and functions as a single unit, i.e. as if *after* the successful transformation which alone could generate 'words' as parts of a single 'sentence'.

Baum lists in juxtaposition 1. the linguistics of language and 2. the linguistics of the text, subdividing the former as 1.1 semiotics (linguistics of the language system) and 1.2 semantics (linguistics of the sentence) (p. 24). But in fact, semantics is implicated in discourse in the same way as the (verbal) sign is implicated in the 'word' and the 'sentence'.

What Benveniste did not consider in my opinion is that as soon as an utterance passes beyond the sentence to the level of text, or indeed as soon as discourse is considered a text, it is not just 'metasemantic' but also semiotic in nature. Language either has two dimensions and one of them, the semiotic, is repeated at a higher level, or this metasemiotic repetition is itself a third dimension. For it is only in (constituted) texts that the metasemiotic capacity of language, its capacity to establish semiotic subsystems which differ from the basic lexicon, can be actualized. And it is only in texts that the coherence of sentences can be encountered and the problem that semantic meaning is tied to the sentence can be faced.

2. Diaphoricity and Meaning

If we accept the relationship between sign and word, and the non-arbitrariness of the verbal sign, we come upon a problem that Weinreich tried to solve by introducing the idea of infinite polysemy (Weinreich 1971, p.322). The same verbal signifier carries different meanings in different sentences, and, possibly, it never carries the same meaning in two non-identical sentences.

Benveniste's (and Bühler's) theory clearly solves the problem in another way. We have an identical sign with a stable signified (i.e. it is a stable signified) but, in any given sentence, it has a meaning, not a signification. In predication, meaning replaces signification; a word in a sentence has no 'signified' in the linguistic sense of this term, that is, within linguistics.

The stable sign is an acceptable proposition if we consider it in terms of the lexicon. The verbal sign 'cow' has the signification synonymous with "the female of grown cattle". This is true even if we accept Jakobson's observation: "The uniformity of the code, 'sensibly the same' for all members of a speech community, posited by the *Cours* and still recalled from time to time, is but a delusive fiction; as a rule, everyone belongs simultaneously to several speech communities of different radius and capacity; any overall code is multiform and comprises a hierarchy of diverse subcodes freely chosen by the speaker with regard to the variable functions of the meassage, to its addressee, and to the relation between the interlocutors" (1971, p. 719). For even if a speaker carries various sub-lexica in his memory, the finite number of verbal signs in the language is unquestionable.

But the point made by Jakobson does need to be considered if we investigate matters from the point of view of any given speaker or listener rather than from that of the lexicon. For as soon as the context is "whales", the verbal sign 'cow' will have a signification different from "the female of grown cattle", and the acoustically perceived signifier may not be apperceived with the appropriate signified. Moreover, even where no such ambiguity is possible at the lexical level, the verbal sign will appear more or less unstable in regard to the specific demands of a given speaker/listener at the semantic level of discourse. For the verbal sign as such is never a word; it never has particular-contextual meaning. Weinreich's 'infinite polysemy' can be very well reconciled with Benveniste's 'evanescence of the word' as distinct from the stability of the verbal 'sign'.

This lack of stability may be called 'diaphoric', i. e. purely differential: Verbal signs are diaphoric as to meaning if considered from the semantic, or sentence level. If a verbal sign, such as *cow,* is found on a piece of paper, or heard acoustically, possibly even the signified cannot be established, but certainly no meaning of a word can. A sign as noticed both has and has no identity in isolation, it is both a mere signifier and a sign, because the noticing is itself an activation but it is impossible to know what is being activated without knowing the context in which it is meant to be done. Predication not only *modifies* signification when it employs a sign to serve as a word, it also *arrests* (or chooses) signification, the signifier-signified, which it requires for generating the meaning which the sentence is intended to have.

The fact that a verbal sign has no 'meaning' is the same as to say that it is diaphoric. It is diaphoric, i.e. merely differential, not only because every verbal sign signifies distributionally within the semiotic structure of a given language - i.e. it signifies by not signifying what all other signs do - but also in the practical sense that it is impossible to attach to it, by itself, any meaning, even if speakers/listeners usually respond to verbal signifiers as to (potential) words.

The usefulness of the distinction between 'verbal sign' (or 'lexeme') and 'word' can be better seen if we consider two theories in which no such distinction is made. For verbal signs can be used in texts without turning them into words, and if so used they are as a rule diaphoric.

Ullmann, certainly one of the leading semioticians of the 1950s and 60s, made no distinction between verbal sign and word, signification and meaning. Referring to Ogden/Richards' triangle of meaning (name-sense-thing) he stated: "It is this reversible and reciprocal relationship between name and sense - or between *signifiant* and *signifiè*, in Saussure's terminology - that I have called elsewhere the meaning of the word" (1973, p. 7). Accordingly, he considered semantics a part of lexicology: "Lexicology will therefore have two subdivisions: *morphology*, the study of the forms of words and their components, and *semantics*, the study of their meanings" (1962, p. 29). In his definition: "Words ... are the smallest units of language capable of acting as a complete utterance" (1962, p. 28). This position was based on Bloomfield's definition of the word, quoted by Ullmann as the best one: "a minimum free form" (ibid.).[5]

[5] Cf. also Ullmann (1973, p. 3): "Bloomfield's formula thus means that the word is the smallest linguistic unit capable of standing by itself and acting as a com-

Ullmann did acknowledge the importance of the context (1962, p. 48 ff.) but he argued that a word can stand without context and still make sense. He gave as examples Tolstoy's *Resurrection* and Ibsen's *Ghosts* (p. 48 f.). These are bad examples, however, for the verbal signs in question are employed as such, not as words, and although they do signify something they have no meaning.

Ullmann was right in saying that "there is usually in each word a hard core of meaning which is relatively stable and can only be modified by the context in the determination of word-meanings" (p. 48), except that this is true of the verbal sign, the lexeme as a distributional unit, not of the word. Those book titles are verbal signs, lexemes. Moreover, they are used, but not as words of some sentence. Apparently, verbal signs can be used - not just mentioned[6] - without turning them into words. And this can only happen in texts. If so used, they have no meaning; they are diaphoric. Ullmann did not consider that reference must be effected in discourse; that the verbal signifier *apple* does not mean "apple" unless it is so used that it carries/triggers such a meaning.[7]

The other theory is Russel's. He introduced the term 'object word' to designate words which "can be used in isolation: proper names, class names of familiar kinds of animals, names of colours, and so on" (1973, p. 23). Russel did suggest that the context in which 'object words', such as 'apple', make sense does have a function, since he gives the example of a person uttering

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plete utterance". Ullmann mentions later (p. 7) that Bloomfield has a concept of 'meaning' different from his own, but the real issue in the present context is that Ullmann himself ignores both the positioning of verbal signs and the effect predications have on them. Bloomfield could ignore this because he radically divorced 'form', i. e. signifier, and 'meaning' as stimulus-response in situation.

[6] Cf. Lyons (1977, p. 6) on 'mention'.

[7] Ullmann (1973, p. 5 ff.) distinguished between two types of definitions of meaning, the analytical (i. e. the referential or denotational) and the operational (i. e. Wittgenstein's). He found problems with both types. At the same time, he did not consider Benveniste's solution which is a combination of both types.

apple while pointing at an apple. But he did not consider what he in fact did say, that object words 'can be used', and that they cannot be in isolation if they are used. He meant, of course, isolation from other words. But that is not the crucial point according to Benveniste; the crucial point is predication. If I point at an apple and say 'apple' I am predicating, uttering a word, not just mentioning/quoting a verbal sign. If I utter *apple* with no apples in sight, and with no knowledge in others or in myself why I am doing it, I am merely voicing a verbal signifier or at best a verbal sign which, by itself, has no meaning; which is, in other words, diaphoric as to meaning.

We can say that there is no lexical meaning or we should say that meaning at the lexical level is diaphoric. At the sentence level it is literal or figurative or both according to intention, and if the intention is unclear (on either side), meaning will be diaphoric even at the sentence level. The possibility that *language* can be given without clarity about how it is being used, and how it is to be used, renders it fundamentally diaphoric in nature.

Diaphoricity may result in any given instance of language use from lack of decision/intention in an agency capable of decision. It may result, therefore, also from an incapacity to reach decision. A receptive user, engrossed in discourse, may expect words in a sentence which, however, cannot emerge because the user is not sure about the verbal signs used or how they are used. He does hear/see signifiers but cannot even ascertain the signifieds, let alone the use made of them. Morevoer, if a sentence originates from, or results in, a total idea, that idea may not be clear or it may be blurred in the process of making the sentence and the utterance. Another idea may intrude, and the speaker may change his mind in mid-sentence without being able to effect the necessary changes in vocabulary, i.e. in the selection of verbal signs, to produce a 'revised' sentence.

The indeterminacy of diaphors may also result, of course, from intention and decision. Diaphoricity can be a certain use made of verbal signs to produce words and sentences with neither a literal nor a figurative meaning. It is possible to produce sentences by which nothing is actually said.

Benveniste restricted his theory to ordinary discourse, explicitly excepting both poetic discourse and oracles. He mentioned oracles to illustrate the difference between the two dimensions of language: oracles seem to be semantic and yet they are not. Heraclitus' mysterious statement about the Delphic oracle, itself quite oracular, can be understood as meaningful without dispelling the mystery: "*Oute legei, oute kryptei* 'It does not say anything, it does not hide anything', *alla semaniei* 'but it signifies'". This is true, Benveniste says, of language which which signifies before it says anything (II, p. 229). The oracle, in other words, seems to say something, though in fact only its interpreters do that. It uses words in a sentence but in such a way that the words are made to function as signs. It is the interpreters who 'put words' into the oracle's 'mouth'.

Sentences, predications, are used as a rule for producing literal meaning or figurative meaning but it is linguistically possible, and it may be pragmatically desirable, to produce diaphoric meaning. Language can be used to achieve diaphoricity at the semantic level of discourse by intention. And nothing is more common than coming upon sentences which need to be construed - reconstrued - with little success because the total idea, the intent, remains obscure. Such sentences, utterances, are diaphoric as to meaning.

One of the significant consequences of these considerations is that meaning can only be literal or figurative at the semantic level, the level of sentences, predications. Verbal signs are neither literal nor figurative; they have signification, not meaning, or else, from the vantage point of meaning, of discourse, they can only have diaphoric meaning.

Benveniste's distinction between the recognition of signs and the comprehension of words and sentences is a useful one. 'Comprehendere' meant in Latin 'to arrest', and meaning is arrested when it is literal, arrested and deflected when it is figurative. In English, only meanings are 'comprehended' but it is helpful to consider that they are 'arrested' because they are wanted. Meaning, then, results from two moves at the same time. The first move ist the choice of signs, the second move is using them (in reference to something) in a given context and in a given mode (i. e. literally, figuratively, or diaphorically). Presumably, the two moves are synchronic. Little would be gained by trying to ascertain what comes first and what next when signs are seized and turned into words of some sentence.[8]

3. Literal-Figurative 'Meaning' and Metasemiotic 'Signification'

The circumstance that only speech can be literal or figurative entails that figurality and literalness are not semiotic. They are characteristic of words (of a sentence) not of signs (of the lexicon). Inactive figures accordingly are not figures; any etymological activation of inactive figures occurs in the act of given predications. (The terms active/inactive are preferable to those live/dead, even if such a choice means renouncing the pleasure of calling the etymological reactivators of inactive figures the resurrectors of the dead.) Inactive figures may of course affect

[8] In his attack on Piaget's 'semiotic function', Dan Sperber advanced arguments which can help clarify the issue discussed here. Sperber's major point is that there is a symbolic mechanism distinct from language. "A conceptual representation can be associated in three ways with the perceptual representation from which it originates. First, in the particular case in which perceptual representation consists of the phonetic representation of a sentence, a semantic representation is associated with it through grammar. Second, all preceptual representation can be described by an encyclopaedic representation. Third, a perceptual representation can evoke a symbolic representation, which is neither a meaning determined by the grammar of the language nor a description of the percept". This is so because "under certain conditions, every object of thought can elicit a symbolic evocation; thus the set of symbolic phenomena is not enumerable and can be defined only by input conditions. Consequently, the mental device that underlies symbolics of a completely different type from that which underlies linguistic activity" (1980, p. 247f.). Sperber relies on Katz' views about sentences as abstract objects, now best discussed in Katz 1981. Katz does not consider the Benvenistean transformation of fixed signs into evanescent words, and Sperber does not consider it either. If he did he would realize that 'words', as distinct from 'verbal signs', 'can be defined only by input conditions'; that they are, together with the sentences in which they are generated, 'symbolic' in his use of this term. Piaget, by the way, argued in terms of a basically Saussurean semiotic system of signs and he, too, did not consider the difference between the semiotic level of signification and the semantic level of meaning, between lexemes and words/sentences.

(rather than 'haunt') the meanings generated in discourse, they need not be completely inactive. This is, however, a separate issue and does not affect the circumstance that meaning can only be figurative or literal in the act of discourse at the sentence level.

Benveniste has been quoted here earlier to the effect that language has the privilege "to carry at the same time the meaning of signs and the meaning of the enunciation" (II, p. 65). I understand this as saying that in an utterance, such as 'This apple is green', the words will have some specific meaning and yet at the same time I can notice also the signification of the individual verbal signs used. I can recognize the verbal signs (of the lexicon) and comprehend the words as used on the given occasion. But this possibility points to another one. A lexeme may be employed in a given sentence also in such a way that it functions as a metasign established by a sentence, as a rule, within a given text.

It is possible to release verbal signs from given sentences, to make them emerge from the semantic constraint and be effective in the text as signs not caught up in the predication but rather as participants of some constellation of signs. Such signs are metasigns from a linguistic point of view. Moreover, they signify in the concrete, not just theoretically, and potentially, by being parts of the lexicon. They are part of some text; an aspect of it.

The issue of metasigns, verbal signs in this emphatic or raised sense, cannot be discussed here in detail. It should suffice to say that there are three basic kinds, allegoric, symbolic, and imagistic. Allegoric, if the signified of a (distributional) verbal sign is exchanged for another one; symbolic, if the signified is extended to include a signified of some higher generality; and imagistic, if the signified is made to point back to (its own) signifier, i.e. if signifier and signified are made to reverberate in one another. An imagistic meta-sign is generated when some verbal sign, used as a word, is also made independent both of the lexicon and of the semantic constraints of a given predication.

Meta-signs are part of some paradigmatic constellation which emerges from, and cuts across, the syntagmatic sequence of sentences. The meta-semiotic system of which a given metasign is a part may be in effect outside a text – e. g. 'Lamb' in Blake's verse from the poem 'The Tyger': 'Did he who made the Lamb make thee?' – still, the metasign must be generated within, and by, the text.

Metasigns are different from figures which are words and can only function/emerge as words of some sentence, that is, in discourse at the semantic level. The very same verbal sign may function as a figure in a sentence and as a metasign in the text. In the Iliad, for instance, 'lion' functions as a figure in a sentence, i. e. a metaphor; the word means 'Achilles'. The very same verbal sign 'lion' also functions, however, beyond the sentence as an image, the imagistic evocation of 'lion', and this happens within a special and paradigmatic metasign system, that of the Iliad.

The impact of a text, whether conversation or a verbal work, is as a rule metasemiotic as well as metasemantic from a linguistic point of view. It is language use with full register. The total idea works itself out, or rather through, by means of cohesively linked syntagmatic sentences, i. e. metasemantically, and by means of some paradigmatic constellation of metsigns, i. e. metasemiotically at the same time. Understanding and interpretation requires as a rule a metasemantic as well as a metasemiotic construal. Only the interrelation of the two can do justice to the total impact of any given text.

Metasigns, being signs, signify; they have no 'meaning' (in the technical sense, i. e. in the restricted sense used here). Every meaning attributed to them by some interpreter is the interpreter's meaning, the meaning of his words and sentences. Such attribution necessarily happens in texts which are of the interpreter's making. The curious thing is that texts, being metasemantic, cannot have (semantic) meaning in the linguistic sense of the word.

5. The Text Level of Language

When Benveniste insisted on the semantic level of words of a sentence as distinct from the semiotic level of signs of a lexicon he left behind structural linguistics. But he did this by separating from one another what I am calling here discourse at the sentence level and discourse at the text level, and he considered only the former a part of linguistics proper. In arguing that "the Saussurean notion of the sign as a unique principle on which both the structure and the functioning of language depends" needs to be left behind, he explained: "This leaving behind will take two ways. In intra-linguistic analysis a new dimension of meaning ('signifiance') opens, that of discourse, which we call semantic, distinct from the one tied to the sign, which is semiotic. In the translinguistic analysis of texts, of works, a metasemantics constructed upon the semantics of the enunciation needs to be worked out" (II, p. 66).

Robert Franck has criticized Benveniste, arguing for a level of discourse above the sentence level: "Discourse is a level above the sentence. If discourse is what we have said, its constituents are not merely linguistic. Next to the sentence, there is he who speaks, that which is spoken about, and he to whom one speaks. Sentences form a system with these new extra-linguistic elements. The possibilities of use a sentence has have this system for reference" (1969, p. 314). Franck was right in arguing for a distinct level above the sentence level, and I want to support his enterprise. But his arguments, as noticeable also from this quotation, are based on two misunderstandings.

First, Franck does not seem to have noticed that Benveniste conceived of discourse in terms of predication, that is, of sentence production. 'Discourse' constituted for him the semantic level of language. He understood it, as Baum correctly says, in terms of speech.

The second misunderstanding is that for Benveniste, the meaning of a word consisted of sense *and* reference. We have, to repeat, a terminological ambiguity in his formulations which he obviously did not want to dispell. He used 'sens' to designate the signification of verbal signs as well as the meaning of words.

When he speaks of the difference between 'sens et réference' (I, p. 276) and says that the semiotic level consists merely of the recognition that something has or has no 'sens' (II, p. 21) he very clearly uses this word to designate semiotic signification, the signified of a verbal sign (which need not be a fixed signification: Benveniste is only concerned with the recognition whether or not a given verbal sign is part of the lexicon, i.e. whether a mark is or is not a verbal signifier).[9] But a language for him only existed when it was used, that is, in discourse: "Everybody can fabricate a language, but in the most literal sense, it does not exist until there are two individuals to use it as natives" (II, p. 20). This is why he called discourse *also* an 'intra-linguistic' affair. Moreover, he called texts 'translinguistic' rather than 'extra-linguistic' for linguistic reasons in the first place. The role of extra-linguistic elements, of referents and speakers-listeners, had already entered his views on the sentence, that is, discourse which he placed at the semantic level.

A sentence for Benveniste is semantic from a linguistic point of view and metasemantic from a translinguistic point of view. These are two dimensions of the same utterance, just as verbal sign and word - the semiotic and the semantic - are two dimensions of one and the same utterance.

Benveniste held not only that the sentences integrated in a text had no distribution but also that the integration of sentences in texts was not merely linguistic, it was not effected by merely linguistic constraints. He did not discuss the problem of cohesion beyond the sentence, or cohesion as distinct from the sentence, forgoing to work out a meta-semantics of the translinguistic domain.

What is required is a theory which accomodates discourse, language use, at two distinct levels, the sentence level and the text level, or else considers discourse at the text level only.[10]

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[9] Cf. Benveniste's example: "il s'agit de savoir si par exemple le mot *rôle* est accepté comme ayant un sens? Oui. *Rôle* oui, *ril* non ... En français *ril* ne signifie rien, n'est pas signifiant, tandis que *rôle* l'est" (1966, II, p. 22).

[10] Greimas-Courtés are correct in stating: "When linguistic practices alone are taken into consideration, one can say that discourse is the object of knowledge considered by *discoursive linguistics*. In this sense discourse is synony-

Text and discourse theories so far developed do not help because they do not relate texts, discourse beyond the sentence, to the levels of language proposed by Benveniste. They do not consider the transformations at the semantic level, although these are fundamental to (most) texts, that is, to discourse in general. Benveniste, in turn, did not consider that texts are not mere concatenations of sentences, and that they offer linguistic possibilities unavailable at the sentence level, in the first place the textual integration of sentences and of not syntactically controlled verbal signs.[11]

The text level of language (use) can be characterized by the following.

1. Any given sentence (i. e any given utterance which is a sentence) may be analyzed both at the sentence level, as the use made of verbal signs in predication, i. e. as the interrelationship between a sentence and its words, and at the text level, as part of a text (or as a text). These are two distinct perspectives. Benveniste spoke of two dimensions of language, the semiotic and the semantic, but we should speak of three, the semiotic, the semantic, and the metasemantic. Just as words do not precede the sentence in which they occur, of which they are part, sentences do not precede the texts of which they are part. The same sentence (i. e. the same utterance which is a sentence) may not carry the same meaning in two different texts.

2. Texts have texture, and texture is generated not only by sentences but also, as Halliday/Hasan (1976, p. 324 and 27) have argued, by cohesion and macrostructure. These are the three text-forming components. 'Macrostructure' establishes a

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mous with text. For indeed, certain European languages which do not have an equivalent for the French and English word 'discours(e)', have been led to substitute for it the word 'text' and to speak of textual linguistics" (1982, p. 81). Still, a given unit of discourse has a text, whereas texts do not have a discourse.

[11] Simonin-Grumbach does mention a 'text level' to be distinguished from the 'sentence level' (1975, p. 86) but does not elaborate the difference. What she does in this respect is to suggest that the meaning of the shifters, such as 'I', does not depend on the sentence in which it occurs but on the text in which the sentence occurs (p. 102 f.) - a valid point.

text "as a text of a particular kind-conversation, narrative, lyric, commercial correspondance and so on" (p. 324). Macro-structure is some more or less structured "form of discourse" (p. 327).

Cohesion has three 'types' (p. 304), lexicogrammatical, referential, and conjunctive (p. 323). "It is the means whereby elements that are structurally unrelated to one another are linked together, through the dependence of one on the other for its interpretation" (p. 27). Cohesion is textual, that is, linguistic. One way to achieve cohesion is by reference but Halliday/Hasan distinguish two kinds of reference, exophoric, which is situational, and endophoric, which is "a general name for reference within the text" (p. 33). They emphasize that "only endophoric reference is cohessive. Exophoric reference contributes to the CREATION of text, in that it links the language with the context of situation; but it does not contribute to the INTEGRATION of one passage with another so that the two together form part of the SAME text. Hence it does not contribute to cohesion as we have defined it" (p. 37).[12]

Sentence structure and cohesion are interrelated in any text: "the sentence is structured internally in its role as the realization of text; and this internal texture is the structural counterpart of cohesion. Neither cohesion alone, nor internal structure alone, suffices to make of a set of sentences a text. Texture is the product of the interaction between the two" (p. 326). This interaction occurs within a text with some macrostructure. Macrostructures "combine with intrasentence structure and intersentence cohesion to provide the total text-forming resources of the culture" (p. 327).[13]

[12] Halliday-Hasan's concept of semantic meaning, as consisting of sense and reference, resembles Benveniste's. "The semantic level in the linguistic system is, among other things, an interface between language and the realities of the outside world. So the exopheric connections with the environment are connections made at the semantic level. This accounts for reference. Reference is a semantic relation linking an instance of language to its environment, and reference items are in principle exophoric" (1976, p. 305).

[13] Tatilon (1980, p. 147) comments that 'macrostructure' is an unhappy designation, and this is true, especially if we consider that texts for Halliday-Hasan differ from sentences by not being structural.

If we call, with Benveniste, the sentence level of language 'semantic', we should call this text level metasemantic and consider it amenable to intralinguistic analysis. Texts can be considered intralinguistically, translinguistically, and, of course, it is possible to ignore their linguistic characteristics altogether.

3. Texts do not consist of 'words' only: they are not sentences. They permit the emergence of metasigns by releasing verbal signs both from predication and the (general) lexicon. Metasigns - wether allegoric, symbolic, or imagistic - offer another dimension of texture, a metasemiotic one (from a linguistic point of view). Any given text, and not just literary texts, may establish a constellation of metasigns which signifies at a level which is neither that of the lexicon nor that of the sentence.

4. Texts, moreover, are sign complexes, not just fully disconnected verbal signs of the (genreal) lexicon. Texts in their entirity, therefore, are metasemiotic from a linguistic point of view. They allow metasemiotic signification within their confines, that is, intratextually, and offer metasemiotic signification as wholes.

5. If 'meaning' is that which we have at the semantic level of sentences, texts at the metasemantic-metasemiotic level of discourse, at the text level, have no 'meaning'. They have 'signification'; they signify and not mean.

Admittedly, such a restricted use of the term 'meaning' is problematic, especially in regard to general usage. It should be realized, of course, that general usage is quite ambiguous in regard to 'meaning' and 'sign' and their derivatives; (other languages show different kinds of ambiguities but they show some, too). 'Meaning' may refer to information as well as to import; and in both cases it is linked with intention. 'What is the meaning of that sentence?' is a question that can be equally answered with a paraphrase and with an explanation why it was said and to what purpose. What matters is not so much a pedantic use of terminology as rather the awareness both of this ambiguity and of the circumstance that a text can never have meaning in the same way as a sentence, and words of a sentence, can.

This consideration leads to the paradox that individual sentences have meaning, and have it as part of some text, but the text as a whole has no meaning.[14] Meaning can only be attributed to it in sentences which have meaning or by texts which, too, have none, except by attribution. This paradox situation is quite frequently felt, this is why it is customary to sum up the meaning of a text, to reduce it to – in fact to express it as – the meaning of a single sentence.

If we agree with Benveniste that every sentence is the expression of a total idea, we may say that every text, too, may try to convey a total idea of which the total ideas of the individual sentences as well as of the cohesive sub-units are parts. This means that the total idea of a text, if it is an idea, can only be conveyed by the text in its entirity. Benveniste's, and already Bühler's, point about the interrelationship between words and the sentence of which they are part can be applied, to repeat, to the relationship between sentences and the text of which they are part: neither of them is prior to the other. The difference is, of course, that texts do not consist of sentences only, they are also cohesive and may employ metasigns (as titles, subdivisions, pause, etc.).

'Meaning' is a demand that can only be satisfied in discourse at the sentence level or else there is a kind of meaning which can only be satisfied at that level. Meaning can be elusive, diaphoric, even in a single sentence; verbal signs, metasigns, and texts, however, can never be anything but diaphoric, that is, differential, indeterminate as to meaning. Meaning is a demand, this is why we drive others and ourselves to single sentences when we want to know what others, or we ourselves, mean to say. If the demand of meaning is raised in regard to texts in their entirity it will always be frustrated unless he who demands it is satisfied, instead, with some sentence(s).

Any meaning attributed to a text is non-linguistic interpreta-

[14] What I am arguing here is not some kind of semantic atomism, i. e. atomism of meaning (itself not to be confused with Bollinger's 'atomization of meaning' in componential analysis in semantics, which breaks down 'word meaning', i. e. significations, cf. Bollinger 1965). Texts as a rule do have a total effect, and what I want to say is that the total effect of texts is not that of 'meaning'.

tion. "The linguistic analysis of a text is not an interpretation of that text; it is an explanation. This point emerges clearly, though it is often misunderstood, in the context of stylistics, the linguistic analysis of literary texts. The linguistic analysis of literature is not an interpretation of what the text means; it is an explanation of why and how it means what it does" (Halliday-Hasan 1976, p. 327f.). In the terminology that I have proposed here the last half-sentence ought to say: it is an explanation (or indication) why and how a text signifies, how it works.

The aim of language, that is, of people producing and using language, is not meaning but signification and significance. Meaning is a means to that end. The semantic level of predication is an intermediary between the semiotic level(s) of verbal signs and the metasemantic-metasemiotic level of texts, the text level of discourse. Language at the text level is as complex as human behavior in general, of which it is, from one particular point of view, a part.

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Blood and IE. Kinship Terminology*

In a paper containing his well-known etymological connection between Lat. *uxor* 'wife' and Skt. *ukṣán* 'bull',[1] V. Pisani also devoted a few lines[2] to the etymology of IE. **su̯esor-* 'sister', which he analyzed as **su-* 'own'[3] + **esōr* 'blood' (Lat. *assyr*, Hitt. *esḫar*), and illustrated with an impressive series of semantic parallels:

Lat. *con-sanguinea* 'sister', lit. 'of the same blood' (*con-* 'with', *sanguis* 'blood')
Grk. ὅμ-αιμος 'brother, sister', lit. 'of the same blood' (ὅμοιος 'the same', αἷμα 'blood')
ON. *blōði* 'brother', lit. '(of the same) blood'.[4]

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[1] VXOR. Ricerche di morfologia indo-europea, in: Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati, III. Milano 1951 (Fontes Ambrosiani 27) p. 1–8. It must be said that this etymology is highly improbable. The image of *uxor* 'wife' as etymologically 'the one fecundated' along with Skt. *ukṣán* 'bull', lit. 'the one who fecundates' (Skt. *ukṣáti* 'to sprinkle' > *'to fecundate') has been invalidated by later scholarship. See Szemerényi, Kinship 34, p. 40–42, C. Kiehnle, Vedisch *ukṣ* und *ukṣ/vakṣ*, Wiesbaden 1979, p. 43–60, S. Zimmer, KZ. 95 (1981) p. 87.

[2] Op. cit. p. 7–8.

[3] Or = Lith. *sù*, ChSl. *sъ*, Grk. σύν, ξύν 'with'. He added later (AGI. 60, 1975, p. 48) as a third possibility IE. **su* 'good' and translated the compound as 'colei che ha il sangue buono', certainly not a better solution, with no linguistic parallels either.

[4] Short form of **ga-blōðan* lit. 'of the same blood' (*ga-* 'with', *blođ* 'blood'). See J. de Vries, Altn. etym. Wb. p. 45 'Blutgenosse'.

Pârvulescu, Adrian, ***Blood and IE. Kinship Terminology*** , Indogermanische Forschungen, 94 (1989) p.67

Hung. *testvér* 'brother, sister', lit. '(of the same) body and blood'.
(*test* 'body', *vér* 'blood')

Pisani further illustrated this pattern of concept-formation with forms such as Av. *huyāyna* 'brother', lit. 'of the same liver',[5] ON. *lifri* m. 'brother', lit. 'of the same liver',[6] to which one may add ON. *hlȳri* m. 'brother, friend', lit. 'with the same cheek',[7] Grk. ὁμό-σπορος 'brother', lit. 'from the same seed', N. Pers. *ham-šīra* 'sister', lit. 'sharing the same milk',[8] Grk. ὁμογάστριος, ὀγάστωρ 'co-uterine, from the same womb, of the same mother', as well as a list of words for 'brother' based upon the idea of '(originary) from the same womb': ON. *barmi* m. 'brother' (*barmr* 'womb'), Skt. *sayoni* 'brother' (*sa-* 'with', *yoni* 'womb'), *sodara* 'brother' (**sa-udara*: *udara* 'womb'), Grk. ἀ-δελφός 'brother' (α < **sm̥* 'with', δελφύς 'womb').[9]

Pisani's brilliant etymology did not meet with the reception it deserved. Walde-Hofmann[10] does not make any mention of it, although under the entry *uxor* full use is made of Pisani's paper. There is no reference to it in Ernout-Meillet either.[11] Later on Pisani's hypothesis has come under a strong attack. Szemerényi tagged the analogy with Hung. *testvér* and ON. *blóði* as 'ill-chosen' but omitted to mention the remaining *con-sanguinea* and ὅμ-αιμος.[12] E. Laroche also rejected 'one's own blood' as

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[5] From **ha-yākana, ha-* 'own' + *yākarə* 'liver' (W. Krause, KZ. 56, 1929, p. 304-306).

[6] Short form of **ga-lifran* (*ga-* 'with', *lifr* 'liver'), see J. de Vries, Altn. etym. Wb. p. 355, W. Krause, op. cit. p. 305 'die von derselben Leber stammenden'.

[7] Short form of **ga-hleuzjan* (**hleuza* 'cheek' > ON., *hlýr*), see J. de Vries, Altn. etym. Wb. p. 241 'etwa "Wanggenosse"'.

[8] R. Normier, IF. 85 (1980) p. 54 n. 45, of course in line with well-known formations such as NHG. *Milch-bruder*, Fr. *soeur de lait*, etc.

[9] Cf. W. Krause, op. cit. p. 306.

[10] Lat. etym. Wb. 2, p. 563 s. v. *soror*.

[11] Dict. étym. d. l. lang. lat.[4] p. 637 s. v. *soror*.

[12] Kinship p. 35 and note 131. He criticizes Pisani for not realizing the fact that *testvér* 'means "born of the same parents" whether brother or sister' and that 'it is shortened from *testvér nénje, testvér öccse*, etc. in which *nénje* "elder sister", *öccse* "younger brother", etc. defined the sex'. But should it imply that *testvér* does not mean 'brother'? Also in English cousin refers to both sexes.

failing to explain 'sister', and again cited Pisani partially, mentioning only ὅμαιμος, which he labeled as 'spécieux' because of being 'épicène'![13] Minard also flatly rejected this etymology, no reasons given.[14] Later Laroche questioned the meaning of a 'consanguineal' sister in a patriarchal terminology,[15] as if *consanguinea,* for instance, had not been used in a strong patriarchal society as that of the Roman.

Accepted only by a few scholars so far,[16] Pisani's etymology offers an excellent explanation also for other Indo-European

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Szemerényi was probably disturbed by the fact that in Pisani's view **su̯esor* lit. 'of the same blood' is specialized only for 'sister' and does not point also to 'brother'. The same objection appears with regard to ON. *blóði* 'also ill-chosen, since the formation, **ga-blōðan,* clearly indicates the sex'. It ought to be said that a neutral formation denoting both brother and sister is not compulsory. A semantic specialization has not necessarily logical reasons. R. Normier has cited (IF. 85, 1980, p. 54 n. 45) in this sense NPers. *hamšira* 'sister', lit. 'sharing the same milk' (*ham* 'with', *šīra* 'milk'), which when applied to male persons denotes 'foster brothers'. It should be also mentioned that Lat. *patruelis* refers to both father's son or daughter, whereas its etymological counterpart in Old High German, *fetiro* 'patruus, fratruelis', yielded exclusively NHG. *Vetter* 'male cousin', the name for the female cousin, *Cousine,* being borrowed from French. From IE. **ĝnō-to-* 'born' there are either masculine (Grk. γνωτός, Lat. *natus* 'son') or feminine forms (Lat. *nata,* Gall. *gnātha* 'daughter'), but in Latvian there is only a masculine *znuots* 'son-in-law, brother-in-law'. From **neu̯o-u̯est-* 'newly wed' comes ChSl. *nevěsta* 'bride, daughter-in-law' (cf. Szemerényi, Syncope p. 318 n. 1), not 'son-in-law, bridegroom', whereas in Old Irish *nuachar* n. 'beloved, lover, spouse', from *nua* 'new, young' and *caraid* 'to love', refers to both sexes (Vendryes, Lex. étym. de l'irl. anc. N-23). E. Laroche (note 15 below) even went to ask: 'Et quelle est la marque du féminin dans *su-esor* "même sang"'? It could be similarly asked: which is the masculine or the feminine gender mark in Lat. *con-iux* 'husband' (rare) or 'wife' (usual), lit. 'same yoke'?

13 Les noms des hittites, Paris 1966, p. 36 n. 35 'Le parallèle grec ὅμαιμος est spécieux: mot épicène qui dérive de ὁμο- + αἷμα comme ἀ-δελφός/ή de δελφύς'.

14 BLS. 56 (1961) p. 54.

15 Rev. hitt. et asian. 28 (1970) p. 51 n. 39 'comment "celle du même sang" définit-il la soeur dans une terminologie patriarcale?'.

16 Thumb-Hauschild, Hdb. d. Skt. 1, p. 158–9 n. 178, J. Schindler, IF. 72 (1967) p. 247 n. 44, H. Mittelberger, WZKM. 62 (1969) p. 318–9, J. Knobloch, Atti del Sesto Convegno Internazionale dei Linguisti, Brescia 1977, p. 30, R. Normier, IF. 85 (1980) p. 53–59, cf. P 1051.

facts and opens a very interesting area of investigation in the IE. kinship terminology.

Before any further steps, we should clarify one point in Pisani's interpretation. The form he reconstructed, **su-esōr,* raises several objections, mainly because of the assumed **esōr* 'blood', which does not account for most of the IE. cognates: Skt. *áṣṛk* (gen. sg. *asnáḥ*), RV. *asṛjā* (IE. **esṛg^ṷ, *esṛĝ*),[17] post Vedic *asra* (**esṛ-*),[18] Grk. ἔαρ (IE. **esṛ*),[19] Lat. *as(s)ser, assyr* (IE. **aser-* with preserved *-s-*),[20] Lett. *asins* (IE. **es$_e$n-*),[21] Hitt. *esḫar* (IE. **ésH$_1$r*),[22] Arm. *ariun* (**esr-*),[23] only Toch. A *ysār,* B *yasar* (masc.) was supposed to match the form **esōr* assumed by Pisani,[24] but now Werner Winter reconstructs it rather as

[17] WP. 1, p. 162, P. p. 343, Benveniste, Origines, p. 8 and 26, Wackernagel-Debrunner, Aind. Gr. 3, p. 312. Szemerényi, Kinship p. 37 posits for Sanskrit and Latvian an alternation **āsH(e)r/*asH(e)n.*

[18] Wackernagel-Debrunner, Aind. Gr. 2.2, p. 142.

[19] Frisk, GEW. 1, p. 432. Szemerényi, Kinship p. 36 proposes **ās(H)ṛ* 'which relates to **āsHer* as does οὖθαρ to *über*'.

[20] WH. 1, p. 72.

[21] WP. 1, p. 162, P. p. 343, Mühlenbach-Endzelin, Lett.-dt. Wb. 1, p. 143, but Trautmann, Bsl. Wb. p. 14 from **asn-* (see also note 17 above).

[22] J. Puhvel, Hittite Etymological Dictionary, Berlin-New York-Amsterdam 1984, p. 312-313. **ésH$_1$ṛ* alternates with *ésH$_1$-n-s. H$_1$* notes the laryngeal surviving as Hittite *h.* It must be pointed out that most of the other IE. cognates show no trace of this laryngeal. Szemerényi's view (Kinship p. 36) according to which IE. **esār-,* from which derive Hitt. *esḫar* and Toch. A *ysār* (B *yasar*), is nothing else but 'a (tabuistic?) transformation of **āser*', lacks linguistic support.

[23] There are several interpretations of the original form. Hübschmann, Arm. Gr. p. 424: **asr,* but see his further comment: 'Aber **asr* = **əsr-* zu setzen und darin die Tiefstufe von **ēsr-* zu sehen, hindert mich das anlautende *a* der indischen Formen, statt dessen man *i* (also **iṡrk, *iṡṇas*) erwarten müßte'. Bugge, KZ. 32 (1893) p. 17: **asriun.* Osthoff in IAnz. 15 (1903/4) p. 58: connection with Skt. *sisarti* 'flows'. H. Pedersen, KZ. 39 (1906) p. 395: 'kontamination eines *-r-* und *-n*-stammes'. Meillet, Esquisse² p. 39: **eṣr-* > **esar-* > **e(h)ar-* > Arm. *ar-*. Szemerényi, Kinship p. 36: IE. **āser-* > *aher-iun-* > Arm. *ariun* ('although **ar* from **ahar* (< **asṛ*) cannot be ruled out'). J. A. C. Greppin, An Etymological Dictionary of the Indo-European Components of Armenian in Bazmavep 141 (1983) p. 1-4, p. 313 posits **ēsH-r.*

[24] A. J. Van Windekens, Le tokharien ... I. La phonétique et le vocabulaire, Louvain 1976, p. 607. See also note 22 above.

*[*E*]*es*[*A*]*r*.[25] Thus it appears that most of the words belonging to this series were built upon a base **ser, *sor* or **sr̥* with various affixes which shaped the large display of variants seen above.

If we start from a base **ser-/*sr̥-,* then we will be able to compare an IE. homophone root for 'fluid, liquid': Skt. *sará-* 'liquid', *saráḥ* m. 'flow', Grk. ὀϱός 'the watery or serous part of milk, whey', Lat. *serum* 'whey', all from IE. **ser-* 'to flow'.[26] The etymological connection between 'fluid' and 'blood' is evidenced by several other cases. Even the above mentioned Grk. ὀϱός was used to denote 'the serum of the blood' αἵματος ὀϱός (Plat. Tim. 83 c). The Homeric term which pointed to the blood of gods ἰχώϱ (Il. 5.340, etc.) denoted also 'the serum of the blood' τὸ ὑδατῶδες τοῦ αἵματος (Arist., de part. anim. 11, 4, 651 a 17, cf. Plat. Tim. 83 c) or 'the watery part of milk, whey' (Arist. HA 521 b 27), as well as Lat. *serum* or Grk. ὀϱός. Further examples: Grk. αἷμα n. 'blood' is related to NHG. *Seim* 'mucilaginous fluid', also 'strained honey',[27] which goes back to OHG. *seim* 'mel, nectar', ON. *seimr* 'honey-comb', Dial. NNorw. *seima* 'stratum of slim, viscous fluidity',[28] the most important member of this group being Burgundian *sáims* 'clot of blood',[29] which confirms the relationship of Grk. αἷμα with this group.[30] J. de Vries has correctly set the ground meaning of this root as 'viscous fluidity'.[31] An excellent example is also OHG. *trōr* 'dropping fluid' = OSax. *drēor* 'blood', both derived from OHG. *trōran* 'to drop, drip',[32] with which compare ON. *dreyra* 'to

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[25] 'Tocharian evidence', in: Evidence for Laryngeals p. 202, where E and A note *e* and *a*-colored laryngeals.

[26] P. 909–910. For 'blood' and 'whey' see also Dial. It. (Logudorese) *prettu* 'geronnenes Blut' and 'Zieger' (Meyer-Lübke, REW.[3] p. 540).

[27] WP. 2, p. 465, Kluge-Mitzka, Etym. Wb. d. dt. Spr.[17] p. 700.

[28] J. de Vries, Altn. etym. Wb. p. 568.

[29] E. Gamillscheg, Romania Germanica, Berlin-Leipzig 1936, 3, p. 61.

[30] Prellwitz, Etym. Wb. d. griech. Spr.[2] p. 15. This etymology was later mentioned, without being considered, by Boisacq, Dict. étym. d. l. lang. gr.[3] p. 24, Frisk, GEW. 1, p. 39, 3, p. 22, Chantraine, Dict. étym. d. l. lang. gr. 34.

[31] 'zähe flüssigkeit', ibid.

[32] See further OSax. *drōr* 'tropfende flüssigkeit', MHG. *trōr* m. n. 'triefende, tropfende Feuchtigkeit: Tau, Regen, Blut', ON. *dreyri* m. 'strömendes blut',

bleed'. The primitive meaning has probably been preserved in Goth. *driusan* 'to fall'. Thus, 'blood' was actually conceived as *'drop (of blood)'.[33] One may also mention Welsh *gwyar* 'blood' (< **u̯eisaro-*) from IE. **u̯eis-* 'zerfließen, fließen'.[34] In view of the above list of parallels, we may assume that IE. **su̯e-sor* was based upon **su̯e* 'own' and **sor* 'blood', the whole compound meaning 'of one's own blood'.

This interpretation of **su̯e-sor* enables us first to correctly explain the so far misunderstood Lat. *sobrinus* (also *con-sobrinus*) 'cousin'. Its formal proximity to *soror* induced the Latin grammarians to consider *sobrinus* as syncopated from *sororinus* and to define the word as 'son of mother's sister'. In this sense Gaius wrote as follows (Dig. 38.10.1 § 6):

> consobrini, consobrinae, idest qui, quaeve ex duabus sororibus nascuntur, quasi *consororini.*

This erroneous definition has been accepted by most of the modern dictionaries, which translate both words as 'Geschwisterkind von mütterlicher Seite',[35] 'zur Schwester gehörig'(?),[36] 'Schwesterkind',[37] 'properly, the son of one's maternal aunt',[38] 'contr. of sororinus from soror, and therefore prop. an appella-

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Angl. Sax. *drēor* 'blood'. See on all these forms and their cognates Feist, Etym. Wb. d. got. Spr.³ p. 126.

[33] On account of these semantical parallels Lat. *sanguis* m. (OLat. *sanguen* n.) 'blood' is certainly to be related to Goth. *sigqan* 'δύνειν, βυθίζεσθαι', 'to sink', see E. Lewy, KZ. 40 (1907) p. 562, S. Feist, Etym. Wb. d. got. Spr.³ p. 420 with doubts, contra WH. 2, p. 475 ref. and 531. On the etymology of *sanguis* see O. Widemann, BB. 29 (1905) p. 315–320 with older bibliography, WH. ibid., Ernout-Meillet⁴ p. 593.

[34] H. Pedersen, Kelt. Gr. 1, p. 73 (also possible *gwy* 'fluid, liquid, water' + *-eis-*), P. p. 1134. One may cite also IE. **s(u̯)eku̯os* 'pflanzliches Saft; Harz' > Grk. ὀπός 'Pflanzensaft; OPr. *sackis* id. vs. Russ. *okoka* 'Bluteiter', Ukr. *posoka* 'Blut eines Tieres' (P. p. 1044).

[35] Georges, Ausführl. lat. dt. Wb. 1, p. 1537 s. v., WH. 1, p. 265 s. v.

[36] WH. 2 p. 550 s. v. *sobrinus.*

[37] Klotz, Hdwb. d. lat. Spr. 2, p. 1364 s. v. *sobrinus.*

[38] The Oxford Latin Dictionary 1, p. 417 s. v. *consobrinus,* comp. Lewis-Short, Lat. Dict. p. 434 s. v. *consobrinus.*

tion for the children of sisters',[39] 'de soeur'(?).[40] There is absolutely no evidence in Latin that would support the assertion that *sobrinus* means 'by sister's side' and that *sobrinus/consobrinus* are bound to denote only the cousins on the sister's side. This is to be attributed solely to the assumption that *sobrinus* was derived from *sororinus*. Should we read the rest of Gaius's text, we will get a completely different picture:

> Item amitini, amitinae, idest qui, quaeve ex fratre et sorore propagantur: *sed vulgus fere omnes istos communi appellatione consobrinos vocat.*[41]

Indeed, most of the distinctions of this kind are actually characteristic of a specialized language, such as legal terminology or the formulae of the civil administration, and do not match real language. Most significantly, even Cicero once calls *consobrinus* the son of somebody's uncle:

> ne cum hoc T. Broccho avunculo, ne cum eius filio, consobrino suo ... vivat? (Pro Ligario 11)

while elsewhere he names *consobrini* the children of his aunt:

> quod de Crasso pater et Aculeo, quocum erat nostra matertera ... cumque nos cum consobrinis nostris, Aculeonis filiis, et ea disceremus, quae Crasso placerent ... (De orat. II 1)

It is known that grammarians and lawyers are compelled by their professions to make minute distinctions, mostly not in use in common language, and we must assume that linking *consobrini* only with the maternal side of kinship is just such a grammarian's definition. Indeed, one can see where this kind of distinction comes from, when Donatus' inference is considered, according to whom *sobrini* are actually the children of sisters,

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[39] Lewis-Short, Lat. Dict. p. 1714 s.v. *sobrinus*. The Oxford Latin Dict. p. 1777 derives *sobrinus* from **sororinus*?!

[40] Ernout-Meillet[4] p. 637 s.v. *soror*.

[41] I cannot agree with Pisani's comment (AGI. 60, 1975, p. 46) on this text: 'Cioè, il rapporto di parentela si basa sulla madre come sorella del padre o della madre, forse in origine della madre, del cugino'.

whereas *consobrini* children of brothers and sisters: sobrini sunt ex duabus sororibus, consobrini ex fratre et sorore (ad Ter. Hec. 459). In fact most of the definitions given by ancient sources do not make any difference between children from common sisters of brothers or both: *consobrini* are simply 'cousins'.[42]

To sum up, *(con)sobrinus* has etymologically nothing to do with *soror,* nor with the feminine side of kinship. Originally it designated only a general blood-relationship, 'of one's own blood', and was certainly derived from **sue̯-sor* as **sue̯-sr̥-īnos*,[43] like ὅμ-αιμος or *con-sanguineus.*

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[42] See further ThLL. 4, 473, 73–474, 38 s. v. *consobrinus,* and Forcellini, Totius latinitatis lexicon 2, p. 417 s. v. *consobrinus,* 5, p. 540 s. v. *sobrinus. Consobrinus* and *sobrinus* would probably be best translated as 'first cousin' and respectively 'second cousin', as seems to be the case in Cicero's De officiis 1.54 where among various kinship bonds, husband and wife are being considered first, followed by sons, brothers and sisters, and first and second cousins: 'prima societas in ipso coniugio est, proxima in liberis ... sequuntur fratrum coniunctiones, post consobrinorum sobrinorumque'. Latin used also *frater patruelis* lit. 'son of one's paternal uncle' for 'cousin'. *Patruelis* obviously derives from *patruus* 'uncle'. Most significant is the fact that despite its evident origin *patruelis* was also applied to a father's sister son (Cic., Cael. 24.60), for whom will be later coined *matruelis. Sobrinus* followed the trend common to many kinship terms. It gradually lost its precise meaning and became mostly a reference to second degree relatives. Whereas in Plautus (Poen. 1068–9) *sobrina* still referred to first cousins ('Nam mihi sobrina Ampsigura tua mater fuit; / pater tuos, is erat frater patruelis meus'), it certainly denotes second cousins in Cicero's De officiis quoted above. The prefixed *con-sobrinus* represents a semantic reinforcement similar to *socer* > *con-socer* or *socrus* > *con-socrus* (see further *adiutor/coadiutor, aequalis/coaequalis, desertor/condesertor, firmator/confirmator, sceleratus/consceleratus,* etc.), the compounds showing basically the same meaning with the unprefixed forms. This semantic strengthening trend seems to characterize the notion of 'cousin' not only in Latin. The same phenomenon occurred in the Romance languages as well. The Romanian word for 'cousin', *văr,* derives from Lat. (*consobrinus*) *verus* 'true (cousin)'. *Văr* itself becoming a loose reference to a second cousin had to be semantically reinforced by *primar* 'of first degree': *văr primar* 'first cousin'. Similarly, in Spanish and Portuguese *primo* 'cousin' represents Lat. (*consobrinus*) *primus.* Rom. *văr* lit. 'true (cousin)' is matched by OProv. *germá,* Dial. It. *germano* 'cousin' from Lat. (*consobrinus*) *germanus* lit. 'true (cousin)'. (See W. von Wartburg, FEW. 4, p. 120 s. v. *germanus.*)

[43] WH. 2, p. 550.

A strong confirmation of this view was later found by Pisani himself.[44] He rightly noticed that Arm. *k'eṙi* 'uncle', despite Hübschmann's opposite view,[45] is yet related to *k'oir* 'sister' (gen *k'eṙ*), the former from **su̯esr-i̯os*, the latter from **su̯esōr*. A semantic transfer from 'sister' to 'uncle' being out of the question, it is evident that the comon source of these terms was a more general notion such as 'relative', 'kin', 'parent', etc. This brings a high degree of probability to the presumed original semantics 'one's own blood'.

The fact that IE. **su̯esor-* yielded in the Germanic languages, besides the well-known words for 'sister' such as Goth. *swis-t-ar*, ON. *sys-t-er*, with a *-t-* epenthesis,[46] also forms meaning 'cousin' without any phonetic extension, is decisive. This form is closer to the IE. root: Angl. Sax. *ge-swiria* m. 'consobrinus', OSax. *swiri* m. 'Vetter', OFris. *swire* f. 'Vetterschaft', all going back to **su̯esr-i̯a*.[47]

We have to conclude that Lat. *sobrinus* 'cousin', Arm. *k'eṙi* 'uncle' and Angl. Sax. *ge-swiria* 'cousin' are the best evidence of the fact that IE. **su̯esor* did not mean 'sister'. This gives a strong confirmation to Pisani's interpretation of the root. It is very likely that the original meaning 'one's own blood' was directed at any kind of 'blood-relation', 'kin', 'parent', whence the sense

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[44] AGI. 60 (1975) p. 47. It appears that Pisani was unaware of the fact that the same explanation of *k'eṙi* had been offered by Benveniste, Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes 1, p. 231, with an unsatisfactory semantic account ('L'oncle maternel est donc désigné littéralement comme "celui de la soeur", d'après sa soeur qui est la mère de EGO'), rejected by Szemerényi, Kinship p. 192–3.

[45] Arm. Gr. p. 504 (no. 436) 'Arm. *k'eṙi* "Oheim = Bruder der Mutter" gehört der Bedeutung nach nicht zu *k'oir*'.

[46] WP. 2, p. 533, P. p. 1051, Feist, Vergl. Wb. d. got. Spr.[3] p. 469, contested by Szemerényi, Kinship p. 93. Pisani (AGI. 60, 1975, p. 47) mentioned also Angl. Sax. *swehor, sweōr* 'father-in-law, cousin', which evidently goes with NHG. *Schwäher* and IE. **su̯ekrū́-/*su̯ék̂uro-*.

[47] Bosworth–Toller, Angl. Sax. Dict. p. 959 s. v. *swira*, Holthausen, Asächs. Wb. p. 73, id., Afries. Wb. p. 108. See Szemerényi, Kinship p. 93 (**sweseríyo* > **swiziriya* > **swi(ri)riya*), and also G. Darms, Schwäher und Schwager. Hahn und Huhn. Die Vr̥ddhi-Ableitung im Germanischen, München 1978, p. 444 n. 3.

later specialized to 'sister' on the one hand, and 'cousin' or 'uncle' on the other.

From the point of view of general linguistics, the semantic development from 'blood relation' to 'cousin' needs a special comment. The IE. kinship terminology was certainly not a fixed and strongly delimited vocabulary, with words denoting strictly the same notion everywhere in the IE. area. There is no such petrified vocabulary in any language. Any word is subjected to a specific semantic development and any notion may be expressed in various ways. This applies also to the IE. kinship terminology. For example, the well-known root for 'mother', ***mātér*,** has been almost everywhere inherited as 'mother', but evolved semantically to 'sister' in Albanian (*motrë*) and to 'wife, woman' in Lithuanian (*mótė*).

Even more flexible is the IE. notion for 'relative, kin'. Most of the terms pointing to a general relationship tended to specialize to a certain kind of relationship. We have mentioned above Lat. *con-sanguineus* 'related, kindred' which in late Latin narrowed its meaning to 'brother', and *con-sanguinea* to 'sister'. There are many other examples of this type. The IE. root **bhendh-* 'to bind' is represented in Sanskrit with *bándhuḥ* m. 'relative, kin', but also 'spouse', 'brother' and even 'bastard'.[48] In Greek the same IE. root has yielded πενθε-ρός 'father-in-law', also 'brother-in-law' and 'son-in-law'. In Russian we have *plemjannik* 'nephew' (*plemjannica* 'niece') derived from *plemja* 'clan, family'. It is obvious that *plemjannik* should have meant *'from the (same) family', that is 'relative, kin', the connotation 'nephew' being just a semantic specialization. From the IE. root **ĝen-* 'to beget' Homer has γνωτός 'kinsman' or 'kinswoman' (Il. 15.350), Sanskrit *jnātís* 'relative' and MWelsh *gnawt* 'relative'. It is evident that the original meaning should have been *'of common birth, related by birth'. Also interesting is the fact that γνωτός was used for 'brother' or 'sister' (Il. 17.35, 22.234),[49] later preserving only this last connotation.[50] But whereas γνωτός, Skt.

[48] Roth-Böthlingk, Sanskrit Wb. 5, p. 19 s.v.
[49] Cf. also Lex. d. frühgr. Ep. 10, p. 169 s.v. (Schmidt).
[50] See LSJ. s.v.

jñātís and MWelsh *gnawt* still attest the original meaning 'relative, kin', their perfect match Lett. *znuots* designates solely the 'son-in-law' or 'brother-in-law'.

That a term initially meant for blood-relationship may have come to denote a kin by marriage is decisive. Indeed a term for general relationship, no matter what its original meaning or semantic field is, has a diachronic tendency to ignore any distinction with regard to the community of birth or relationship by marriage, unless this is expressively stated by adjacent words or lexical marks. It should be mentioned here again Lat. *consanguineus,* used in Latin for all kinds of kinship, including the relatives by marriage,[51] and Pol. *krewny* 'blood relations'[52] from *krew* 'blood' and 'kinship', which refers to the blood-relatives as well as to the kins by marriage (*powinowotctwo*).[53]

Very significant is the case of Lat. *parens* 'procreator, father or mother', from *pariō* 'to beget, bring forth, produce' which, starting with the post-Augustan era, has been equally used for 'relations, relatives, kinsfolk' (Curt. 6.10.30). This connotation found a considerable credit in medieval Latin,[54] which utilized forms such as *parenta* 'female relative', *parentatus* 'relationship by marriage', *parentela* 'birth, relationship (by marriage) kindred, relations, offspring', *parentelitas* 'relationship' and was also continued in the Romance languages: It. *parenti* 'relatives', Log. *parente,* Friul. *parint,* Fr. *parent,* Port. *parente* 'kindred, related', Sp. *pariente* 'kindred', also 'husband', *parienta* 'wife'.[55]

In order to demonstrate that the idea of 'relationship by marriage' can come to denote a blood kinship, it suffices to mention the IE. root **ĝem-* 'to marry', which has developed in Greek

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[51] Cf. Sen. apoc. 13 'fratris filia, sororis filia, generi, soceri, socrus, omnes plane consanguinei'. See also ThLL. 4, 359–360 s. v.

[52] Attested since 1399, see Słownik Staropolski, Tom III, Wrocław-Krákow-Warszawa 1960–1962, p. 386. See also O. Trubačev, Istroija slavjanskix terminov rodstva, Moskva 1959, p. 120.

[53] Polska Akademia Nauk, Słownik Polszczyzny XVI Wieku, Wrocław-Warszawa 1978, 11, p. 186.

[54] See Du Cange 6, p. 170, F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus, Leiden 1976, p. 763 s. v.

[55] Meyer-Lübke, REW.³ 6233.

γαμέω 'to marry' and γαμβρός 'son-in-law' but yielded in Sanskrit *jāmi* adj. 'related, kin' (RV. 1.113.3 etc.), also 'sister' (RV. 1.185.5), 'sister or brother' (RV. 1.65.7, etc.) 'blood-kinship' (RV. 3. 54.9, etc.).[56] Only later was *jāmi* used also for 'daughter-in-law', while *jāmī* denotes exclusively 'daugther-in-law'.

But the best example we can offer is certainly Lat. *cognatus* (*cognata*), which in early, classical and even late Latin kept its etymological meaning 'of common birth' and designated persons having sprung from the same stock, that is 'kinsman, kinswoman, kindred'.[57] The interesting side of the history of this word began three centuries after its first occurrence in Latin literature. Indeed, while ca. 204 B.C. *cognatus* (*cognata*) first appeared with the meaning 'kinsman (kinswoman)',[58] as early as A.D. 119 we meet *cognata* denoting 'sister-in-law'[59] and later *cognatus* 'brother-in-law',[60] a usage which survived through the Middle Ages[61] and passed into the Romance languages: It. *cognato,* Sp. *cuñado.* OFr. *cognat,* Rom. *cumnat,* etc., all 'brother-in-law'.[62]

The lesson all these examples teach us is worth being repeated: a word for 'kin, relative' may come to denote a special case of relationship, whether a blood-kinship or a relationship by marriage.

This interpretation of IE. **su̯esor-* 'sister' as 'of one's own

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[56] Grassmann, Wb. z. Rig-Veda p. 484.

[57] See ThLL. 3, 1481. 3–74, 1482. 17–31.

[58] Cf. Plaut., Mil. 705, Stich. 580 'cum amicis deliberavi ... et cum cognatis meis', Cist. 100 'ei nunc alia ducendast domum, sua cognata Lemniensis', Enn., Ann. 463, etc.

[59] Hadriani laudatio funebris in honorem Madidiae socrus, CIL. XIV 3579 1.25 '[obseque]ntissima ipsa mater indulgentissima cognata'.

[60] VIth century A.D., Vulg. Iud. 1.16, etc., see ThLL. 3, 1481.77–1482.2.

[61] See a list of references in Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus 196 s.v., Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch 11,5, col. 793–4, R.E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List p. 94.

[62] Meyer-Lübke, REW.³ p. 2029, W. von Wartburg, FEW. 2, p. 843. Cognatus shows in late Latin also connotations such as 'cousin', 'brother', 'nephew', and 'father-in-law' (ThLL. 3, 1482.2–10). Some of these semantic developments found their way through the Romance languages: Dial. Fr. *cougnat, conhat* 'cousin', *cugnat, cuñátro* 'son-in-law' (Wartburg, FEW. 2, p. 843).

blood', as well as the above considerations on the semantic narrowing of the words for 'kin, relative', opens a very interesting perspective on the IE. root **sụekrū́-* 'mother-in-law'/ **sụékuro-* 'father-in-law'.[63] Indeed, in view of what has been said above, this may be considered formed from IE. **sụe-* 'own' and **krū-* 'blood',[64] that is *'of one's own blood' > *'relative', later specialized for parents-in-law, like Gr. πενθερός 'father-in-law' from IE. **bhendh-* 'relative, kin'. As the form of this root has long been discussed, we have to reexamine some details.

Kretschmer was probably the first one to assume that the masculine **sụékuro-* should be considered a derivative of the feminine **sụekrū́-*.[65] Earlier Wackernagel had envisaged an intermediary stage **sụekruo-*,[66] but a metathesis *-ur-o-* > *-ru-o-* has no base in the IE. phonetics and was later dropped by Wackernagel himself.[67] We probably owe the right explanation of the derivation of the masculine **sụékuro* from **sụekrū́* to Bonfante and F. Specht who, independently from one another, considered an intermediary **sụek̂ru-ro-*[68] dissimilated to **sụek̂uro-*. This excellent idea has been accepted by Pokorny[69] and Mezger.[70] Indeed, in a root heavily affected by assimilation (cf. Skt. *śvá-śura* < **svá́śura,* Lith. *šešuras* < **sešuras,* Arm. *skesur* < **k̂ụé-k̂ur* [assim.] < **sụek̂ur*[71]), this loss of the *-r-* as a result of dissimilation appears as highly probable. What is more, the dissimi-

[63] WP. 2, p. 521–2. P. p. 1043–4.

[64] WP. 1, p. 478–480, P. p. 621–2.

[65] KZ. 31 (1892) p. 446–7. See the entire question discussed with details and full bibliography by Szemerényi, Syncope p. 292–311, also Kinship p. 64–67.

[66] KZ. 28 (1887) p. 136.

[67] Wackernagel–Debrunner, Aind. Gr. 3, p. 348. See against it with good reasons Szemerényi, Syncope p. 302–3. Meillet, Introduction[7] p. 286 considered a suffix **-wə-* (because in the Saussurian phonology IE. $*\bar{u} = \breve{u} + ə$!, see Le slave commun p. 347, 429) as a mark for feminine gender and reconstructed '**swekrū́-* de **swekruwə-*, avec **w* après **r* en regard de **-ur-* dans le masculin'.

[68] G. Bonfante, Stud. ital. fil. class. NS. 7 (1929) p. 217, Specht, KZ. 65 (1938) p. 193.

[69] P. p. 1043.

[70] AJPh. 65 (1944) p. 170.

[71] Brugmann, Grdr.[2] 1, p. 304.

lation *kr - r > k - r* has a clear confirmation in Toch. A *kuraś* (< **kruraś*) 'cold' vs. Grk. κρυερός 'icy, cold', *κρυόεις 'bloody',[72] both very likely related to Skt. *krūráḥ*, Av. *xrūra* 'bloody, cruel'.[73]

Specht offered a perfect morphological parallel in Grk. ὀιζύς f. vs. ὀιζῡ-ρός m. and ὀιζῠ-ρός.[74] The short ῠ occurs also in Hom. ὀιζῠ́ω which shows that Att. ὀιζῠρός is not a linguistic accident.[75] The long/short vowel oscillation may be further illus-

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[72] See J. Duchesne-Guillemin, BSL. 41 (1940) p. 155–6, Fraenkel, Lit. etym. Wb. p. 290, Frisk, GEW. 2, p. 29, contra Schwyzer, Gr. Gr. 1, p. 482 n. 3. A. J. Van Windekens, Le tokharien ... I. La phonétique et le vocabulaire, Louvain 1976, p. 244–45 connects Toch. *kuraś* 'cold' with IE. **ghu̯er-* 'warm'. Fraenkel ibid. first rejects any relationship with κρυόεις 'bloody' ('nicht identisch mit demselben Wort der Bed. 'eiskalt'), but a few lines below he admits the connection of Lett. *kreve* 'geronnenes Blut' with Lat. *crusta* 'Kruste', OHG. *(h)rosa* 'Eis, Kruste', and Grk. κρυόεις, κρυερός 'eiskalt'. Grk. κρυόεις 'icy' and 'bloody' has been rightly explained by H. Lommel, KZ. 59 (1932) p. 194–5 as applying not to 'das lebendig in den Adern pulsierende Blut, sondern das geronnene Blut'. It should be pointed out that the existence of *κρυόεις 'bloody' instead of the well-known ὀκρυόεις 'bloody' has not been accepted by dictionaries, but has been rightly inferred by scholars and explained in the etymological dictionaries (Boisacq, Dict. étym. d. l. lang. gr.[3] p. 695, Frisk, GEW. 2, p. 374, Chantraine, Dict. étym. d. l. lang. gr. p. 790, cf. Schwyzer, Gr. Gr. 1, p. 434, M. Leumann, Hom. Wörter p. 49–50). Indeed, ὀκρυόεις has been generally considered a case of false lexical separation in the Homeric text. In passages such as Il. 6.344 κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης the actual reading should be κυνὸς κακομηχάνοο κρυοέσσης 'of a wrongdoing bloody dog', the final *o* of κακομηχάνοο having been inadvertently attached to *κρυοέσσης. Similarly, Il. 9.65 ὃς πολέμου ἔρᾶται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος must have had originally *ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος '(who loves the) bloody and ravaging the people (war)'. In either case (ὀ)κρυόεις evidences the meaning 'bloody' of the root **krŭ̄* in Greek.

[73] See Pokorny p. 622, Frisk, GEW. 2, p. 29. Further related are Lat. *crūdus* 'raw, crude, cruel' and Bret. *krīz* (< **krūdis*) 'cruel'.

[74] See also Brugmann, IF. 13 (1902/3) p. 144–6, id., Gr. Gr.[4] p. 227.

[75] Szemerényi, Syncope p. 308 n. 2 sees in ὀιζῠρός 'a poetic license of comedy'. For further instances of length oscillation see W. Schulze, KZ. 52 (1924) p. 311 (also Schwyzer, Gr. Gr. 1, p. 482 n. 11)): σκιᾰρός/ἀνιηρός, Skt. *kacchurá-/kacchū́ra-*, Skt. *vīrá* (= Lith. *výras*) vs. Lat. *vĭr*. See also Grk. κρῠ́-ος 'frost', κρῠ-όεις 'icy-cold', κρῠ-ερός 'icy' vs. κρῡ-μ-ός 'frost', κρῡ-μ-ώδης 'frozen', κρῡ-μ-αίνω 'to make cold', as well as θύος vs. θῡμός (see also Frisk, GEW. 2, p. 29; less convincing *κρῠ-σμός > κρῡμός, on account of κρύσ-ταλλος [Schwyzer, Gr.

trated by σκιά 'shadow' vs. σκιᾰρός 'shady'. It is obvious that the rule invoked by Szemerényi, according to which the stem-vowels are either retained or lengthened before the suffix -ρο-, but never shortened,[76] does not operate without a number of exceptions. We have to conclude that from the point of view of Indo-European linguistics the dissimilation **su̯ekruros* > **su̯ek̂uros* does not appear to have any major flaw.

The quality of the *k* stop has not yet been clearly set. Some scholars have reconstructed a palatal *k̂* (**su̯ek̂rū́-/*su̯ék̂uro-*),[77] some considered only a guttural *k* (**su̯ekrū́-/*su̯ékuro-*),[78] while some others envisaged a guttural *k* alternating with a palatal *k̂*.[79] If we evaluate the whole series of words comprised under this root, we will see that Lat. *socer* and Grk. ἑκυρός may be based upon *k* as well as *k̂*. Celtic also fused together intervocalic *-kh-*, *-k̂h-*, *-k-*, and *-k̂-* in *g*, as well as the same sounds folowed by *r*,[80] so that we cannot say whether Welsh *chwegr*, OCorn. *hweger* 'mother-in-law', Welsh *chwegrwn*, OCorn. *hwigeren* 'father-in-law' had originally **k̂* or *k*.[81] The Germanic series, OHG. *swehur* 'father-in-law', OHG. *swigar*, Angl. Sax. *sweger*, Goth. *swaíhrō*, ON. *svœ̄ra* 'mother-in-law', can be based either on a *k* or a *k̂*, both of them being confused in Germanic. A positive answer may be given for Skt. *śváśura-* and Lith. *šešuras*, both with **k̂*, Arm. *skesur* with *s* from **k* (< **k̂u̯ek̂urā* < **ku̯ekrū*

Gr. 1, p. 281, 492, Boisacq, Dict. étym. d. l. lang. gr.^{3} p. 522]: this pattern cannot be applied to θῡμός!).

[76] Syncope p. 307–8.

[77] Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., p. 491, Fristk, GEW. 1, 478, M. Leumann, Lat. Laut- und Formenl. p. 284, see also P. Persson, IF. 26 (1909) p. 63, F. Mezger, AJPh. 65 (1944) p. 170, Feist, Vergl. Wb. d. got. Spr.^{3} p. 462.

[78] W. Schulze, KZ. 40 (1907) p. 400, Trautmann, Bsl. Wb. p. 295–6, see also WH. 2, p. 550, A. Debrunner, IF. 54 (1936) p. 207, Szemerényi, Syncope p. 292, Kinship p. 63–67 (I assume that the forms with velar *k* – p. 64–67 – are due to a printing error).

[79] Pedersen, BB. 19 (1893) p. 302, Brugmann, Grdr.^{2} 1,1, p. 116, Specht, KZ. 68 (1944) p. 46, also Urspr. p. 238.

[80] Pedersen, Kelt. Gr. 1, p. 122–5.

[81] J. Morris Jones, Welsh Grammar, Oxford 1913, p. 135 posits **su̯ek̂(u)r* (but p. 166 **su̯ekr*!), whereas Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, Caerdydd 1967, p. 848 s. v. *chwegr* gives **su̯ek(u)r-* (also *chwegrwn* 'father-in-law' from **su̯ekru-no-*).

Pârvulescu, Adrian, **_Blood and IE. Kinship Terminology_** , Indogermanische Forschungen, 94 (1989) p.67

< _*su̯ekrū_),[82] and probably Alb. _vjehërr,_ with _h_ going back to *k̂ (_*su̯ekuros_ > [assim.] > _*su̯esuros_ > _vjehërr_), provided this reconstruction of Jokl is correct.[83] There was also undoubtedly *k̂ in ChSl. _svekrъ,_ for a palatal *k̂ should have given _s_ in Slavonic.[84]Thus, it would appear that we deal here with the well-known irregular oscillation _*k/*k̂_ in Indo-European,[85] as in e.g. Skt. _aśman_ (*k̂) vs. Lith. _akmuo_ (*k), Skt. _paśu_ (*k̂) vs. OLith. _pekus_ (*k) etc. Indeed, Pedersen,[86] followed by Specht,[87] posited _*su̯e-krū́_ alternating with _*su̯é-k̂uros._

At this point it would be useful to remember that according to Specht's reconstruction _*su̯ék̂uro-_ was most likely dissimilated from _*su̯ékruro-_. It is known that _*k,_ not a frequent sound in Indo-European, was mostly to be found after _*s,_ before _*a_ or

[82] Hübschmann, Arm. Gr. p.491, Brugmann, Grdr.[2] 1, p.304. This view has been recently questioned by Szemerényi, who proposed the sequence IE. _*swek̂uros_ > _*skwek̂uros_ < _*sk̂wek̂uros_ > _*stwek̂uros_ > Arm. _skesur_ (Syncope p.294–296), and F. Kortlandt, who considered directly (IE. _*swek̂urā-_ >) _*sweśurā_ > (assim.) _*śweśurā_ > Arm. _skesur_ ('On the Relative Chronology of Armenian Sound Change', in: First International Conference on Armenian Linguistics. Proceedings, Edited by John A.C.Greppin, Caravan Books, Delmar New York 1980, p.99 and 104),

[83] See N. Jokl, Linguistisch-kulturhistorische Untersuchungen aus dem Bereich des Albanischen, Berlin und Leipzig 1923, p.49, followed by E. Fraenkel, KZ.70 (1952) p.130 ref., id., Lit. etym. Wb. p.977, Szemerényi, Syncope p. 307 n.3.

[84] Considering the above cases of assimilation, the dissimilation envisaged by Schulze (KZ.40 1907, p.400 n.5), that is _-k̂r-_ instead of _*-sr-_ because of the initial _s-_, accepted by Meillet (Le slave commun p.228), Walde-Pokorny 2, p.522, and J. J. Mikkola (Urslavische Gr. Heidelberg 1942, 2, p.153–54) does not show sufficient support. Against it has pronounced recently P. Arumaa, Urslavische Gr., Heidelberg 1976, 2, p.100. On the other hand, O. N. Trubačev (Istorija slavjanskix terminov rodstva, Moskva 1959, p.120–121) tried to explain _svekry_ instead of the expected _*svesry,_ as a case of folk etymology under the influence of _kry_ 'blood' ('čto v slučae s terminami rodstva vpolne dopustimo' ['that in the case of kinship terminology is very possible']). But this is to forget that the starting point of a folk etymology is phonetic similarity, which could hardly be the case here.

[85] W. Vondrak, Vergl. slav. Gr.[2] 1, p.429.

[86] BB.19 (1893) p.302.

[87] KZ.68 (1944) p.46, Ursprung p.238.

**r* etc.,[88] a typical case being IE. **krū-* 'blood'. We may presume that after the dissimilation **su̯e-kruro-* > **su̯e-kuro-*, **k* being deprived of its supporting *r*, found itself isolated in an intervocalic position, and became subject to the assimilatory influence of the initial **s-*. That this may well be the case seems to be supported by the assimilation **su̯ekuró-* > **su̯esuró-* > Alb. *yjehërr*, where *s* produced the change of the nearby *k* in *s*, instead of the expected *th*.[89] Thus, we may assume with a certain degree of probability that Indo-European had **su̯é-k̂uro-* from **su̯é-kruro-*.

The origin of the feminine **su̯e-krū́* (Skt. *śváśru-*, NPers. *xusrū*, Angl. Sax. *sweger*, ORuss. *svekry*) could easily be explained as IE. **su̯e-* 'one's own' + **krū-* 'blood' (Av. *xrū-* f., Skt. *krū-rá-* 'bloody', MIr. *crú* < **krūs*, Slov. *krī* < Slav. **kry-* < IE. **krūs*). That later *-*ū* was felt as a feminine mark, this appears clearly in the pair ChSl. *svekrъ* m. 'father-in-law' (**su̯ekrŭ*) vs. *svekry* f. 'mother-in-law' (**su̯ekrū-*).[90] -y- was further used in Slavonic for feminine formations: *neplody* 'barren woman', **zъly* (Russ. *zólva*) 'wife's sister', *jetry* 'sister-in-law', *pastorъky* 'step daughter' etc.[91] The masculine *svekrъ* took shape only after **su̯ekrū́*[92] was identified as a feminine. In the

[88] See Meillet, Introduction[8] p. 93–94.

[89] See Jokl, note 83 above, ibid.

[90] The Proto-Slavic form **svekъrъ* presumed by Vondrák, Vergl. slav. Gr.[1] 1, p. 430 and Vaillant, Gramm. comp. d. lang. slav. 1, p. 36 does not seem necessary if we consider the masculine as a secondary formation in opposition with the feminine. Vondrák in his second edition, 1, p. 555, recanted his earlier position and ceased to consider *-rъ* from *svek-rъ* as a **-ro-* suffix.

[91] Vondrák, Vergl. slav. Gr.[2] 1, p. 658, Vaillant, Gramm. comp. d. lang. slav. 2, p. 274–286, Wackernagel-Debrunner, Aind. Gr. 2,2 p. 496. Sommer, IF. 36 (1915) p. 196–198, Meillet, Études sur l'étymologie et le vocabulaire du vieux slave[2] p. 268, followed by Szemerényi, Syncope p. 310, assumed that the whole series of *-y-* formations in Slavic was shaped after **su̯ekrūs*.

[92] Vaillant, Gramm. comp. d. lang. slav. 1, p. 36. O. N. Trubačev, Istorija slavjanskix terminov rodstva, Moskva 1959, p. 119 considers the final vowel in the Slavic series as epenthetic: Russ. *svjok-o-r*, Ukr. *svek-o-r*, Pol. *świek-i-r*, Scr. *svek-a-r*, Bulg. *svek-ъ-r*. He cited similarly Russ. *ostjor*, Bulg. *ostъr*, with epenthetic -ъ-, from ChSl. *ostrъ*, cf. Lith. *aštrùs*, Grk. ἀκρός, IE. **ak̂ro-s*. Consequently, Trubačev posits Proto-Slavic *svekrъ*, not *svekъrъ*, view opposed by Szemerényi, Syncope p. 299 n. 2.

Germanic languages the *-ū*-stem was replaced by an *-ā*-stem 'which was the more regular counterpart of an *o*-stem, Germanic *a*-stem', as Szemerényi pointed out:[93] Goth. *swaihra* 'father-in-law' (< **swaihran-*) vs. *swaihro* 'mother-in-law' (< **swaihrōn*). It is obvious that every language tried to build its own pair of notions and have them shaped after a system already existent in language. We may further mention in the Celtic languages Welsh *chwegr* f. 'mother-in-law' (< **su̯ek[u]r-*) which does not even show a trace of the original **-ū-*. Only the masculine *chwegrwn* 'father-in-law' still attests a short *-ŭ-* stem: **suekrŭ-no*. From **su̯ekurā* we have in Grk. ἑκυρά vs. masculine ἑκυρός, which shows that the basic form used in both cases was **su̯ek̑uro-*, the stem in *-ā* for feminine being built to contrast the masculine. Similarly, in Albanian beside *vjehërr* m. 'father-in-law' from **su̯esuro-* (< **su̯ekuro-*) *vjehërrë* f. 'mother-in-law' has been newly created. In view of this leveling trend, formations like Skt. *śvaśrū́* and ChSl. *svekry* should be regarded as preserved archaisms. We may trace the history of this unusual root in a few words: **su̯e-krū́* 'one's own blood' was extended to an adjectival **su̯é-kru-ro-* > **su̯é-k̑uro-* 'of one's own blood', 'relative'. The original stem was felt as a feminine and remained an archaism in Sanskrit, Slavic, and Latin,[94] whereas **su̯ek̑uro-*, specialized for masculine, became a base-form and developed further derivatives for feminine.

That **su̯ékuro-* was mostly a general stem specialized for a certain kinship rather than a gender-stem, is further evidenced by a formation such as Arm. *skesr-ayr* m. 'father-in-law' (*ayr* 'man'). On account of the meaning of *ayr*, it has been wrongly inferred that the whole compound should have originally meant

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[93] Syncope p. 293.

[94] Skt. *śvaśrū́*, ORuss. *svekry*, and Lat. *socrŭs*, with *ŭ* for **ū* because of its incorporation in the fourth declension (Sommer, Hdb. d. lat. Laut- und Formenl.[3] p. 354; M. Leumann, Lat. Laut- und Formenl. p. 356 also considered the possibility of a 'Iambenkürzung'); *socrŭs* certainly not from **su̯ek̑ro-*, as posited by C. D. Buck, Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin p. 82 (but see a contradictory statement at p. 201). On Lat. *socer*, with *e* for *u* before *r*, see Persson, IF. 26 (1909) p. 63, Leumann, Lat. Laut- und Formenl. p. 81, Sommer–Pfister, Hdb. d. lat. Laut- und Formenl.[4] p. 83 ref.

'the husband of the mother-in-law',[95] that the masculine was derived from the feminine, and that this case demonstrates the linguistic supremacy of the mother-in-law.[96] It is difficult to agree with this reasoning because there is no other formation 'husband of the mother-in-law' for 'father-in-law' in any language. Does *skesr-* mean 'mother-in-law' in this compound? Actually *skesr-ayr* has a perfect semantic match in NHG. *Schwiegermutter, -vater.*[97] Although OHG. *swigur* f. referred only to the mother-in-law, this word subsequently lost its gender-specialization and became a confused reference to one of the parents-in-law;[98] it had to be provided with gender-marks and thus acquired *-mutter* and *-vater.* In fact *Schwieger-* plays mostly an adjectival role, equivalent to NE.*-in-law* (*mother-in-law,* etc.) or to Fr. *beau* (*beau-père,* etc.). Historically, this phenomenon is evidenced by a compound such as Dial. NHG. *Schwähervater,*[99] where *-vater* was added because *Schwäher* had lost its autonomous meaning as 'father-in-law' in that particular dialect. For similar reasons ON.*stjūpr* 'step son' was later replaced by *stjupsonr* (*-sonr* 'son'). It is obvious that in the above cited compounds, *Schwäher-* and *stjup-*denote actually the general idea of '-in-law' or 'step-kinship', *-vater* and *-sonr* being used to point to the specific relationship. We may mention as identical formations NIce. *tengða-faðir* 'father-in-law', literally 'related father' (*tengða* 'relationship'), and ON. *mág-kona* 'mother-, daughter-, sister-in-law' (ON. **māg-* 'relative, kin',[100] *kona* 'woman'). Therefore Arm. *skesr-* cannot be considered as meaning 'mother-in-law', and Szemerényi has rightly concluded: 'Arm. *skesrayr* in fact militates against the alleged

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[95] Hübschmann, Arm. Gr. p. 491 'Mann der Schwiegermutter' = 'Schwiegervater', followed by WP. 2, p. 521-2, etc., see Szemerényi, Syncope p. 294-97.

[96] See Szemerényi, Syncope p. 294 and 304 n. 8.

[97] F. Debus, Die deutschen Bezeichnungen für die Heiratsverwandtschaft, Gießen 1958 (Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie 19), p. 68-80, Szemerényi, Syncope p. 297-8.

[98] Cf. Szemerényi, Syncope p. 298.

[99] See Debus, op. cit. p. 78, Szemerényi, Syncope p. 298.

[100] See ON. *mágr* brother-, father-, son-in-law' and OHG. *māg* 'relative, kin'.

linguistic supremacy of the mother-in-law'.[101] *Skesr-* is actually a reflex of IE. **su̯éḱuro-* 'relative, kin' ('of one's own blood') and the whole compound originally denoted the 'related man', exactly as in NIce. *tengða faðir* 'related father' mentioned above.[102]

A further example will clearly shed light upon the original meaning of the root **su̯éḱuro-*: this is OHG. *suehur* 'brother-in-law', and 'father-in-law',[103] as well as Angl. Sax. *swehor, sweōr* 'father-in-law', also 'cousin'.[104] It is evident that one cannot explain 'cousin' as a semantic specialization of 'father-in-law', but one can obviously derive 'cousin' from 'kin, relative' and further from 'one one's own blood' as Lat. *sobrinus* 'cousin' or Angl. Sax. *ge-swiria* 'cousin' discussed above. For the same interpretation speaks also OHG. *suagur,* which together with Skt. *śvāśurá,* is based upon the vr̥ddhi form of the root: **su̯ē-ḱuró-*.[105] *Suagur* was used in ancient texts and glossaries not only for 'father-in-law', but also for 'brother-in-law' (= 'husband's brother' as well as 'sister's husband') and 'son-in-law'.[106]

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[101] Szemerényi, Syncope p. 294.

[102] Szemerényi's own solution of this very disputed etymology raises several questions. He proposed **su̯e-koru-s* 'the head of the extended family' (**su̯e-* 'own' + **ḱer* 'head') (Syncope p. 316–8, Kinship p. 63–6). Anthropologically, the fact that the father-in-law and not the father himself was the 'head of the extended family' would certainly appear as very strange. The famous *pater familias* of the old Roman society would positively not back such a view. Semantically, no analogy has been cited in support of this hypothesis. Indeed, *glavar,* the head of the clan in Yugoslavia, mentioned by Szemerényi (Kinship p. 65), does not refer to father-in-law. *Glavar* simply designates a chief, a captain (*glava* 'head'), and only in this respect refers to the head of the clan. It must be said that almost any word for 'head' has the same semantic field: Lat. *caput* 'head' and 'captain', from which derives Fr. *chef* (> NE. *chief*), It. *capo,* etc., all 'head' and 'chief'. On the other hand, there is a phonetical problem. IE. **ḱer* 'head', with palatal *ḱ,* has yielded ChSl. *-sъrъšenь* 'hornet', with *s.* From the same root Church Slavic has, with velar *k, krava* 'cow'!

[103] Graff, Ahd. Sprachschatz 6, p. 862 'socer, levir'.

[104] Bosworth–Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dict. p. 949 'vetellus, cognatus, socer, consobrinus' (see also s. v. *gesweōras* and *swōr*).

[105] P. p. 1044, see more recently G. Darms, Schwäher und Schwager p. 7–12.

[106] See Graff 6, p. 863 and G. Darms, op. cit. p. 10–11.

Such a display of diverging connotations cannot be attributed to a semantic development. There is no transfer of sense from 'father-in-law' to 'brother-in-law', 'cousin' or the like. All these connotations derive most probably from the general notion of 'relative, kin' (see above ON. *mág-kona*). We have therefore to assume that *suagur* originally designated a general kinship, and was later restricted to a specific form of relationship. In this sense we have mentioned above:

IE. **bhendh-* 'relative' > Skt. *bándhuh* 'relative, kin', Grk. πενθερός 'father-in-law', 'brother-in-law', 'son-in-law'.

IE. **ĝnō-to-* (**ĝen-ti-*) 'relative' > Skt. *jñā-ti-s,* Grk. γνωτός, MWelsh *gnawt,* all 'relative', but Lett. *znuots* 'son-in-law', 'brother-in-law'.

Lat. *cognatus* 'kindred, kinsman' > 'brother-in-law' > It. *cognato,* Sp. *cuñado,* Rom. *cumnat,* etc. 'brother-in-law'.

We may add to this list:

Angl. Sax. mǣg, OHG. *māg* 'relative': Goth. *mēgs* 'son-in-law', ON. *māgr* 'father-, son-, brother-in-law', Dial. NE. *maugh* 'brother-in-law, comrade'.

IE. **leig-* 'to bind' > Lith. *laiguonas* 'wife's brother', Grk, λοιγωντίαν ·φρατρίαν Hsch.

Skt. *jamí-* 'related', 'relative', 'related like brother and sister', 'brother', 'sister' (all RV.), 'female relative of the head of a family, esp. the daughter-in-law' (Manu Smṛti), subt. n. 'consanguinity' (RV.), *jāmī* 'daughter-in-law'.

Ir. *cliamain* 'relation by marriage', also 'father-, brother-, son-in-law'.

Grk. γαμβρός *'relative by marriage' > 'son-, brother-, father-in-law', 'husband's or wife's brother' > NGrk. 'bridegroom', 'son-in-law', 'sister's husband'.

Grk. σύζυγος 'yoked together, paired, united' > f. 'wife', m. 'yoke-fellow, comrade', 'brother'.

The IE. root for possessive pronouns and adjectives, **sue̯-* 'his, his own, one's own', etc., which was used substantively to designate 'one's own family or friends', should also be mentioned: ChSl. *svatъ* 'relative, suitor' (**suo̯-to-s*), *svojakъ* 'relative' (*svojь* 'one's own, own'), Serb. *svāk* 'sister's husband', Lith. *sváinis* (**suoinii̯os*) 'wife's sister's husband', *sváinė* 'wife's sister', Lett. *svainis* 'wife's brother', OHG. (*ge*)*swīo* 'brother-in-law, sister's husband', ChSl. *svь-stь* 'wife's sister', etc. Similarly, Toch. A *śnaśśe* 'relative' from *śni* 'one's own'.

To sum up, the whole list of examples above show that many Indo-European words denoting a specific kinship originate in the general idea of 'kin, relative'. Within this frame, **sue̯-krū́-* 'mother-in-law' and **sué̯-k̂uro-* 'father-in-law' appear to be originally compounds of **sue̯-* 'one's own, own' and **krū́* 'blood', that is 'of one's own blood', 'kin, relative'.[107]

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[107] The article of U. Linke, Blood as Metaphor in Proto-Indo-European, JIES. 13 (1985) p. 333–376, came to my attention too late to be used in this paper. It should be noted that although U. Linke considers IE. **sue̯krū* to be a compound of **sue̯* 'one's own' and **krū* 'blood', her approach is anthropological. She interprets **sue̯krū* as 'the female of the blood outside the body' and links it to the woman's changing her clan affiliation by marriage (p. 61). On the other hand, my position as seen above is purely linguistic and explains **sue̯krū* as primitively a term for general relationship later specialized for a specific kinship connection.

Problèmes d'étymologie hittite

I. *au̯iti-, auti-,* animal de la famille du lion

§ 1. C'est à bon droit que Tischler, Heth. etym. Gl. I, Innsbruck 1977, p. 99 s. et Puhvel, Hitt. Et. Dict. I–II, Berlin-New York-Amsterdam 1984, p. 247 s., rejettent l'explication de Neumann à partir d'i.-e. **ou̯i-edi-* "qui mange les moutons, les brebis". En effet si sémantiquement parlant cette interprétation reçoit l'appui du cas parallèle de v. sl. *medvědь* "mangeur de miel" employé pour désigner l'ours, elle se heurte à la réalité phonétique que louv. *ḫau̯i-,* louv. hiér. *hawa-* et lyc. *χava* signifiant tous "mouton, brebis" et correspondant donc à lat. *ovis,* gr. hom. ὄϊς, etc. assurent pour ce terme indo-européen une forme anatolienne primitive à initiale *ḫ-*. Dans hitt. *au̯iti-* la partie *au̯-* n'a donc rien de commun avec ce terme.

§ 2. Cependant je ne crois pas que l'on puisse se rallier à l'explication que Puhvel propose de substituer à celle de Neumann: hitt. *au̯iti-* serait apparenté à gr. hom. ἀΐδηλος "fierce, destructive, hateful" (mais quel est le sens originel de cet adjectif? Cf. Chantraine, Dict. étym. de la langue grecque I, Paris 1968, p. 31), lat. *invīsus* "odieux", < i.-e. **n̥-u̯id-*" not (to be) countenanced".

À mon avis avec Neumann (§ 1) il faut considérer hitt. *au̯iti-* comme un composé à second terme *-iti-* se rattachant en effet à i.-e. **ed-* "manger". Seulement hitt. *-iti-* < i.-e. **edi-* doit être pris dans le sens de "ce que l'on mange, nourriture, objet du repas" (cf. v. sl. *jadь* "nourriture" à côté de (*medv*)*ědь* "mangeur (de miel)" < i.-e. **ēdi-*).

§ 3. Pour ce qui est du premier terme hitt. *au̯-*, il se rattache tout simplement à hitt. *au*(*š*)-, *u*(*u̯a*)- "voir, regarder, surveiller, etc." (= skr. *-avati*), de sorte que hitt. *au̯-iti-* signifie littéralement "qui regarde, surveille sa nourriture", c.-à-d. "qui est au guet de sa proie, qui épie sa proie", désignation qui convient excellemment à cet animal de la famille du lion.

II. *ḫalki-* "céréales, grain(s)"

§ 4. Ce terme auquel appartient aussi *ḫalkueššar* "récolte, moisson", pl. "prémices", est considéré par Tischler (§ 1) p. 133 s. comme un "Kulturwort ... fremder Herkunft" (avec renvoi à Kronasser qui tient compte d'une origine hourrite). Certes, c'est à bon droit qu'il rejette les nombreuses tentatives d'interprétation à partir de l'indo-européen, mais leur échec ne signifie évidemment pas qu'il faut exclure a priori une solution indo-européenne.

Je suis d'avis, en effet, que hitt. *ḫalki-* est apparenté à lat. *legere* "cueillir, choisir", d'où "lire", et à gr. λέγω "rassembler, cueillir, choisir", d'où "raconter, dire", avec le dérivé λώγη· καλάμη καὶ συναγωγὴ σίτου (Hésych.), dont le vocalisme *ō* se retrouve dans λωγάω "dire" et dans ἐλώγη· ἔλεγεν (Hésych.). C'est donc surtout au sens de λώγη· συναγωγὴ σίτου (καλάμη "chaume, paille" constitue une extension de cette notion) que correspond celui de hitt. *ḫalki-*: mais voir aussi hitt. *ḫalkueššar* "récolte, moisson", pl. "prémices". À l'origine hitt. *ḫalki-* a donc eu le sens de "céréales, grain(s) rassemblé(s)".

§ 5. Pour lat. *legere* et gr. λέγω, etc. hitt. *ḫalki-* oblige de reconstruire i.-e. *$*h_2eleg$-* (l'appartenance à cette racine d'alb. *mbleth* "cueillir", qui attesterait une palatale, ne me semble pas assurée), dont hitt. *ḫalki-* représente soit i.-e. *$*h_2elg$-*, soit i.-e. *$*h_2\underset{\circ}{l}g$-* (cf. Oettinger, Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums, Nürnberg 1979, p. 464, qui pour le verbe hitt. *ḫalzi̯e-* "crier" part de "voruranat." *$*h_2\underset{\circ}{l}t$-i̯é-*), et dont les représentants latin et grec prouvent i.-e. *$*h_2leg$-*, avec chute de la laryngale, aussi en grec.

Si dans gr. λέγω il n'y a donc aucune trace de la laryngale, elle se trouve peut-être reflétée dans un autre terme grec qui appartient au même i.-e. *$*h_2eleg$-*, je veux dire ἄγγελος "messager" issu d'un ancien *ἄλγ-ελος à la suite d'une dissimilation λ-λ > γ-λ. Dans ce *ἄλγ-ελος "*qui parle, qui fait des propos" (voir le sens de λέγω) ἀλ- a été expliqué à partir d'i.-e. $*\underset{\circ}{l}$ en face du vocalisme fort de λέγω (cf. Van Windekens, Dictionnaire étymologique complémentaire de la langue grecque. Nouvelles contributions à l'interprétation historique et comparée du vocabulaire, Leuven-Paris 1986, p. 1 s.). Si l'on tient compte maintenant de hitt. *ḫalki-* et, donc, de la présence originelle d'une laryngale à l'initiale, pour *ἄλγ-ελος il faut poser i.-e. *h_2*elg-* ou *h_2*l̥g-*, à moins que *h_2*l̥g-* eût abouti à gr. *ἀλαγ- avec *l̥ > gr. λα et, donc, avec *h_2- > gr. ἀ-.

§ 6. La forme hitt. *ḫalkueššar* (§ 4) offre un *-u-* assez obscur en face du thème en *-i-* de hitt. *ḫalki-*: cf. Tischler (§ 1) p. 134. Faut-il y voir un ancien thème en *-u-*? De toute façon Weitenberg, Die hethitischen *u*-Stämme, Amsterdam 1984, ne mentionne pas hit. *ḫalkueššar.* Mais je renvoie aussi ci-dessous § 10.

III. *ḫalu̯ammar* "rire joyeux"

§ 7. Tischler (§ 1) p. 138 y voit une formation en *-mar-/-mn-* d'un verbe inconnu. Personnellement je me demande si *ḫalu̯a-* ne coïncide pas avec *ḫalu-* dans *ḫaluga-* "message" (d'où *ḫalugatalla-* "messager") qui a été rapproché de gr. (avec redoublement) ὀλολυγή "cri rituel, cri de joie" (Van Windekens, IF. 83, 1978, p. 121 s.). Pour le sens, voir aussi gr. ὀλολυγμός "cri de joie". Weitenberg (§ 6) p. 71 s., qui ignore apparemment mon explication de hitt. *ḫaluga-* ("Ohne Etymologie") le considère, avec *ḫaluki-* "se rapportant au message", comme un ancien thème en *-u-* substantival **ḫalu-* (**Holu-*) muni d'un élargissement en gutturale. Si gr. *ὀλυγή et hitt. *ḫaluga-* offrent donc un élément central i.-e. *h_3*elu-*, c'est ce dernier, non pas *h_3*elug-*, auquel on attribuera peut-être une origine onomatopéïque, origine qui jusqu'ici a été généralement admise pour gr. (ὀλ)ολυγή, etc. (cf. Van Windekens, ibid.).

La forme hitt. *ḫalu̯ammar* (sans doute graphie inverse pour **ḫalummar*) a donc été construite sur le thème nominal *ḫalu-*: cf. le cas de hitt. *miumar* "Lindigkeit, Freundlichkeit" reposant sur *miu-* "geschmeidig, glatt, lind" chez Weitenberg (§ 6) p. 121 ss.

IV. *ḫamina-, ḫamena-* "chambellan (?)"

§ 8. D'après Tischler (§ 1) p. 144 il s'agit d'un terme sans étymologie. Or si son sens est vraiment celui de "chambellan", je propose d'y voir un correspondant de gr. ὄμνυμι "jurer", qui jusqu'ici n'a pas joui d'une interprétation assurée (cf. Frisk, Gr. etym. Wb. I, Heidelberg 1954 ss., p. 388 et Chantraine, Dict. étym. de la langue grecque III, Paris 1974, p. 798 s.). Pour le suffixe *-ina-, -ena-* dans *ḫamina-, ḫamena-* (un exemple d'un "consistent OH *i*": Melchert, Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology, Göttingen 1984, p. 112), voir Kronasser, Etym. heth. Spr. II, Wiesbaden 1963, p. 182 s.

On pourrait partir d'un ancien. hitt. **ḫam(a?)-* < i.-e. **$h_3$em-* signifiant "serment": *ḫamina-*, etc. aurait eu le sens premier de "se rapportant au serment, qui a prêté serment (d'obéissance)".

V. *illui̯anka-, ellii̯anku-* "serpent, dragon"

§ 9. Tandis que Tischler, Heth. etym. Gl. II, Innsbruck 1978, p. 355, parle d'un mot "Ohne Etymologie" en rejetant en même temps deux tentatives d'explication au moyen de l'indo-européen, Puhvel (§ 1) y voit un "Autochthonous term" et en renvoyant aux "myths of the Hattic-origin *EZEN purulliyas*" il précise manifestement ce "Autochthonous" par "Hattic". Voir aussi Weitenberg (§ 6) p. 276.

Mais je me demande quand même si cette origine s'impose vraiment et s'il faut exclure toute possibilité d'une provenance indo-européenne. Je propose d'y voir un composé à second terme *-anka-, -anku-* (avec passage aux thèmes en *-u-*) se superposant nettement à gr. ὄγκος "masse, poids" qui est fréquent comme second terme de composés (cf. p. ex. ἴσογκος "de masse égale", ἄογκος "diminué, affaibli", etc.) et qui d'ailleurs s'observe aussi dans hitt. *anku* "tout à fait, absolument, complètement, dans tous les cas": voir ici Van Windekens, Festschrift Szemerényi II, Amsterdam 1979, p. 912. J'attire aussi l'attention sur la voyelle finale dans hitt. *anku*: elle correspond à celle de la forme *ellii̯anku-*.

§ 10. Si pour la forme *-anka-, -anku-* doit être comparé à gr. ὄγκος, -ογκος (§ 9), je crois qu'il faut attribuer à la forme hittite le sens non pas de "masse, poids", mais de "portant, apportant", c.-à-d. celui d'i.-e. **enek̂-* (gr. ἐνεγκεῖν, etc.) auquel il appartient originellement. Cela signifie que *illui̯anka-, ellii̯anku-* serait un composé dont la fonction du premier terme serait celui d'un accusatif.

À mon avis le premier terme *illu*(*i̯*)-, *elli*(*i̯*)- rappelle hitt. *ileššar, iliššar, ilaššar, elaššar* "signe, présage" construit sur un verbe **ela*(*i*)- ou **eli*(*i̯a*)- d'origine inconnue: cf. Tischler (§ 9) p. 355 et Puhvel (§ 1) p. 357 s. Je crois que *ellii̯ank*(*u*)- est la forme ancienne et que pour *-u-* dans *illui̯ank*(*a*)- il faut renvoyer à l'alternance *i*: *u* qui s'observe fréquemment en hittite et, d'ailleurs, dans les langues anatoliennes en général: cf. Kronasser, Etym. heth. Spr. I, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 39 ss. De toute façon dans *illui̯ank*(*a*)- le *-i̯-* provient de *ellii̯ank*(*u*)-.

§ 11. En attribuant à *illu*(*i̯*)-, *elli*(*i̯*)- le même sens que celui de hitt. *ileššar*, etc., donc "signe, présage", on arrive pour le composé tel quel au sens de "qui (ap)porte des signes, des présages": l'on sait en effet que d'après les conceptions magico-religieuses de plusieurs peuples la vue d'un serpent est considérée comme un (mauvais) présage.

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Eine iranisch-baltische Parallele

Während das Mittelpersische für 'Mund' die Begriffe pahl. *dahăn* (vgl. np. *dahān*), man.-mp. *dhyn* und in daēvischen Kontexten das damit etymologisch verwandte pahl. *zafar* verwendet[1], weicht das Parthische der manichäischen Texte in diesem Punkte gänzlich ab; es verwendet das Wort *rwmb,* z. B.

> **Mir. Man. III e 50–54** *'wn x'nyg / wzrg ky cšmg / frbsṯ nhxt / prwrz wxš 'c / 'm'ẖ rwmb o* 'O große Quelle, deren Zufluß verstopft ist: die schöne Erfrischung ist (damit) unserem Munde verwehrt'; oder
> **M 6020, 55–57** *'wš / b'd b'd rwd (w)dxtg 'w / rwmb t'cynd* 'and time and again they pour molten copper into his mouth'[2].

Neben dem menschlichen Mund kann auch das tierische 'Maul' mit *rwmb* bezeichnet werden, so z. B. in

> **H. IVa 3a** *kym bwj'ẖ 'c rwmb o cy hrwyn d'md'd'n* 'who will save me from the jaws of all the beasts'[3].

Ferner zeigt *rwmb* die Tendenz, nicht nur den 'Mund' als Organ des Sprechens zu benennen, sondern auch das Sprechen bzw. jede Äußerung durch den Mund selbst, vgl.

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[1] Vgl. D. N. MacKenzie, A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary, London 1971, S. 23 bzw. S. 97; zum Neupersischen auch P. Horn, Neupersische Schriftsprache, Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie, hrsg. von W. Geiger und E. Kuhn, Bd. I, 2. Abt., Straßburg 1898-1901, S. 77 und 95.

[2] Vgl. F. C. Andreas und W. Henning, Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan III, Berlin 1934, S. 21; W. B. Henning, Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Sezione linguistica, 6 (1965) S. 30/32.

[3] M. Boyce, Manichaean Hymn Cycles in Parthian, London 1954 (London Oriental Series, vol. 3), S. 82/83.

H. VIc 10a (*'w*)[*d p*]*d rwmb w'c'fryd o dyz 'br hw* [ ] 'by a spiritual invocation [there was built?] on that [structure?] the fortress ...'[4].

Die gleichen Bedeutungsnuancen lassen sich bei dem verwandten (s. u.) Wort *rwβ* des Sogdischen (in buddhistischen und manichäischen Texten) verfolgen; in der konkreten Bedeutung 'Mund' ist es z. B. belegt in

P 15, 28 *pr m'n šm'r'nt pr rwβ w'β'nt* 'ils penseront en esprit et diront par la bouche'[5]; oder
BBB 591–593 *msṯk'ryy / cšnd'k* (*m*)*n' rwβyẖ / ṯyṯyy* '[wenn ...] berauschende Getränke in meinen Mund eingetreten sind'[6],

während in den folgenden Belegen die Bedeutung 'Wort' zwingend ist:

P 5, 109–110 (Dīrgh.) *'kyty my CWRH rwβ ZY p'zn ''y'wzt / 'skwn* '[c'est la douleur et le tourment] qui agitent mon corps, ma parole et mon esprit';
P 6, 44–45 (Bhaiṣ.) *'wyh wyspw pwt'yšty ZK CWRH ZY rwβ ZY / m'ncyk 'krtyh wyspw 'wswytk zp'rt 'xw* 'l'action (karman) du corps, de la parole et de la pensée de tous les Buddhas est toute pure (et) sainte'[7].

Henning ging für *rwβ* im „Manichäischen Bet- und Beichtbuch" noch von einer Bedeutung 'Bauch' oder 'Eingeweide' aus, da er darin einen Fortsetzer von avest. *uruθβar-/uruθβan-* sehen wollte, obwohl für das Sogdische eine Lautentwicklung **-θv- > -β-* nicht zu erweisen war[8]. Benveniste fand nicht nur die richtige Bedeutung, sondern stellte auch gleichzeitig eine etymologi-

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[4] Id., S. 102/103.

[5] Textes Sogdiens, édités, traduits et commentés par E. Benveniste, Paris 1940, S. 141 (= TSP.).

[6] W. B. Henning, Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch, Berlin 1937, S. 36 (mit noch unrichtiger Übersetzung).

[7] Vgl. TSP. S. 80 bzw. S. 84. Problematisch bleibt *rwβ* noch in der Wendung *c'wn sym'w'k rwβ m'n s'r* **P 9, 110** und **115–116** (S. 124); vgl. Benveniste im Kommentar S. 222.

[8] W. B. Henning, Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch, S. 74 (ad **BBB 592**).

sche Verbindung zu parth. *rwmb* 'Mund' her, das seinerseits eine Entsprechung in np. *rum(m)* 'caro interior et exterior oris' (Vullers) bzw. *ram, rum* 'flesh about the mouth' (Steingass) habe[9].

In der Tat lassen sich die beiden Bildungen auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner bringen. Buddh.-sogd. *rwβ* ist, was die lautliche Interpretation *-β-* betrifft, doppeldeutig: möglich sind älteres **-b-* und **-f-*, doch wird diese zweite Möglichkeit durch die Schreibung mit *-β-* in manichäischer Schrift so gut wie ausgeschlossen; sogd. *rωβ* „therefore demands an etymon with **b*", wie Sims-Williams richtig bemerken konnte[10]. Man wird daher von einer einfachen nominalen Bildung **rauba-* ausgehen müssen, während parth. *rwmb* ein **rumbă-* fortsetzt: dies offensichtlich eine deverbale Bildung, da sich in **rumb-* die verallgemeinerte Form eines nasal-infigierten Verbums **raub-* → **ru-m-b-* erkennen läßt. Parallele Bildungsweisen sind in den iranischen Sprachen wiederholt zu belegen, vgl. z. B. buddh.-sogd. *''γ'wδ* 'covering', (dazu chwarezm. *'γwδ*[11], osset. *aγud* < **ā-gauda-*, gegenüber buddh.-sogd. *''γwnt-* 'to cover' < **ā-gund-* (Wurzel **gaud-*)[12]. Hinfällig wird deshalb, wie schon Sims-Williams klarstellte, die Verbindung des sogdischen (und damit auch parthischen) Wortes mit khot. *-rūvai* 'orifice, mouth, hole', das von Bailey einer Analyse **raufa-* < **raupa-* (wie **kaufa-* < **kaupa-*) unterzogen wird[13]. Auch wenn khot. *-rūvai* hier semantisch und vielleicht auch etymologisch (mit Wechsel des wurzelauslautenden Konsonanten **raup-/*raub-*) von Interesse sein sollte, wird es bei den folgenden Überlegungen doch keine Rolle mehr spielen.

Für parth. *rwmb* usw. ergibt sich zunächst keine weitere Stütze innerhalb des Iranischen selbst. Es stellt sich daher die Frage, ob sich über den semantischen Bereich, aus dem Wörter wie 'Mund' stammen, ein Weiterkommen erreichen läßt.

Schon bei der deutschen idiomatischen Wendung '*halt den*

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9 TSP. S. 203 (ad **P 6, 44**).

10 BSOAS. 46 (1983) S. 46.

11 W. B. Henning, A fragment of a Khwarezmian dictionary, London 1971, s. v.; vgl. auch D. N. MacKenzie, BSOAS. 34 (1971) S. 79.

12 Zum ganzen Komplex vgl. besonders H. W. Bailey, TPS. 1945, S. 3.

13 H. W. Bailey, Dictionary of Khotan Saka, Cambridge 1979, S. 367.

Rand!' (für '*halt den Mund!*')[14] zeigt sich, daß der 'Mund' als eine Öffnung mit Begrenzungen betrachtet wird; diese Begrenzungen bzw. Ränder sind beweglich, können das, was in diese Öffnung gelangt, 'zermalmen', wie die etymologische Zugehörigkeit von nhd. *Mund* zu aind. *mánthati* 'quirlt, rührt, zermalmt, reibt, schüttelt', lit. *mentùrė* 'Quirl' usw. nahelegt[15]. Ähnlich sieht es bei den eingangs erwähnten Wörtern man.-mp. *dhyn,* pahl. *dahăn* bzw. *zafar* aus, die als ehemalige Heteroklitika (**zafar-* bzw. **zafan-*[16]) zu einer Wurzel **zamb-* gehören, der ebenfalls die Bedeutung 'zermalmen' zugeschrieben werden darf[17]. Bemerkenswert ist nun, daß Ableitungen dieser Wurzel auch im geographischen Bereich wiederkehren, so z. B. in sogd. *zmb* 'Ufer', gleichzeitig Ortsname am Oxus, der eben dieses Appellativum voraussetzt[18]. Diese Erscheinung ist nun nicht auf das Iranische beschränkt, sondern kehrt auffallend deutlich im Baltischen wieder: zu sogd. *zmb* 'Ufer' paßt lit. *žam̃bas* 'Winkel, Ecke, Rand' (auch 'Balken'), das in geographischen Benennungen wie lit. *Žam̃bas upė* und *Žambìnė* oder apr. *Sambelavken* (*Samlack,* Krs. Rössel) u. a. vertreten ist[19].

Wenn man nun diesen semantischen Bereich um 'Mund' ~ 'Rand, Ufer' in unsere Betrachtung einbezieht, bietet sich auch für parth. *rwmb* usw. eine einleuchtende Parallele im Baltischen an.

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[14] Vgl. Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, Bd. 8, Leipzig 1893 (Nachdruck Bd. 14, 1984), S. 87.

[15] Vgl. Fr. Kluge–W. Mitzka, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, Berlin [18]1960, S. 492; ferner M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, Bd. II, Heidelberg 1963, S. 578 ff., und E. Fraenkel, Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1962, S. 437 f.

[16] Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Straßburg 1904 (Nachdruck 1961), col. 1657. Sogd. *zwf* 'jaws' ist nach N. Sims-Williams IIJ. 18 (1976) S. 68 und IIJ. 20 (1978) S. 257, Anm. 1 vielleicht aus **zafw°* herzuleiten.

[17] Zur Bestimmung der Bedeutungen der Wz. **zamb-* vgl. J. Narten, KZ. 79 (1965) S. 255–264.

[18] I. Gershevitch, A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian, Oxford 1954 (Reprint 1961), § 524; M. Boyce, A Word-List of Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian, Leiden–Téhéran–Liège 1977 (Acta Iranica, 9 a), S. 104. – Zu *Zamb* als Kartenspiel vgl. Chr. Bartholomae, IF. 38 (1917–1920) S. 41.

[19] A. Vanagas, Lietuvių Hidronimų Etimologinis Žodynas, Vilnius 1981, S. 397; G. Gerullis, Die altpreußischen Ortsnamen, Berlin–Leipzig 1922, S. 150.

Seit altersher werden auffallende Stromschnellen in den Flüssen Venta/Windau und Daugava/Düna mit dem Namen *Rumba* belegt; so erwähnt z.B. Mühlenbach neben einem *rumba I* (zu lit. *rumba* 'Schwiele') in der Bedeutung 'Nabe, Radbüchse usw.' ein *rumba II* als 'Wasserfall (vielmehr eine Stromschnelle in der Düna; eine solche in der Windau)'[20]. Bei der Beurteilung dieses Namens vermutet Bielenstein nicht die Wasserführung als Ausgangspunkt, sondern „von der Felsenbank unter dem Wasser" selbst; er erwägt deshalb auch eine etymologische Verbindung zwischen *rumba* und russ. *ruba* 'Kerbe, Grenze' (wofür ihm die Stromschnellen der Düna bei Strohmannshof als *tuchaja ruba* 'stille Grenze' ein weiterer Beweis sind)[21].

Auch die Barrieren in der Windau sind markant; die bemerkenswertesten befinden sich bei Kuldīga/Goldingen, unter denen die *Rumba* genannte Stromschnelle mit 2 m Höhenunterschied herausragt; sie wurde deshalb sogar als Motiv für eine Briefmarke Lettlands im Jahre 1939 gewählt[22].

Zu diesem *rumba* lassen sich aus dem Litauischen ebenfalls Benennungen im hydronymen Bereich beibringen wie z.B. *Rumbà, Rum̃bas, Rumbỹs, Rumbų̃pėlis,* für die aber ebenso wenig hohes Alter als Namen postuliert werden darf wie für das lett. *Rumba*; denn sie alle können innerbaltisch erklärt werden, da sie ein Appellativum wie lit. *rum̃bas* voraussetzen, wofür Bedeutungen wie 'randas; rantas, karpas, griovelis, nelygumas; išlenkimas, kraštas, atbraila' (LKŽK) angegeben werden[23]. Anschließen lassen sich ferner der apr. Ortsname *Rumbytin* (1347),

[20] K. Mühlenbachs, Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch, III. Bd., Riga 1927–1929, S. 557 f. – Die Stromschnellen der Düna/Daugava erscheinen als *Rummel/Rumbula* bereits bei Heinrich von Lettland, Livländische Chronik (Neuübersetzt von A. Bauer), Würzburg (1959), S. 18/19 bzw. S. 22/23.

[21] A. Bielenstein, Die Holzbauten und Holzgeräte der Letten, St. Petersburg–Petrograd 1907–1918 (Nachdruck Hannover-Döhren 1969), S. 636.

[22] Vgl. Ģeogrāfija, Rīgā 1971, S. 69; Latvijas PSR Mazā Enciklopēdija, III Sējums, Rīga 1970, S. 252. – Vgl. auch kurisch *rumb* f. 'bestimmte Fangstelle im Haff', *rumbs* m. 'Gürtelsaum, Hosenbund, Rocksaum' bei P. Kwauka u. R. Pietsch, Kurisches Wörterbuch (mit einer Einführug von Prof. Dr. Erich Hofmann), Berlin 1977, S. 68.

[23] Vgl. A. Vanagas, op. cit., S. 284.

neu *Rombitten*, und die Furt (!) *Rumbing* (1331)[24], sowie der auf dem Balkan bezeugte Ortsname *Rumbodona*[25].

Rein schematisch würde man nun für lit.-lett.-apr. *rumb-* ein balt. **rumb-* (1) oder **r̥mb-* (2) postulieren dürfen, d. h. daß die entsprechende Wurzel bei (1) **raub-* (nasaliert **rumb-*) bei (2) jedoch **remb-/*romb-* lauten würde. In der Tat ist die Entscheidung innerhalb des Baltischen, auch unter Zuhilfenahme des Slavischen, nicht einfach. Zu **remb-/*romb-* existiert eine ganze Gruppe von Wörtern wie lit. *rémbėti* 'Narben bekommen', wozu *rum̃bas* in der Bedeutung 'Narbe' sicher als schwundstufige Bildung gehört; auch lett. *rùobs* 'Kerbe' setzt mit seinem Diphthong aus tautosyllabischem Nasal ein **ramba-* voraus, wozu eine genaue slavische Entsprechung **rombo-* > **rǫbъ* in serb. *rûb* 'Saum', russ. (fem.) *ruba* (s. o.) existiert. Doch zeigt ein Verbum wie lett. *rubināt* 'knabbern, stochern', daß auch die Wurzel **raub-* im Baltischen vertreten ist[26]. Es ist demnach nicht abwegig, *rumbas I* 'Narbe' der Wurzel **remb-/*romb-*, *rumbas II* 'Stromschnelle; Rand, Ufer, Abhang' der Wurzel **raub-* zuzuordnen; daß letztlich zwischen beiden Wurzeln voreinzelsprachliche, d. h. vorbaltische, Beziehungen bestehen können, läßt sich nach der Deutung des Namens Daugava/Düna durch W. P. Schmid verstärkt vermuten[27].

Aus diesen Darlegungen glauben wir den Schluß ziehen zu müssen, daß balt. **rumbas* in der Bedeutung 'Rand, Ufer, Abhang usw.' mit parth. *rwmb* 'Mund' formal identisch ist, da beide eine nasalierte Form der Wurzel **raub-* (vgl. sogd. *rwβ*) voraussetzen[28]. Die unterschiedlichen Bedeutungen sind im

[24] G. Gerullis, Die altpreußischen Ortsnamen, S. 146.

[25] Vgl. D. Detschew, Die thrakischen Sprachreste, Wien 1957, S. 404 f.; I. Duridanov, Thrakisch-Dakische Studien. Erster Teil. Die Dakisch-Baltischen Sprachbeziehungen, Sofia 1969 (Linguistique Balkanique, Bd. 13, 2), S. 59.

[26] Zu diesem ganzen Komplex vgl. E. Fraenkel, Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1962, S. 696 (s. v. *rambùs*) und S. 749 (s. v. *ruobti*).

[27] Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde (hrsg. von H. Beck, H. Jankuhn, K. Ranke, R. Wenskus), Bd. 6, Liefg. 3/4, Berlin–New York 1985, S. 241–244.

[28] Ein Ortsname *Rūf* in der Landschaft Ghūr/westl. Afghanistan (vgl. Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, trsl. and expl. by V. Minorsky, London 1937, S. 343, Anm. 1) könnte

Rahmen der oben aufgezeigten semantischen Parallelen zu beurteilen.

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ebenso wie *Rufūn*, ein Ortsname aus der Nähe von Samarkand (vgl. W. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, London [3]1968, S. 130), die nasallose Form wie das sogd. Apellativum fortsetzen.

Rounding and Exceptions from Rounding in East Tocharian

In a series of recent articles[1] that are a part of a comprehensive investigation of the Tocharian *o*-vocalism, I have examined several Tocharian words containing such vocalism and tried to uncover and formulate the rules that govern the labialization of the reflexes of CT.[2] **æ* (and **å*[3]) and in general the appearance of *o* in either dialect or both. These rules have been partly known or guessed for a long time, but often they have been vaguely formulated or even quite incorrectly. The reason for this vagueness, apparently, is the fact that they often seem to be no rules at all, because for every word that follows the rule there appears to be another that does not. The rules have therefore been formulated and taken as mere indications of a tendency and not as strict phonological laws. However, it is my contention that the rules in question are indeed strict laws (i. e. as strict as sound laws are in any language) and that the apparent exceptions can be explained, for the most part, as no haphazard phenomena, but as reflecting the crossing effect of other sound laws.

In this paper I wish to examine the apparent exceptions to the East Tocharian rounding[4] of *a* to *o*. In my previous articles I

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[1] IF.89 (1984) p.29–38; KZ.97 (1984) p.135–147; KZ.97 (1984) p.287–290; Die Sprache 30 (1984) p.16–28; MSS.43 (1984) p.107–121; Die Sprache 31 (1985) p.40–47; IF.90 (1985) p.83–87. Further articles have appeared in Festskrift Nils Simonsson, Gedenkschrift B. Schwartz, MSS., KZ., Glotta, and (forthcoming) Die Sprache.

[2] CT. = Common Tocharian.

[3] It is assumed here (with Winter, Normier et al.) that I.-E. **ā* yielded CT. **å* which further developed into B *o*, A *a*, except in absolute final position (and here I depart from the above-mentioned linguists) where CT. *-*å* became *-*o* > B -*o*, A *zero*.

[4] The term *rounding* is defined here as 'labialization of a vowel caused by a labial consonant', whereas *umlaut* is defined as 'a change in vowel quality

have assumed that the rule governing this change operated approximately in the following manner: East Tocharian *a* deriving from CT. **æ* or **å* was rounded to *o* before *kw* (which later usually became *k*), *p* and *m* or clusters containing one of these sounds. That is to say, a following labial had a rounding effect upon A *a*, except for the labial *w* which had no such effect, cf. A *śanweṃ* par. 'jaws', *kanweṃ* par. 'knees', *naweṃ* 'roar' or the cases where *-wV* > *-u* after the apocope of final vowels: *śaru* 'hunter' (B *śerwe*), *katu* 'ornament, jewelry' (B *ketwe*), *kratsu* 'rag' (B *kretswe*) etc. Obviously, *u*-umlaut was no longer operative in East Tocharian at the time of the apocope. In one word only, an *a* appears to have been rounded to *o* before *w*, i.e. A *kowi*, the nom. pl. of *ko* obl. sg. 'cow'. However, Van Windekens (1976, p. 226) is surely right in maintaining that A *kowi* for expected **kawi* (cf. B *kewäṃ* obl. pl.) has been influenced by the singular form *ko* < I.-E. **gᵘ̯ou-*.

The present study reveals that this understanding of the rules of rounding in East Tocharian is not quite accurate. A modified formulation will therefore be proposed at the end.

Rounding occurs in three particular environments: before *kw*, *p* and *m*. The examples will now be listed and the environments scrutinized. Rounding before *kw* > *k* can be observed in the following cases:

1) Rounding of *a* < CT. **æ*
 noktiṃ (B *nekcīye*) 'in the evening' < **nakwtiṃ* < CT. **nækwt-* < I.-E. **nokᵘ̯t-* (cf. already Sieg–Siegling–Schulze 1931, p. 267);
 oṅk (B *eṅkwe*) 'man' < **aṅkw* < CT. **æṅkwæ* < I.-E. **n̥ku̯os* (cf. Campanile 1969, p. 198);
 śorkmi pl. (B *śerkw*) 'strings' < **śarkw-* < CT. **śærkwän* ← *I.-E.* **kērgu̯r̥/n-* (cf. Hilmarsson 1984 a);
 yok- (B *yok-*) 'to drink' < **yakw-* < CT. **yækw-* < I.-E. **ēgᵘ̯-* (cf. Winter 1955, p. 173);
 B *oṅkipṣe* 'shameless' (loanword from East Tocharian, cf. A *kip*, but B *kwipe* 'shame' < **aṅkwip-* < CT. **æṅkwip-*;

caused by a vowel of the following syllable'. *Labialization* is a general term covering rounding and back umlauts (*u*-umlaut, *o*-umlaut).

orkäm (B *orkamo*) 'obscure, dark' < **arkwäm* < CT. **ærkwmo* < I.-E. **orgᵘmōn(ts)* / **r̥gᵘmōn(ts)* (cf. Petersen 1933, p. 21);
ṣokyo 'very' (to B *ṣek* 'always'?; cf. Van Windekens 1976, p. 458) < **ṣakw-yo* < CT. **ṣækw-*;
**oṅkrac* (indecl.; B *oṅkrocce* obl. sg.) 'immortal, eternal' < **aṅkwr-ac-* < CT. **æṅkwr-ḁ̄t/c-* < I.-E. **n̥-dhgᵘhr-* / **n̥-gᵘhdhr-* (cf. Hilmarsson 1986a).

2) *a* < CT. **ḁ̄*
poke (B *pokai* obl. sg.) 'arm' < **pakwe* < CT. **pḁ̄kwai-* ← I.-E. **bhāĝhu-* (cf. Hilmarsson 1984b, p. 110–111);
yoke (B *yoko* / *yokiye*) 'desire, thirst' < **yakwe* < CT. **yḁ̄kwai-* ← I.-E. **i̯ākᵘā* (cf. Av. *yās-* 'to demand, crave' < **i̯ākᵘ-sk̂-*, Toch. B *yāsk-* 'to beg' < **i̯əkᵘ-sk̂-*, Skt. *yāc-* 'to entreat').

Apparent exceptions to the rule of rounding before *kw* are as follows:

1) *ak* (B *ek*) 'eye', *wak* (B *wek*) 'voice';
2) *arkant-* (B *erkent-*) 'black';
3) *maku* (B *mekwa* pl.) '(finger)nail', *saku* (B *sekwe*) 'pus'.

However, a closer examination of these words reveals that they need not necessarily constitute exceptions.

1) A *ak* 'eye' and *wak* 'voice' represent ancient consonant stems, I.-E. **H_3ekᵘ-* and **u̯okᵘ-*. They remained consonant stems throughout the history of Tocharian. To explain the lack of rounding in these words one might tentatively suggest that a labiovelar in absolute final position lost its labial factor at a so early stage that it did not affect the preceding vowel, cf. Lane 1960, p. 73.

Another Tocharian word, A *yok*, B *yok* 'hair; colour' has been explained by Winter (1980) as deriving from I.-E. **i̯ēgᵘ-*, cf. Gk. ἥβη 'manhood, strength of youth', Lith. *jėgà* 'strength' (for the semantic side, see Winter's convincing arguments in the work cited). Winter takes this Tocharian word as a consonant stem in which the root vocalism has suffered labial rounding before Toch. **kw*. The Greek and Lithuanian words, he argues, represent secondary transfers of earlier neuter (cons. stem) collectives to the fem. *ā*-stem flexion.

However, if all three words, AB *yok,* A *ak, wak,* B *ek, wek,* remained consonant stems throughout their Tocharian history, it is quite suspect to find rounding in the first word, but no rounding in the latter two. Besides, Winter is wrong in maintaining[5] that „labialization in B affects /e/ ... when it derives from Common Toch. /ē/" (i.e. in my notation: from CT. **æ* < I.-E. **ē* and not CT. **æ* < I.-E. **o*). That statement is contradicted by B *śerkw* < **śærkwän* < **kērgu̯r̥/n-* which together with the other examples above shows that rounding of the reflex of CT. **æ* (of whatever origin) did not take place in West Tocharian at all.[6]

It is only by assuming an *u*-umlaut to explain the vocalism of AB *yok-* that one can by-pass these difficulties. A proposal that the old consonant stem **i̯ēg*$^{u̯}$- at some point in the history of Tocharian became an *u*-stem is not as ad hoc as it might sound. B *yok* has the plural *yākwa* < CT. **yākwā* (with the labial factor regularly retained in non-final position) which could be interpreted as an *u*-stem parallel to the plural **ārwā,* an *u*-stem with the singular **æru* 'wood'. The proportion **ārwā* : **æru* = **yākwā* : *X* could have yielded *X* = **yæku* for regular **yæk.* Like **æru* became AB *or,* so **yæku* also suffered *u*-umlaut and appeared as AB *yok,* cf. Hilmarsson 1985a. Thus the discrepancy between A *ak, wak* on the one hand and *yok* on the other could be avoided.

2) A *arkant-* (B *erkent-*) 'black' was associated with A *orkäm,* B *orkamo* 'dark' by Krause–Thomas (1960, p. 57, 66). Further Indo-European cognates, they indicated, would be Gk. ἔρεβος 'darkness (of the underworld)', Goth. *riqis* 'darkness' etc. (originally Petersen 1933, p. 21), so that the Tocharian words would derive from I.-E. **org*$^{u̯}$-. This comparison was accepted by Van Windekens 1969, p. 486, who at the same time stressed that the

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5 Unpublished article, kindly submitted to me in manuscript by Prof. Winter. [Now published, Winter 1985.]

6 The Verb *yok-* 'to drink' may have a generalized *o*-vocalism from the first person sg. pres.-subj. *yoku,* i.e. *u*-umlaut.

suffix A *-ant-,* B *-ent-* might be considered comparable to the one observed in Lat. *argentum* 'silver', Skt. *rajatá-* 'id.'. Later Van Windekens (1976, p. 150, 340–341) explicitly stated that A *arkant-,* B *erkent-* were to be derived from I.-E. **org^{u}-onto-,* whereas A *orkäm,* B *orkamo,* apparently because of the difference in vocalism, would represent I.-E. **ōrg^{u}mō(nt)-*. This form would yield CT. **ārkmo(nt)* and the sequence *ā – o* became *o – o* in West Tocharian, whereas in East Tocharian the regular form **ārkäm* appeared as *orkäm* through the influence of B *orkamo.*

Van Windekens' explanation of these latter words is somewhat unsatisfying. The postulated vocalic grade **ōrg^{u}-* is otherwise not attested, the change B *ā – ā* to *o – o* is doubtful (cf. B *swāñco, āppo, āyor* etc.; see also discussion of B *oṅkolmo* below), and one might wish to avoid accepting the influence of the one dialect upon the other unless absolutely evident.

Actually, the solution is far simpler. I.-E. **org^{u}mōn* (cf. for the vocalism Gk. ὄρφνη < **org^{u}snā,* Frisk 1965, p. 431–432) / **r̥g^{u}mōn* would result in CT. **ærkwmo* (for I.-E. **R̥-* > CT. **æR-,* Hilmarsson 1984b, p. 116–118) and this form would further develop into B **orkwmo* (*o*-umlaut) > *orkamo* (reduction of *kw* to *k* and insertion of an anaptyctic, accentuated *ä*). In East Tocharian CT. **ærkwmo* would yield **arkwäm*[7] (apocope and anaptyctic vowel) > *orkäm* (rounding through *kw* and subsequent reduction of *kw* to *k*).

Now, if A *orkäm* and *arkant-* both derive from I.-E. **org^{u}-* or **r̥g^{u}-*, it is quite disconcerting to find rounding in the one word and no rounding in the other. One might wonder whether these words are cognates at all. It was indicated that Van Windekens (1969, p. 486) had stressed that the suffix of A *arkant-,* B *erkent-* might be comparable to that of Lat. *argentum.* That thought might be worth persuing further by proposing that Lat. *argentum* and A *arkant-,* B *erkent-* actually are cognates and that A *orkäm,* B *orkamo* are no relatives of theirs.

Phonologically and morphologically, this would fit perfectly, and the semantic difficulties are not insurmountable. The root

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[7] Cf. below for the possibility of *o*-umlaut affecting East Tocharian.

*H_2erĝ- appears in the sense 'shining, white, silver' in many Indo-European languages, cf. Pokorny 1959, p. 64–65, and Tocharian is no exception, for here we find A *ārki*, B *ārkwi* 'white' < CT. *ārkw- (plus an *-i-* of obscure origin) < I.-E. *H_2erĝu- (*u*-umlaut did not affect Toch. *ā*, Hilmarsson 1984 b), cf. Skt. *árju-na-* 'shining, white', Gk. ἄργυ-ρο-ς 'silver', ἄργυ-φο-ς 'silver-white' (epith. of sheep), cf. Meillet 1911, p. 149; Van Windekens 1976, p. 167; Adams 1980 (1981), p. 441 ftn. 7. This fact, however, need not deter us from deriving Toch. A *arkant-*, B *erkent-* 'black' from that same root. The semantic association of the notions 'white' : 'shining' : 'black' is of frequent occurrence in diverse languages. It may suffice to mention OHG. *blanc* 'glistening white' as against Mod. Engl. *black*, or OIcel. *blakkr* 'pale, yellowish brown' as against Mod. Icel. *blakkur* 'dark, black'.

Phonologically, A *arkant-*, B *erkent-* would reflect an Indo-European zero grade root vocalism and an *o*-grade suffix vocalism, i. e. < CT. *ærkænt- < I.-E. *H_2r̥ĝ-ont-, and the lack of rounding would be understandable, since no labiovelar is involved.

There remains only the morphological question. Lat. *argentum* 'silver' is a thematic formation, deriving from I.-E. *H_2erĝ-n̥t-o-m, cf. also other Italic forms, such as Faliscan *arcentelom* 'small silver vase', Oscan *aragetud* (abl.) 'silver'. Its Celtic cognates (OIrish *arcat* (also *arggit, airget* – all reflecting [*ar'g'əd°*] as seen in Mod. Irish *airgead* –), Mid. Welsh *ariant*, Mod. Welsh *arian*, Bret. *arc'hant*, Gaul *Arganto-*) are probably best seen as identically formed (I do not understand why Mallory and Huld (1984, p. 3) posit a zero grade root vocalism for the Celtic words). Further cognates (also with a thematic *nt*-suffix) are found in Iranian, cf. Av. *ərəzatəm* 'silver', OPers. *ardatam* 'silver' (Ossetic *ærzæt* 'bronze' might be a loanword, cf. Benvenist[e] 1965, p. 137), whereas Arm. *arcatʿ*, according to Greppin, cited by Mallory–Huld, op. cit., p. 4, may be entirely non-Indo-European.

OPers. *ardata-* can reflect an I.-E. *H_2erĝ- or *H_2r̥ĝ- (cf. Kent, p. 1953, 15–16), but on the testimony of Av. *ərəzata-* a zero grade is always posited. However, one might possibly be justified in contesting the evidence of the Avestan word. The modern Iranian language Yezdi (of Kurdish stock) has *ālī* 'silver' (with *-ī* based on the analogy to gold terms, Mallory-Huld, loc. cit.) in which *āl-*, according to Benveniste 1929, p. 59-60, must reflect a normal grade **H_2erĝ-* > Proto-Iranian **arz-*. If the term for 'silver' is of Indo-European origin, as commonly accepted and convincingly argued by Mallory-Huld, it would be strange, if Iranian possessed this thematic formation with two different ablaut grades. The normal grade of Yezdi *ālī* and the Italo-Celtic forms thus induce one to probe for an alternative explanation of the Avestan form.

According to Kellens (1974, p. 275) there is some imprecision as to the general treatment of initial syllables from **r̥* in the Avestan manuscript tradition, which he then proceeds to demonstrate on the example of *arənauuac-* 'who pronounces the wrongs', which is sometimes written with an initial *arə-* and sometimes *ərə-*. One might then wonder, whether such oscillation is found in the writing of original **ar-*. Actually, in the case of our silver-term (all occurrences, except one, are in the Younger Avesta) all manuscripts, according to Geldner 1895, show a consequent zero grade *ərə-*. However, on the example of another word, Bartholomae's *arəg-* 'to be worth', containing an ascertainable normal grade (= Skt. *arh-* 'id.'), it can be observed that also in the case of original Iranian **ar-* do the Avestan manuscripts hesitate between *arə-* and *ərə-*. Thus e.g. in Yasna 50.10 we encounter *arəǰat̰* in K 5.4, J 3.6.7, Jpl, Hl, Jml, L 13, but *ərəǰat̰* in J 2, Pt 4, Mfl, K 11, L 1.2.3, Dhl, B 2, Bbl (but in Yasna 10.17 only *arəǰahe,* Yašt 9.30 only *arəǰat̰-,* Yašt 5.116 only *arəǰat̰-,* whereas Yasna 53.9 has a rich variation *arəǰ-, ərəǰ-, raǰ-, rah-, riǰ-*). Therefore, in spite of the uniform rendering of Av. *ərəzata-,* there is a distinct possibility that *ərə-* here might be a generalized orthography for a 'more correct' and expected *arə-*. The Avestan word (and therefore also the ambiguous OPers. *ardata-*) would then be reconcilable with the Yezdi form and their Italo-Celtic cognates, indicating a uniform I.-E. **H_2erĝn̥tom.*

Now, Mallory-Huld are probably right that **H_2erĝ-n̥t-o-m* should be classified as a substantivization and thematicization of an original adjective or even an *nt*-participle. Such adjective (← participle) might actually be reflected by Toch. A *arkant-*, B *erkent-*, whose flexion is athematic (A nom. pl. masc. *arka(ṃ)ś* like *kraṃś* 'good' < CT. **kärœñcäs* < I.-E. **kr̥H-ont-es*, B obl. sg. masc. *erkent* like *krent* < CT. **kärœntäṃ* < I.-E. **kr̥H-ont-m̥*, cf. OIrish *car(a)e* 'friend' < **karants* < **karonts* < I.-E. **kr̥H-ont-s*, J.E. Rasmussen, private communication). These Tocharian forms would derive from CT. **œrkœnt-*, as shown above, and further from I.-E. **H₂r̥ĝont-*. The flexion of this Indo-European adjective (participle), it might be suggested, was nom. sg. **H₂r̥ĝ-ont-s* (which regularly yielded the Tocharian forms), gen. sg. **H₂r̥ĝ-n̥t-ós*, from which the silver-term **H₂erĝn̥-tom* may have been derived as a vr̥ddhi formation.[8]

3) The lack of rounding in A *maku* '(finger)nail', *saku* 'pus' seems unexpected. The corresponding West Tocharian forms, *mekwa* (pl.) and *sekwe*, show that the Common Tocharian pre-forms must have been **mœkwœ* and **sœkwœ* from I.-E. **noghu̯o-* (with *n-* assimilated to *m-*?) and **sokᵘ̯o-* resp., which should have yielded rounded forms in East Tocharian as shown by A *oṅk* 'man' (= B *eṅkwe*) from CT. **œṅkwœ*.

However, it is possible that the discrepancy between A *saku*, *maku* and *oṅk* on the one side and A *saku*, *maku* and *yuk* (= B *yakwe*) from CT. **yäkwœ* 'horse' on the other might be explicable in terms of syllable structure and phonotactics. Also, it is possible that an exact chronological ordering of a set of sound changes, operating from the Common to the East Tocharian stage, might shed some light on this problem. Thus, it might be relevant to know the relative chronology of rounding, *u*-umlaut, change of *ä* to *u* before labials, delabialization of *kw*, apocope, etc.

I. *U*-umlaut was a process that in all probability began

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[8] Although I.-E. **H₂erĝn̥tom* 'silver' is not attested in Tocharian, it is perhaps conceivable that its previous existence might be inferred from the fact that the actual words for silver in Tocharian, A *nkiñc* (with *-ñc* after the adjective *nkäñci*), B *ñkante* (possibly a borrowing from Ancient Chinese **ngi̯ɛn*, according to Van Windekens 1976, p.634), show a suffix deriving from CT. **-äntœ* which may have been added to the loanword on the analogy of an indigenous **ārkäntœ* < **H₂erĝn̥tom*.

already in Common Tocharian, as it affects East and West Tocharian alike. It was probably still operative in the early stages of East Tocharian, if one is to judge by such cases as A *cmol* 'birth' which was an *u*-stem in East Tocharian (pl. *cmolu*), whereas B *cmel* with the plural *cmela* points to an earlier consonant stem. That is to say, CT. **cmœl* → early-A **cmœlu* > **cmolu* > *cmol*, cf. Van Windekens 1976, p. 252. On the other hand, *u*-umlaut ceases to be operative before the apocope of final (CT. **-œ* >) A **-a*, because, when that sound was dropped, a new final *-u* emerged (cf. **sakwa* > *saku*) which did not cause *u*-umlaut.

II. Apocope of final **-u*. This change, of course, occurs after the operation of *u*-umlaut and may even have been the cause of its cessation. However, it is also possible that this apocope occurred only shortly before or simultaneously with the apocope of final **-a* and final vowels in general. For the purposes of the matter under discussion here, this is not relevant.

III. A *ä* > *u* before a labial. It is possible to put a relative date to this change on the basis of the opposition *yuk*: *saku*. The divergent treatment of the Common Tocharian final **-kwœ* in these two words[9] suggests that the labial element had been lost in the first word at the time of the apocope of (CT. **-œ* >) A **-a*. Such loss might be explained in terms of a dissimilation of the sequence *u(...)kw* to *u(...)k*, i.e. A **yukwa* yielded **yuka* which through apocope resulted in the attested A *yuk*, whereas if one does not assume dissimilation in **yukwa*, the resulting form would have been **yuku* (cf. CT. **sœkwœ* > A **sakwa* > *saku*). The dissimilation, of course, presupposes the rounding of *ä* to *u* before a labial (cf. also A *ṣuṅk* 'throat' (B *ṣaṅkw*), *tuṅk* 'love' (B *taṅkw*), *ṣurm* 'cause' (B *ṣarm*)). Van Windekens discussed this problem (1962, p. 181–182) and saw two possibilities: either I.-E. **eḱu̯o-* was reflected by A **yäku* which

[9] Anreiter 1984, p. 64 contends that the Indo-European sound combination *velar plus u̯* developed differently from a plain labiovelar in Tocharian. This claim is falsified by pairs like A *saku*: *maku*, B *sekwe* : *makwa* (I.-E. **sokᵘ̯o-* : **noghu̯o-*) and A *yuk* : *maku* (I.-E. **eḱu̯o-* : **noghu̯o-*). If B *cake* 'river' reflects I.-E. **tekᵘ̯os*, the loss of the labial factor is unexpected, but must be due to some environmental disturbances.

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became **yuku* through *u*-umlaut, or the umlaut occurred in an earlier form **yäkwV* and **-kwV* later lost the *w*. However, both suggestions are incompatible with the development seen in *saku, maku.*

IV. The sequence *u*(...)*kw* becomes *u*(...)*k*. As shown above, this change comes after the change *ä* > *u* before a labial, but it precedes the apocope of (CT. **-æ* >) A **-a* or else **yukwa* would have resulted in **yuku* as **sakwa* in *saku.*

V. Apocope of A **-a*. It was shown that the apocope must be dated after the above-mentioned changes. On the other hand, it must have occurred before the rounding of (CT. **æ / å̈* >) A *a* before labials, or else one would have expected A **sakwa* > **sokwa* > **soku*. Through apocope, A **-kwa* became *-ku* with the consequence that **sakwa, *makwa* resulted in the attested *saku, maku*. Later, when A *a* was rounded before labials, these words no longer contained any *-kw-*, the necessary conditioning factor of rounding. And since *u*-umlaut had ceased operating, there was no change to **soku, *moku.*

However, matters are complicated by the fact that one word, A *oṅk* 'man', does not seem to comply with these rules. The corresponding West Tocharian form, *eṅkwe,* shows that the Common Tocharian preform was **æṅkwæ,* which, according to the above, should yield A **aṅkwa* and through apocope A **aṅku*. This form should not have been rounded and should not have lost its final *-u.*

I can offer no explanation as to why *-w-* was not vocalized in this word after the apocope. The only structural difference between **aṅkwa* on the one side and **sakwa / *makwa* on the other is the sequence *-ṅkw-* as against *-kw-*. It is no use contending that *-w-* did not vocalize after a closed syllable, for this is falsified by e.g. **käntwo* > A *käntu* 'tongue'. For the moment an ad hoc postulation will therefore have to suffice, namely, that after the apocope, the sequence **-kw* yielded *-ku,* whereas **-ṅkw* remained unvocalized. CT. **æṅkwæ* > A **aṅkwa* thus resulted in **aṅkw* (apocope and no vocalization), and since *-kw* was still intact, this form was subject to rounding and yielded **oṅkw* > *oṅk.*

VI. Rounding of A *a* to *o* before *kw*. This change, it was argued above, must have taken place after the apocope of final vowels, whereas on the other hand, obviously, it must have preceded the delabialization of *kw.*

VII. Delabialization of *kw.*

Bearing in mind the special phonotactics of A **aṅkwa,* and adhering to the relative chronological order of the sound changes as argued above, i.e.

I. *u*-umlaut
II. apocope of **-u*
III. *ä* > *u* before a labial
IV. *u*(...)*kw* > *u*(...)*k*
V. apocope of **-a*
VI. rounding of *a* to *o* before *kw*
VII. delabialization of *kw* to *k*

the development of A *yuk, saku* and *oṅk* becomes intelligible, and A *saku, maku,* the apparent exceptions to the laws of rounding, are seen to be quite regular, cf. the following scheme (at stage A are set the changes CT. **æ, *å̄, *ai* > A *a, a, e* resp., although they might have taken place later (before stage VI at the latest)):

CT.	**æru*	**yäkwæ*	**sækwæ*	**æṅkwæ*	**påkwai-*
I	**oru*	--	--	--	--
A	-	**yäkwa*	**sakwa*	**aṅkwa*	**pakwe-*
II	*or*	--	--	--	--
III	-	**yukwa*	--	--	--
IV	-	**yuka*	--	--	--
V	-	*yuk*	*saku*	**aṅkw*	--
VI	-	-	--	**oṅkw*	**pokwe*
VII	-	-	--	*oṅk*	*poke*

Rounding before *p* is found in the following cases:

klop 'pain; misfortune' < **klap* < CT. **klæpæ* < I.E. **ghlobom,* cf. OIcel. *glap* 'misfortune, mishap' (Hilmarsson 1985b)

korpā 'against' < **karp(-ā)* < CT. **kærpæ* < I.E. **ku̯orpom,* cf. OIcel. *hvarf* 'turn' (cf. Van Windekens 1976, p. 230

who, however, operates with an *u*-stem and therefore *u*-umlaut in this word);
opäśśi (B *epastye)* 'adept'[10] < **apäst* (+ *ya* < I.-E. *-*i̯o*-) < CT. **æpästu-* < I.-E. **opi-stHu-*;
opṣäly (B *ekṣalye*) 'season' < **apṣäly* (etymology uncertain);
opyāc (B *epiyāc*) 'in memory' < **apyāc* < CT. **æpiyāc* ← Mid. Iran. **abiyātiš* (cf. Hansen 1940, p. 151, Isebaert 1980, p. 103);
opänt- (B *epiṅkte*) 'in the middle' (cited by Winter 1982, p. 401) < **apänt-* < CT. **æ(n)päṅktæ* < I.-E. **n̥-penkʷto-* (i. e. 'in the fifth place' (with reference to the four cardinal points) = 'in the middle', as suggested by Winter, personal communication);
opärkā traditionally 'in the morning', but perhaps rather 'early', cf. below for a discussion of this word.

Other words with A *o* before *p* are either etymologically unclear, or do not derive their *o*-vocalism from earlier A *a*. Thus A *orpaṅk* 'tribune (?)' may be a compound of A *or* 'wood' + *paṅk* 'bench' as suggested by Van Windekens 1966, p. 497, or Isebaert 1980, p. 142 might be right that this word derives by metathesis from earlier **ārpoṅk* < CT. **ārpoṅk* ← Iran. **āru-pōng*. A *ṣtop* / *ṣtow* 'stick' is compared to Gk. στύπος 'stump, stick' by Van Windekens 1976, p. 464, and might thus derive from I.-E. **stoupo-*, cf. OIcel. *staup* 'stump (of metal)'. On the other hand, A *prop* in *prop-mahur* 'diadem' is a loanword, cf. Skt. *prabhā-* 'light, splendour' (Van Windekens 1976, p. 638).

[10] The West Tocharian correspondence of this word is *epastye* with no palatalization. This indicates that the suffix A *-i*, B *-ye* (< CT. *-*yæ*) here is a late addition, as also suggested by B *epastäññe* (beside *-styä-*) 'aptitude'. Because of B *epastäññe*, Isebaert's derivation (1977, p. 384–385; 1980, p. 136) of B *epastye* from *-*ped-styo-* is not feasible. Rather, this form points to a previous consonant stem or an *u*-stem. The I.-E. root **steH₂-* 'to stand' with an *u*-suffix and various prefixes was used to form adjectives in Indo-European as reflected by Lith. *apstùs* 'abundant', *atstùs* 'distant', Arm. *astu*(*ac*) 'God, creator' < **sm̥-stHu-*(*âgos*) (cf. Hilmarsson 1983), Skt. *anuṣṭhú* 'properly, correctly, really' (cf. Mayrhofer 1976, p. 806), *suṣṭhú* 'aptly'. Similarly, the Tocharian words in question might derive from I.-E. **opi-stHu-*.

The corresponding West Tocharian form is _prāp_ which indicates an underlying A /ā/ and not /a/ (cf. also A _wrok_, B _wrākai_ (obl.) 'pearl').

Apparent exceptions to the rule of rounding before _p_ are as follows:

1) _apärkär_ (B _emparkre_) 'long, in detail'
2) _apälkāt_ (B _empālkatte_) 'unworried'
3) _lap_ 'head'
4) _napeṃ_ 'human being'
5) _rape_ 'music'
6) _svarp_ / _sparp_ 'string'
7) _warp_ (B _werpe_) 'enclosure'
8) _rapurñe_ 'passion'
9) _tarp_ 'pond(?)' (cf., however, discussion below)
10) _kapśañi_ 'body' (B _kektseñe_)
11) _śalpeṃ_ par. 'soles (of the feet)'
12) _trap-_ 'to stumble' (B _trāpp-_)
13) _tampe_ 'force'
14) _kāryap_ 'damage' (B _karep_)
15) _anapär_ 'before' (B _enepre_)

When one considers the first six words on this list, all of which possess what can be termed as certain or relatively certain etymologies, it is immediately striking that all show _p_ deriving from I.-E. _*bh_. Thus we have:

1) _apärkär_ 'long, in detail' adv. to the adj. _pärkär_ 'long' < I.-E. _*bhr̥ĝhro-_, cf. Arm _barjr_ 'high' (Meillet 1912, p. 115),
2) _apälkāt_ 'unworried' to the verb A _pälk-_ 'to see; to shine' < I.-E. _*bhelg-/*bhl̥g-_, cf. φλέγω 'to burn' (Meillet 1911, p. 148, Sieg-Siegling-Schulze 1931, p. 389,
3) _lap_ 'head' < CT. _*lœpœ_ < I.E. _*lobhos_, cf. Gk. λόφος 'neck, crest of a helmet' (Schulze 1933 (= 1927, p. 252).
4) _napeṃ_ 'human being' < I.-E. _*nobh-_, cf. Av. _nāfah-_ 'family', _nāfya-_ 'belonging to the family, relative', Sogd. (buddh.) _n'β_ 'people' and further Skt. _nābhi-_ 'navel' etc. (Van Windekens 1976, p. 309),

5) *rape* 'music' < CT. **ræp-* < I.-E. **robh-*, cf. Mid. Irish *reb* 'play' < **rebhā*, Swiss German *räbeln* 'make noise' (Van Windekens 1941, p. 105),
6) *svarp / sparp* 'string' < **swærpæ* I. E. **su̯orbhom*, cf. OIcel. *svarfa* 'to swerve', Welsh *chwerfu* 'turning' (Van Windekens 1968, p. 98).

Conversely, none of the words with rounding of A *a* to *o* before *p* contain an etymological **bh* except, apparently, *opärkā* 'in the morning' which Van Winkekens 1976, p. 339 analyses as *o-* (prefix) + *pärk-* 'to rise'. Since Van Windekens does not reckon with rounding in East Tocharian (only *u- / w-* umlaut), he takes this word as a borrowing from West Tocharian, where the prefix could have the form o- through *o*-umlaut before a syllable containing *-o-*. But *opärkā* has no *-o-* in the second syllable, and a matching West Tocharian word is lacking. Therefore, an internal East Tocharian solution seems preferable.

If one does assume that rounding was just a sporadic phenomenon in East Tocharian, Van Windekens' analysis of *opärkā* would be quite acceptable. The verb AB *pärk-* 'to rise' is used of the sun, so that *opärkā* 'in the morning' would equal 'at sunrise'. Still, since AB *pärk-* derives from I.-E. **bherĝh- / *bhr̥ĝh-* (cf. Skt. *br̥hánt-* 'high', Van Windekens 1941, p. 90), and since the thought being persued here is that rounding did not occur before an original **bh*, divergent treatment of the prefix in A *apärkär* on the one hand and *opärkā* on the other, if both contain *-pärk-* from **bherĝh- / *bhr̥ĝh-*, would be quite incomprehensible.

Actually, an alternative explanation of A *opärkā* might be proposed. This word is a hapax, occurring only in A 265 a3, viz.

opärkā koṃ pärkamāṃ säs parno wrasom

which need not necessarily be translated '*in the morning* (= at sunrise), as the sun was rising, this illustrious being', but might also equal '*early*, as the sun was rising, this illustrious being'. The latter translation would be justified, if *-pärk-* in A *opärkā* derives not from I.-E. **bhr̥ĝh-*, but from **pr̥ko-* 'early, quick, fore' as found in OIcel. *forr* adv. 'quickly', adj. 'forward, eager'

< Germ. **furha-* < I.-E. **pr̥ko-* (cf. also Gk. πρόκα 'forthwith'), a guttural extension of I.-E. **pr̥-* 'forward, fore'. In the light of such derivation, the initial rounded vowel of *opärkā* < **apärk-* < CT. **æ(n)pärkæ* < I.-E. **n̥-pr̥ko-* (**n̥-* 'in, at'), as against the unrounded one in *apärkär* would be comprehensible. In the first word there is an etymological **p,* whereas in the latter there is an etymological **bh.*

As for the remaining words showing no rounding before A *p* (no's 7–15 on the list above), an etymology with I.-E. **bh* is in some cases conceivable, in other cases no etymology is ascertainable and in still other cases disturbing factors may have prevented rounding from taking place. Thus:

7) *rapurñe* 'passion' could derive from an I.-E. **robh-,* cf. Skt. *rábhas-* 'violence, impetuosity', *rabhasá-* 'wild' < I.-E. **rebhos- / *robhos-,* Osset. (D.) *ravgæ,* Osset. (I.) *ravg* 'jealousy, longing' < **rābaka-* (cf. Benvenist[e] 1965, p. 28). Such etymology was first proposed by Poucha 1930, p. 315, although he felt compelled to reconstruct I.-E. **rabh-* on account of Lat. *rabies* 'rage, madness' (cf. also Pokorny 1959, p. 852 who hesitates between **rabh-* and **rebh-*). However, an I.-E. **rabh-* would yield Toch. A **rāp-* and not *rap-,* so that a normal ablauting **rebh- / *robh-* seems a more feasible solution, esp. in view of the fact that Lat. *rabies* may have a secondary *a*-vocalism (like *magnus* etc.). Van Windekens' alternative (1976, p. 401) is not compelling (to Gk. ῥέπω 'I incline, bend toward').

8) *warp* 'enclosure' (B *werpe*) along with A *warpi* (B *werwiye*) 'garden' etc. might derive from I.-E. **u̯orbh-*. Such etymology (i.e. **u̯orbh-* or **u̯orb-* 'to turn, entwine') was proposed by Lane 1938, p. 29 and is accepted by Van Windekens 1976, p. 561, cf. Lith. *vir̃bas* 'twig', Lat. *verbera* 'rod'. Cf. also Hitt. *u̯arpa-* 'enclosure' and discussion in Melchert 1984, p. 157.

9) *tarp.* The meaning assigned to this word by Thomas (1964, p. 103) 'Teich' and Van Windekens (1976, p. 493) 'étang', i.e. 'pond', is not entirely certain. This is acknowledged by Thomas 1957, p. 280, ftn. 1. It occurs three times, viz.

70 b 5 *///ṣluneyntu pälkātär kācky arṣäntās ṣäññā rārpunt tarpsaṃ wri*(s)

(textual emendation by Sieg 1952, p. 44 who translates: '... die ..., welche Sehnsucht hervorrufen, siehst, (wenn du) in den von Natur gegrabenen Wasserläufen (?) des Wassers';

145 b 6 *sudarśaṃ riyac kātse ñäkciṃ wäryo ywic*[ä] *tsopats tarp cäṣ antul*(*e*) *säm ṣtām lantu tämyo*

translated by Thomas 1957, p. 280:

'In der Nähe der Stadt Sudarśana [ist] ein mit himmlischem Wasser gefüllter großer Wasserlauf (?). Aus diesem heraus [ist] der Baum gegangen. Deshalb (wird er Pārijāta genannt)'.

In its third occurrence (219 b 4) *tarp* (i. e. pl. *tarpañ*) stands beside *kärtkalyi* usually translated 'ponds' (but B *kärkkālle* 'mud, mire' rather than 'pond', cf. Thomas 1976, p. 112, K. T. Schmidt 1984, p. 152). Although this text is only fragmentary, there is no reason to believe that *kärtkalyi* here defines *tarpañ.* Rather, if one here has a listing of some sort, these two words probably had distinct, albeit possibly related meanings. Sieg and Thomas, as seen above, translated *tarp* as 'Wasserlauf (?)', i. e. 'water-course, water-bed'. A more accurate sense of this word, one might perhaps suggest, was 'water-bed covered with vegetation'. Such sense seems to be implied 1) by the fact that in 145 b 6 a tree is said to grow out of *tarp,* and 2) by the fact that in 70 b 5 *tarpsaṃ wri*(*s*) 'in the *tarp* (pl.) of the water', as pointed out by Sieg (loc. cit.), translates Skt. *saritkuñjāś ca sodakās* (*saritkuñja-* 'water-place overrun with plants', *sodaka-* 'containing water').

Duchesne-Guillemin's derivation (1941, p. 154, accepted by Van Windekens 1976, p. 493) from I.-E. **torpo-* (cf. Lith. *tárpas* 'interval, cavity'), although perhaps still possible, would lose some strength, if one accepts the meaning 'water-bed with vegetation' instead of 'pond' for A *tarp.* However, this 'new' sense opens up for another possible etymological explanation, which seems immediately preferable for semantic reasons and also (on the assumption that rounding did not take place before **bh*) for phonological reasons. A *tarp* might derive from I.-E. **dorbho-*, cf. Skt. *darbhá-* 'grass, tuft of grass', White Russ. *dórob* 'basket', OIcel. *torf* 'turf, peat', OHG. *zurf* 'lawn' etc., cf. Pokorny 1959, p. 211-212.

Drosdowski (1977, p. 204–208) has argued against an association of the Sanskrit and Germanic words. Since Skt. *darbhá-* 'tuft or grass' certainly is to be linked to the verb *d̥rbháti* 'strings or ties together, ties in a bunch', a basic root **derbh-* 'to braid, entwine' should be posited, cf. also Skt. *darbhana-* n. 'mat of grass', Av. *dərəwδa-* 'bundle of muscles', West Iran. *(*ham-*)*darb-* 'to sew' (Mayerhofer 1963, p. 60), White Russ. *dórob* 'basket' < **dorbho-*, cf. Sławski (ed.) 1981, p. 112–113. Drosdowski then goes on to claim that since the sense 'grass, tuft of grass' is not attested in Germanic, and since there is no reason to assume a semantic transition of that sense to 'turf, peat', the Germanic words, found only in the latter sense, cannot derive from the same root. Furthermore, for semantic reasons, there can be no connection between OHG. *zurf* etc. and verbs like OHG. *zerben* 'to turn', *zirben* 'to turn in rounds', OEngl. *tearflian* 'to roll' etc. Rather, by focusing on the meaning 'turf, peat', one is bound to turn to the Balto-Slav. representations of the root **der-* 'to split, rip', where the meaning 'turf, peat' is abundantly attested. As a bridge between this family of words and the Germanic turf-words, Drosdowski points out Russ. (dial.) *derbá* 'new-broken ground; turf', *derbovátь* 'to break ground, remove moss, turf, vegetation'.

However, it seems that Drosdowski's arguments are not necessarily valid. First, Russ. (dial.) *derbá* (*derbovátь*), according to Boryś (see Sławski (ed.) 1979, p. 62–63), derives not from Slav. **d̥rba* (as assumed by Drosdowski, Pokorny 1959, p. 212 and others), but rather from Slav. **derьba* with the verbal abstract suffix *-ьba* added to the root **der-*. A direct comparison with the Germanic turf-words would then be excluded.

Second, the question of a semantic transition of 'tuft or grass' (Skt. *darbhá-*) to 'turf, peat' (OIcel. *torf*) is not essential, for in both cases we are confronted with a secondary meaning which has evolved from the primary meaning of the root **derbh-*, i.e. 'to braid, entwine'. Thus Skt. *darbhá-* and White Russ. *dórob,* signifying 'tuft of grass' and 'basket' resp., both derive from a basic I.-E. **dorbhó-* 'that which is braided, entwined'. The essential question would therefore rather be: can there be a semantic transition of 'to braid, entwine' to 'turf, peat'?

A quick look at the sense of Icel. *torf* immediately reveals that this can be so, for the entwining and matting of plant roots is at the core of its semantics. Thus the Íslenzk orðabók (Böðvarsson, (ed.), 1963, p. 729) defines *torf* as 'the soil of marshy ground and flooded tracts of land, dense with entwined and matted plant roots; peat'. Note also the idiom *torf* = *tyrfið mál* 'complicated speech'. The same can be observed in other Germanic languages, e.g. Engl. *turf* 'covering of grass etc. with matted roots; sod; peat'. There is therefore no semantic obstacle that would deny a derivation of this Germanic family of words from the Indo-European root **derbh-* 'to braid, entwine'.

Toch. A *tarp,* if 'water-bed with vegetation' (cf. Icel. *torf* 'soil of flooded land, dense with matted plant roots'), although agreeing with Skt. *darbhá-* and White Russ. *dórob* in word-formation (I.-E. **dorbhó-*), would agree with Germanic as far as the semantic development is concerned.

10) *kapśañi* 'body' is of disputed origin, cf. Van Windekens 1976, p. 187–188. B *kektseñe* shows *-k-* for A *-p-,* indicating that the latter may be the result of dissimilation. A quite plausible comparison was suggested by Toporov (1973, p. 148–150): to Lith. *kaktà* 'forehead', *kaktenà* 'skin of the forehead; part of helmet covering the forehead; hill-top' (< **kok-t̯ien-* or the like). The dissimilation in East Tocharian would have taken place after the law of rounding ceased to operate.

11) *śalpeṃ* par. 'soles (of the feet)'. It is inviting to analyse this word as a compound with *-pᵉṃ,* the paral of *pe* 'food' (cf. Van Windekens 1976, p. 470), and assume that rounding did not take place across the compound boundary.
12) *trap-* 'to stammer' (cf. Sieg's translation 1952, p. 13, but B *trāpp-* apparently 'to stumble') occurs only once in East Tocharian, and then in the form *trapmāṃ,* a Class VI pres. participle. The corresponding West Tocharian verb also forms a Class IV present, cf. *troppontär* (3. pl. med.). Van Windekens' etymology of this word appears solid (I.-E. **trop-,* cf. OS. *thraƀōn* 'to tread' etc.). The lack of rounding in A *trap-* may be due to system pressure: Class IV is characterized by the vowel sequence A *a–a* (B *o–o*), cf. A *aratär* 'stops', *asatär* 'dries', *praskatär* 'fears' etc., and this may have influenced the vocalism of A **trapatär, trapmāṃ.*
13) *tampe* 'force' surely derives from I.-E. **tomp-* (cf. Lith. *į̃tampas* (dial.) 'force, tension', usually fem. *į̃tampa*) as suggested by Van Windekens 1939, p. 127. The lack of rounding in A *tampe* may be seen in connection with the intervening *-m-*, as it appears that *-m-* usually did not have a rounding effect (cf. discussion below).
14) *kāryap* 'damage' (B *karep*), despite Van Windekens 1976, p. 196, has no clear etymology.
15) *anapär* 'before' (B *enepre*) may be analysed as *ana-* plus *-pär* < I.-E. **pro* (cf. Van Windekens 1971, p. 452). The lack of rounding in this word might be due to the fact that it is not the first but the second syllable that would be affected, i. e. one might assume that rounding occurred only in the first syllable of a word.

The evidence indicates decidedly that rounding of A *a* to *o* did not take place before a *p* from I.-E. **bh*. Seven examples support this (*apärkär* < **n̥-bhr̥ĝh-, apälkāt* < **n̥-bhl̥g-, lap* < **lobho-, napeṃ* < **nobh-, rape* < **robh-, svarp* / *sparp* < *su̯orbho-, tarp* < **dorbho-*) and two more may possibly be added (*warp* < **u̯orbho-, rapuñe* < **robh-*). In the cases where there is rounding before A *p,* that *p* derives not from I.-E.

**bh,* but reflects I.-E. **b* or **p* or (in loanwords) Iranian **b.* Furthermore, *opärkā,* instead of being a counter-example, affirms this conclusion. The only serious counterexample would be *trap-* < **trop-,* but here one can blame the 'Systemzwang' for the unrounded vocalism.

This conclusion is of some consequence, as it implies that the labial occlusives **bh, *b, *p* still had not merged into one in East Tocharian (at least not at the time of the rounding) and therefore not in Common Tocharian either. It has long been known that at the time of the palatalization in Common or Proto-Tocharian the three I.-E. dental occlusives were still kept apart or at least had not merged into one sound. The details concerning this matter are still disputed, but if the reflex of I.-E. **bh* was still distinct from the reflex of I.-E. **p* and **b* (that had merged into one) in East Tocharian, it might lend support to Van Windekens' opinion (1976, p. 79–84) that the palatalized result of I.-E. **dh* in Tocharian was *ts* as against *c* from I.-E. **t* and **d* (for different opinions on this matter, cf. Evangelisti 1959, p. 109–118, Winter 1962, p. 16–35, Anreiter 1982, p. 19–31 etc.).

This, however, was an early Tocharian process, whereas the divergent treatment of A *a* before *p* < **bh* on the one hand and *p* < **p* / **b* on the other is a late dialectal phenomenon. Actually, there is further evidence that **bh* developed differently from **p* / **b.* As pointed out by Van Windekens (1976, p. 79) **mbh* yields Toch. *m,* but **mp* / **mb* yield Toch. *mp,* cf. A *kam,* B *keme* 'tooth' < **ĝombhos,* but AB *cämp-* 'to be able' < *temp-. That process was probably Common Tocharian as it is reflected in both dialects alike, but still it supports our conclusion that the Tocharian reflex of I.-E. **bh* somehow differed from that of I.-E. **p* and **b.*

If one is justified in that conclusion, it would appear that at some time in the history of Tocharian, distinction in voice was neutralized with the result that **p* and **b* merged in /p/, whereas the relevant feature determining the eventual reflex of **bh* was not its voice but its aspiration.

There seem to be three general alternatives for the development of an aspirated occlusive. First, it may remain aspirated, losing or not losing its voice. After the neutralization of voice distinction in Tocharian, **bh* would be represented by the phoneme /ph/. However, it seems unlikely that that sound would be less prone to cause rounding that /p/. Also, there is little reason to assume that [mph] would be simplified to [m] whereas [mp] remained unchanged. Second, on aspirate may lose its aspiration, losing or not losing its voice. This alternative clearly does not apply to Tocharian, because after the loss of voice distinction, **bh* > **b* would have merged with the reflex of **p* and **b*. Third, an aspirate may become a fricative. Such development is common enough in Indo-European languages, cf. e.g. Greek, where I.-E. **bh* passed through the stage /p^h/ and yielded finally a voiceless labiodental fricative /f/, whereas e.g. in Germanic, I.-E. **bh* turned out as a voiced bilabial fricative /ƀ/ (for certain at least internally in intervocalic position).

There are three phenomena of Tocharian phonology that might be elucidated, or at least more readily comprehensible, if it is assumed that the development of I.-E. **bh* in that language was actually in the direction of a fricative rather than an occlusive: a) the lack of rounding before the reflex of **bh*; b) the development of **mbh* to *m*; c) the sporadic confusion of ⟨w⟩ and ⟨p⟩.

Ad a: Rounding did not take place before the fricative *w*, whereas it did take place before the occlusive [*p*] from I.-E. **p* / **b* (or Iranian *b*). The lack of rounding before a *p* from I.-E. **bh* might then be taken to indicate a fricative quality of this reflex. This might be summered up in one rule: A *a* is rounded to *o* before a labial *occlusive*, but not before a labial *fricative*.

Ad b: I.-E. **mbh* appears as *m* in Tocharian. It is possible that this development reflects a direct assimilation of **mbh* to **mm* > *m*. However, this would mean that the assimilation was prior to the neutralization of voice distinction, which is conceivable, but not very credible. Besides, if the assimilation occurred so early, original **mb* might have been expected to be treated in the same manner. Apparently, it was not. For, if Van Windekens' analysis (1976, p. 234) of Toch. B *krämp-* (*kremp*) 'to be disturbed', caus. 'to restrain, hinder' as deriving from I.-E. **kremb-* / **kr̥mb-* (**kromb-*) is correct (cf. OE. *hremman* 'to restrain, hinder', OHG. *(h)rim(p)fan* 'to contract'), it would indicate the non-assimilation of **mb*.

The development of **mbh* to *m* should therefore, more plausibly, be set at a later date, i.e. after the neutralization of voice distinction. The neutralization brought about the merger of **p* and **b* in /p/. If **bh* was still an occlusive at that time, it ought to have yielded /pʰ/. However, there is little reason to assume that [mph] would suffer assimilation, whereas [mp] remained unchanged.

On the other hand, if **bh* had become some sort of a fricative, say /ƀ/, by the time of the neutralization of voice distinction, the development of **mbh*, through a stage **mƀ*, to *m* could be set off against that of **mp / *mb* to *mp*.

Ad c: The sporadic use of ⟨*p*⟩ for ⟨*w*⟩ and vice versa might also be seen in connection with the fricative quality of the Tocharian reflex of I.-E. **bh*. If one assumes that Toch. *p* < I.-E. **bh* actually represents a bilabial fricative /ƀ/, its occasional alternation with *w* would be comparable to the alternation of *b* and *v* in many varieties of Indic. This alternation, originally caused by the phonetic resemblance of the fricatives /ƀ/ and /w/ or /v/, thereupon spread to the graphemic level with the consequence that also the occlusive /p/ < I.-E. **p, *b*, denoted by the same sign as the fricative /ƀ/ < I. E. *bh*, i.e. ⟨*p*⟩, came to be expressed by the grapheme ⟨*w*⟩ occasionally. Cf. also Van Windekens 1976, p. 77 who suggests a tendency toward fricativization of all labial occlusives in Tocharian.

The evidence concerning rounding before *m* is conflicting. Thus rounding is possibly to be found in:

1) *omäskeṃ* 'bad', *omäl* 'hot', *onmiṃ* 'remorse',
2) *koläm* 'ship', *oṅkaläm* 'elephant' (if one assumes there was metathesis of vowel quality in this word, cf. however below),
3) *ñom* 'name', *ṣom-* 'one'.[11]

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[11] The verbal stems *yom-* 'to reach' (B **yom-* only in the subjunctive and preterite forms, elsewhere **yäm-*) as well as *yow-* (Pret. III *yowā, yowäṣ*; B *yop-* only in the subjunctive, preterite and infinitive forms, elsewhere **yäp-*) and *yok-* (inf.; B *yok-* only in the subjunctive (also as pres. ind.?) and infinitive

For *śolyme,* denoting some instrument of torture, no secure etymology exists, and it will be left out of consideration here (the *o* might reflect a previous diphthong).

However, there is no rounding in the following cases: *kam* 'tooth' (B *keme*), *ram* 'witness' (B *reme*), *wram* 'thing' (B *wreme*), *slam* 'flame' (B *sleme*), **yśaläm* 'passion' (B *yśelme*), *tampe* 'force', *parmā* 'willingly' (B *perma*) etc. etc.

If one can draw any conclusions from a so conflicting material, it seems that group 1) indicates that A *a* in absolute initial position was rounded to *o* before *m*. Apparently, there are no counter-examples (*amok* 'art' is a loanword from Mid. Iran. **hamōk,* perhaps through West Tocharian, cf. Isebaert 1980, p. 71–73, 177). Thus *omäskeṃ* 'bad, evil' derives from **amäskeṃ* < CT. **æ(n)mäskain-,* i.e. the privative prefix **æ(n)-* < I.E. **n̥-* plus the verbal root *mäsk-* 'to be' (for the semantic side, cf. Skt. *asatya-* 'wrong' (RV.), 'bad' (ŚBr.), *ábhva-* 'terrible', OIcel. *óværr* 'unpeaceful') plus the suffix **-ain-,* cf. *plyaskeṃ* 'meditation' to *pälsk-* 'to think'. Such rounding is also found in *omäl* 'hot' with the substantive *omlyi* 'heat' to which West Tocharian corresponds with *emalye* and *emalya* resp. It might be suggested that this word is cognate with the verb A *mäl-* 'to oppress' (B *mäll-* 'to oppress; to contest') with the prefix CT. **æ(n)-* < **n̥-* 'in'. The notion 'heat, hot' may derive from the use of this root to denote 'oppressive weather, thick air', cf. Icel. *molla* 'oppressive heat with no wind blowing' and the verb *molla* 'to be warm; to cook slowly', *malla* 'to cook slowly' from the same root (for other etymological attempts, cf. Van Windekens 1976, p. 634 (with lit.), Isebaert 1978, p. 346, Čop 1955, p. 30). The third example of this group is *onmiṃ* 'remorse' corresponding to B *onmiṃ*. The origin of this word is disputed and unclear (cf. Van Windekens 1976, p. 335, Isebaert 1980, p. 141, Čop 1975a, p. 33, 1975b, p. 11–12) so that it cannot shed any light on the problem under discussion here.

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forms), on the evidence of the West Tocharian forms, seem to have an *o*-vocalism basically restricted to the subjunctive and the preterite. It is conceivable that the *o*-vocalism originated in the first person singular subjunctive through *u*-umlaut of CT. **æ* (cf. B *yoku*), whatever the etymology of the final *-u,* cf. e.g. Adams 1978, p. 449 with ftn. 12.

In group 2) *koläm* and *oṅkaläm* (if with metathesis from **āṅkoläm*) are contradicted by **yśaläm* (pl. *yśalmañ*). The corresponding West Tocharian forms are *kolmai* (obl. sg. with obl. pl. *kolmaiṃ* presupposing a nom. sg. **kolmo* / **kolmiye*), *oṅkolmo* and *yśelme* resp. This indicates that the *-m-* (or *-lm-*) is not the cause of the rounding in A *koläm* and *oṅkaläm* (if < **āṅkoläm*) which then must be sought elsewhere.

In two recent articles I have denied that *o*-umlaut operated in Common or East Tocharian, maintaining that it was an exclusive West Tocharian phenomenon (Hilmarsson 1985b and 1984c, p.143), primarily on the basis of A *praski* 'fear' as against B *prosko* / *proskiye*. However, it seems that I have not taken due notice of the fact that whereas B *prosko* and *proskiye* are fem. nouns of Class VI,2, A *praski* is masc. in the singular with a plural form *praskintu*, indicating a genus alternans Class III,2 inflexion. This discrepancy as well as the difference in root vocalism might be explained in the following manner: Common Tocharian had two words **præsko* (< I.-E. **prok-sk̂-ā*), a fem. substantive, and **præskiyæ* (< I.E. **prok-sk̂-i̯o-* (*-iHo-*)), a neuter substantive or perhaps an adj. later substantivized. CT. **præsko* yielded **prosko* through *o*-umlaut. This form survived in West Tocharian, but not in East Tocharian. CT. **præskiyæ*, on the other hand, survived in East Tocharian, yielding *praski* regularly, whereas in West Tocharian it suffered the influence of *prosko* whose vocalism, inflexion and gender it adopted. The fact that the nom. sg. final *-iye* of Class VI,1 had begun to infiltrate Class VI,2, replacing - or co-existing with - its proper final *-o*, may have given impetus to this development, cf. discussion of A *kolye*, B *kolyi* below. Thus the main objection to positing an *o*-umlaut of (CT. **æ* >) a in East Tocharian words is removed.

Actually, positive evidence of *o*-umlaut can be observed in East Tocharian. In at least one instance such umlaut is seen to be operative in East Tocharian times, witness A *oklop* 'in danger' < **aklop* (similarly Isebaert 1980, p.137) < **aklap* (i.e. rounding of A *a* before *p* < I.-E. **b* with subsequent umlaut of the initial *a*) < CT. **æ(n)klæpæ* < I.-E. **n̥-* + **ghlobom* (cf. above), which through the assumption of an *o*-umlaut becomes quite regular (for a different and more complicated explanation, cf. Van Windekens 1976, p. 332).

On the other hand, a few East Tocharian words show the effect of *o*-umlaut that presumably occurred already in Common Tocharian times. Among these words might be *koläm,* as discussed below, as well as *orkäm* (B *orkamo*), whose *o*-vocalism, however, might also have been effected through rounding, cf. above (for *oṅkaläm,* cf. discussion below).

Furthermore, A *kolye* 'tail' (hapax: 12 b 4 *kliso pāccās poṣṣāsā to lap śālyiṃ kolyeyac* 'sleeping on the right side, the head on the left toward the tail') might show the effect of *o*-umlaut operating in an East Tocharian word. The corresponding West Tocharian form is *kolyi.* As far as I am aware this words occurs only twice. In M 1 b4 *yäkweñña kolyi* indicates fem. gender. A correspondence of the type A *kolye* : B *kolyi* is unusual or even singular in a fem. noun (A *rake* : B *reki* etc. are neuters of Class II, cf. Krause-Thomas 1960, p. 98). On the other hand, a correspondence A *-Će* : B *Ć*(i)*ye* is regular in the fem. words of Class VI, 1. One might then wonder, if the form B *kolyi* of M 1 b4 has not been misspelled for **kolyiye,* or rather, if *kolyi* is not simply a regular obl. sg. form (cf. *ālyi, sālyi,* the obl. sg. of **alyiye, salyiye* resp.) mistakenly or incorrectly used for the nom. sg. Such mistakes do occur elsewhere in the magical and medicinal texts wehre *kolyi* is found, cf. e. g. Y 2 b4 where the obl. form *sālyi* is evidently used in the sense of or for the nom. sg. *salyiye* 'salt', and M 3 b6 where the obl. pl. *pyapyaiṃ* is similarly used for the nom. pl. *pyapyaiñ* (for this latter example, cf. Thomas 1952, p. 23, ftn. 3). In its second occurrence (M 3 b 1), *kolyi* stands before *ñor* and might therefore be interpreted as **kolyiñ,* the regular nom. pl. of a Class VI, 1 fem. noun.

Recently, I have argued (Hilmarsson 1986b) that Class VI, 2 in Tocharian is built upon Indo-European *ā*-stems and ablauting *ōn*-stems, whereas Class VI,1 is built upon *ēn*-stems. The ablaut in the *ōn*-stems (*e*-grade suffix e. g. in the loc. sg. and nom. pl.) offered a port of entrance for the influence of Class VI, 1 upon VI, 2. A consequence of this was the (partial) replacement of Class VI, 2 finals by those of Class VI, 1. A further consequence was the occasional transfer of words from

Class VI,1 to VI,2, and such transfer, presumably, could also take place in the opposite direction. On this basis the *o*-vocalism of A *kolye* (and B *kolyi*) can be explained as follows: The Indo-European root was probably **k̂el- / *k̂ol-*, as suggested by Duchesne-Guillemin (1941, p. 166) and Van Windekens (1976, p. 229). However, the latter's direct comparison with Skt. *śalya-* 'dart, point of an arrow' is difficult semantically as well as phonologically and morphologically.[12] A more direct comparison is offered by OIcel. *hali* 'tail' (also mentioned by Van Windekens), which is a perfect semantic match of the Tocharian words. Deriving from **k̂olēn* it would also be a perfect morphological match, if our analysis of B *kolyi* as the obl. sg. form of **kolyiye,* a class VI,1 noun, is correct. However, a motivation for the Tocharian *o*-vocalism would then be lacking.

Therefore, one might rather suggest that I.-E. had a form **k̂olōn* with an alternating stem **k̂olen-* (OIcel. *hali* might have a generalized *e*-grade of the suffix), this would yield CT. **kælo,* obl. stem **kælyän-*. In the nominative, *o*-umlaut produced the form **kolo,* and through the generalization of palatal *-ly-* from the oblique stem, the form **kolyo* was reached (cf. B *swāñco* '(sun)beam' for **swānto* from I.-E. **suH$_2$ntōn* 'the sunny one', Hilmarsson forthcoming). This was a Class VI,2 noun, but through the interaction of the Classes VI,1 and VI,2, this word was thereupon transferred to VI,1, acquiring the characteristic final of that class. Thus A *kolye* need not be taken as a borrowing from West Tocharian (Van Windekens, loc. cit.), but would be a regular match of B *kolyi* for **kolyiye,* and the *o*-vocalism of both words would have been caused by an *o*-umlaut in Common Tocharian.

Another word might invite an analysis similar to that of A *kolye,* B *kolyi.* However, it seems that its etymology is doubtful. This is B *olyi* 'ship' (obl. sg.) whose East Tocharian match is often cited as *olyi.* The form actually attested in the eastern dialect is *olyik* (29 b 2), and its context is not so clear that its sense

[12] To accept with Van Windekens 1976, p. 18 that I.-E. **o* was retained as B *o* before *ly* (and *lm*) and take A *kolye, olyi* as loanwords from West Tocharian is unfeasible, cf. A *malyw-*, B *mely-* 'to press'.

can be safely arrived at. Its association with B *olyi* is therefore far from certain. However, even assuming that A *olyik* somehow matches B *olyi,* the problems of word-formation and extra-Tocharian connections are by no means solved. Since Hansen (1940, p. 151) these words have been equated with Lith. *aldijà* 'boat', OCS. *ladiji* 'id.'. However, Hansen's derivation from I.-E. **oldh-* cannot be maintained, for **-dh-* would not be lost in Tocharian. Van Windekens (1976, p. 334) encounters this problem by reconstructing an I.-E. **oldi̯-* with *-d-* regularly lost before *-i̯-* in Tocharian. This answers one question, but the matter is still not solved. The acc. sg. of Lith. *aldijà* is *al̃diją* and the circumflex, as pointed out to me by Kortlandt (per. litt.), would preclude a derivation from **old-,* demanding **oldh-* because of Winter's Law of lengthening. However, Kortlandt also points out that Lith. *aldijà* might actually be a borrowing from Slavic, for, in his opinion, it would seem improbable that Lithuanian would have preserved a sequence *-ii̯-* in a Proto-Indo-European word (cf. e.g. *vìlkė* < **-ii̯-* < **-iH-*) whereas the preservation of *-ii̯-* in Slavic would point to a stressed *jer* which lost the accent to the ending as a result of Dybo's Law.

If then Lith. *aldijà* is a borrowing from Slavic, the circumflex need not present a serious obstacle for reconstructing an I.-E. **old-*. However, Norw. (dial.) *olda* 'großer Trog, Wasserkumme, Wasserrinne (aus ausgehöhltem Baumstamm)', Old. Dan. *aalde, olde* 'ausgehöhltes Gefäß' etc. is probably correctly associated with Lith. *aldijà,* OCS. *ladiji* by Pokorny 1959, p. 31–32, cf. also Stang 1971, p. 13. The Germanic words preclude a derivation from **old-,* and the status of Toch. A *olyik,* B *olyi* (obl. sg.) becomes unclear again. An analysis similar to that of B *kolyi,* therefore, would be speculative.

Now, back to A *koläm,* B **kolmo* 'ship'. Etymologically, Van Windekens' association (1976, p. 228–229) of these words with OHG. *scalm* 'ship' seems appropriate. However, assuming that *o*-umlaut operated in East as well as in West Tocharian (cf. above), it seems unnecessary to take A *koläm* as a borrowing from the latter. Rather, A *koläm* and B **kolmo* both derive from CT. **kælmo* (*o*-umlaut) < **kælmå̊* < I.-E. **kolmā,* as OHG. *scalm* from I.-E. **skolmā.*

On the other hand, the etymology of A *oṅkaläm,* B *oṅkolmo* is not so transparent. Van Windekens' suggestion (1941, p. 82; 1976, p. 337–338; also Duchesne-Guillemin 1941, p. 159) that the final A *-aläm,* B *-olmo* is a suffix identical with the one found in B *onolme* '(human) being' is very attractive, but further analysis of this suffix is difficult and its vocalism problematic, cf. above and below, also ftn. 12. Also, Van Windekens' identification of the radical element *oṅk-* as an ancient **aṅk-* < I.-E. **ank-* 'to bend', although semantically attractive, is phonologically far from easy. Van Windekens suggests an expected A **āṅkaläm* became *oṅkaläm* under the influence of B *oṅkolmo.* If one wishes to avoid that kind of inter-dialectal borrowing, one might with Isebaert (1980, p. 137) assume that a metathesis has taken place in the East Tocharian form, changing original **āṅkoläm* to **oṅkāläm* > *oṅkaläm* (reduction of *ā* to *a* in a medial syllable). However, one would still be left with the problem of the suffixal *-olm-* and its vocalism, and West Tocharian *oṅkolmo* would still require a comment. Van Windekens claims that (I.-E. **ank-olmō(n)* >) **āṅkolmo* yielded B *oṅkolmo* regularly (cf. also Isebaert 1980, p. 142), i.e. that West Tocharian *ā* could be umlauted to *o* before an *o* of the following syllable. However, most of the examples of that change, brought forth by Van Windekens, are actually more correctly understood as showing *o*-umlaut of the West Tocharian reflex of CT. **æ* but not **ā*. The only example that might stand close scrutiny is *onolme* '(human) being', if from **ānolmæ* < I.-E. **anH-* 'to breathe'. But I.-E. **anH-* is attested in B *anāsk-* 'to inhale' < CT. **ānā-sk-* < I.-E. **anH-sk̂-,* and it is difficult to see how the change of *ā – ā* to *o – o* can have been brought about,[13] cf. however discussion below.

I cannot propose an etymology that would be decidedly more plausible than those mentioned above. However, if one whishes

[13] The class sign of Pres. Class IV, B *-o-,* A *-a-,* derives from I.-E. **-ā-*. In West Tocharian it causes *o*-umlaut of B *e* < CT. **æ* (e.g. B *orotär* (A *aratär*) 'ceases' < **erotär* < CT. **æråtär* < I.-E. **orātr̥*; in B *osotär* (A *asatär*) 'dries' no *o*-umlaut has taken place, for the root vocalism here is I.-E. **ā,* not **a,* i.e. B *osotär* < CT. **åsåtär* < I.-E. **āsātr̥,* cf. Lat. *āreō* 'I am dry').

to avoid getting involved with explanations based on inter-dialectal borrowing or influence, or the assumption of a vowel metathesis, it appears that the only way to explain A *oṅkaläm,* B *oṅkolmo* as regular forms would be to assume a Common Tocharian preform **æṅkwå̄lmo* (or possibly **å̄ṅkwå̄lmo*). Such a form would yield B **eṅkolmo* (CT. **å̄* > B *o* regularly; *w* is dropped before *o,* cf. B *ost* : A *waṣt* 'house') > *oṅkolmo* (*o*-umlaut of the initial syllable). In East Tocharian, CT. **æṅkwå̄lmo* would regularly yield **aṅkwaläm* (apocope plus insertion of anaptyctic *ä*; CT. **å̄* and **æ* > A *a*) > *oṅkaläm* (rounding of A *a* before *kw*; delabialization of *kw*). The problem would thus be referred to Common Tocharian, which, of course, does not constitute a solution in itself, but at least CT. **æṅkwå̄lmo* can be considered a concrete starting point.

If the elements B *-olmo* and *-olme* (of B *oṅkolmo* and *onolme* resp.) are cognates, with the meaning 'living being, animal', CT. **æṅkwå̄lmo* might be analysed as a compound, **æṅkw* + *å̄lmo,* whose first constituent, **æṅkw-*, might derive from I.-E. **n̥ku-* 'a bend, curve, hook', attested as an *u*-stem in Av. *aŋku-* 'hook', and with a *-lo-* extension in Gk. ἀγκύλος 'crooked, curved', ἀγκύλη 'the bend of the arm', OIcel. *ǫngull* '(fishing) hook', etc. Such a compound would have the meaning 'the animal with the curve / hook', referring, of course, to the elephant's trunk or its curved tusks.[14]

Furthermore, B *onolme* 'human being' would then be analysable as deriving from CT. **æn-å̄lmæ* (CT. **å̄* > B *o* regularly, with subsequent *o*-umlaut in the initial syllable) with **æn-* from I.-E. **n̥-* 'in, inside'. The original meaning of this word would then have been 'one living inside (the family community' → 'human being'. Semantic parallels are found e.g. in Celtic, cf. ingen 'daughter', inailt 'female servant'.

Thus A *oṅkaläm* need not be understood as having suffered metathesis (< **āṅkoläm*), but rather as deriving from CT. **æṅkwå̄lmo* regularly, whereas the other word of group 2), *koläm* < **kolmo* < CT. **kælmo,* would be set off against

[14] Cf. however Ivanov 1980 [82], p. 166 for a quite different explanation of this word: an Austro-Asiatic origin.

**ýśaläm* < **ýśalma* < CT. *ýśælmæ* by assuming that there was no rounding through the *-m-* (or *-lm-*), but simply an *o*-umlaut, caused by the final **-o*. This umlaut may have been Common Tocharian, since its effects are seen in both dialects, but it appears to have been operative well into the dialectal period, for the initial syllable of A *oklop* can have been umlauted only after the rounding in the second syllable had taken place.

As for the remaining words showing *o*-vocalism before *-m-*, i.e. group 3) *ñom* 'name', *ṣom-* 'one', they stand in sharp contrast to words like *kam* 'tooth', *wram* 'thing' etc. I can see no way to explain these forms by any common law. Therefore, inspite of Hilmarsson 1984c, the *o*-vocalism of A *ṣom* fem. obl. sg. (B *somo*) is probably best explained as showing *o*-umlaut and not rounding before *m*. This *o*-vocalism was then generalized in the entire paradigm (except the nom. sg. masc.).

A *ñom* perhaps owes its *o*-vocalism to the adj. *ñomum* 'having a name', where *o* may have arisen through *u*-umlaut, cf. Van Windekens 1976, p. 327, Isebaert 1980, p. 136.

Another solution is perhaps conceivable. As I have recently suggested (Hilmarsson 1984a, ftn. 4; cf. also Lindeman 1982, p. 63) the origin of the initial palatal of A *ñom*, B *ñem* might perhaps be sought in an ancient weak case form where the zero grade of the root morpheme preceded an *e*-grade of the suffix. The group *-nm-* was then palatalized and a palatal *ñ* thereupon generalized in the entire paradigm. Thus, I.-E. nom. sg. **(H)nomn̥* : gen. sg. **(H)n̥mens* would in Tocharian yield **næmän* : **æñmän*. With the generalization of the genitive palatalization, there arose a paradigm **ñæmän* : **æñmän*. If both allomorphs, **ñæm-* and *æñm- survived into East Tocharian, the latter would have rounding to **oñm-* (CT. **æ-* > A *a-* > *o-* before *-(R)m-* in absolute initial position, cf. *omäl* and *omäskeṃ* above). This vocalism was thereupon generalized, so that (**ñæm-* >) A **ñam* became *ñom*.

Due to the conflicting material, any conclusion concerning rounding before *m* must be stated and taken with utmost reserve: Rounding before *m* took place in absolute initial position. Elsewhere there was no rounding, except in the words *ñom* and *ṣom-*.

To sum: Rounding of East Tocharian *a* is a much more regular affair than hitherto assumed. Far from being sporadic, it is a regular sound law that can be formulated thus:

East Tocharian *a* of whatever origin (CT. **æ* or **å*) was rounded to *o* 1) before *kw*, 2) before a labial occlusive (i.e. before *p* from I.-E. **p* / **b* or Iranian *b*, but not before *p* from I.-E. **bh*) and 3) before *m* in absolute initial position (with *ñom* and perhaps *ṣom-* as exceptions). These rules apply also, if the rounded and the rounding sound are separated by a sonant (except *m*).

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PIE. **mer-*, Arm. *meȓanim* 'die'

The standard handbooks[1] of Indo-European and Armenian etymology connect Arm. *meȓanim meȓay* 'die' with the PIE. root **mer-*. The extra-Armenian cognates are well known: forms with zero-grade root vocalism are Hit. *mar-ta-ri*; Ved. *mriyáte*, aor. *amr̥ta*; OCS. *mьrǫ*; Lith. *mìršta miȓti*; Lat. *morior*; et al.; full-grade forms are Hit. *me-ir-zi*, pret. *me-ir-ta*; OCS. aor. *mrětъ*, inf. *mrěti*; et al. There is no reason to doubt that the Armenian forms belong here etymologically. But there are points of detail in both morphology and phonology that require clarification: (1) the nasal present finds no support outside of Armenian,[2] (2) the full-grade root vocalism is puzzling in a verb that inflects exclusively as a medio-passive, since both the general principles of PIE. ablaut and the attested extra-Armenian middles (Hit. *mar-ta-ri*, Ved. *amr̥ta*, etc.) lead us to expect the zero grade, (3) the long (geminated) *ȓ* cannot continue PIE. **r* in intervocalic position without further ado.[3] The normal reflex of PIE. **r* in this position is Arm. *r*, cf. Arm. *berē* 'brings' : Skt. *bharati*, Gk. φέρει, etc.[4]

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[1] See, e.g. J̌ahukyan 1967, p.127, 231, Mayrhofer 1963, p.696 and especially Solta 1960, p.261-2 with a list of predecessors.

[2] Neither the Baltic derived causatives of the type Lith. *marìna* 'kills' (cf. Cowgill 1964, p.347 with fn.28) nor Hit. csv. *mernu-*, which evidences no more than the great productivity of *nu*-causatives in that language, can be compared here.

[3] Phonemically *ȓ* = /rr/, *r* = /r/. See the defintive study by Bolognesi 1962, p.141-5. For this reason I transliterate the Armenian letter *ȓa* with *ȓ* rather than with the traditional *ṙ* following Belardi 1962, p.149 fn.1 and Schmitt 1972, p.303-4.

[4] PIE. **r* does yield *ȓ* directly before nonsyllabic *n*, but we cannot account for the *ȓ* of *meȓanim* on the basis of the following nasal as Meillet 1890, p.165, 1936, p.54 did. Nonleveled patterns like *duȓn dran, jmeȓn jmeran, ayr aȓn aranc'* surely disclose the true morphophonemic conditions: **r* was not geminated before *-an*(-) even where this represents (an extension of) the reflex of

The key to the problems noted above lies in certain morphologically relevant semantic properties of the root **mer-* and in the position of roots of this sort within the PIE. and pre-Armenian verbal systems. In the first place we have to do here with a verbal root of primary character: one that expresses a basic notion of universal human experience. Secondly, **mer-* is manifestly punctual (momentaneous) and telic in lexical Aktionsart.[5] Thirdly, this root is inherently intransitive and adiathetic: it is incapable of exhibiting functional oppositions of the sort found in such diathetic roots as, say, Gk. λου- in λούει 'bathes (another)' : λούεται 'bathes (himself, his ...), gets bathed' : λούεται ὑπό 'is bathed by', παυ- in παύει 'stops (trans.)' : παύεται 'stops (intrans.)', πείθει 'persuades' : πείθεται 'obeys', etc. Finally, a further semantic property of **mer-* that is worth noting here is that it denotes an abrupt transition on the part of the subject form one state or condition to another.

Given that **mer-* is primary, punctual, telic, intransitive-adiathetic and that it denotes a change of state on the part of the subject we expect – and indeed we find – a fundamental root aorist, to which the characterized present **mr̥-i̯é-* stood, at least in PIE., as a motivated forme fondée.[6] As for matters of form, moreover, we must bear in mind that **mer-* is a resonant-final

(nonfinal) **-n̥-*. Moreover, there is no reason to believe that *meṙanim* replaced earlier **meṙnim* (vel sim.): *-ṙn-* was stable (cf. e.g. *y-aṙnem, aṙnem,* et al.). The attachment of productive *-ani-* (or **-ane-*) to **mer-* need hardly have been old, so that evidence for Meillet's view is simply lacking. And there are no compelling parallels. Rather the evidence suggests that a morphological process was at work in prehistoric Armenian, viz. aor. **(e-)meṙ-* → pres. *meṙ-an-* and that accordingly the source of geminated *ṙ* is to be sought in the fundamental aorist, not in the forme fondée.

[5] Recent discussions of the rôle of lexical Aktionsart in the formation of the PIE. verbal system include Aitzetmüller 1978, p. 159–166, Cowgill 1975, p. 562–3, 1973 passim, Hoffmann 1970, p. 28–31, Strunk 1968, p. 296–8 fn. 32. For my own views with further literature see Barton 1980, p. 246 ff. with fn. 1.

[6] I. e. the marked member of the opposition aorist : present. For PIE. proper the **-i̯e-*present is secured by the agreement of Indo-Iranian, Latin and in all likelihood Slavic (Tedesco 1956, p. 520–4). For Baltic and Slavic see further Barton 1980, p. 262–74. But the nonsupport of Hit. *me-ir-zi* indicates that **mr̥-i̯é-* is chronologically younger than as well as synchronically subordinate to the root aorist.

aniṭ structure. Accordingly, on grounds of semantics, i. e. lexical Aktionsart, we do not expect morphological parallelism with, say, atelic **bher-*, despite the formal similarity. In turn, on grounds of form, i. e. canonical morph structure, we cannot insist on full parallelism with telic seṭ roots, e. g. *$*g^{u}erh_3$-* 'eat, swallow down' (Arm. aor. *e-ker kera-y*), despite agreement in lexical Aktionsart.

The problem then is the diathesis. Continuations of PIE. **mer-* have not infrequently been chosen to exemplify the category of the medium tantum. But the matter is by no means self-evident for Proto-Indo-European. Moreover, it cannot be decided conceptually, for in the case of an adiathetic root of this sort we have to do with a neutralized domain: **mér-t*, **mr̥-tó*, or even a 'proterodynamic' **mér-to* would have been functionally equivalent.[7] We ought also to avoid placing too much emphasis on the shape of the present stem: for a punctual root like **mer-* the aorist was fundamental.

An examination of the extra-Armenian evidence is now in order. Direct continuations of an active preform **mér-t* are attested by Hit. *mer-ta* 'disappeared' and OCS. *-mrě-tъ* 'died'. The first of these forms has been ably discussed by Oettinger 1979, p. 20, 105–6 et passim. Oettinger's (p. 20) "diachronic paradigm" speaks for itself: for Old Hittite only preterite active forms can be adduced, 3sg. *me-ir-ta* and 3pl. *me-ri-ir.*[8] Middle Hittite adds an active present, 3sg. *me-ir-zi mi-ir-zi,* whereas middle forms do not appear until New Hittite. Of these middles the Paradebeispiel would seem to be pres. 3sg. *mar-tari,* citeable

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[7] Formally, the least marked of the three is **mér-t*. Such formal unmarkedness would accord well with the position of this form as fundamental member of its system.

[8] 3sg. *me-ir-ta* occurs at KUB. XVII 8 iv 14, text designated OH/NS by Güterbock-Hoffner 1980, p. 44, *nu-uš-ši la-ap-pí-i̯a-as me-ir-ta* 'and the fever disappeared from him' (G.-H.), also VBoT. 24 iii 43, Bo. 2616 III 6 (Friedrich 1929, p. 80). The indisputably archaic 3pl. *me-ri-ir* occurs at KBo. XXII 2 obv. 13 (old ductus), which constitutes text A of Otten's 1973 edition of the Zalpa text (StBoT. 17). Equally archaic is the imv. 3sg. *me-e-ir-tu_4*, e. g. KUB. XLI 23 ii 5 (OH/NS). For further details and discussion of the (archaic) pple. *me-ir-ra-an-da* and the (innovatory) pres. *me-ir-zi* see Barton 1985 a, p. 13 with fnn. 3–7, 16.

from the Ukkura-trial (KUB. XIII 35 with joins), edited by Werner 1967 as part of StBoT. 4. The passage runs, (iv 45) ... *mar-ta-ri-u̯a-ra-at-kán* (46) *nu-u̯a-ra-at-kán a-aš-zi* ... 'Es geht verloren und es bleibt übrig'.[9] The evident proverbial character of the passage has led some authorities to the view that *martari* is an archaic form.[10] The evidence is not conclusive. The fact that maxims and the like may on occasion exhibit archaic forms does not entitle us to assess a given form as archaic simply because it occurs in a maxim. The Ukkura-text dates from the first half of the thirteenth century.[11] It is a late text, and the testimonial worth of its forms - even those in maxims - cannot outweigh the evidence of Old or Middle Hittite compositions - above all the Zalpa-text - that *mer-* was activum tantum in early Hittite. A manifest neologism exhibited by this same Ukkura-text is the causative formation *me-ir-nu-un* (XIII 35 i 28 = Werner 1967, p. 4), doubtless for **mernu-nun,* of which the countertypical full-grade root vocalism surely presupposes a full-grade forme de fondation, i. e. inherited *mer-ta.* One notes the equally uninherited full-grade vocalism of the preterite middle, 3sg. *me-ir-ta-at,*[12] and the co-existence in the New Hittite ritual text KBo. X 37 of imperatives active 3sg. *me-ir-du* (iii 26) and middle 3pl. *me-ir-ra-an-ta-ru* (ii 12, 14), where the *e*-grade vocalism of the latter again evidences the nonfundamental unarchaic character of the middle forms of this verb.

In Slavic the aorists 23sg. *-mrětъ* (Zogr. Cloz. Sav. Supr.) *mrě* (Supr. Ostr.) are citeable from the earliest monuments. The proximate preform required by these forms is precisely **mer-t.* We cannot attempt to derive the desinence *-tъ* from an IE. mpsv. 3sg. **-to,* for **o* in absolute Auslaut must yield OCS. *-o,* cf. voc.

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9 Werner 1967, p. 14/15, cf. 19, the translation follows Güterbock 1955, p. 67.

10 Cf. e. g. Neu 1968, p. 80 (cautiously, "... darf vielleicht deswegen als altertümlich angesehen werden") and especially Watkins 1969, p. 114 ("daher archaische").

11 Werner 1967, p. 2, cf. 14–15.

12 KUB. XXXI 56, 6 = Otten-Souček 1965, p. 32. For a possible second attestation see Neu 1968, p. 116 fn. 3.

ženo < **gᵘ̯enə.*[13] The metathesis *-rě-* < **-er-* points to the formerly word-final obstruent, while the split reflex, **-t* > *-tъ* ~ Ø, is best preceived in connection with the rule of open syllables.[14]

Since Slavic (and Baltic) are branches that have eliminated the formal category of mediopassive reconstructible for PIE., we must reckon with the notion that pre-Slav. **mer-t* is a secondary replacement of PIE. mpsv. **mr̥-to.* The replacement of **-to* by **-t* would be readily understandable, but the replacement of zero-grade **mr̥-* by full-grade **mer-* requires a model. This would have to be provided by the class of inherited root aorists active of the shape *CeR(H)-* (type *strě(tъ)*) with either inherited or secondary circumflected intonation and innovatory nonnasal present of the shape *CĭRe-* (as against the acuted zero-grade type *-žrъ -trъ,* which were originally aligned with nasal present according to Vaillant 1966, p.305–6). For Slavic in and of itself some such explanation is perhaps possible.[15] But it is neither necessary nor compelling. If active **mér-t* is evidenced elsewhere in IE. proper and if the mediopassives of Latin and Vedic can be accounted for, then we must reconstruct an active aor. **mér-t* for PIE.

How are we to understand the continuations of **mer-* as (virtual) media tantum in Aryan and Latin? Part of the answer is

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[13] Hence a proterodynamic **mér-to,* which is nowhere directly supported, can be excluded as a possibility.

[14] So Aitzetmüller 1978, p.186, essentially following Vaillant 1953–54, 1966, p. 55–6.

[15] The full-grade root vocalism of *mrě(tъ)* cannot be explained as having been taken over from the infinitive *mrěti,* for as both Lith. inf. *miřti* and OCS. noun *sъ-mrъtь* evidence, the Slavic infinitive is itself a replacement of an earlier zero-grade form. Vaillant 1966, p.127–8 (with predecessors) explains full-grade Slavic infinitives after the supine. But the supine is far too highly marked a category to dominate the infinitive, which already in our earliest documents was beginning to replace the supine, e.g. Lc.12: 51 … *ěko mira pridъ dati na zemljǫ* (Zog. Mar.), further Lc.1: 76, Mth.3: 13, et al. See Vaillant 1964, p.349–50. It is rather the infinitive that models the supine, cf. *pešti* → *peštь,* which cannot continue **pek-tum* by purely phonological replacement, cf. Stieber 1970–72, p.505–6. The neological full grade of Slav. inf. **mer-ti* is founded on the aor. **mer-,* not the reverse.

disclosed by the innovatory middles of later Hittite. The point to be emphasized here is that in verbs from adiathetic roots the creation of formal middles is essentially nonfunctional. We have to do merely with the reassignment of markings in a neutralized domain: communicative efficiency is unimpaired. As rightly observed by Neu and Oettinger the inherent semantics of Hit. *mer-* are far more akin to those of oppositional middles (of diathetic roots) than to their active counterparts.[16] That such inherent "intransitive-fientives" should come to inflect formally like founded, i.e. oppositional, "intransitive-fientives" merely exemplifies, "the iconic tendency for semantic similarity to be reflected by formal similarity" (Anttila 1972, p.92). It also becomes readily understandable how middle by-forms could have arisen alongside of the older active forms and how this doublet-like vacillation of diathesis came to occur even within the same text (cf. *merdu/merrantaru,* KBo.X 37, discussed above).[17]

While it would probably be sufficient to motivate the innovatory middle continuations of **mer-* after the diathetic opposition-middles as a class, in Aryan and Latin one particular verb comes to mind as instrumental in this remodeling, viz. the diathetic "antonym" represented in Vedic by *jánati* 'engenders, begets, gives birth to' : *jā́yate* 'is born' and in Latin by *gignit* :

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[16] Cf. Neu 1968, p.97, Oettinger 1979, p.106.

[17] Other telic intransitive change-of-state actives occur in Hittite, e.g. *š(a)men-zi* 'disappears' (Oettinger 1976, 1979, p.104), *ḫark-zi* 'perishes', et al.; while *šup-tari* 'goes to sleep' (alongside of active imv. 2pl. *šup-ten,* KUB.XXXIX 31,3, which taken with the activa tantum forms of Ved. *svap-* must represent the original diathesis) represents a comparable neomiddle (full details, Barton 1985b, p.28ff.) Within Indic many fientives of the type Ved. *krúdhya-ti* 'become angry' give rise to middle by-forms in post-Vedic texts (see Gonda 1951, p.100), while in Greek the middle inflection of fientives μεθύσκομαι 'get drunk', κυίσκομαι 'become pregnant' (: active statives μεθύω κυέω) has been convincingly shown to be secondary by Szemerényi 1964, p.66–8. Let us not fail to note the creation in Romance of "reflexives" to neoactive replacements of Lat. *morior,* viz. Fr. *mourir* → *se mourir,* Sp. *morir* → *morirse.* The motivation for these suggested by Orbán 1974, p.245, "... Konkretisierung ... der von diesen Sprechern in den verba neutra gefühlten medialen Idee ...", could readily apply to Hit. *martari,* etc.

nāscitur gignitur. The formal middles exhibited by Ved. *mriyáte* (Av. *miriiete,* cf. OPers. pret. *am(a)riyatā*) on the one hand and Lat. *moritur* on the other may well have been considerably catalyzed by association with the precursors in Indo-Iranian of Ved. *jā́yate* and in Italic of Lat. *nāscitur* respectively. Such collocations as *na jāyate mriyate vā* ... (Bh. G. II 20), *trir ... puruṣo mriyate trir jāyate* ... (JUB. III 11.1) need not be belabored; and vice versa one recalls the observation of Ernout-Meillet 1932, p. 599 on the influence in Latin of *moritūrus* in the creation of *paritūrus, oritūrus* and even *nāscitūrus,* "par opposition à la mort".[18]

A possibility to be reckoned with is that in PIE. **mer-* was active in the fundamental aorist but middle in the founded present, **mér-t* → **mr̥-i̯é-to-r,* cf. Oettinger 1979, p. 106, who compares the type of Ved. aor. act. *avart* : pres. mid. *vártate.* We recall the Greek type of aor. **dérk̂-t* → pres. δέρκεται 'sees', which became productive in that branch of IE. in the formation of (mainly telic) intransitives.[19] Also of interest would be the Tocharian replacements of **mer-*: B pret. act. *sruka* : pres. mid. *sruketär* 'dies' (and indeed the entire set of intransitive verbs in both Tocharian languages with active Class I preterites against middle Class III or IV presents[20]), A pret. act. *wläs* : pres. mid. *wälläṣtär.*[21]

The advantages of Oettinger's suggestion are evident: we account immediately for both the active full-grade aorist evi-

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[18] OIr. B II *gainithir ·gainethar* together with Ved. *jā́yate* guarantees the antiquity of a pres. **ĝn̥h¹-i̯e-to-r* for PIE., cf. Cardona 1967, p. 770–771, Meid 1980, p. 191 fn. 10; and it is this that Lat. *nāscitur* replaces, pace Leumann 1977, p. 535, 612, 614. Hence for Aryan and very probably for pre-Latin there is further motivation in the identification of stems: **mr̥-i̯e-* = **ĝn̥h₁-i̯e-*. Moreover, the Latin replacement of a finite perfectum by *mortuus est,* like *nātus est,* offers no difficulty.

[19] For the original root aorist underlying Gk. ἔδρακον see Forssman 1964.

[20] E.g. A *wik wikatär,* B *wika wiketär* 'disappear'; A *ār aratär,* B *āra orotär* 'cease, stop'. For details see Krause-Thomas 1960, p. 200–2, Jasanoff 1978, p. 24 ff.

[21] AB *näk-* with meanings active 'zugrunde richten, vernichten' : mid. 'zugrunde gehen' (Krause-Thomas 1960, p. 175, 194, 209, 251) exhibits the ordinary diathetic relation.

denced by Hit. *me-ir-ta,* OCS. *mrětъ* and, as will be shown, Arm. *meṙaw* and also for the deponent presents of Ved. *mriyáte,* Lat. *moritur.* There is, however, a difficulty in that the pattern (root) aorist active : present mediopassive is reasonably well established only in the case of uncharacterized thematic presents.[22] In Greek, to be sure, where this pattern enjoyed a certain productivity, we find it extended to a few characterized stems.[23] But the *-i̯$^{e}/_{o}$-presents seem to have been especially resistant, and the evidence does not entitle us to reconstruct a canonical pattern aor. act. **CéRC-t* : pres. mpsv. **CRC-i̯é-to-r* for PIE., so that Oettinger's **mer-t* : **mr̥-i̯e-toi̯* is left without a convincing parallel. Moreover, at least in the case of Vedic, the formant *-i̯$^{e}/_{o}$- became productive in building up a class of present stems that were functionally intransitive, viz. the type of Ved. *náśyati* 'is lost, vanishes, perishes', *ríṣyati* 'comes to harm', *śúṣyati* 'becomes dry', *tŕ̥ṣyati* 'thirsts'. The group comprises a great number of roots with telic, in particular fientive, semantics.[24] What needs to be emphasized here is that the *-i̯$^{e}/_{o}$-intransitives seem to have been originally furnished with active desinences.[25] We recall the collocation by Delbrück 1897, p. 422–23 in regard to affective verbs (Delbrück's "Vorgänge im Gemüth") of the types Ved. *módate* 'rejoices', Gk. γάνυται 'rejoices', χώεται 'is angry' :

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[22] Whether of the normal **e/o*-type or of the type with "persistent *o*", for which Watkins 1969, p. 107 ff., 213–4, Jasanoff 1978, p. 29, 35 ff., 47 ff.

[23] A clear example is πτάρνυμαι 'sneeze' : aor. ἔπταρον perhaps also ἄχνυμαι : pple. αχεύων (Strunk 1967, p. 105–8, disputed by Beekes 1969, p. 279). In Greek the creation after this pattern of neological presents φύομαι, δέρκομαι to the aoristic roots **bhuh-* (**bhu̯eh$_2$-*?), **derḱ-* demonstrates the productiveness of the type and so the likelihood that the characterized representatives of it are not old: cf. e. g. Lat. *sternuō* : πτάρνυμαι.

[24] For an extensive list see Delbrück 1897, p. 27–35. No doubt the fientive force of many of these verbs had faded considerably by the time of the Vedic texts. In any case Delbrück's (p. 34) semantic classification presents a thorough mixing of fientive and nonfientive interpretations. The essential point is not that the *ya*-class was fientive in Vedic but that many old fientives had become incorporated into that class.

[25] Cf. Delbrück's 1897, p. 435–6 discussion (where, to be sure, **mr̥-i̯e-* is deemed a middle "schon im Idg."), further Gonda 1951, p. 88.

Gk. χαίρει 'rejoices = Ved. *háryati* 'enjoys',[26] Gk. γαίει* 'is proud', Ved. *krúdhyati* 'becomes angry', *dṛ̥pyati* 'toll werden', *glāyati* 'Überdruß empfinden', etc.[27] A good illustration of the near equivalence - at least in the affective domain - of *ya*-actives and uncharacterized middles for the Sprachgefühl of living Vedic is furnished by the coinage of active *hṛ̥ṣyati* (RV. X 86.7 and later texts) as a collateral doublet alongside of older *hárṣate* (I[1], IV[2], VIII[1], IX[2], X[3]).[28]

Interesting is the observation by Vekerdi 1961, p. 253–55 that in the Rig-Veda middle inflection is preponderant in the case of those Class IV presents that occur alongside of presents of other classes, type(s): *kṣī́yate kṣiṇā́ti, múcyate muñcáti,* etc., whereas in the case of monomorphic *ya*-intransitives (those without collateral primary present formations, type: *ríṣyati náśyati śrā́myati dásyati,* etc.) the activa tantum preponderate considerably.[29] The evident explanation is simply that the iconic tendency to equip verbs of "middle" function such as intransitives with desinences of middle form was reinforced and so accelerated in the case of polymorphic *ya*-presents. In other words the functional opposition that developed in the stems, e.g. *kṣiṇā́- : kṣī́ya-,* was corroborated in the alignment of the endings, *-ti : -te.* The monomorphic intransitives are essentially nonoppositional and so subject to less pressure to restructure formally as middles. Hence the *ya*-passives, which are an oppositional category par

[26] In surface syntax *háryati* is (mostly) transitive in Vedic (Renou 1961, p. 72, cf. Jamison 1983, p. 33–34, 146). I shall discuss elsewhere my reasons for the view that this state of affairs is less archaic than the intransitive usage of Gk. χαίρω and that, in the West, the objective genitives governed by Gmc. **gerna-z, *gernjan* represent older syntax than the accusatives of O.-U. *heri-*.

[27] It would not be correct to view intransitivity as a function of the formant. Many of the **i̯*$^{e}/_{o}$-intransitives are doubtless denominal in origin. Those that are bona fide primaries owe syntactic intransitivity to root-linked semantic features such as FIENTIVE. Of the PIE. (nonzero) stem formants **-i̯*$^{e}/_{o}$- was the least marked (and most productive). It served merely to fashion imperfective verbal stems without further nuance.

[28] See Jamison 1983, p. 136–7. For further *ya*-intransitives active of post-Rigvedic coinage see Delbrück 1888, p. 277.

[29] One notes the collocation at RV. I 62.12ab ... *rā́yo ... ná kṣī́yante nópa dasyanti* ... 'riches ... do not come to naught, they do not run out ...'

excellence, are furnished all but exclusively with middle endings. A certain PIE. oppositional **i̯*$^{e}/_{o}$-present is **ĝn̥h*$_{1}$*-i̯é-tor* 'is born' : **ĝi-ĝenh*$_{1}$*-ti* (vel sim.) 'begets, gives birth'.[30] As a nonoppositional (monomorphic) **i̯*$^{e}/_{o}$-intransitive built to active aor. **mér-t, *mr̥-i̯é-* may well have started life with active desinences.[31] But close association with **ĝn̥h*$_{1}$*-i̯é-tor* (not only semantically – in that 'birth'/'death' constitute a Begriffspaar, but also formally – in that each verb was characterized with the formant **-i̯*$^{e}/_{o}$-) would have fostered restructuring as medium tantum: first in the present, thence – in Aryan (or Indic) – to the aorist. Oettinger's reconstruction of aor. **mer-t* → pres. **mr̥-i̯e-to-* has, accordingly, historical but not typological validity; for the mediopassive present is most likely a secondary reformation after 'is born'. For this reason studies attempting to elucidate the origin, (pre)history, or position of the type of Ved. *avart* → *vártate* within the system of the IE. verb should exclude **mer-*.

Despite its inflection as a medium tantum Arm. *mer̄anim* strongly supports the assumption of a PIE. (formally) active root aor. (3sg.) **mér-t*. The supposed mid. **mr̥-to* simply cannot account for Arm. 3sg. aor. *mer̄aw*. In particular I see no way to motivate the root vocalism *-e-* under the assumption that it represents an unoriginal secondary development. Other Armenian

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[30] As regards the morphology of PIE. **ĝenh*$_{1}$- I am essentially in agreement with Cardona 1967, p. 762–771.

[31] It is perhaps worth mentioning here that (apart from Toch. B *sruketär*, A *wälläṣtär* noted above) the euphemisms for or replacements of **mer-*, i.e. noncognate words for 'die', do not seem to show any remarkable predilection for mediopassive (or deponential) inflection. Witness Avest. *riθ* (e.g. *para.iriθiieiti*, V. 5. 1), Gk. θνήσκω, τελευτάω, Lat. *pereō, dēcēdō*, etc., OIr. *at·bail*, cf. *do·tuit do·cer* 'fall (in battle)', and the above-discussed Vedic *ríṣyati*-class (e.g. I 162.21 a *ná … mriyase ná riṣyasi* 'you do not die you do not come to harm'), etc. One should doubtless add Hit. *ak*(*k*)-, which continues the precursor of IE. **mer-* in the meaning 'die' and which, whatever one's opinion as regards Hit. *ḫi*-verbs and IE. middles, is not mediopassive in Hittite: 2pl. *a-ak-te-ni* 3pl. *ak-kán-zi*, 3pl. imv. *ak-kán-du*, etc. Moreover, other adiathetic intransitive telic activa tantum are well represented in IE.: **steh*$_{2}$- 'stand up', **sed-*, **g*^{u}*em- g*^{u}*eh*$_{2}$-, **su̯ep-* 'go to sleep' (Barton 1985b), et al. Witness further the diffcult ἔμορτεν · ἀπέθανεν of Hesychius.

continuations of **mer-*, e.g. *ma(r)h* 'death',[32] *mard* 'man, mortal, human being', have *-ar-* (< *-r̥-).[33] Moreover the *ani*-verbs, a productive class in pre-Armenian, display no tendency to restrict or predispose the vocalism of the root, and a secure PIE. zero grade occurs in *ankanim ankay* 'fall' (< **sn̥gᵘ̯-*).[34] On the other hand, the recognition of a PIE. root aorist active discloses at once the source of the problematic root vocalism of Arm. *meṙay meṙanim* in the full-grade **mer-* canonically at home in the fundamental singular of the PIE. paradigm.

The above analysis also enables us at least to begin to understand the *-ṙ-* of the Armenian forms. PIE. **r* regularly appears as Arm. *ṙ* (1) before *n* (< PIE. **n, *n̥, *m̥*), which remains and (2) before **s* (not followed by **i̯*), which is absorbed.[35] Thus an inherited root aorist paradigm would have come to exhibit *-ṙ-* in at least three of its six forms: 1sg. **mer-m̥* > **meṙ-n,* 2sg. **mer-s* > **meṙ* (/mer-r/), 3pl. **mer-n̥t* > **meṙ-n*.[36] Moreover, we cannot decisively exclude the possibility that an inherited

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[32] The Iranian origin of this common word (Bolognesi 1960, p.17–19) is immaterial to the point at hand.

[33] I refer to basic words that might plausibly be imagined to have been capable of exerting such pressure on the verb proper as to model a transformation of inherited **mar-* to attested *meṙ-*. It hardly needs to be emphasized that the inner-Armenian derivatives of *meṙ-*, e.g. *meṙeal* 'νεκρός' (= lexicalized pple. *meṙeal* 'mortuus') with its own secondaries *meṙel-utʿiwn* 'death', *meṙeloti* 'corpse', *meṙelagoyn* 'corpse-coloured, pale', et al.; *meṙot* 'mortal', *anmeṙ* 'immortal', etc., are without probity for determining the prehistory of the stem formation of the fundamental verb.

[34] Unlike **mer-* the PIE. telic root **sengᵘ̯-* (details elsewhere) was by all appearances diathetic: active forms meant 'hurl, cast (down)' vel sim.; middle forms, 'fall, sink'. Hence the zero grade, at home in the root aorist middle, which is the likely ancestor of *ankay*, is as expected.

[35] The best example of IE. *-r-m̥* in absolute Auslaut is probably *duṙn* 'door' (: gen. sg. *dran*, nom. pl. *dur-kʿ*, etc., cf. fn.4 above) < acc. sg. **dhur-m̥* (Meillet 1892, p.157, Schmitt 1981, p.68) or **dhu̯ōr-m̥* (Tumanjan 1978, p.322, cf. 256–7). But *jeṙn* 'hand', with stable *-ṙ-* (gen. *jeṙin*, etc.), is surely **ĝhésr-m̥* with Schmitt 1981, p.62, 72, etc.

[36] I omit augments from the reconstructed forms here as having no bearing on the problems under discussion. As regards root ablaut forms like *e-tun* 'they gave' and *e-din* 'they placed' point to an early extension of the full grade throughout the paradigm of the (pre-Armenian continuation of the) root aorist.

root aor. act. 3sg. **mer-t* would also yield **meṙ* as a result of purely phonological replacement. Examples like *ard* 'arrangement' : Ved. *ṛtúḥ* all continue *-*rt*- in earlier prevocalic position,[37] and we cannot assume flatly that the reflex in absolute Auslaut in pre-Armenian was identical with that in prevocalic position.[38]

A further source of geminated *ṙ* may well have been sigmatization. Bonfante's 1942 recognition of a partially sigmatized pattern in the Armenian and Slavic continuations of two IE. root aorists, viz. Arm 1sg. *e-tu* 3sg. *e-t* = OCS. 1sg. *daxъ* 3sg. *da* < *(*e*-)*dō-so-m* *(*e*-)*dō-t*, Arm. *e-di e-d* = OCS. *děxъ dě* < *(*e*-)*dhē-so-m* *(*e*-)*dhē-t* as against the root aorists pure and simple of PIE. reflected by Ved. *a-d*(*h*)*ā-m -t*, has gained a certain acceptance (Godel 1975a, p.126–27, Schmitt 1981, p.54, 154, 156, Schmidt 1985a, p.86, 1985b, p.224).[39] If root aorists to *CeH*-roots became partially sigmatized in pre-Armenian, there is every reason to expect a comparable development in the case of *CeR*-roots as well. The Slavic type of 1sg. *-mrěxъ* : 3sg. *-mrětъ* cogently evidences precisely such a parallelism.[40] Whatever the original distribution of neosigmatic : asigmatic forms may have been, the phonetic change *-*rs*- > *-ṙ-* entailed a structural change wherein the older allomorphy of stem formant, i.e. *-*s*- ~ Ø, became reassigned as allomorphy of the root, i.e. **meṙ-* ~ **mer-*, with subsequent leveling of **meṙ-*.

There is no reason to exclude roots of other shapes. A likely

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[37] For further examples see Schmitt 1981, p.59. The equation of *leard* 'liver' and *neard* 'sinew' with (the type of) Ved. *yákṛt* is attractive but far from certain. If correct, it would still be possible to see the restoration (or preservation) of *-d* in the nominative as due to Systemzwang and the elimination of heteroclisy by extension of *-*rd*(-) as chronologically earlier than the change of *-*rd* > *-ṙ* in absolute Auslaut.

[38] Cf. the similar loss of *-*t* in *ekn* (< **e-gʷem-t*) as against e.g. *dr-and* (: Lat. *antae*), *ənd* (: Gk. ἐντός), etc. Thus the relation *-and* : *ekn* parallels *ard* : **emeṙ*, since for *n* : *ṙ* we have e.g. *gin* 'price' (*n* < *-*sn*-) : *kʿeṙ* 'sororis' (*ṙ* < *-*sr*-), i.e. **egʷemt* > **ekint* > *ekinn* > **ekin* > *ekn* is thinkable.

[39] The present writer's 1973-74 attempt to extend this pattern to the type *ber-i e-ber* has not met with approval.

[40] Already Klingenschmitt 1982, p.221 has pointed to the possibility of a neosigmatic aorist formation to **mer-*.

example of a transformed obstruent-final root aorist is *hecanim* 'mount, ride'. The middle inflection is due to the originally reflexive sense 'seat oneself' of this intransitive verb (completed with *i* 'upon', e.g. Mth. 21 : 5 *heceal y-ēš* 'seated (< *having seated himself) upon an ass', further examples Klingenschmitt 1982, p. 195 with fn. 43). Thus PIE. root aor. **sed-* → pre-Arm. **sed-s-* (~ **sed-*) > *hec-* → *hec-a-y*, whence *hecanim*. A similar explanation seems best also for *anicanem* 'curse': PIE. root aor. *$*h_3neid$-* (cf. Ved. pple. *nidānā-*) → pre-Arm. *$*h_3neid$-s-* > aor. *anic-*, whence *anicanem*. Explanations of these verbs that analyze *-c-* < **-d-* + **-i̯ᵉ/ₒ-* fail to recognize that the Armenian pattern strong aorist : *-ane-* (*-ani-*) present reflects the PIE. pattern root aorist : characterized present and that if, say, a pres. **sed-i̯e-* had been a pre-Armenian reality, we would expect rather a pres. **hecem*.[41] Especially significant for the prehistory of aniṭ **mer-* is the treatment of seṭ roots of the shape **CerH-*. In particular the skewed anomalous paradigm aor. 1sg. *kera-y* : 3sg. *e-ker* 'ate' is immediately and naturally explained by a Bonfante paradigm *$*g^{u}erh_3$-so-m* (> **keráhun* > *kera-* + *-i*) : *$*g^{u}erh_3$-t* (> **kéra* > *-ker*). Compare the common imvv. 2sg. *ker* (< **kéra* < *$*g^{u}erh_3$-Ø*) : 2pl. *kerayk'* (for **keráye* < *$*g^{u}erh_3$-te*). The point to be emphasized is that there is no functional motivation whatsoever for the recasting of this actively inflected verb (Ved. *girati*, aor. *gārīt*, aor. sbj. *garat*; Gk. βιβρώσκω ἔβρω), which in Armenian itself is suppletively aligned with active pres. *utem*, as a middle. Hence the explanation must be phonological.[42]

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[41] Gk. ἕζομαι gives no support to a putative pres. **sed-i̯e-*, see Risch 1965, p. 3, Ruijgh 1985, p. 179.

The hypothesis that the PIE. root aorist became partially sigmatized in pre-Armenian finds good support in the comparable neosigmatics exhibited by its dialect-geographic neighbours, Greek (types ἔζευξα, ἔτεινα, ἐστόρεσα, etc.) and Slavic (cf. *daxъ*, *mrěxъ*, *jęsъ*, etc.).

[42] Rix 1969, p. 182 rightly recognized that Arm. aor. 3sg. *e-ker* directly - and Ved. aor. sbj. 3pl. *gar-a-n* indirectly - point to the reconstruction of root aor. 3sg. *$*(e\text{-})g^{u}erh_3$-t* for PIE. and that Gk. ἔβρω is an innovation.

Lindeman's 1982, p. 40, 1985, p. 63-65 with fn. 6 objections to this and to the convincing evidence organized by de Lamberterie 1982, p. 41 (following

The transformation to deponent inflection, i.e. **emeṙ* → *meṙaw*, etc., is in accord with the general principles of iconicity already discussed. We have a fine parallel in *n-stim n-stay* as against the archaic active inflection of Ved. *sī́dati ásadat*, etc.[43] However, the formal restructuring of **mer-* in Armenian is immediately accounted for in terms of the productive class of

Bugge) that internal *ə* did not vanish after resonants, e.g. *arawr* : ἄρο-τρον ≠ *dustr* : θυγάτηρ, cannot convince. It is difficult to believe that Arm. *arawr* goes rather with Lat. *arātrum* than with GK. ἄρο-τρον and impossible to dismiss the equation of *aławri* with ἀλε-τρίς (Lindeman 1982, p.40). On this last I would add that in my view Gk. ἀλέω represents a transformed *ániti*-type of simple athematic present preserved intact in Arm. *ałam*, viz. *$*h_2elh_1$-mi*. Cf. Gk. ἐμέω : Ved *vámiti*. Morphologically Lindeman's arguments are unsound. Arm. *eker* cannot come "from an originally thematic stem **gʷerH-e-*, seen in the Vedic subjunctive *garan*" (1985, p.65[6]), precisely because the thematic vowel of *garan* is a *morpheme* with *modal* force stemming from the protolanguage. Ved. sbj. *gar-a-* evidences with OCS. *-žrětъ* a PIE. root aorist not a thematic aorist, and we cannot believe that a PIE. subjunctive formation emerges in Armenian (alongside of *ekn, et, ed*) as an augmented (!) indicative in the fundamental structure-slot of its paradigm. Also without cogency is Lindeman's view (ibid.) that *kera-*, if from **gᵘ̯erə-* would have formed subj. **kerayc'e-* (or **kerac'e-* like *tac'e-*) instead of the attested *keric'e-*. The point here is that *keray* is systemically an *aorist* (opposed suppletively but paradigmatically to pres. *utem*). The *-ayc'e*-subjunctives belong only to the present system where they serve as the regular formation to indicatives in *-a-*: *tayc'e-*, *orsayc'e- hawatayc'e-*, etc. Note especially the contrastive opposition of pres. sbj. *ert'ayc'e-* : aor. sbj. *ert'ic'e-*. Systemic reformation of **kerayc'e-* (**kera-* + **-ic'e-*) to a pattern compatible with its aspect would have been de rigueur. As regards *-ac'e-*, the aor. sbj. *tac'e-* is an archaic isolated petrifaction no more likely to model innovations than the equally isolated indic. *etu*.

43 The doublets of historical Armenian are now easy to understand. PIE. had already formed a reduplicated present *$*si\text{-}sd^{e}/_{o}$-* as against root aor. **sed-*. Both stems entered prehistoric Armenian, and each came both with and without the preverb **ni-*. (On **ni-* + **sed-* see Barton 1985b, p.21–22 with fn. 15.) From the uncompounded aor. **sed-* → **sed-s-* > *hec-* → mid. *hec-a-y* the creation of pres. *hecanim* is banal. From the compounded pres. **ni-si-sde-*, decisively evidenced by archaic 2sg. imv. *active*(!) *nist* (< **ni-sisde*, Godel 1965, p.22, 1975b, p.232 – my 1970, p.19 reconstruction **sēd-i-* is without value), now dissociated from *hec-* and central to its own system, the aor. *nstay* was built. Specifically, **nstem* (→ *nstim*) → **nsti* (→ *nstay*): type *berem* → *beri* (*berim* → *beray*). Note that this is the pattern – albeit severely restricted – of the inherited *$*\text{-}^{e}/_{o}$*-present, as against the productive **-e̯ie-*type, cf. Karstien 1956, p.222f.

primary verbs of telic Aktionsart formed with aor. *-a-* → pres. *-ani-*,[44] to which belongs *cnay cnanim* 'be born' (also trans. 'beget, give birth'), the noematic antonym of 'die'. Other intransitive change-of-state verbs that belong here and have passable etymologies are *ankay ankanim* 'fall' : Goth. *sigqan, p'lay p'lanim* 'fall' : Lith. *pùlti, agay aganim* 'spend the night' : Gk. ἰαύω, aor. ἄεσα), cf. further transitive "subjectives" such as *usay usanim* 'learn', *agay aganim* 'put on (clothes)' : Lat. *-uō,* et al.

The preceding discussion leads to the following generalization: PIE. root aorists of the shape **Cer-* appear in Armenian as *Cer̄-*;[45] PIE. root aorists of the shape **CerH-* and imperfects of the shape **Cere-* appear as *Cer-*. Hence **mer-* → *mer̄-a-y,* but *$*e\text{-}g^{u}erh_3\text{-}t$* > *eker* and **ebheret* > *eber.* Can this be confirmed? The following items, though perhaps none is of itself sufficient, provide in the aggregate evidence of considerable weight. Arm. aor. *ar̄i,* 3sg. *ar̄* from PIE. *$*h_2\acute{e}r\text{-}t$* (: pres. *ar̄num*), cf. Gk. aor. ἀρόμην pres. ἄρνυμαι 'win, gain'.[46] Arm. aor. *ǰer̄ay* to pres. *ǰer̄num* 'get warm, warm oneself' parallels *mer̄ay* as a transformed **ǰer̄*.[47] the continuation of a PIE. root aor. act.

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[44] On the productivity of *-ane-/-ani-* in building presents to root aorists see Meillet 1910–11, p.245, 1936, p.106, Godel 1975a, p.123.

[45] The fundamental third singular was asigmatic: witness *ekn* < *$*eg^{u}emt$.* It is possible but not demonstrable that in absolute Auslaut **-rt* > *-r̄.* On the other hand, if the purely phonological replacement of **-rt* was *-r,* then our rule is morphologic: **Cer-* → *Cer̄-*.

[46] The cognation, which extends to stem formation and even to idiom (see de Lamberterie 1978–9, p.39), of *ar̄num* : ἄρνυμαι is secure. Supposed cognates elsewhere, including Avest. *ərənauu-,* are uncertain. I think the deponent inflection of Greek is not old: the sense 'win' < *'take for oneself after striving' looks like that of an unremarkable subjective + dynamic middle. Decisive is the parallelism with φέρομαι 'carry off (a prize)', cf. e.g. Δ 95, 97 … χάριν καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο … δῶρα φέροιο.

[47] The probity of *ar̄, ǰer̄ay* is weakened by the possibility that their *r̄* originated in the nasal presents and was extended to the aorist. Such a view cannot be dismissed or disproved, but neither is it compelling. Witness the paradigm-internal survival of *-r̄-/-r-* in e.g. *ar̄nem* : *arari, y-ar̄nem* : *y-areay,* imv. *ari.* It also seems slightly more natural to understand the *-r̄-* of csv. *ǰer̄uc'anem* as built ab initio from aor. *ǰer̄-* rather than as a more or less automatic reshaping of a derivative motivated by Ausgleich in the base word. But this is not conclusive. One might also consider the type of *dur̄n dran,* especially since we

(3sg.) **gʷhér-t*, the canonical counterpart to the **-n(e)u*-present evidenced elsewhere by Skt. (Dhātup.) *ghr̥̥noti*, Gmc. **brennan*.[48] The radical *-e-* of pres. *ǰeṙnum*, like that of *meṙanim*, is more likely to have been transmitted from the aorist by simple Ausgleich than evidence for denominal origin.[49] Arm. aor. *y-eṙi*, 3sg. *y-eṙ* from PIE. **sér-t* (: pres. *y-eṙum*), cf. Gk. εἴρω, Lat. *serō*. There is much in favour of this etymology of Ačaṙyan 1977, p. 396.[50] In both Greek and Latin the verb is commonly compounded with preverb: in particular ἐν-είρω ~ *in-serō* ~ *y-eṙum*. The central meaning of **ser-*, which seems to have been

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know now that gen. *jeṙin* et al. do not have *-ṙ-* from *jeṙn* (vide supra, fn. 35).

[48] For Gmc. **brennan* as a replacement of /gʷʰrnw-/ see Seebold 1980, p. 478–9. Hence the comparative evidence points to **gʷhr̥-n(e)u-*, and one recalls Kortlandt's 1975, p. 43 observation that *ǰer-/ǰeṙ-* exhibits no ablaut in Armenian.

[49] The verb *ǰeranim ǰeray* is a different word with a different meaning 'come down with fever, be fevered (with disease)', et sim. Cf. I Mac. 1 : 5 *ew yet aysr ankanēr i mahičs iwr ew zaxts mahu ǰeranēr* 'and after this he fell into his bed and burned (= was fevered) with the sickness of death', M. Ch. III 46 ... *gnacʿ Aršak yEkełecʿ. ew hiwandacʿeal and mašarayakan axtiwkʿ ǰerani hiwcmamb* 'Arshak went to E. And he got sick there with consumptive disease: he burns with wasting-illness'. Hence *ǰeranim* belongs semantically with n. *ǰermn* 'fever' (Deut. 28 : 22, Mth. 8 : 15, Lc. 4 : 39, 40, Act. 28 : 8, et al.) as does *ǰermanal* (Mc. 1 : 30) whereas archaic primary *ǰeṙnum ǰeṙay* is aligned in meaning with *ǰerm*, which is also an archaic inheritance, which ranges semantically from '(comfortably or moderately) warm' to '(destructively or intensely) hot'. It is entirely likely that *ǰeranim* together with *ǰermn* 'fever' is a secondary Armenian-internal formation. The aor. *ǰeray* may have been built to the present, or the new verb *ǰeranim ǰeray* with its explicitly middle forms and its specialized meaning 'be(come) hot with fever' may have been derived from formally active intrans. /ǰernu- (e-)ǰer-(s-)/ 'be(come) warm/hot' before the morphophonemics of *-r-* : *-ṙ-* had crystallized and before the transformation of aor. **eǰeṙ* → neomiddle *ǰeṙaw*. It is also possible that *ǰeranim* was built to *ǰer-mn* after the pattern of *xupʿn* (gen. *xpʿan*) : *xpʿanem xpʿi* (*exupʿ*), *boys* : *busanim busay*, et al. Klingenschmitt's 1982, p. 224, 278 view that the inherited pattern was pres. *ǰeṙnu-* : aor. *ǰer(a)-*, which subsequently split and leveled to *ǰeṙnu- ǰeṙa-* ≠ *ǰerani- ǰera-* with attendant semantic specialization is not impossible per se; however, it seems both less complicated and more natural to assume that *ǰeranim ǰeray* was of integral origin: a new formal coinage expressive of a specialized function.

[50] The *y-* continues the preverb **en-*. For *-eṙ-* < **ser-* cf. further J̌ahukyan 1967, p. 212, 252 f., Greppin 1975, p. 50[22], Klingenschmitt 1982, p. 241–42.

'link together in a series, aneinander reihen' (Pokorny 1959, p. 911), is evidenced in each branch as are the nonequivalent secondary senses, (1) 'insert, set in', (2) 'entwine, wrap around', which follow naturally and easily from the central meaning.[51] The semantics of **ser-* suggest telic Aktionsart for PIE., and this in turn leads us to expect a fundamental root aorist, a founded (or no) perfect and a characterized (or no) present. Somewhat disturbing to this view is the evident presence of a feature of ITERATION or REPETITION in the semantic make-up of **ser-*, but the formal evidence fits well with the assumption of an aoristic verb. Finally *ter̄em*, aor. pple. *ter̄eal*, which probably means 'flay, skin' at Ełišē 176: 3 f. *jerkʿ mer pʿapareal en i kacʿni, ew ołunkʿ mer ter̄eal en i pʿaytakri* 'our hands are calloused from the axe, and our backs are flayed from wood-carrying', is a reasonably secure continuation of PIE. **der-* with PIE. root aorist evidenced by RV. 2sg. *adaḥ*, 3sg. *dár-t* and replaced in Greek by neosigmatic ἔδειρα (Homer +).[52]

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[51] Striking is the metaphorical extension to literary or verbal expression, viz. Arm. *yer̄ul zbans* 'to compose', recollecting Aristotle's εἰρομένη λέξις (Rhet. 1409ᵃ25 ff.) as rightly noted by Ačar̄yan. But the collocation ῥήματα (συν)είρειν (vel sim.) occurs freely (Demosthenes, Sextus Empiricus). Cf. Lat. *sermonem serere* (Plautus), *fabulam/orationes serere* (Livy), *in verbis serendis* (Horace); further, the (old) derivative *ser-mō*.

[52] This etymology of Meillet 1892, p. 165 was viewed skeptically by Hübschmann 1897, p. 497 on the grounds that the scantily attested Armenian verb seemed only to mean 'make callous' (cf. n. *ter̄* 'callus'). But native scholars have tended to ascribe a sense 'flay', cf. e.g. Ačar̄yan 1979, p. 395 'kašin kʿertʿel' also 1957, p. 47, where n. *ter̄* is glossed 'kaši' ('hide') also '*koł*' ('veil'), and to uphold Meillet's etymology. Moreover, 'flay' and 'make callous' are not incompatible semantically. Cf. the cognation of OE. *scieran* 'shear', Arm. *kʿertʿem* 'flay' : Lat. *corium* 'hide, leather' *cortex* 'bark, cork', SCr. *o-koreti* (*se*) 'become hard' (Pokorny 1959, p. 938 ff.). But the decisive evidence comes from the derivatives *ter̄ates* 'menorrhagic', e.g. Mth. 9:20 (= αἱμοῤῥοοῦσα) and especially *ter̄azerc* (*ar̄nem*) 'plunder, despoil', e.g. Eusebius (Tʿor̄nean 1970, p. 557[18–19]), Eznik 230, where 'callous' is not at hand. The protomeaning of *ter̄azerc* can hardly be other than 'hide-removal', the metaphoric 'plunder' recalls the NEnglish colloquialisms *to skin, to fleece*, and for 'skin, hide' as a derivative of 'flay' we have Gk. δέρμα. (For *zerc-* with 'skin' cf. *zmortʿ zercanēkʿ* = ἁρπάζοντες τὰ δέρματα Mich. 3:2, *mortʿazerc* Eznik 150.) Acceptations of *ter̄em ter̄* pertaining to calluses are secondary, inherited are 'to skin,

To summarize the evidence for the rule PIE. aniṭ root aor. **Cer-* → Arm. *Cer̄-* we find the following: *ar̄* (*$h_2$ér-t*), *ǰer̄-* (*g^{u}ér-t*), *y-er̄-* (*sér-t*), *ter̄-* (*dér-t*) and *mer̄-* (*mér-t*). Denominatives like *sirem* 'love' : *sēr* 'love', *brem* 'dig' : *bir* 'großer Stock, Keule',[53] *lr̄em* 'taceo' : *lur̄* 'tacitus', etc. have of course no relevance here. The probity of aor. 3sg. *ehar* is diminished by the obscurity of its morphologic relation to pres. *harkanem* 'strike'. The antiquity of the *k*-less aorist is assured by derived n. *haruac* 'blow, wound', etc. I suspect that the inflectional relation of Arm. *har-* : *har-k-(ane-)* masks an older derivational one **per-* : **pr̥-g-*.[54] If cognate with Lith. *per̃ti* 'mit dem Badequast schlagen' (Hübschmann 1897, p. 464, Solta 1960, p. 257), OCS. *perǫ,* then *ehar* is easily seen as **eher,* a displaced former simple thematic imperfect of the type *eber,* with radical *-a-* leveled from the present. Other *r*-verbs of the **bhere-* type, i. e. inherited fundamental simple thematics with satisfactory etymologies, are scarce. Arm. *p'arem p'arec'i* 'embrace', if related to Gk. σπεῖρα 'coil' (Solta 1960, p. 390 f.), gives the impression of being a secondary formation.

Like the **bhere*-thematics the PIE. seṭ root aorists of the shape **CerH-* appear with *-r-* not *-r̄-*. The best example is *kera-e-ker* 'ate' < *g^{u}erh_3-* (discussed above with fn. 42). The survival of this anomalous and archaic paradigm is due to its alignment in Armenian with suppletive pres. *utem,* i. e. leveling pressures from the present did not exist. (The paradigmatic integration of these two roots is an innovation datable to pre-Armenian. In Greek we have separate verbs: βιβρώσκω ≠ ἐσθίω.) A further example is perhaps *serem serec'i* 'procreate, engender' : Gk. aor. ἐκόρεσα, Lith. *šérti.* The underlying IE. *k̂erh_3-* is incontrovertibly both seṭ and aoristic. The lack of *inherited* present in Greek indicates that Arm. *serem* – like *seranam* (type *hayranam*), collateral with mpsv. *serim* – is probably a denomin-

to flay' 'hide, skin'.

For a detailed presentation of my views on PIE., **der-* with root aor. **dér-t* see Barton 1980, p. 248–51 with fn. 5. On Gmc. **teran* 'tear' see now Bammesberger 1982, p. 341.

[53] For full details see Solta 1960, p. 137.

[54] Cf. Solta 1960, p. 257–8, "*g*-Erweiterung".

ative to *ser* 'progenies' and certainly an inner-Armenian creation. The aorists, respectively *serecʻi, seracʻay, serecʻay,* are regular formations to their presents, and the replacement by these of inherited anomalous **sera- *e-ser* is no more than to be expected. More complicated is the case of *kʻerem kʻerecʻi* 'scrape off', *kʻorem kʻorecʻi* 'scratch'. The verbs are probably cognate inter alia with OIr. *scaraid* and Lith. *skìrti,* both of which indicate a seṭ root **(s)kerh-* for PIE. (Watkins 1962, p. 186). Gk. κείρω ἔκερσα looks at first like the continuation of an aniṭ variant **ker-,* but Risch 1965, p. 3, 1974, p. 249 has pointed out the possibility of matching with Hit. *karš-* from a root **kers-* (or extended **ker-s-*). Such a shape cannot underlie Arm. *kʻerem.* As regards the forms, *kʻorem* most probably continues an iterative formation **(s)korh-eie-.*[55] I suspect that *kʻerem* is a doublet of *kʻorem* with root vocalism refashioned to align with that of the inherited aor. **kerh-,* to which it could serve as an inflectional present.[56] The leveling would have been reinforced by derivatives of the old once-defective aorist[57] but especially by the "extended" roots found in the secondaries *kʻer-tʻ-em* 'flay', *kʻer-c-um* 'shave'. Once formed, the doublets specialized. The old iterative **korheie-,* originally praesens tantum, formed regularly a canonical weak aor. **korh-ei-ā-sk̂e-*; whereas the neological pres. **kerh-eie-,* no longer a forme fondée but now central to its system, followed the **-eie-*presents as a class to build **kerh-ei-ā-sk̂e-* > (3sg.) *kʻereacʻ,* which replaced the continuation of PIE. **kérh-t.*[58]

Other items are – so far as I see now – either not pertinent to

[55] Cf. Klingenschmitt 1982, p. 142, and note the iterative-prone semantics of 'scratch, scrape'.

[56] That *kʻorem* once dominated the *kʻer-* forms is suggested by the nonpalatalization of these. Cf. Kortlandt 1975, p. 44.

[57] Perhaps, e. g., *kʻeričʻ* 'scraper'. Cf. *tuič* 'giver', built to aor. *tu-*, and the association at, e. g., Agath. § 111, *et hraman kʻerel zkołs nora erkatʻi kʻerčʻawkʻ* 'He ordered his flanks to be torn with iron scrapers' (Thomson 1976, p. 125).

[58] Even if we were to insist that Gk. aor. (3sg) ἔκερσε was a neosigmatic replacement of aniṭ **(s)kér-t,* the coexistence of the old iterative *kʻorem,* where *-ř-* is out of the question, and its prehistoric dominance over *kʻer-* suffice to deprive this verb of any cogency against the proposed rule that aniṭ **Cer-*root aorists appear as Arm. *Ceř-*.

the matter at hand[59] or of an etymological quality far too doubtful to warrant extensive discussion here.[60]

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[59] E. g. *karem karacʻi* 'possum', which de Lamberterie 1982 sees as the replacement of an IE. perf. (*$*g^{u}orh_2$-)/ *$*g^{u}r̥h_2$-*.

[60] E. g. *gerem* 'take (prisoner)', which is usually connected with Gk. εὑρίσκω 'find' (Frisk 1952, p. 1 ff., 1960, p. 158 with Gk. ἀρύω 'draw (water)'). Peters 1980, p. 21–31 incorporates Gk. ἐπ-αυρίσκομαι 'partake (of), graze' and, although disposed (p. 22, p. 41) to see an aniṭ *$*h_2$u̯er-* behind *gerem*, points (p. 27) to the possibility of seṭ preforms underlying the aorists εὑρε- < **u̯érh$_1$-*, -αυρε < **u̯r̥h$_1$-é*. The Greek material - as Peters justly concludes - is not decisive; moreover, the cognation of *gerem* with any or all of the Greek items is itself far from certain. *spʻṙem* 'scatter, disperse' reflects proximate **spʻēṙé-* and so seems (re)formed to *spʻi(w)ṙ-kʻ* 'sparsio' or *spʻi(w)ṙ* 'sparsus'. *vaṙem* 'burn' has been rightly seen by Greppin 1972, p. 72 (following Bailey) as an Iranian LW. The possible Iranian relic of IE. **u̯er-*, Ossetic (Dig.) *ŭärās* 'beer', recollects the semantics of S.-Cr. *vreti* 'ferment', Russ. *pivo-varenije* 'beer-brewing' in Armenian's other dialect neighbour, Slavic. One wonders if the inherited Armenian continuation of **u̯er-* is not to be seen rather in *gari* 'barley', n. b. *gare-ǰur* 'beer'.

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Die Charakterisierung der Ausländer durch lautliche Ausdrucksmittel in den *Persern* des Aischylos sowie den *Acharnern* und *Vögeln* des Aristophanes*

1. Auf den ersten Blick mag es merkwürdig erscheinen, daß im folgenden versucht wird, Vergleiche inzwischen zwei Autoren von so unterschiedlichem Stil und literarischem Genus anzustellen. Nichtsdestoweniger ist das durchaus möglich, wenn wir daran denken, daß beide für dasselbe Publikum geschrieben haben und daß ihre Werke im Hinblick auf ihre Aufführung auf der Bühne verfaßt wurden. Wir dürfen insbesondere nicht diesen letzten Umstand vergessen: er hilft uns, bestimmte Bühnenaspekte zu verstehen, die andernfalls unbeachtet bleiben würden, wie z. B. die Szenographie, die Kostüme und die Effekte, die auf der akustischen Qualität des Klanges beruhen. Diese letztgenannte Art von Effekten, die sowohl bei Aischylos als bei Aristophanes sehr häufig auftauchen[1], wird der Gegenstand des Vergleichs sein. Konkret werden wir über die Hervorbringung und die Nachahmung des Lautbildes einer nichtgriechischen Sprache durch Autoren, die für ein überwiegend athenisches Publikum schrieben, nachdenken.

2.1. Die verschiedenen Stilmittel, die Aischylos anwendet, um eine ausländische Kultur und insbesondere eine fremde Sprache darzustellen, wurden wiederholt kommentiert, wobei in einigen Fällen die Aufmerksamkeit auf lautliche Ausdrucksmittel

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[1] Zu Aischylos vgl. beispielsweise die klassische Arbeit von W. Porzig, Die attische Tragödie des Aischylos, Leipzig 1926; Zu Aristophanes G. François, L'encodage stylistique dans les *Cavaliers* d'Aristophane, L. E. C. 1977, S. 3–30 und C. Morenilla-Talens, Los procedimientos fónicos de estilo en Aristófanes, Estudios Clásicos 89 (1985) S. 39–59.

gelenkt wurde[2]. So weist W. Kranz in seinem *Stasimon* darauf hin, daß „durch ausländische Namen, durch den (alten) Vokal ᾱ, durch überreiche Diphthonge ... das Fremdländische auf Griechisch ausgedrückt [wird]"[3]. G. Schäfer nimmt diese Auffassung wieder auf und betont erneut die Anwesenheit von (kurzen und langen) -α- als ein Element, das fremdartige Klänge suggeriert[4], Später stellt dann J. A. Haldane in seiner Behandlung von Pers. 633-639 fest „... the highly-contrived onomatopoeic sounds (the iterated alphas, imitative of 'barbaric' speech, the whining αυ- sound, and the wailful αι; note too the richness of the vocalic texture generally), which parallel the effect of the description in the acoustic dimension of the style"[5].

Es ist kein Zufall, daß, wenn Kranz und Haldane ihre Auffassungen darstellen, sie sich auf einigen Passagen der Perser beziehen, denn gerade in dieser Tragödie schuf der Autor durch den Gebrauch von Elementen, die sich auf orientalische Verhältnisse im weiteren Sinn beziehen, und daneben solchen von persischen Ursprung eine „couleur locale", wie es kürzlich D. Hegyi in einem diesem Thema gewidmeten Aufsatz dargelegt hat[6].

2.2. Im Rahmen dieser Auffassungen müßte man auch die Möglichkeit erwägen, daß Aischylos sich dieses phonischen Mechanismus im ganzen Werk bedient hat. Aber eine stilistische Erscheinung dieser Art erfordert eine Gestaltung des Textes, die durch die ganzen 1076 Verse des Werkes durchzuhalten so schwierig wäre, daß wir nicht hoffen können, es in jedem dieser Verse anzutreffen. Im allgemeinen bedient sich ein Autor eines Stilmittels nur in bestimmten Passagen, die ihrerseits in Kontexte, in denen es nicht benutzt wird, eingefügt sind. Dasselbe geschieht mit dem Stilmittel, das uns hier beschäftigt und

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[2] Als allgemeine Untersuchung vgl. H. H. Bacon, Barbarians in Greek Tragedy, New Haven 1961.

[3] Berlin 1933, S. 82.

[4] Zum Typ ἄναξ ἄνακτος bei Aischylos: Wege zu Aischylos I, hrsg. H. Hommel, Darmstadt 1974, S. 340-402, vgl. 391.

[5] The 'barbaric' Cries: *Pers.* 633-39, C.Q. 22 (1972) S. 42-50, vgl. 44.

[6] Orientalische 'couleur locale' in Aischylos' *Persern*, Aischylos und Pindar, hrsg. E. G. Schmidt, Berlin 1981.

das in Szenen von besonders emotionalem Inhalt, in denen die austretenden Personen ihren Schmerz ausdrücken, erscheint.

Im folgenden wollen wir einige von diesen Versen vorstellen. Wir beginnen mit den vom Chor gesungenen Versen 256–259[7], von denen Pontani[8] meint, daß sie in reichem Maße einen typisch threnodischen Vokalismus aufweisen.

> † ἄνι 'ἄνια κακὰ † νεόκοτα καὶ
> δάι' αἰαῖ, διαίνεσθε Πέρ-
> σαι τόδ'ἄχος κλύοντες.

Es kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, daß in diesen Versen, die die erste Strophe des Dialogs zwischen dem Chor und dem Boten bilden, der die Neuigkeiten vom Unglück des persischen Heeres bringt, eine mehrfache Alliteration mit -α- bzw. -αι-[9] vorliegt. Diese Alliteration wiederholt sich in der zweiten und dritten Strophe, vv. 268–271 und 280–283, in denen der Chor seine Schmerzensbekundungen fortsetzt:

> ὀτοτοτοῖ, μάταν
> τὰ πολλὰ βέλεα παμμιγῆ
> γᾶς ἀπ' Ἀσίδος ἦλθεν, αἰαῖ
> δάιαν Ἑλλάδα χώραν.
>
> ἴυζ' ἀποτμὸν δαΐοις
> δυσαιανῆ βοάν,
> ὡς πάντα Πέρσαι παγκάκως
> ⟨θεοὶ⟩ ἔθεσαν, αἰαῖ, στρατοῦ φθαρέντος.

Auch in der letzten Ode dieses Dialogs, der dritten Antistrophe, vv. 286–289, erscheint dieselbe Alliteration in einer so deutlichen Weise, daß sogar Pontani die Aufmerksamkeit auf sie lenkte. Allerdings beschränkt er sie hier ausschließlich auf den Diphthong -αι-.

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[7] Wir zitieren nach dem Text der Ausgabe von Page, Oxford 1972.

[8] F. M. Pontani, Eschilo, I Persiani, Roma 1970^2.

[9] Unter „Alliteration" verstehen wir die Wiederholung eines Phonems oder phonologischen Merkmals in jeder erdenklichen Position des Wortes (ohne die besondere Relevanz der Position am Wortanfang verkennen zu wollen, vgl. M. S. Silk, Interaction in Poetic Imagery, Cambridge 1974, S. 174).

στυγναί γ' Ἀθᾶναι δαΐοις·
μεμνῆσθαί τοι πάρα
ὡς Περσίδων πολλὰς μάταν
εὔνιδας ἔκτισσαν ἠδ' ἀνάνδρους.

Im weiteren Verlauf des Werkes, und zwar in dem Chorlied, das dem Auftreten des Darius vorausgeht, wiederholt sich dieses lautliche Ausdrucksmittel häufig[10], desgleichen in den kurzen Strophen, die auf die Rede des Großkönigs folgen[11]. Als Beispiel zitieren wir die Verse 672–680, die Epode.

αἰαῖ αἰαῖ·
ὦ πολύκλαυτε φίλοισι θανών,
† τί τάδε δυνάστα δυνάστα
περὶ τᾶι σᾶι δίδυμα διαγόεν δ' † ἁμάρτια
πᾶσαι γᾶι τᾶιδ' ἐξέφθινται τρίσκαλμοι
νᾶες ἄναες ἄναες;

Eine neue Alliteration stellen wir in den ersten Worten des Xerxes und insbesondere in dem letzten Vers seiner ersten Rede, v. 917, fest,

θανάτου κατὰ μοῖρα καλύψαι.

desgleichen in den Antwortversen des Chores, z. B. in dem v. 918,

ὀτοτοῖ, βασιλεῦ, στρατιᾶς ἀγαθῆς

oder in den vv. 928–930

αἰαῖ ⟨αἰαῖ⟩ κεδνᾶς ἀλκᾶς·
Ἀσία δὲ χθών, βασιλεῦ γαίας,
αἰνῶς αἰνῶς ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται.

Dieselbe Erscheinung finden wir auch in Xerxes' Trauerworten, die er in Erinnerung seiner gestorbenen Genossen ausruft, vv. 987–991,

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10 Vgl. beispielsweise die Verse 572–575, 633–639, 649–651 oder 663 ~ 671.
11 V. 694–696 ~ 700–702.

ἴυγγά μοι δῆτ'
ἀγαθῶν ἑτάρων ὑπομιμνήσκεις
⟨ἄλαστ'⟩ ἄλαστα στυγνὰ πρόκακα λέγων·
βοαῖ βοαῖ ⟨μοι⟩ μελέων ἔντοσθεν ἦτορ.

Zum Abschluß verweisen wir noch auf eine Passage des lyrischen Dialogs zwischen dem Chor und Xerxes, und zwar die siebente Strophe, vv. 1054–1058:

ΞΕ. καὶ στέρν' ἄρασσε κἀπιβόα τὸ Μύσιον.
ΧΟ. ἀνία ἀνία.
ΞΕ. καί μοι γενείου πέρθε λευκήρη τρίχα.
ΧΟ. ἄπριγδ' ἄπριγδα μάλα γοεδνά.
ΞΕ. αὔτει δ' ὀξύ.
ΧΟ. καὶ τάδ' ἔρξω[12].

2.3. Das ständige Vorkommen dieser Alliteration mit -α- bzw. -αι- kann keineswegs zufällig sein, viel mehr muß man ihre Ursache im phonischen Bild der Sprache, die die Personen der Tragödie im tatsächlichen Leben sprachen, suchen, nämlich dem Altpersischen[13]. Dadurch, daß idg. *ĕ ŏ* mit *ă* und idg. *ē ō* mit *ā* zusammengefallen sind, wurden die Vokalen der Klangfarbe *-a-* (kurzes und langes *a*) im Altpersischen zu den dominierenden Vokalen. Das Ergebnis dieser Entwicklung ist eine Sprache mit einer überreichen Anzahl von Vokalen der Klangfarbe *-a-*[14]. Um sich davon zu überzeugen, genügt es, einen Blick auf altpersische Inschriften zu werfen. Betrachten wir z. B. die Anrufung Gottes in den Elvend-Inschriften des Darius:

baga vazarka Auramazdā,
haya imām būmim adā,
haya avam asmanam adā,

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[12] Vgl. ebenso v. 716, 855 f., 994–998, 1010, 1039, 1059–1065 oder 1070–1072.

[13] Man könnte auch daran denken, daß diese Alliteration eine Nachahmung der Klage ist; aber warum kommt Alliteration nur auf -α-/-αι- vor und warum in so auffälliger Weise bei Pers.?

[14] Zum Vokalismus des Altpersischen, vgl. beispielsweise die Handbücher von R. G. Kent, Old Persian (Grammar, Texts, Lexicon), New Haven 1953², und W. Brandenstein-M. Mayrhofer, Handbuch des Altpersischen, Wiesbaden 1964.

haya martiyam adā,
haya šiyātim adā martiyahya[15].

Ein entsprechendes Aussehen bieten die altpersischen Namen bei Aischylos, die seinerzeit von Kranz und neuerdings von R. Schmitt diskutiert wurden[16]. Ein schönes Beispiel dafür ist der Vers 318 von Pers.

καὶ Μᾶγος Ἄραβος Ἀρτάβης τε Βάκτριος,

oder Pers. vv. 958–961,

οἷος ἦν Φαρανδάκης,
Σούσας, Πελάγων ἠδ' Ἀγαβάτας,
Δοτάμας, Ψάμμις, Σουσισκάνης τ'
Ἀγβάτανα λιπών[17];

3. Naturgemäß war zu erwarten, daß Aristophanes in ähnlicher Weise einen Mechanismus verwenden würde, um den Klang einer Fremdsprache hervorzurufen, vor allem, wenn wir bedenken, daß dieser Komödienautor häufig lautliche Verfahren benutzte, um bestimmte Sprachen nachzuahmen[18].

Von den drei Komödien, in denen Aristophanes Ausländer

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[15] Darius, Elvend 1–6, Brandenstein-Mayrhofer, op. cit. S. 83.

[16] Kranz, op. cit. S. 91 f.; R. Schmitt, Die Iranier-Name bei Aischylos, SbÜ Aw. 337., Wien 1978. Zum persischen Ursprung der Namen vgl. die Untersuchung von Schmitt; ob dieser nachweisbar ist oder nicht, ist für unser Thema nicht relevant, sondern vielmehr die Tatsache, daß die Namen altpersisch „klangen" und die Heterogenität des persischen Heeres evozierten.

[17] Bevor wir uns Aristophanes zuwenden, wollen wir betrachten, wie dieser Charakterisierungsmittel vom Bewohner auf das Land übertragen wird, und zwar in Euripides, Bacch. 17: Dionysos, der von seinen Zügen durch Asien berichtet, sagt:
Ἀσίαν τε πᾶσαν, ἣ παρ' ἁλμυραν ἅλα.

[18] Siehe beispielsweise Vög. 1122 f., in denen ein Boten-Vogel nach dem Protagonisten fragt und dabei mit seinen onomatopoetischen Worten an das Zwitschern der Vögel erinnert:
ποῦ ποῦ' στι, ποῦ ποῦ' στι, ποῦ ποῦ ποῦ' στι, ποῦ ποῦ Πισθέταιρος ἐστι ἄρχων; ...
oder in Thesm. 45 und 48: Die Nachahmung des emphatischen Sprechens des Dieners des Agathon durch den Verwandten des Euripides:
45 βομβάξ
48 βομβαλοβομβάξ

sprechen läßt, Acharner, Vögel und Thesmophoriazusen, ist die letzte dieser drei auszuschließen, da in ihr ein Skythe, Wächter von Euripides' Verwandtem, spricht, der sich in einem schlechten, aber sehr leicht verständlichen Griechisch ausdrückt, einer offenkundigen Wiedergabe der tatsächlichen Sprechweise dieser Ausländer, in deren Grammatikfehlern ein großer Teil der Komik dieser Passage liegt[19]. Die mangelnde Kohärenz, was Gebrauch und Beibehaltung der Fehler durch die Sprecher bei Aristophanes betrifft, zeigt uns neben anderen Phänomenen, daß hier nicht eine bestimmte Fremdspache wiedergegeben werden soll, sondern daß eine teilweise Imitation des schlechten Griechisch der in Athen lebenden Ausländer vorliegt, die dem Ziel dient, komisch zu wirken.

Das Sprachverhalten der ausländischen Personen in Ach. und Vög. ist jedoch nicht so klar. Hierüber wurde viel diskutiert, wobei sehr verschiedene Standpunkte eingenommen wurden. Da die Wertung des stilistischen Verfahren, das uns beschäftigt, von der Analyse der Verse abhängt, ist es notwendig, kurz die repräsentativsten Stellungnahmen sowie die Einwände gegen sie vorzustellen, um eine mit dem Text am ehesten übereinstimmende Interpretation liefern zu können.

3.1. In Ach. spricht zweimal ein Perser, Ψευδαρτάβας, je einen Vers. Schon bei der ersten Lektüre stellt man fest, daß zwischen den beiden von ihm gesprochenen Versen eine wesentlicher Unterschied besteht:

100 ἰαρταμὰν ἐξαρξαν ἀπίσσονα σάτρα ΑΓ
ἐξαρξασπι σόναστρα R
104 οὐ ληψι χρυσο, χαυνόπρωκτ' Ἰαοναυ[20].

[19] Über die Abweichungen vom Attischen in seinen Worten vgl. J. Friedrich, Das Attische im Munde von Ausländern bei Aristophanes, Philologus, N.F. 29 (1918) S. 274–303.

[20] Für Vers 100 geben wir die Lesart der Handschriften wieder, da diejenigen der verschiedenen Herausgeber in hohem Ausmaße von der jeweiligen Interpretation des Verses abhängt; für den Vers 104 akzeptieren wir die Lesart von V. Coulon, da die Varianten die Interpretation des Verses nicht wesentlich beeinflussen.

Der Unterschied liegt darin, daß Vers 104, der zweite der beiden, in einem fehlerhaften, aber verständlichen Griechisch formuliert ist, welches das Radebrechen der Ausländer, die Griechisch sprachen, ähnlich der Szene in Thesm., wiedergeben dürfte[21].

Was den Vers 100 betrifft, so versuchte man am Ende des letzten Jahrhunderts in gleicher Weise wie in Vers 104 auch in ihm gebrochenes Attisch zu sehen. So z. B. Süvern, der den Text zu ἦ κάρτα μὰν 'Αρταξέρξην ἀναπεῖσαι σαθρόν veränderte, und Naber, der als δι' 'Αρταβᾶνο Ξέρξ'ἀπιστάναι σάρα erklären wollte[22]. Eine ähnliche Einstellung findet man bei Graves und Rogers. Bei der Diskussion der verschiedenen Interpretationen meint z. B. Graves, daß Vers 100 soviel bedeuten solle wie korrektes ἀρτίως ἐξῆρξ' (oder ἐξήρξατ') ἀναπισσοῦν σαθρά, während Rogers versucht, ihn als „Ijisti boutti furbiss upde rotti" zu verstehen, was etwa soviel wie „I have just begun to repair what is rotten" bedeuten würde[23]. Gegen diese Erklärungsversuche erhob sich sehr bald Widerspruch[24] mit dem Argument, daß der handschriftlich überlieferte Text im Vers 100, im Gegenteil zu dem von Vers 104, nur dann als Griechisch aufgefaßt werden könne, wenn man ihn in der vorgeführten oder in irgendeiner anderen Art verändere, was aber doch nicht zulässig ist.

Andere Gelehrte haben denselben Vers behandelt und ihn entweder für echtes Altpersisch oder für eine unverständliche Lautreihe, die an persische Worte erinnert, gehalten.

Die erste Ansicht wurde u. a. von Ribbeck, Chodzkiewicz und Friedrich verteidigt. Letzterer stellte seine Interpretation des Verses nach vorheriger Widerlegungen früherer Versuche folgendermaßen dar[25]:

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[21] Vgl. J. Friedrich, Die altpersische Stelle in Aristophanes' *Acharnern* (V. 100), IF. 39 (1921) S. 93–102.

[22] Vgl. J. Friedrich, Die alpersische Stelle ... S. 95.

[23] Vgl. die Kommentare von Graves und Rogers zu ihren Ausgaben (Cambridge 1961² und London 1910).

[24] Schon bei Ribbeck in seiner Ausgabe von Ach., Leipzig 1864.

[25] Für eine ausführliche Darstellung vgl. Starkie, Anhang III seiner Ausgabe von Ach., London 1909, Friedrich Die altpersische Stelle ...

ι αρταμανε Ξαρξας απιαονα σατρα
hy' artamanā Xarxas abiy Yaunā xsaθ^rā
Der frommgesinnte Xerxes an das attische Reich.

Seiner Meinung aber widersprach J. Wackernagel sofort[26], der die Unmöglichkeit einer von Friedrich formulierten Entsprechung von απι und *abiy,* die Unregelmäßigkeit der unpersönlichen Anrede mit „Reich" und die seltsame Wortstellung anzeigte.

Kürzlich interpretierte auch K. J. Dover den Vers 100 in diesem Sinne[27]. Er meint, daß Aristophanes phonologische Charakteristica des Altpersischen wie den Vokal *-a-* und vielleicht den Anlaut *ya-* bei diesem Vers nachbildet und persische Worte wie das Element *arta-,* den Name *Xerxes* und den Titel σατράπης evoziert. Dann vergleicht er den Vers mit normalen Formeln in Dokumenten des a. p. und schlägt die folgende Lesart und Interpretation vor:

Ξαρξαᾱ
Ἰαρτα νᾱμᾱ Ξαρξαιᾱ πυσσᾱ σατρᾱ
Ξαρξασα
Iarta nāma, Xšayāršahyā puça, xšaçapāra
Iarta by name, son of Xerxes, satrap.

Die Längung des auslautenden -α von ναμα und πυσσα, hinter denen sich *nāma* und *puça* mit *-ă-* verbergen, ist seiner Meinung nach auf das Bedürfnis nach einer noch wirkungsvolleren Parodie des persischen Lautbildes zurückzuführen. Ebenso rechtfertigt er die Veränderung von -μανεξαρξ- zu ναμα Ξαρξ- mit einer vermuteten Verfälschung des Originaltextes, bedingt durch die im Griechischen häufige Partikel μάν, der Sequenz ἐξ-αρξ- und ἐξ im allgemeinen.

Dieser Interpretation sind verschiedene Tatsachen entgegenzuhalten:

1) Zunächst, und ohne leugnen zu wollen, daß die Sequenz *-ia-* im Persischen wenn nicht zu den relevantesten Eigentüm-

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[26] Zu der altpersischen Stelle in Aristophanes' *Acharnern,* IF. 39 (1921) S. 224.
[27] Notes on Aristophanes' *Acharnians,* Maia 15 (1963) S. 6–25, bes. S. 7–8.

lichkeiten gehörig, so doch sehr häufig ist, erscheint es uns dennoch zweifelhaft, daß sie mit αρτα zu verbinden sei, da doch ιαρτα- keine im Persischen häufige Sequenz ist. Häufig ist jedoch αρτα- hauptsächlich als Anfangselement eines Eigennamens[28].

2) Obwohl es richtig ist, daß die Konstruktion Eigenname – *nāma* in Inschriften erscheint, gilt dies doch nur für narrative Kontexte. Wenn eine Person von sich selbst spricht, ist der Beginn mit *adam*-Eigenname am häufigsten: Siehe beispielsweise *adam Dārayavauš* oder *adam Xšayāršā*. Wenn hingegen eine Botschaft überbracht wird, beginnt man gewöhnlich mit *θātiy*-Eigenname: *θātiy Dārayavauš*[29].

3) Die Veränderung der Manuskripte in einem weithin unstrittigen Punkt ist nicht notwendig, ebensowenig wie die Längung eines Vokals zur Verstärkung der Parodie des Persischen.

4) Schließlich kann die Sequenz σατρα nicht σατράπης gleichgesetzt werden, da sie nur aus zwei Silben besteht, sie kann jedoch sehr wohl daran erinnern.

Aus der Entkräftung all der Interpretationen, die in Vers 100 einen persischen Satz sehen wollen, folgt eine Stützung der zweiten Position, die ihn als ein Kauderwelsch, in dem persische Wörter evoziert werden, betrachtet. Dies wurde schon am Ende des vergangenen und zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts von Alb. Müller, de Lagarde, van Leeuwen und Starkie vertreten.

So macht van Leeuwen, der die folgende Lesart präsentiert:

ἰαρταμὰν ἔξαρξας ἀπισόνα σάτρα

darauf aufmerksam, daß „barbaros ubi loquentes inducit Aristophanes ... sonos inanes fundentes fingit ... ubi αρτα et σατρα persicum quidem sonant, *Artaxerxis* enim et *satrapae* nominibus sunt subsimilia ...", wobei er in einer Fußnote hinzufügt:

[28] Drei der bei Aischylos zitierten persischen Namen beispielsweise beginnen mit 'Αρτα-, ein vierter mit 'Αρτε-; andere griechische Quellen nennen weitere sieben mit 'Αρτα- und einen achten mit 'Αρτυ-. Vgl. R. Schmitt, op. cit. S. 75 f.

[29] Vgl. R. Schmitt, Altpersische Siegel-Inschriften, SbÜ Aw. 381., Wien 1981, S. 19 ff. und Kent, op. cit. S. 188 s. v. *θātiy* (vgl. Zitatregister).

„Etiam *Pissuthnis* nomen comici menti observatum esse suspicatur Merry“[30].

In demselben Sinne gibt West an[31], daß er die Lesart von ΑΓ vorzieht, unter anderem, weil sie ohne Korrektur metrisch akzeptabel ist, wobei er dennoch ναμε durch μανε ersetzt.

ἰ - αρτα - νᾱμε - ξαρξᾰνᾰ πισσονᾱ σατρα.

Nach dem Vergleich dieses Verses mit persischen Inschriften wie

θātiy Artaxšaçā, xšāyaθiya vazraka, xsāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām, xšāyaθiya dahyūnām, Xšayāršahyā xšāyaθiyahyā puça

behauptet er, daß der Beginn dieses Verses von den jeweils ersten Hälften der zwei Namen, die die Griechen am leichtesten im Gedächtnis behalten konnten, *Artaxšaçā* und *Xšayāršā*, verbunden mit den Silben, die ihnen in der offiziellen Formel vorangehen, gebildet ist: ἰαρτα = *θātiy Artaxšaçā* und ναμ(ε)ξαρξα = *dahyūnām Xšayāršahyā*, und weist darauf hin, daß dies eine Form des „adjacency effect“ ist, den die moderne Psychologie entdeckt hat. Das zwischen -ναμ und -ξαρξα eingefügte -ε- ist seiner Meinung nach ein euphonischer Vokal, bedingt durch die Unmöglichkeit, das -μξ- im Griechischen auszusprechen. In der Endung -ανα von ξαρξανα sieht er eine Fortführung des vorangehenden αρταναμ, suggeriert durch die Wiederholung der silbischen Struktur in αρτα und ξαρξα, ein Typ von Wiederholung, den er als ein charakteristisches Element des Kauderwelsches betrachtet. Der Vers endet mit einer zweifachen Evokation des Pissouthnes, eines in Sardes ansässigen Satrapen, indem sein Name in πισσο-, mit der Endung -να, die -αρταναμ und -ξανα fortsetzt, und sein Amt in σατρα suggeriert wird.

Angesichts dieser Interpretation und des Versuchs, die Korrekturen des Textes zu rechtfertigen, erhebt sich die Frage, ob die Kombinationen *θātiy Artaxšaçā* und *dahyūnām Xšayār-*

[30] Vgl. Kommentar ad loc., Leiden 1968².

[31] Two Passages of Aristophanes, CR., N.S. 18 (1968) S.5–8.

šahyā in persischen Botschaften so häufig waren, daß sie Aristophanes dazu veranlassen konnten, ihre jeweiligen Mittelteile nachzuahmen. Vielleicht ist die Erklärung für die Tatsache, daß die Lesart von West in der Folgezeit nicht akzeptiert wurde, darin zu suchen, daß die Interpretation des ersten Teils des Verses allzu künstlich ist. Sommerstein beispielsweise schlägt folgende Lesart vor:

ἰαρταμαν ἐξαρξας ἀπισονα σατρα[32]

Es wurde jedoch zuwenig auf ein schon von Dover aufgezeigtes Phänomen geachtet, das von grundlegender Bedeutung für die Struktur dieses Kauderwelsches ist: das Vorherrschen des Vokals *-a-* im Altpersischen. Welche auch immer die schließlich zu akzeptierende Lesart des Textes sein mag: Die Aufmerksamkeit des Hörers wird zunächst durch die Alliteration auf -α-, verbunden mit der Evokation persischer Namen wie Ἀρτάβαζος oder Ἀρταξέρξης, die persische Form von Ξέρξης, usw., die alle Athener oft gehört hatten, erregt. Das Ziel dieser Wiederholung, die schon im Namen der Person selbst, Ψευδαρτάβας, vorhanden ist, kann nur die Nachahmung des Klanges des Persischen mittels der ständigen Wiederholung seiner für den Hörer am unmittelbarsten wahrnehmbaren Eigenschaft sein.

3.2. Wie in Ach. weist der Ausländer in Vög. bemerkenswerte Unterschiede in der Sprechweise auf:

1615	ναβαισατρευ
1618 f	σαυνακα / βακταρι κρουσα
1678 f	καλαν κοραναυ καὶ μεγαλα βασιλιναυ ὀρνιτο παραδίδωμι[33].

Der Sprecher ist ein triballischer Gott, der als Vertreter der übrigen triballischen Götter in die Vogelstadt hinabsteigt. Die Herkunft und ethnische Zugehörigkeit der Triballer war sehr umstritten; zuweilen hielt man sie für Illyrier, zuweilen auch für

[32] Ed. transl. and comm. The Acharnians, Warminster 1980.

[33] Dies ist die Lesart der meisten Manuskripte, mit Ausnahme von κοραυνα: Wir haben die Korrektur Friedrichs vorgezogen, κοραναυ („Das Attische ..." S. 290), die dazu beiträgt, die Position des Diphthongs zu regularisieren.

Thraker[34]. Auch die Interpretationen ihrer Äußerungen waren unterschiedlich. So hat es Versuche gegeben, ναβαισατρευ sowohl als thrakisch als auch als griechisch zu interpretieren: Whatmough, der die erstere Position vertritt, liest νη Βελσοῦρδον[35]; als Vertreter der anderen Richtung interpretiert es Süvern als ἀναβῶμεν οἱ τρεῖς[36] und Blaydes macht mit Vorbehalt darauf aufmerksam, daß sich ναὶ ναί μαλ' εὖ (oder νη ...)[37] dahinter verbergen könnte. V. Coulon[38] präsentiert eine interessante Lesart: er zieht να Βαισατρευ vor, worin er wahrscheinlich die Negation να[39] und einen vermuteten Götternamen sieht, in einer mit μὰ Δία vergleichbaren Konstruktion. Die am weitesten verbreitete Meinung jedoch, die wir beispielsweise im Kommentar von van Leeuwen vertreten finden, sieht in ναβαισατρευ eine sinnlose Lautfolge, die Herakles nach seinem Belieben interpretiert.

In der zweiten Äußerung hatte man, unter Zuhilfenahme des Kontextes[40], versucht, griechische Ausdrücke zu sehen: Unterschiedlich sind die Auffassungen zu σαυνακα, das van Leeuwen und später auch Brandenstein als σοῦ νάκην (oder νάκος) interpretieren[41], Blaydes als σὸν κάρα[42], während van Daele die Möglichkeit σύ oder die Negation να[43] angibt. Man ist sich andererseits darüber einig, daß sich hinter βακταρι κρουσα βακτηρίᾳ und κροῦσαι verbergen.

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[34] Vgl. dazu Keyssner, R. E. s. v. Triballi, VI, A 2, 2391–2403 und B. Lenk, R. E. s. v. Thrake (Stämme) VI, A 1, 404–407.

[35] On 'Triballic' in Aristophanes (*Birds* 1615), C.Ph. 47 (1952) S. 26; vgl. D. Detschew, Die thrakischen Sprachreste, ÖAW, Philosophisch-hist. Klasse, Schriften der Balkankommission, 14, Wien 1957, s. v. Ζβελθιουδρος.

[36] Kommentar ad loc.

[37] Aristophanes *Aues*, Halle 1882, ad loc.

[38] Les Oiseaux, Paris 1950, vom Übersetzer van Daele jedoch nicht beibehalten.

[39] Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik, München 1977[5], I, S. 431, weist auf die Existenz einer Satznegation **ne* idg.) lat. *nescio,* a.i. *na,* sowie auf die Form νᾰ- der Komposita in der Tragödie hin.

[40] Herakles droht dem Triballer mit seiner Keule.

[41] Van Leeuwen ad loc., Brandenstein R. E. s. v. Thrake (Sprache) VI, A 1, 410, 40 ff.

[42] ad loc.

[43] Ausg. V. Coulon ad loc.

Kein Zweifel kam schließlich bei der letzten Äußerung auf, die praktisch alle Gelehrten als ein schlechtes Griechisch auffassen, vergleichbar mit demjenigen des Skythen in Thesm., wobei sie sich an dem Vokalismus -α- des gemeingriechischen, dort wo das Attische -η- verlangt (καλαν, κοϱαναυ und μεγαλα), dem Fehlen der Spiranten und der Mehrdeutigkeit des Kasus von ὀϱνιτο orientieren. Ebenso wurde gelegentlich auf den unbekannten Ursprung von -αυ hingewiesen.

In Bezug auf diese Äußerungen ist vor allem zu bemerken, daß welche auch immer die Herkunft der Triballer sein mag, für das uns beschäftigende Thema lediglich interessiert, daß Aristophanes sie offenbar nicht für Thraker hielt[44], wie neben anderen

[44] Die zeitgenössischen Quellen vermitteln uns keine klare Vorstellung von den Triballern. Herodot erwähnt die Triballer in seiner Beschreibung der thrakischen Völker und ihrer Sitten nicht (V, 1-9); doch betrachtet er sie nicht als Illyrier: ἐξ Ἰλλυϱυῶν ... (IV, 49). Bei Thukydides, einem guten Kenner der Thraker (IV, 105,1) erscheinen in der Beschreibung der Truppenaushebung, die Sitalkes unter den thrakischen Stämmen durchführt, die Triballer nur als geographische Angabe (II, 96); in der Beschreibung des Reiches des Sitalkes, Thrakiens und des Marsches seines Heeres nach Makedonien findet sich keine Erwähnung der Triballer (II, 29,97 f.). Er stellt die Illyrier als einheitliche und abgegrenzte Volksgruppe dar (IV, 124, 4 und 125). Die Nichtberücksichtigung der Triballer, vor allem in den Beschreibungen der Sitten der thrakischen Völker, stimmt nicht gut mit der Hypothese, Herodot und Thukydides hätten sie als Thraker angesehen, überein. Denn Alexis com. fr. 241 (Edm.) und Aristoteles, Topica, 115 b, 23 präsentieren als Beispiel für fremde Gebräuche die Triballer. Diese Unsicherheit setzt sich die ganze Antike hindurch fort. Manche hielten sie für Thraker (z. B. Strab. 7, 3, 13 und 7, 5, 6), andere hingegen für Illyrier (Appian. Illyr. 3, Steph. Byz. 634,8); es fehlte auch nicht an Versuchen, ihnen Eigenständigkeit zuzuschreiben (Arr. Anab. V, 26,6 und VII, 9,2, Plin. N. H. 3,149). Zudem hätte Aristophanes, wenn die Athener sie als Thraker betrachtet hätten, seine Figur mit einem fehlerbeladenen Griechisch dargestellt, wie es mit dem Skythen in Thesm. geschah, da der Bekanntheitsgrad des thrakischen Landes und seiner Bewohner im besonderen, den vielfältigen Kontakten nach zu urteilen, bei den Athenern beträchtlich gewesen sein muß: es gab verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen (die Frau des Miltiades z. B. war Thrakerin, Herod. VI, 39, ebenso wie die Mutter des Themistokles, U. Kahrstedt, R. E. s. v. Themistokles, V, A 2, 1686,58 f.); außerhalb Attikas ermöglichten die athenischen Siedlungen an der thrakischen Küste beständige Kontakte; in Athen selbst besaß die im Piraeus angesiedelte thrakische Gemeinde genügend Macht, um von Athen anerkannt zu werden

Argumenten auch ein sprachliches Faktum beweist: Aus den wenigen erhaltenen Überresten weiß man, daß die Thraker Spiranten besaßen, darunter auch das gutdokumentierte -θ- das neben anderen Völkern auch den Illyriern fehlte[45]. In den Äußerungen des Triballers kommt kein einziger Spirant vor, und dort, wo er zu erwarten wäre, in ὀρνιτο, entfällt er. Man setzte sie demzufolge entweder mit den Illyriern in Verbindung oder betrachtete sie als eine von den beiden erwähnten Völkern unabhängige Gruppe.

Die beachtlichen Veränderungen eines im Falle von ναβαισατρευ mit fast vollkommener Übereinstimmung von fast allen Manuskripten überlieferten Textes sowie die Divergenz, die zwischen den verschiedenen Vorschlägen zu σαυνακα und seiner Entfernung aus dieser Sequenz existiert, weisen darauf hin, daß es sich um ein weiteres Kauderwelsch handelt, das mit seiner Sequenz βακταρι κρουσα, die griechische Ausdrücke evoziert, fortgesetzt wird. Weiterhin ist zu berücksichtigen, daß ναβαισατρευ, σαυνακα und βακταρι die altpersischen Sequenzen *nāibaka-*, *vazraka* und *Baktria,* Name einer persischen Provinz und ihre Hauptstadt, evozieren können[46].

Es bleibt nun noch das Problem des Diphthongs -αυ-, der so oft in den Worten des Pseudartabas wie in denen des Triballers erscheint, zu lösen: Ἰαοναυ[47], σαυ-, κοραναυ und βασιλιναυ. Friedrich schlägt in einem Interpretationsversuch vor, in Ἰαο-

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und den Bendiskult einzuführen, der in Attika schon zur Zeit des Aristophanes verwurzelt war (Plato, Res publica, 327a–b); ebenso war eine beträchtliche Anzahl der Sklaven thrakischer Herkunft (Herod. V,6), besonders Mädchen (die Liste der konfiszierten und versteigerten Güter eines am Hermokopidenfrevel Beteiligten liefert uns die Aufstellung der Sklaven: von den Frauen sind 75% thrakisch; von der Gesamtzahl der Sklaven sind 31,25% thrakisch, M.L. 79 A, 33–49).

[45] Vgl. H. Krahe, Vom Illyrischen zum Alteuropäischen, IF. 67 (1962) S. 201–212, besonders S. 203f.

[46] Vgl. W. Wüst, Altpersischen Studien (PHMA, 8–11), München 1966, S. 187ff. und Baktra, Baktriane, Baktrianoi, R.E. 2, 2804ff.

[47] Dies ist die Lesart der Handschriften, während die Scholien Ἰαον αὖ (αὔ) vorschlagen, wo der Diphthong noch deutlicher wahrzunehmen ist. Wir lassen χαυνοπρῶκτε beiseite, denn hier erscheint der Diphthong in einem gut belegten griechischen Ausdruck.

ναυ eine Verstärkung des Vokativs zu sehen, vergleichbar dem *-â* des mhd. oder dem *-o* des nhd., und bei κοϱαναυ und βασιλιναυ schlägt er mit deutlicher Zurückhaltung die Möglichkeit eines nachgestellten Artikels, eine im Albanischen, Bulgarischen und Rumänischen belegte Erscheinung, vor. Es scheint jedoch, daß der Diphthong als ein einheitliches Phänomen zu behandeln ist, da er sowohl in Ἰαοναυ als auch in κοϱαναυ und βασιλιναυ im Auslaut erscheint. Möglicherweise liegt der Grund hierfür schon im Erscheinungsbild der altpersischen Inschriften: Es scheint, als seien die einzigen Diphthonge dieser Sprache *-ai-* und *-au-*; wenn wir dies in Verbindung sehen mit Formen wie *Dārayarauš*[48] oder *Bab(a)irauš*[49] mit auslautendem *-auš,* oder auch *Bab(a)riauv* und *Hi(n)dauv* mit auslautendem *-auv,* das nach Meinung von W.P. Schmid als eine vom Ablativ in **-aut*[50] abgeleitete Form aufzufassen ist, so ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß der Diphthong *-au-* innerhalb einer Sequenz mit wiederholtem *-a-* von den Griechen als eine Flexionsendung aufgefaßt und als solche in diesen Versen nachgeahmt wurde[51].

Das wichtigste Merkmal dieser drei Äußerungen ist die Wiederholung des -α-. In einem kurzen Kommentar des Thrakischen faßt Brandenstein den Vokalismus der Verse 1628f. als eine karikierende Übertreibung der offeneren Aussprache der Vokale durch die Triballer auf[52]. Diese Aussprache sei die Ursache für Unsicherheiten in der griechischen und lateinischen Umschrift einiger Eigennamen bestimmter geographischer Zonen. Poghirc[53] präsentiert seinerseits die Worte des Triballers

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48 R. Schmitt, Altpersische ..., S. 19ff.

49 W.P. Schmid, Zur Konstruktion von altpers. *hačā,* IF. 67 (1962) S. 213–217, vgl. S. 215.

50 Art. cit., S. 215.

51 Es ergibt sich außerdem die Möglichkeit, darin ein deiktisches **u,* im Griechischen *υ und im ai. **u* zu sehen, auf dessen Existenz unter anderen Delbrück und Osthoff hinweisen (vgl. K. Brugmann, Griechische Grammatik, in: Griechische und lateinische Sprachwissenschaft, München 1890², S. 224 und in neuerer Zeit H. Rix, Historische Grammatik des Griechischen, Darmstadt 1976, S. 184f.).

52 R.E. s.v. Thrake, VI, A 1, 410, 40ff.

53 La valeur phonétique de l'oscillation graphique thrace a/e à la lumière des données des langues balkaniques modernes, Studii Clasice 3 (1961) S. 32–37.

als Beweis dafür, daß im Thrakischen ein im Lateinischen und Griechischen unbekannter, unbetonter Vokal existierte, der lautlich dem rumänischen *-ă-*, dem albanischen *-ë-* und dem bulgarischen -ъ-, die von ihm abstammen, ähnelte. Doch diesen Interpretationen des Textes von Aristophanes ist entgegenzuhalten:

1) Sie gehen davon aus, daß Aristophanes die Triballer als Thraker ansah, was, wie wir gesehen haben, fraglich ist.

2) In der Umschrift thrakischer Ausdrücke erscheint ein *-a-* anstelle eines *-e-*, aber auch -ε-/-η- anstelle eines *-a-*, während bei Aristophanes nur die Substitution eines attischen -η- durch -ᾱ- stattfindet.

3) Die Schwankungen kommen nur in einer geringen Zahl von Ausdrücken vor, weshalb es nicht statthaft ist, sie als das relevanteste Merkmal bei der Nachahmung eines angeblich „thrakischen Kolorits" aufzufassen.

Diese Tatsachen, sowie der mögliche Ursprung von -αυ-, auf den wir hingewiesen haben, und die anzunehmenden Evokationen persischer Sequenzen weisen darauf hin, daß wir in der Alliteration des -α- eine modifizierte Ausweitung des Stilmittels, das in Ach. 100 das Lautbild des persischen imitierte, zu sehen haben. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Aristophanes zur Evokation einer Fremdsprache das auffälligste Merkmal der Sprache desjenigen Volkes, mit dem die Griechen die intensivsten und vielfältigsten Kontakte unterhielten, verwandte, ein Merkmal, das ihm ermöglichte, die Sequenz, in der es auftauchte, als „ausländisch" kenntlich zu machen.

4. Aus der vorliegenden Untersuchung wird das Vorhandensein gemeinsamer Elemente ersichtlich, die uns einen Vergleich erlauben, der sich uns zu Beginn als merkwürdig präsentierte: derjenige zwischen Pers., Ach. und Vög. Dieses gemeinsame Element, das die Vergleichsgrundlage bietet, ist die sprachliche Charakterisierung ausländischer Figuren durch Effekte, die sich aus einer Gestaltung der lautlichen Ebene der Sprache ergeben. Das Kriterium, das diese Gestaltung bestimmt, beruht auf einer historischen Gegebenheit, der Existenz einer Volksgruppe, die durch ihre expansive wirtschaftliche und militärische Macht

zum Ausländer schlechthin geworden war[54]: die Perser. Deshalb ist eines der am deutlichsten wahrnehmbaren Merkmale jeder ausländischen Gruppe, die Sprache, und deren auffälligstes Merkmal, die Wiederholung des Lautes *-a-*, das bestimmende Kriterium dieser Gestaltung.

Nachdem nun die Vergleichsgrundlage bestimmt ist, wollen wir die Art und Weise dieses Verfahrens betrachten, seine Zielsetzung und seine Integration in den Kontext der Komödie bzw. der Tragödie.

Die Tragödie schickt sich an, dem Griechisch der Ausländer eine „couleur locale" zu verleihen, tut dies jedoch mit maßvoller Beschränkung: Die ausländische Figur soll als solche erkennbar sein, soll jedoch auch nicht mehr als das Unumgängliche auf die sprachlich subtilste Art und Weise präsentieren, um die Parodie, die nur Gelächter hervorrufen würde, zu vermeiden. Auch in der Komödie charakterisiert dieses Stilmittel den Ausländer, soll hier jedoch vor allem komisch wirken, und darum wird hier praktiziert, was die Tragödie gerade zu vermeiden sucht: Sie überschreitet die Grenze der reinen Charakterisierung, um in die Parodie einzumünden[55], eine Hypercharakterisierung, die wohl auch in den Kostümen gegeben war.

Das klarste Beispiel für das mit Bezug auf das Altpersische Gesagte bietet die Charakterisierung des Triballers. Aristophanes gibt den Worten dieses barbarischen Gottes den allgemeinen Klang des „Ausländischen", indem er sich der am deutlich-

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[54] Ein ähnliches Phänomen können wir im zaristischen Rußland beobachten, wo „Deutsch" ein Synonym für „Ausländer" war. Einen literarischen Beleg hierfür liefert Dostojevski auf den ersten Seiten von Schuld und Sühne.

[55] Unter den vielen Beispielen, die die dramatische Kunst der Neuzeit aufzuweisen hat, ist das des verschwundenen Schauspielers Pepe Isbert in der Traumszene des „Saloon" mit seinem „Amerikanisch" im Film „!Bienvenido, Míster Marshall!" von Berlanga (1953) besonders hervorzuheben. Wir möchten diese Arbeit nicht beenden, ohne Plautus' Poenulus zu erwähnen: Bei dieser Komödie benutzt Plautus oft punische Worte und Sätze. Vgl. im besonderen Verse 930–949, über die man viel diskutiert hat: Einige Gelehrte halten sie für echtes Punisch, andere für ein Kauderwelsch. Vgl. z.B. F.C. Movers, Die Punischen Texte im Poenulus des Plautus, Breslau 1845; M. Szycer, Les passages puniques en transcription latine dans le „Poenulus" de Plaute, Paris 1967; G. Maurach, Plauti Poenulus, Heidelberg 1975, usw.

sten wahrnehmbaren Merkmale des Persischen bedient: doch dem ist ein weiteres Element hinzuzufügen, das es als nicht-persisch charakterisiert, und zwar das Fehlen des Spiranten. Unabhängig davon, ob die Triballer ein thrakischer Volksstamm waren oder nicht, konnte Aristophanes jedenfalls dieses Merkmal nicht aus dem Thrakischen übernommen haben. Wenn sich die sprachliche Charakterisierung der Figuren bei Aristophanes nicht durch einen gewissen Mangel an Kohärenz auszeichnen würde, könnte diese Tatsache die Annahme einer Verwandtschaft zwischen Illyriern und Triballern auf der sprachlichen Ebene erlauben.

Die Einfügung des so charakterisierten Ausländers in den Kontext - Komödie oder Tragödie - ist ebenfalls unterschiedlich. In der Tragödie verläuft das Stilmittel durch ein korrektes Griechisch hindurch wie ein leichtes Hintergrundgeräusch mit kaum wahrnehmbaren Variationen. Die Komödie hingegen bietet uns eine erste Äußerung des Ausländers, in der die Elemente, die das lautliche Verfahren ausmachen, so sehr im Mittelpunkt stehen, daß es sich schließlich nicht um Griechisch, sondern um ein Kauderwelsch von Lauten und Lautsequenzen, die „ausländisch" klingen, handelt. Das zweite Mal verwendet er ein mit Fehlern aller Art gespicktes, jedoch mehr oder weniger verständliches Griechisch. Diese interne Variation, die in der Komödie stattfindet, gehört zu ihrer inneren Fügung und ist einer der Regeln dieser Gattung zuzuschreiben: Der Gebrauch all dessen, was Gelächter hervorrufen kann. In Verbindung mit der Ausdruckskraft des Gesagten erzeugt die zweite Äußerung durch ihre Opposition zu ersten ein ἀπροσδόκητον.

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Les pronoms possessifs et personnels en latin

Les pronoms et les adjectifs possessifs latins ne représentent pas, semble-t-il, une classe fermée (cf. Fugier 1983, p. 250), puisque sémantiquement ils concourent à exprimer la relation de possession avec d'autres constructions latines, telles que génitif et le datif de possession, ou encore l'ablatif de qualité[1].

Pour ce qui concerne les langues romanes les déterminants possessifs doivent être considérés comme des "actualisateurs" du nom, employés seuls, comme en français, où ils sont en distribution complémentaire avec l'article défini et indéfini et le démonstratif, ou bien "empilés" avec d'autres déterminants, comme en italien, selon le schéma suivant:

(1)	a.	*le mon livre	il mio libro
	b.	*un mon livre	un mio libro
	c.	*ce mon livre	questo mio libro

[1] On peut considérer la construction du génitif de possession comme l'équivalent syntaxique et sémantique des pronoms possessifs. En revanche, la substitution d'un adjectif possessif dans la construction du datif de possession n'est pas toujours possible. *Mihi villa est in Campania* n'est pas synonime de *mea villa est in Campania* (cf. A. M. Bolkestein 1983, p. 65). Alors que dans la construction avec le datif le groupe SV-SN possédé est un ensemble unique, globalement rapporté au SN datif, "la présence du possessif 'réactiverait' la capacité informative autonome de chaque élément du SV, et en particulier du SN possédé" (J.-P. Maurel 1982, p. 69 s. à propos des tours: "il lui baisa les lèvres"/"il baisa ses lèvres"). Les différences entre les deux constructions doivent être rapportées au type de prédication réalisée: grâce au génitif de possession et aux pronoms possessifs on réalise une prédication copulative ayante la propriété essentielle d'"appartenir à x", par le datif de possession la prédication porte sur les propriétés contingentes, elle est existentielle, locative. Pour reprendre ici la distinction de Benvéniste (1966, p. 196 s.) entre "prédication d'appartenence" et "prédication de possession", nous attribuerons à la première la construction avec le génitif (ou les pronoms possessifs) et à la deuxième la construction avec le datif.

En latin les possessifs, ainsi que les autres déterminants, ont un rôle plus autonome, ils sont moins nécessaires à l'actualisation du nom, qui se réalise grâce à d'autres stratégies contextuelles (cf. A. Orlandini 1985). En revanche, dans cette langue, l'ordre lineaire dans lequel les possessifs sont présentés dans le SN est très important: ils sont normalement postposés au nom recteur (N_0), préposés ils marquent une opposition pragmatique (cf. J. de Jong 1983). De la même façon que d'autres déterminants (p.e. les démonstratifs) les possessifs renvoient à l'EGO (cf. H. Fugier 1975) à l'auteur de l'énonciation, d'où l'inacceptabilité d'une phrase telle que:

(2) ? *Nous* plaçons tout *votre* espoir en lui

où le possessif de la 2ème personne contraste avec le locuteur de la 1ère. Comme les démonstratifs, les possessifs peuvent se présenter en tête de phrase:

(3) Plaut. Bacch. 103 *meus ille quidemst*

Tout comme les démonstratifs, les possessifs reçoivent la fonction pragmatique de "topic"[2]. Cela fait que l'interprétation sémantique assigné au possessif soit, en général, "référentielle" (c'est-à-dire qu'il renvoie à un individu identifiable par le locuteur et l'interlocuteur sur la base d'une connaissance partagée).

Pourtant, les possessifs latins peuvent aussi bien ne pas être "référentiels" (cf. J.-P. Maurel 1985), ils peuvent être interprétés comme des classificateurs, l'équivalent d'une relative "caractérisante":

(4) Ter. Eun. 234 *conveni hodie adveniens quendam mei loci hinc atque ordinis*

Nous reviendrons en suite sur cette particularité du pronom possessif latin de recevoir une interprétation non strictement "référentielle" (renvoyant à un individu spécifique), à propos

[2] Selon CoVet (1983) en français à chaque fois que une relation de possession n'a pas reçu la fonction pragmatique de "topic" (et donc que les connaissances avant l'énonciation ne sont pas également partagées entre le locuteur et l'interlocuteur) nous sommes en présence d'une "à-construction".

de la construction latine: *suus* plus un quantificateur distributif universel tel que *quisque.*

D'un point de vue sémantique il faut dire que l'expression de la possesion par le possessif latin peut avoir une base très vaste, qui va d'un maximum de signification dans la valeur de propriété (alienable ou pas):

(5) Plaut., Stich. 133 *suus rex reginae placet*

à une valeur possessive plus élargie[3], lorsque le possessif est interprété comme:

- habituel:
  (6) *son* restaurant, *son* cinéma
- naturel:
  (7) Suet., Iul. 89 *neque sua morte defunctus est*
- légitime, convenable:
  (8) Cic., Verr. 3, 139 *Scandilius rem se totam relicturum dicit et suo tempore esse rediturum*

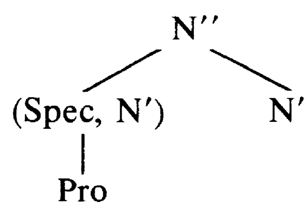
Les pronoms / adjectifs possessifs peuvent recevoir les fonctions sémantique de "Possessor", "Agent", "Object":

[3] Cette analyse nous témoigne de la valeur générique des possessifs, qui peuvent donc aussi bien recevoir une interprétation non-spécifique. Telle est aussi l'hypothèse de Seiler (1983), qui analyse la Possession comme une "dimension opérationnelle" du language, en individualisant un ensemble de structures (techniques) rangées sur une échelle (programme opérationnel) selon deux principes fonctionnels: Possession "inhérente" vs. Possession "établie". A chaque technique il est toujours possible d'associer un nombre de sous-programmes (d'autres échelles) ayant comme dénominateur commun les deux principes fonctionnels qui determinent le programme entier. De cette manière dans la téchnique de la "juxtaposition" (N N), le génitif représente -semble-t-il- le moyen non-marqué pour expliciter la relation possessive "inhérente", puisqu'il il présente un emploi multiple, "la maison de Charles" pouvant être : "la maison que Charles possède, qu'il habite, qu'il a louée, fabriquée, projetée, etc.". Le même domaine sémantique, avec la même gradualité entre une relation possessive plus ou moins inhérente, est commune au possessif : "sa maison". Dans le domaine de la prédication, qui explicite les moyens formels pour une relation de possession "établie", le verbe *habeo* a le rôle d'un prédicat dont l'emploi sémantique est aussi très étendu.

(9) *domus sua* (Poss.)
(10) *adventus tuus* (Agent)
(11) *amator noster* (Object)

Pour ce qui concerne le status syntaxique des pronoms /adjectifs possessifs et des génitifs adnominaux de possession, des analyses très interessantes ont été conduites par J.-Cl. Milner (1977) pour la langue française et par G. Cinque (1980) pour l'italien. Les positions théoriques de ces linguistes sont assez proches: les deux pensent que les pronoms/adjectifs possessifs aussi bien que le génitif de possession sont engendrés directement par la base sous un N'' dans la position de Specifieurs du N', donc ils seront interprétés dans la structure sousjacente comme introduisant toujours le sujet syntaxique et non pas l'objet, selon le schèma

(12)



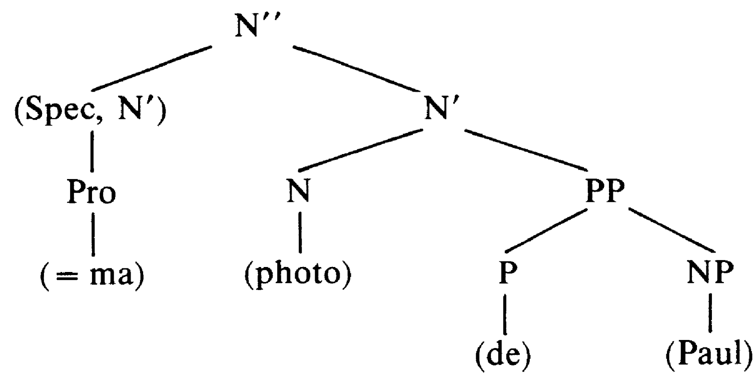
Selon Milner les génitifs adnominaux qui n'expriment pas la possession (Agent ou Objet)[4] ne sont pas engendrés directement sous N'', mais en position post-nominale, donc ils n'introduisent pas un sujet syntaxique. En français il serait ainsi possible d'avoir la coocurrence dans une même phrase d'un génitif Poss. et d'un Agent, par example dans la phrase

(13) ma photo de Paul (= prise par Paul)

[4] Selon Seiler (1983, p. 51 ss.) les noms déverbaux suivis par un génitif Agent ou Objet rentrent eux aussi dans la relation de possession. Il parle à ce propos d'une relation possessive "plus faible", tout en reconnaissant à leur fonctionnement certaines propriétés de la relation possessive "non-inhérente": de cette facon le contrôle exercité par l'Agent sur son action est rapproché par Seiler au contrôle que le Possesseur exercite sur l'acquisition ou sur la selection du possédé, en outre l'ambiguïté entre sujet (Agent) et objet (Patient), évidente en latin p. e. en *metus hostium*, est, à son avis, un signe caractéristique d'une relation possessive.

analysable par une structure du type:

(14)



Selon Cinque (1980, p. 75), qui préfère appeler l'Agent "le sujet du verbe transitif corrélé V", ce dernier est engendré à son tour sous un N'', donc l'Agent introduit aussi un sujet syntaxique, d'où l'inacceptabilité des phrases:

(15) *la nostra cattura del soldato

(16) *la sua partenza di Giorgio

à cause de la présence de deux sujets dans la structure sousjacente. Pour les deux linguistes les pronoms personnels (les pronoms forts en français) sont toujours engendrés en position post-nominale (sous N'), à la différence que, pour Cinque, en ce qui concerne l'italien, ils n'indiquent que l'objet:

(17) il desiderio di te

tandis que pour Milner, en relation au français, ils peuvent aussi bien indiquer l'Agent:

(18) ce livre de moi

Notre tâche sera ici de vérifier si ces analyses sont valables pour le latin et sinon, d'essayer d'expliquer les particularités de cette langue par rapport aux langues romanes.

En latin, aussi bien que dans les langues romanes, la différence entre les pronoms / adjectifs possessifs et les pronoms personnels est représentée par le fait qu'avec les N_o. déverbaux, le génitif du pronom personnel est, en général, interprété comme l'Objet (= genitivus obiectivus):

(19) *desiderium tui* = le regret de toi

et non pas comme l'Agent, tandis que le pronom possessif est en général interprété comme l'Agent et non pas comme l'Objet:

(20) *desiderium tuum* = le regret que tu prouve
(= genitivus subiectivus)

Mais il existe des exceptions dans les deux sens. D'une part on trouve des pronoms personnels interprétés comme Agent:

(21) Cic. Phil. 5, 2 *Recordamini quantus consensus vestrum fuerit* (= *consensus vester*)
(22) Cic. Phil. 4, 1 *frequentia vestrum incredibilis* (= *frequentia vestra*)[5]

En cela le latin semble ne pas s'adapter à l'analyse qui propose Cinque pour l'italien et qui veut que les pronoms personnels au génitif ne soient interprétés que comme des objets (sous N′).

Mais aussi l'analyse de Milner nous semble poser des problèmes: si les pronoms personnels ont la même fonction sémantique (= Agent) que les pronoms possessifs, pourquoi ces derniers seulement sont-ils des sujets logiques (engendrés sous N″)?

D'autre part on peut avoir en latin, comme on l'a déjà vu (exemple n. 11), des possessifs au lieu des pronoms personnels, avec la fonction sémantique d'objets. Les témoignages de cet emploi sont nombreux:

(23) Plaut. Amph. 1066 *terrore meo occidistis prae metu*
(24) Ter. Hec. 788 *Scio pol eis fore meum conspectum invisum*
(25) Cic. Catil. 2, 3 *Iam pridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae, verum etiam vitae periculo sustulissem*
(26) Sall. Jug. 14, 9 *vestra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, patres conscripti, vos in mea iniuria despecti estis*
(27) Liv. 35, 19, 5 *Itaque, si quibus tuorum meis criminibus apud te crescere libet, aliam materiam crescendi ex me quaerant*

[5] Dans cet emploi le type marqué *vestrum* ne se trouve qu'avec des noms collectifs tels que: *frequentia, consensus,* ec. (cf. Kühner-Stegmann 1955, p. 598), qui soulignent sémantiquement la présence de plusieurs personnes, les sujets logiques du syntagme.

(28)	Sall. Catil. 5, 11	*neque quoiquam mortalium iniuriae suae parvae videntur* (= *iniuriae sibi factae*)
(29)	Nep. Lys. 4, 3	*Ita ille imprudens ipse suus fuit accusator* (= *accusator sui*)

Selon Cinque (1980, p. 66) il s'agit pour les possessifs italiens en fonction d'objet, de noms déverbaux dont la souscatégorisation pour l'objet NP n'est pas comune à + N et à + V, mais spécifique du seul + V. N ne partage donc pas la souscatégorisation pour l'objet et il doit être reconnu seulement comme un sujet syntaxique dans la structure sousjacente, mais il correspond à l'objet syntaxique initial du verbe transitif corrélé V, ainsi le lecture comme objet est la seule interprétation possible pour ces possessifs. En latin un nom déverbal tel que *amator, accusator,* etc. a toujours deux niveaux possibles d'interprétation: en tant que + N ou en tant que + V. Cela fait que, à la limite, il serait presque défendu de parler de véritables noms déverbaux dans cette langue. Donc, par rapport au latin, la souscatégorisation pour le sujet NP, proposée par Cinque pour les noms italiens du type "cattura", semble moins convaincante.

Mais ce qui nous fait problème par rapport au latin c'est bien l'analyse de fond, commune à Cinque aussi bien qu'à Milner, qui veut que les pronoms/adjectifs possessifs et le génitif de possession soient toujours interprétés comme indiquant le sujet logique de la structure où ils se présentent. A notre avis, en conséquence du fait que le possessif peut ne pas toujours être "référentiel" (et donc renvoyer à un "Possessor" spécifique) on devrait admettre qu'il peut aussi bien ne pas toujours introduire un nouveau sujet logique, autonome, doué d'une propre référentialité, mais qu'il peut recevoir l'index d'un autre NP, qui renvoie, lui, au véritable et seul sujet logique de la structure.

Il existe en latin, à la différence des autres langues romanes, plusieurs constructions qui peuvent mettre en évidence ce phénomène.

En général, il es vrai que l'inacceptabilité d'une phrase telle que:

(30) **amat suos filios sororis*

qui configure l'inceste, relève du fait qu'il y a là deux possesseurs différents: *suos* = 'Possessor': lui, *sororis* = 'Possessor': la soeur, et aussi que l'acceptabilité de

(31) Cic. epist. 6, 12, 1 *vincebatur enim fortuna ipsa debilitatae gratiae nostra tui caritate*

demande l'interprétation de *nostra* comme l'Agent et de *tui* comme l'Objet et donc la présence d'un seul sujet logique dans la structure. Mais nous voudrions proposer ici trois types de constructions latines qui admettent la réduction à un seul sujet logique dans leur structure, grâce à la coréférentialité du possessif et du NP Possessor / Agent dans la même structure.

1. Le type A

(32a)	Liv. 7, 40, 9	*Quod meum factum dictumve consulis gravius, quam tribuni, audistis?*
(33a)	Ovid., am. 1, 8, 108	*ut mea defunctae molliter ossa cubent*
(34a)	Cic., Planc. 26	*cui nomen meum absentis honori fuisset, ei meas praesentis preces*
(35a)	Ter., Ad. 331	*nostram vitam omnium*
(36a)	Ter., Haut. 128s.	*tot mea / soli[us] solliciti sunt causa*

Dans ces phrases-ci le possessif est coréférentiel avec le génitif *consulis,* avec les participles *defunctae, absentis, praesentis,* avec les pronoms *omnium, solius*: il y a donc là réduction à un seul sujet logique, grâce à la coïndicisation du possessif.

En italien cette possibilité de coréférence semble moins assûrée, d'où l'acceptabilité plutôt discutable des phrases:

(32b) ? La mia impresa di console
(33b) ? Le mie ossa di defunta
(34b) ? Il mio nome di assente, le mie preghiere di presente
(35b) ?? La nostra vita di tutti
(36b) ?? Per la mia causa di solo

Dans cette langue le syntagme [di]NP devrait peut-être mieux être interprété comme une apposition ouverte dans le cas de (32), avec le remplacement par un [da]NP:

(32c) La mia impresa da console

ou bien on devrait transformer le possessif en personnel et accorder ce dernier avec le syntagme [di]NP, peut-être à cause du fait qu'en italien le pronom personnel fort ne peut jamais être interprété comme sujet dans la structure sousjacente (cf. (17)):

(33c) Le ossa di me defunta
(34c) Il nome di me assente, le preghiere di me presente
(35c) La vita di noi tutti
(36c) A causa di me solo

En tout cas une phrase où [di] NP est un nom propre est sûrement inacceptable:

(37=16) La sua partenza di Giorgio (Cinque, p. 59)

En latin l'acceptabilité des constructions que l'on vient d'examiner semble pouvoir s'expliquer par le fait que dans cette langue la coréférence entre le pronom possessif et le NP Possessor / Agent est d'abord tout à fait claire. Le possessif latin semble recevoir une assignation d'index plus libre qu'en italien, en fait il peut renvoyer même cathaphoriquement au NP qui suit, ce qui n'arrive pas en italien. Le latin a une possibilité de prédication (au sens le pouvoir produire des prédicatifs) bien plus étendue que celle de l'italien, aussi bien il possède une force cataphorique majeure; deux phénomènes qu'on pourrait ramener à la différente stratégie référentielle des deux langues: en particulier à la présence / absence d'article déterminatif (cf. J.-P. Maurel 1986).

2. Le type B

En latin il est aussi possible, à la différence de l'italien et du français, d'avoir dans le même structure la coocurrence d'un adjectif dérivé d'un nom relationnel[6], du type *paternus, fraternus,*

[6] Selon Seiler (1983, p. 13) les noms relationnels de parenté représentent une instance focale dans la relation de possession "inhérente", le moyen le plus typique pour exprimer cette possession.

erilis[7] (l'équivalent sémantique d'un G_{Poss}) et d'un adjectif possessif (ou d'un autre G_{Poss}):

(38)	Plaut., Cist. 550	*viderim /erilem nostram filiam sustollere* ('je vis ... enlever la fille de mes maîtres')
(39)	Plaut., Trin. 602	*Nostrum erilem filium Lesbonicum suam sororem despondisse* ('le fils de notre maître vint d'engager sa soeur')
(40)	Ter., Eun. 962	*Dico edico vobis nostrum esse illum erilem filium* ('je vous dis et je vous redis, ce jeune homme est le fils de mon maître')
(41)	Ter., Phorm. 39 s.	*Nam erilem filium eius duxisse audio /uxorem* ('car j'entends dire que le fils de son maître a pris femme')
(42)	Ter., Phorm. 128	*Paternum amicum me adsimulabo virginis* ('je me donnerai pour un ami du père de la jeune fille').

Dans toutes ces phrases il n'y aucune coocurrence de deux sujets logiques différents: ainsi en (39), (40), (41) *nostram erilem filiam* est simplement 'la fille de notre maître' et non pas la fille des esclaves, de la même façon que dans (42) *paternum amicum virginis* est 'l'ami du père de la jeune fille' et non pas l'ami de la jeune fille. Le processus de référence dans ces phrases-ci semble se réaliser de la façon suivante: les adjectifs modifieurs du nom recteur N_0: *erilis, paternus* introduisent un NP Possessor (le maître, le père) qui devient, lui, le nouveau N_0. Cette opération précède l'interprétation du possessif, qui est analysé seulement

[7] Chez Plaute et Terence *erilis* est tout à fait l'équivalent sémantique du N correspondent *eri*, comme on peut le deduire de:

(46)	Ter., Ad. 301	*quod mihi eraeque filiaeque erili est* ("pour ce qui touche et moi, et ma maîtresse, et la fille de ma maîtresse")

L'adjectif *erilis* et le nom *eri* peuvent aussi bien indiquer la possession ("du maître") ou la qualité ("magistral"). En latin la distinction demeure tout à fait ambigüe, cette langue n'ayant aucune possibilité de la résoudre à cause de l'absence d'article.

en relation avec le nouveau nom recteur. De cette façon ni le possessif (*nostram*), ni le G_{Poss} (*virginis*) ne semblent introduire un nouveau sujet logique, le seul sujet logique de la structure étant l'NP Possessor introduit par l'adjectif modificateur, le nouveau N_0.

Plutôt que par des positions syntaxiques différentes, il nous semble que se phénomène ne pourrait être expliqué que comme un processus d'interprétation sémantique. Toutefois si l'on veut assayer d'en proposer une formalisation, elle pourrait peut-être se présenter de cette façon:

(43) [[[*erilem filiam*]] *nostram*]
N''
N'
N''

où le group nominal au départ se trouve sous N'', il va bientôt être reinterprété comme un N' en vertu des propriétés de l'adjectif *erilis,* et seulement à ce moment-là le possessif sera interprété par rapport à l'ensemble N', en donnant comme résultat un nouveau N''.

En rappelant que selon Seiler (1983, p. 8) les noms relationnels peuvent être interprétés comme des prédicats à plusieurs places, on pourrait peut être suggérer d'analyser *erilis* comme un prédicat à trois places, mais hiérarchisées (un prédicat à une place incluant un prédicat à deux places) : *erilis* (x / y, z).

3. Le type C

(44) *sua uxor a quoque amatur*[8]

Mêmé dans cette phrase le possessif ne semble pas introduire un nouveau sujet logique, un NP Possessor spécifique. L'analyse de cette phrase[9] est, à mon avis, particulièrement intéres-

[8] La phrase est parfaitement légitime en latin, issue du modèle:
(47) Cic., nat. deor. 3, 1 *cum autem suo cuique iudicio sit utendum*
(48) Sen., benef. 6, 1, 3 *respiciendae sunt cuique facultates suae*

[9] Je me suis déjà occupée de ce tour pour les anomalies qu'il présente par rapport à la passivisation (cf. A. M. Orlandini 1983).

sante. Elle peut recevoir en latin, mais non en italien ou en anglais, une lecture non-référentielle (c'est-à-dire che le possessif *sua uxor* ne renvoie pas à un x spécifique, un mari particulier), il ne sert pas à rendre référentiel le nom auquel il se joint, la phrase a alors une lecture générique.

Ici, tout comme en (4), le possessif *sua* autorise une lecture caractérisante catégorielle: "la femme qui est telle qu'elle est la propre femme pour chacun", donc le possessif reçoit l'index du quantificateur universel distributif *quisque* (cf. J.-Cl. Milner 1978).

On peut même rapporter à ce type une phrase telle que:

(45) Plaut., Merc. 713 *iubet salvere suus vir uxorem suam*

qui nous témoigne de l'existence en latin de "références croisées" et du status de véritable prédicat du possessif (cf. J.-P. Maurel 1986). Même ici on a la réduction à un seul sujet logique, puisque les deux possessifs ont le même index, ils renvoient donc au même x, le Possesseur.

Conclusions

L'acceptabilité des phrases du type A, B, C nous témoigne de la présence d'un seul phénomène: le possessif latin peut recevoir l'assignation d'index d'un NP qui le suit et qui à son tour renvoie à un x sujet logique de la structure. Je crois que pour expliquer cela on doit tout d'abord admettre pour le possessif la possibilité d'une interprétation "non-référentielle" (au sens qu'il n'est pas nécessaire qu'il renvoie à un individu spécifique) et ensuite supposer que le processus référentiel se déroule à peu près de la façon suivante: le possessif latin à la différence de l'italien est doué d'une "prédicabilité" autonome, en ce sens il est un véritable adjectif, donc initialement il peut rester comme isolé, sans renvoyer à un x particulier, ensuite il va être interprété et recevoir l'assignation d'index de la part du NP Possessor, le sujet logique de la structure.

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L'iscrizione gallica del Larzac e la flessione dei temi in *-a, -i, -ja.* Con un 'excursus' sulla morfologia del lusitano: acc. *crougin,* dat. *crougeai.**

0. Questo titolo riprende quello di M. Lejeune 'La première déclinaison celtique'[1] dato come appendice all'edizione e commento a quell'eccezionale iscrizione gallica ormai nota come 'piombo del Larzac'.

Pur lasciando aperte questioni filologiche, esegetiche e culturali, l'iscrizione ha già dato degli apporti di eccezionale qualità: basti pensare alla presenza di *duxtir* 'figlia', non tanto in quanto riempie una casella documentariamente vuota ma prevedibile dalla comparazione remota (i.e. indeuropea) quanto perché è assolutamente imprevedibile dal celtico noto, cioè insulare; il che - con altro che si rivela dal celtico continentale - deve far rivedere non solo la posizione del celtico insulare nella ricostru-

* Uso 'lusitano' seguendo la terminologia di Tovar (A. Tovar, L'inscription du Cabeço das Fraguas et la langue des Lusitaniens, Et. Celt. 11,2 (1966-67) p. 237-268 e La inscripción del Cabeço das Fráguas y la lengua de los lusitanos, in Actas del III Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas paleohispanicas, J. de Hoz ed., Salamanca 1985, p. 228-253), per la lingua di quelle iscrizioni che Schmoll (cit. a nota 1, p. 28-30) intitola come "Inschriften in lateinischer Schrift aus dem Nordwesten". E' una scelta pratica, che non implica alcuna attribuzione (su ciò v. note 6 e 7).

[1] M. Lejeune-L. Fleuriot-P.-Y. Lambert-R. Marichale-A. Vernhet, Le plomb magique du Larzac et les sorcières gauloises, Parigi 1985. Altri lavori cui si fa riferimento: Prosdocimi 1987 'Celti' = A. L. Prosdocimi, Celti in Italia prima e dopo il V secolo, relazione al Convegno Celti ed Etruschi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale dal V secolo alla romanizzazione, Bologna 12-14 aprile 1985 (ora negli Atti, Bologna 1987, p. 561-581; Prosdocimi 1986 'dekantem' = A. L. Prosdocimi, Gall. in ZCPh. 41 (1986) p. 214-244; Prosdocimi 1987 'Syllab.' = A. L. Prosdocimi, Syllabicity as a Genus, Sievers' Law as a Species, in Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics (A. Giacalone Ramat-O. Carruba-G. Bernini eds.), Amsterdam/ Philadelphia 1987, p. 483-505; Schmoll 1959 = U. Schmoll, Die Sprachen der vorkeltischen Indogermanen Hispaniens und das Keltiberische, Wiesbaden 1959; Szemerényi 1974 = Szemerényi, A Gaulish dedicatory formula, KZ. 88 (1974) p. 246-286.

zione *del* celtico (così, rettamente, Lejeune) ma il concetto stesso di celtico come unità rispetto a spazio, tempo, società (cenni in Prosdocimi 1987 'Celti'). Attenendoci a quello che è il tema di questa nota, il piombo del Larzac presenta - per ragioni specifiche del contesto culturale - abbondanti testimonianze della morfologia di femminili, specialmente in *-a* (d'ora in poi l'assenza di notazione della quantità significherà la realtà grafica; se in parentesi quadra l'assenza di notazione di quantità significherà incertezza attributiva, o della quantità o della pertinenza fonematica o, addirittura, dell'esistenza fonetica della quantità).

Il dato essenziale del Larzac è un paradigma eteroclito *-a/-i/-ia* e cioè: nom. *-a* (e *-ia*), acc. *-iN*[2], genit. *-ias*. Questa eteroclisia era supponibile anche nel bronzo di Chamalières (Ét. Celt. 15,1, 1977, p.156-57) da *brixtia* 'in virtu della forza magica' strumentale corrispondente a un nome di azione in *-tā* dell'irlandese (Lewis-Pedersen p.449).

Sola eccezione: acc. *(an)andognam* (due occorrenze). Un altro dato - in un vuoto documentale del gallico - è il genit. pl. *-anom/n*.

M. Lejeune inserisce i dati del Larzac in un quadro celtico generale, così sintetizzato (p.86 e sgg.)

	I Lépont.	II Celtib.	III Gaulois	IV *Protogaélique
Sing.				
Nomin.	*-a*[1]	*-a*[4]	*-a*[9]	**-a*
Acc.	*-am*[2]	*-am*[5]	*-am/-an*[10] puis *-im/-in*[11]	**-en* ou **-in*[22]
Gén.		*-as*[6]	*-as*[12] puis *-ias*[13]	**-iās*[23]
Dat.	*-ai*[3]	?[7]	*-ai*[14] puis *-i*[15]	**-i*[24]
Instr.			? puis *-ia*[16]	
Plur.				
Nomin.			?[17]	**-ās*
Acc.			*-ass, -as*[18]	**-ā(n)s*
Gén.		?[8]	? puis *-anom/-anon*[19]	**-om*[25]
Dat.			*-abo*[20]	
Instr.			*-abi*[21]	*-abi(s)*

[2] Per *-n/-m*, non pertinente in questa sede, uso la convenzione *-N*.

[I numeri ad esponente 1-25 rimandano alle giustificazioni addotte alle p. 86-88 dal Lejeune per il quadro sinottico: si omette qui di riprenderli, salvo alcuni punti discussi appresso.]

Il quadro così dato è variato per spazio e per tempo; il Lejeune accetta la varietà - che del resto è un dato - ma dove non può essere spiegata come sviluppo fonetico seriore (caso *-ai* > *-i* di cui appresso), è spiegata come innovazioni seriori: il presupposto implicito è un celtico morfologicamente compatto e unitario che poi si differenzia. E' qui evidente uno 'Stammbaum' nella variante più rigida e cioè senza varietà nei nodi: la varietà sarebbe secondaria.

Il dativo in *-i* è testimoniato da βηλησαμι (RIG. G-153, ± 100 a. Cr.; Vaison) e da *rosmerti* (Et. Celtiques 16,1, 1977, p. 151-52; ± 100 d. Cr.; Lezoux); *brigindoni* (Dottin 38) va lasciato in 'epochè'. Secondo Lejeune (p. 90) è un **-āi* > *-ai* > *-i*, fonetico come la prima persona di preterito *ieuri* < **ieurai*. Questa monottongazione riguarderebbe le finali atone dei polisillabi: l'esempio per i monosillabi, necessariamente tonici, sarebbe a. irl., dat. sg. *mnaì*. La spiegazione potrebbe essere diversa e dovrà essere ripresa.

Dat. *rigani* è dato come da *-jāi*, evidentemente su base comparativa, cfr. a. indiano *raj(a)nī*; ma può essere una illusione perchè il latino *regīna*, sia pure con una morfologia interna diversa, mostra che il femminile può essere in *-nā*; pertanto va posto in 'epoché' anche in vista del gaelico che mostra esito diverso al dativo per $*\text{-}CeH_2$ e $\text{-}Cj(e/o)H_2$[3]. Questo *-i* grafico doveva essere lungo se vi era quantità pertinente; oppure non vi era più quantità pertinente: e ciò avrebbe delle implicazioni fondamentali per la flessione gaelica per quanto concerne sia il dativo sia l'accusativo dei temi in *-a* differenziati da quelli in *-ī/-jā*.

Qui siamo ad un fenomeno fonetico. Evidentemente morfologici sono invece genit. *-ias* e acc. *-im*. Secondo Lejeune si tratterebbe di innovazioni recenti sull'analogia dei temi in *-ī-*, con

[3] $\text{-}Cj(e/o)H_2$ oppure $\text{-}CjH_2$ (o simili) sono convenzioni per segnalare lo status morfonologico speciale che è la precondizione della fenomenologia che si presenta e che è mascherata da convenzioni quali $\text{-}jeH_2$ o *-jā*.

termine post quem al II–I sec. a.Cr.; *-im* risolverebbe la questione dell'accusativo gaelico: **totin* e non **toten* > *tuaith-n-*. Per la quantità di *-i* in *-im,* per quanto di diversa provenienza, è da fare lo stesso discorso che per *-i* di dativo: o lungo o ormai indifferente alla quantità; anche in questo caso ciò è essenziale per la flessione del gaelico che distingue l'accusativo di **-Ca*: *-C n-* da **-Cja/ī-*: *-Ci n-*.

Vi è poi una serie apparente di eccezioni alla flessione regolare dei temi in *-ā-,* da ravvisare in un piccolo gruppo di temi in *-ă* < **-ə* tipo lat. *indigena* (è il tipo individuato già da Saussure, Mel. Havet, 1908, poi in Recueil): A Larzac si ha l'acc. sing. *andognam* "impliquant un nominatif **ando-gna* < **n̥do-gnə*". Conclude un excursus sulla flessione gaelica del tipo *mna,* su cui torneremo e la rivendicazione a un genitivo in *-Cas* e non *-Cias* del noto ogamico *inigena.*

Su questo punto proporrei una riproposizione in termini laringalisti (e precisamente secondo Prosdocimi 1984 'Latin', 1987 'Syllab.'), e cioè si possono avere tre eventualità: *-gneH₁* con *-ē* metaplasmato in *-a* secondo le forme da *-eH₂*, il che non spiegherebbe la non uniformazione dell'intero paradigma; $\textit{-gnH}_{1\circ}$ (= *-gnə* della convenzione con schwa) > *-gnă*; $\textit{-gn}_\circ\textit{H}_1$ > *-gnā* ($_\circ H_1$ > *a* p. 207–209). La differenza tra $\textit{-gnH}_\circ$ > *-gna* e $\textit{-gn}_\circ\textit{H}$ è la condizione di sillabicità, e in questo caso sono entrambe possibili, *-do-gn-H* > $\textit{-do-gn-H}_\circ$ oppure *-do-gnH-* > $\textit{-do-gn}_\circ\textit{H}$. Il caso di $\textit{-}_\circ\textit{H}_1$ > *-ā,* pur importando *-ā* come *-ā* < $\textit{-eH}_2$, non importerebbe necessariamente una uniformazione paradigmatica per la possibile perpetuazione sistemica della trafila genetica.

1. Eterotropia: eredità o innovazione?

A priori ci si aspetta che una eteromorfia sia uno status residuale e non innovativo, cioè non si vede perchè un paradigma assestato si differenzi all'interno se non ci sono ragioni forti dall'esterno, tali da far penetrare in un altro paradigma: e i temi in *-ī/-jā* non sembrano tali da entrarvi anche per il fatto che poi, come mostra il gaelico, hanno un accusativo diverso. E' significativo che si citi sempre *-ī-* del tipo *vr̥kī-* (o *devī*: la distinzione può non essere indifferente: appresso); ma questo è un confronto che punta al **passato remoto** non al futuro recente. Mostreremo che questo confronto è indice di una realtà altrimenti provabile. Per ora i dati interni: *-iN* sarebbe innovativo perchè leponzio, celtiberico e *altro* gallico che è anche più antico del gallico con *-iN* hanno accusativo *-CaN*, genit. *-Cas*: i fatti non sono così chiari come sono dati dal Lejeune alle note 2 sgg.; in più per *-Cas* l'"exemple certain à Montagnac (RIG. G-224) dans la plus ancienne inscription gauloise (vers ou avant -200?): αλισοντεας" è da cassare perchè o abbiamo il genitivo in -εας di un tema in *-ia-* e allora non dice niente di più dei genitivi in *-ias* di tema in *-ia* di Larzac, o abbiamo un genitivo di un tema in *-ā*, allora con la riprova del contrario. Quale sia il genitivo, questo ci da un'informazione preziosa; il genitivo è verisimilmente in **-ĭas* (*-ĭăs*?) e non in **-jās* (sul senso appresso). E' da notare poi che lo stesso Lejeune (nota 13 p. 88 e Addendum p. 91–92) ammette la possibilità o probabilità che vi siano, al di fuori di Larzac, altri genitivi in *-Cias* da *-Ca*. Da un punto di vista a priori, tra un paradigma uniforme ed un paradigma eterotropo, salvo ragioni specifiche, è da porre quello uniforme come regolarizzazione secondaria di quello eterotropo.

Lascio per ora da parte - salvo riprenderle poi - le forme che sarebbero comuni al protogaelico e, a monte, la problematica più vasta che estende ulteriormente la tematica 'eterotropia' dei femminili in [-ā] [-ī] [-jā]; è comunque una eterotropia che non può essere liquidata atomisticamente ma che deve rispondere a una matrice organica e, - come espansa, ed eteromorfa, cioè con non uniformazione del paradigma - di data antica. Il genitivo plurale in *-anom* di Larzac, ma non del protogaelico offre un precedente euristico interno, avendo il solo confronto diretto con i genitivi indoiranici per tutti i temi in vocale; secondo l'attestazione del Larzac è da correggere la recisa affermazione che questo tipo "... in keiner andern Sprache vorkommt" (Wackernagel, Ai.Gr. III § 54 p. 108). Se anche si invocasse un parallelo e non una comune ristrutturazione, la cronologia per questa ristrutturazione sarebbe comunque antichissima, poco meno che 'glottogonica', e quindi precedente o, come minimo, coeva allo stesso concetto di celtico anche nel più rigoroso Stammbaum: quindi, anche per il celtico 'unitario', con la varietà intrinseca, da sempre, nella morfologia celtica.

Anche indipendentemente da questo precedente euristico, una eterotropia *-ā/-ī/-jā* ha a priori probabilità di essere eredità e non innovazione, in quanto, ove non ci sia alcuna ragione, non c'è motivo perchè un paradigma si differenzi, anzi, di norma, è vero l'inverso: un paradigma eterotropo è, come insegnavano, tra gli altri, Meillet e Kuryłowicz, una cicatrice del passato e non un portato del presente. Non si sfugge a questo a-priori invocando un incrocio con i temi in **-ī-* (e, tramite questi, in **-jā*: appresso), perchè vi dovrebbe comunque essere stato un motivo di interferenza nella storia (anche preistoria ricostruibile) del celtico; cioè – ammesso che sia stata una singola interferenza che ha importato il resto del paradigma, – si deve trovare il *dove,* il *quando,* il *perchè* di questo nucleo che poi è arrivato al tipo Larzac. E questo nucleo non si vede a quota celtico, ma – nucleare o già complesso – si vede benissimo a quota indeuropea, precisamente nella **fase di formazione del 'femminile' come parallelo al 'maschile'.**

Le due vie fondamentali sono state $*\text{-}eH_2$ di collettivo e $*\text{-}j(e/o)H_2$ di derivativo.

Il fenomeno strutturale per cui il tipo *vṛkīh* da derivazione di *vṛkah* ne è diventata la mozione è stato ben evidenziato da J. Kuryłowicz 1968 poi in Esq. Ling. II p. 256–267; (cfr. Prosdocimi 1987 'Syllab.') Le varie tradizioni possono averle mantenute, con privilegio dell'una senza esclusione dell'altra come l'antico indiano, o con una relativa distribuzione tra aggettivo e sostantivo come il greco o, in forma diversa, in latino[4]; etc. Di massima nessuna tradizione – o nessuna nota o nessuna finora riconosciuta sotto questa angolazione – le ha mescolate in una sola flessione, salvo casi marginali come il genitivo in *-ī* 'appartenenza' < $*\text{-}j()H_2$ entrato nel paradigma di *-o-*. Il protoceltico (in una cẻrta dizione) o alcuni filoni indeuropei poi entrati a costituire il celtico (in una diversa dizione) hanno realizzato la cre-

[4] Una eteromorfia *-a/-ia* (e *-are/-iare*) in forme romanze già acutamente perseguita è ora riportata al latino arcaico da J. Malkiel, A la récherche des désignations latines de femmes et de familles en *-ia,* BSL. 80 (1985) p. 145–163; tramite il latino arcaico è poi riportata al tipo *vṛkī-,* cui in latino è fatto corrispondere *-īx* di *-trīx* (su questo v. anche Prosdocimi 1984 'Latin' e 1987 'Syllab.').

azione del 'femminile' mediante l'incrocio delle due formanti in un unico paradigma. Ciò che è avvenuto si motiva se si può; anche errando nell'eziologia, l'arvenuto resta avvenuto: è il caso di questa eterotropia dovuta alla creazione di una nuova categoria. L'identificazione del come, dove, perchè è una necessità logica e cronologica. Si può però azzardare oltre, e cioè che le forme in **-j*( )H_2 dovrebbero provenire da casi dove -eH_2 come collettivo era fuori luogo: per esempio l'accusativo da rideterminare se un collettivo già 'accusativo'[5] assumeva la funzione di nominativo animato parallelo al 'maschile' agentivo di natura; o anche il genitivo come caso (o quasi-caso) del possesso o di appartenenza a un animato.

Posti in questi termini i dati del Larzac si ripropongono:

nel quadro della dialettologia *gallica* e della dialettologia celtica;
nel quadro della dialettologia indeuropea.

[Nel rileggere il dattiloscritto per la stampa, mi accorgo che può apparire strana la mancata citazione – e più ancora la discussione – di Genus und Sexus di J. Lohmann (Gottinga 1932): la ragione non è tanto la diversa prospettiva nel considerare la stessa fenomenologia morfologica, quanto il fatto che ci riserviamo di discutere quel lavoro in forma adeguata quando riprenderemo questo ed altri lavori (editi o in stampa) e le diverse prospettive morfonologiche ivi date dei morfemi in questione (specialmente *-ī-/-jā-*: cfr. Prosdocimi 1987 'Syllab.'), il tutto in una prospettiva ricostruttiva più generale; qui ci atteniamo non solo ad una prospettiva 'celtica', ma ad una proposta di revisione occasionata dalle nuove acquisizioni. In occasione di questo futuro lavoro riprenderemo i dati dell'armeno considerati nel "Kapitel 3. Die armenische a-Deklination", in giunzione coi dati, finora non considerati, provenienti dal messapico (su cui v. Prosdocimi, Morfologia messapica e morfologia indeuropea [in stampa] nell' "Archivio Glottologico Italiano").]

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[5] Terminologie e diciture sono qui usate approssimativamente per identificare la tematica. Non occorre ricordare la quantità dei lavori recenti su questi temi, sia a proposito di lingue 'ergative' che 'accusative'.

2. Dialettologia gallica e celtica

Lasciamo per ora da parte l'interpretazione dia-cronica (-topica, -stratica) della fenomenologia, per delineare il dossier celtico di quanto è o può essere attinente alla tematica che interessa.

Direttamente implicato, come ha già visto Lejeune, è l'accusativo dei temi in *-ā* tipo a.irl. *tuaith n-*: tra le varie possibilità si presenta ora *-iN* di Larzac; la questione, come meglio si vedrà appresso, concerne la (non) quantità di questa *-iN,* rispetto alla sua genesi. Dalla questione non può esserne disgiunto, l'accusativo *dekanteN* rettamente riconosciuto da Szemerényi (1974 'δεκαντεμ') come l'accusativo di un *dekantā-* < **dekm̥tā-*. Come ho avuto occasione di affermare (Prosdocimi 1986 'δεκαντεμ') quale sia la soluzione, per economicità la spiegazione di *-eN* come accusativo di **dekantā* non può essere diversa da quella di *tuaith n-* come accusativo di **toutā.*

La morfologia *-am* in *(an)andognam* di Larzac (2a 10, 2a 11) corrisponde parzialmente – cioè in quanto diversa dai temi in *-ā* < *-eH*$_2$ – alla morfologia di a.irl. *ben* < **g*^{w}*ₒna,* acc. *mnai n-*. La conferma della spiegazione morfologica come motivata dalla *creazione* della categoria di femminile viene congiuntamente dall'accusativo *andognam* di Larzac e dalla flessione di a.irl.*ben* < **g*^{w}*ₒneH*$_2$.

Per Larzac il non liquet di Lejeune "seule apparente exception: *(an)andognam* ...: mais s'agit-it d'un thème en *-ā*?" diventa fonte di spiegazione quando si dica 'femminile caratterizzato con *-ā* in opposizione a un maschile caratterizzato altrimenti' oppure '*-ā* di femminile che è tale per fonetica e non per morfologia'. Il paradigma di **g*^{w}*ₒnéH*$_2$ ha in irlandese genitivo *mna* e non **mne* come *tuaithe,* ma accus, *mnai n-* o *bein,* con *-i* da *-jā*; è quindi un tema in *-ā* che non flette secondo il 'femminile' *-a,* ma secondo il 'femminile' **-jā,* salvo il genitivo che le è proprio. Non c'è che una spiegazione: **g*^{w}*ₒneH*$_2$ era un 'femminile naturale' (per molti, come noto, il modello stesso della femminilizzazione di **-eH*$_2$); come tale o conservava la propria flessione (genit. *mna* < **g*^{w}*néH*$_2$*s*) o era attratto da quella di femminile che i filoni indeuropei che hanno portato ai dialetti celtici mostrano essere *-j(o)H*$_2$ di *vr̥kī* e *devī* e non *-eH*$_2$ di *lupa.*

3. *-i-/-ja-* di Larzac, *tuaith n-* vs. *insci n-*, *aidchi n-*

La flessione del Larzac – indipendentemente dall'ipotesi genetica – mostra con *-ias* del genitivo che *-im* dell'accusativo non è da tema in *-ĭ-*, ma da tema in *-ī-/-jā-* una complementarità tra i paradigmi di tema in *-ī-* e *-jā-* è ben nota al gaelico (cfr. l'irlandese in Lewis-Pedersen pp. 169–170); mostreremo avanti che non è un incrocio secondario ma è la (ri)sistemazione di un paradigma già unico; quello che importa qui è che l'iscrizione del Larzac (e il Lusitano? § 4) porta un accusativo in *-im* < *-īm* che la flessione *ī/jā* non ha conservato, in quanto l'accusativo di *-ī/jā* è a.irl. *-in* rispetto a *tuaith n-* < **toutin* < *-īN* (per l'apocope senza riguardo alle quantità cfr. il dat. *tuaith* < **touti* < **toutai*, cfr. *rosmerti, belesami*). Il protoceltico doveva dunque avere un duplice esito *-ī-* ~ *-jā-* almeno all'accusativo. Ho mostrato altrove (Prosdocimi 1987 'Syllab.') che *-ī-* ~ *-jā-* sono due esiti morfonologici di uno stesso morfema e come tali passibili di entrare nello stesso paradigma, di sdoppiarsi in due paradigmi, di fissarsi in una sola forma per un paradigma con eliminazione dell'altra forma, totale o parziale con emarginazione o rifunzionalizzazione (caso del genitivo latino in *-ī-*).

L'identità dei casi dei temi in *-ī-* e in *-jā-* del celtico, quali esemplati nell'irlandese, non sono dunque una innovazione ma una risistemazione – più conservativa che in altre tradizioni. In più – particolarità di una parte della tradizione – la forma in *-ī-* che originariamente doveva alternarsi morfologicamente con *-jā-*, all'accusativo si è fissata nella flessione in *-ā*, mentre la flessione in *-ī* e in *-jā-* ha fissato la forma *-jā-*. La coincidenza, almeno su questo punto, di Larzac, lusitano e protogaelico mostra che è una differenziazione antica, potenzialmente coeva o di poco posteriore al processo che nei temi in *-a* ha differenziato una morfologia *-ī/-jā* e una *-Cā* (appresso). Finora, per comodità, e per una certa prospettiva vulgata, si è parlato di temi in *-ī-* ed in *-jā-*. Nel lavoro citato sopra (1987 'Syllab.') ho pure mostrato che *-j*( )H_2 ha un terzo allotropo *-i/jă*, più espanso di quanto si creda; in quell'occasione, dopo averlo rivendicato anche al germanico e al baltico, lasciavo aperta la possibilità per il celtico, anche in considerazione della proposta di Lindeman

(1982 in Ét. Celt. 19, p. 159–160) di riconoscere il genitivo tipo *vr̥k(i)yas* nel genitivo irlandese in *-e* per risolvere alcune difficoltà di spiegazioni precedentemente proposte (**-jas* > **-ijas* > **-ejas*). Al proposito veniva avanzata, cautamente, l'ipotesi che *Sullias* porti un genitivo in *-ijas* piuttosto che in *-jas*. *Sullias*, ora rivisitato in chiave Larzac, come tema in *-a* (*Sulla*) non può dire niente su *-ij-* vs. *-j-*, mentre possono dire molto la forma citata αλισοντεας (la più antica iscrizione gallica, ± 200 a. Cr., RIG. G–224) con **i-* > *-ε-* come *-i-* in δεκαντη-; a questo si aggiunge forse il dativo lusitano *crougeai* < **-ĭăi* come *vr̥kíh*: appresso: in questo caso, come era da aspettarsi, la flessione tipo *vr̥kīh* non è limitata al genitivo; è però possibile che il dativo a. irl. in *-i* mascheri la flessione *vr̥kī-* per il condizionamento di *-i*, secondo un precoce monottongamento *-ai* > *-i* (attestato nel gallico, come si è visto sopra). L'aver posto l'esistenza dell'esito difficilior di $*j(e/o)H_2$, cioè *-ĭă*, pone automaticamente la probabilità dei tre esiti riconosciuti altrove, quindi anche di *-jā* e di *-ī*: non è tanto importante che *-jā* e *-ī* siano quelli della vulgata, quanto che vi coesista un terzo, cui si potrebbe allora attribuire, con Lindeman, l'esito *-e*, nel qual caso *-i* sarebbe l'esito di *-jā*.

4. La finale in *-ius* nel piombo del Larzac

M. Lejeune restituisce 4 sequenze:

IX	1012/13	seuera ... dona paullius [
X	1 a 10	paulla dona potiti[us
XI	1 a 15	potita dona prim[ius
XII	1 b 2/3	rufena casta dona [ ]uonus

Ne viene data la seguente spiegazione

«Elle surprend. Nous suggérons d'y reconnaître un instrumental pluriel thématique. De même que **-ōi*, au dat. sg. du même paradigme, passé à **-ūi* en celtique commun, survit encore sous forme *-ui* dans les premiers textes gallo-grecs (graphie -ουι), mais se réduit, avant l'ère chrétienne, à une longue de timbre intermédiaire à /o/ et /u/, dépourvue de notation propre (d'où graphies gallo-grecques plus récentes soit ο soit ου), pareillement **-ōis*, passé à **-ūis* en celtique commun, a dû évoluer à partir de là d'abord vers *-uis*, puis vers une finale monophtonguée susceptible de notations *-os* et *-us* (cette dernière se manifestant dans notre texte). Cet instrumental, nous l'interprétons comme sociatif: "en compagnie des ...".

En IX, X et XI, il s'agit du dérivé masculin-neutre en *-io-* d'un nom propre: Paullos ou Paulla, Potitos ou Potita, Primos ou Prima. Or Paulla et Potita figurent au "catalogue" (lequel ignore les noms d'hommes: § 11); on peut se demander si une Prima n'y figurait pas aussi à l'origine (ce serait alors le nom, omis par *M,* de la "Mère" ou de la "Fille" d'Abes(i)a). Nous rapporterons donc aux féminins Paulla, Potita, Prima nos trois dérivés en *-io-*. On constate alors que les relations dona instituent, à l'intérieur de cette petite corporation, des rapports transversaux qui recoupent les lignées initiatiques matir/duχtir; ainsi Severa (de lignée V) se trouve-t-elle latéralement associée à Paulla (de lignée VIII), etc. On ne peut rien savoir des êtres que désignent ces pluriels: probablement, magiques; éventuellement frappés d'un tabou qui interdit de les nommer. Nous nous contenterons de traduire: "Severa, en relation magique (dona) avec Ceux de Paulla; etc.", la majuscule dont nous affectons "Ceux" visant à suggérer le caractère magique et mystérieux de ces entités.

Si, syntaxiquement, XII est parallèle à IX, X, XI (dona + instr. pl. à valeur sociative), les entités en cause sont différemment présentées; il ne s'agit pas d'un dérivé en *-io-* d'anthroponyme; mais rien ne permet d'interpréter ce mot, dont le début nous manque. Dans une traduction, nous le laisserions en blanc: "Casta, en relation magique (dona) avec les ...".»

La spiegazione presenta una serie di difficoltà:

1) ci aspetteremmo un genitivo come gli altri casi di rapporto e non un comitativo; un comitativo in quanto collegato a *dona* come specificum non è migliore spiegazione che un genitivo non singolare (*-ias*), non plurale (*-anom*), quindi duale, legato al concetto di *dona.*

2) *-i-* per forme quali *paullius* da *paullo/a* indica paradigma di femminile (*-a/-ias*); *-onus* sarà con *-us* di tema in *-ōn-*.

3) il celtico insulare presuppone un caso in *-b-*, effettivamente testimoniato nel gallico come *-bi* (strumentale-comitativo) e anche nel nostro testo: *eiabi* in 1b9 e *-bo*; nessun posto quindi per un **-ōis* > *-us.*

La soluzione è un genitivo duale di femminile in **-ous* > *-us*: per -(*i*)*ous* uguale per maschile e femminile cfr. a.irl. *insce, aidche* (temi in *-ī/jā*) come *cele* (tema in *-jo-*). Lo stesso Lejeune aveva individuato l'esistenza di coppia (§ 14, p.33-35) strettamente collegata nelle sequenze:

1 b 10, ... seuera tertion⟨ic⟩na ...
1 a 4/5, ... seue[rim]/tertionicnim lidssatim liciatim ...
2 b 10/11, ... seu[e/r]im tertio(nicnim) lissatim/...
2 a 9, ... seuerim lissatim liciatim ...
1 b 7/8, ... lissina[ue]/seuerim licinaue tertionicnim ...

Con una stringente analisi L. mostra che non si tratta di una persona unica, ma di due persone collegate in modo così stretto da portare anche simmetria di attributi A–B (A) *lidssatim* (B) *liciatim*; in qualche modo una coppia che costituisce una unità ideologica.

"A ce point, nous allons, en faveur de l'interprétation dualiste (S. et T.), chercher des présomptions dans les contextes élargis (où, pour plus de clarté, nous réparons, entre parenthèses, les inadvertances qu'on vient de signaler, et où nous marquons par une double barre ce qui nous semble être une limite de propositions):

1 a 4–6, ... tigontias ... seue[rim] tertionicnim lidssatim liciatim || eianom ...
2 b 10–11, ... sagitiontias seu[er]im tertio(nicnim) lissatim (liciatim) ...
2 a 8–10, ... sagitiontias seuerim (tertionicnim) lissatim liciatim ...
1 b 6–9, ... in das mnas ueronadas brictas lissina[ue] seuerim licinaue tertioni[cnim] || eiabi ...

D'une part, au début de la proposition suivante, les noms de S. et T. sont repris par un anaphorique féminin *pluriel*: gén. eianom 1 a 6, instr. eiabi 1 b 9.

D'autre part, dans la proposition même où ils figurent à l'accusatif, les noms de S. et T. sont précédés de participes féminins à l'acc. *pluriel* en -ontias (1 a 4, 2 b 10, 2 a 8).

Enfin, en 1 b 6–9, les deux accusatifs (disjoints) seuerim et tertionicnim sont, semble-t-il, apposés au mot mnas, acc. pl. du nom de la "femme"; il se peut, de surcroît, que das soit l'acc. fém. du numéral "deux". Et le passage signifierait: "que contre (in) ces deux femmes (das mnas) ... maudites (brictas) agisse d'une part lissina à l'égard de Severa, d'autre part licina à l'égard de Tertionicna".

Corollairement, on observera que, même s'agissant de deux femmes, c'est le pluriel qu'emploie notre texte, et non (à supposer qu'il existât) le duel."

L'osservazione finale non è dirimente contro un duale, usato in una situazione specifica, mentre altrove il duale, può essere funto dal plurale – come avviene precisamente in greco, specie nella fase di estinzione del duale. Nel dare le coppie coi nomi la dualità (= coppia) era data lessicalmente, mentre il riferimento nell'accordo non aveva bisogno di essere marcato come tale. Non così nel nostro caso, dove il duale è l'essenza stessa della designazione in quanto non si tratta di 'due Paulle' ma di 'le due

Paulle' in cui Paulle non si riferisce a 1 Paulla + 1 Paulla, ma a una coppia di cui Paulla è il membro eminente: è il tipo caso del dvandva duale ellittico tipo antico indiano *Mitrā* per *Mitravarunau, mātarā* o *pitarā* per *mātarā-pitarā,* gr. Αἴαντε etc. (cfr. Wackernagel, Ai.Gr. II,1, p. 150–151) [Non interessa invece in questa sede quale sia il rapporto espresso da *dona,* per cui "Nous avouons n'avoir présentement pour ce mot aucune explication satisfaisante à proposer. Nous la rendrons par 'en relation magique avec ...'."]

5. Excursus. *-a/-i/-ia* nelle iscrizioni lusitane?

Già Schmoll (1959 p. 40) aveva importato l'acc. *crougin* di una iscrizione lusitana nella problematica dell'accusativo a. irl. *tuaith n-,* dato che lo stesso a. irl. ha la parola corrispondente, nom. *crùach,* acc. *cruaich n-*. E aggiungeva per l'altra forma *crougeai* "Die Form *crougeai* würde somit zeigen, dass das im Irischen nur beim Genitiv zu beobachtende Eindringen der Form der *-iā*-Stämme in die *ā*-Flexion hier auch auf andere Kasus ausgedehnt ist".

Questa importantissima osservazione, che immetteva nella questione i temi in *-iā,* viene poi banalizzata: oggi si vede che corrisponderebbe alla fenomenologia del Larzac, il che riconfermerebbe dunque la fase antichissima del fenomeno e contribuirebbe a ricostruirne la dinamica morfologica. Per l'eccezionale importanza di questo dato, per la discussa posizione del lusitano tra celticità e non celticità, e anche per una certa importanza quale conferma (non prova!) di *-ī/-jā/-a* nel celtico, il dato stesso deve essere accertato specialmente appetto dell'interpretazione alternativa di *crouceai* come dativo di antroponimo dovuta al filone Hernando Balmori - Tovar - K. H. Schmidt[6].

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[6] C. Hernando Balmori, Sobre la inscripcion bilingue de Lamas de Moledo, Emerita 3 (1935) p. 77 sgg.; A. Tovar, The Ancient Languages of Spain and Portugal, New York 1971, spec. p. 91–92; K. H. Schmidt, da ultimo in A Contribution to the Identification of Lusitanian, in Actas del III Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas paleohispanicas - 1980, edito 1985 a Salamanca per le cure di J. de Hoz - p. 319–341. Cf. anche J. Untermann, Personennamen als Sprach-

crougin di MLI. XLVIII (= Schmoll 1959) è certamente un accusativo; escluso un antroponimo da accoppiare eventualmente a *crougeai* in un paradigma *-ī/-jā,* resta un accusativo che si confronta con a. irl. *cruach* < **kroukā,* acc. *cruaich n* < **kroukin.* Il significato contestuale di *crougin* 'altare (o simili)' che si accorda bene con i valori del celtico insulare, gallese *crug* 'hillock, tumulus', a. irl. 'covone' nel senso di qualcosa di prominente, quindi con una semantica accomunante (cfr. anche Schmidt cit. p. 331–332, che accetta *crougin* da **krouka* e pone *crouceai* come derivato in *-ia*) e una diversa specializzazione pragmatica; pertanto il confronto regge fino all'identità morfologica, quindi con l'acc. *-im* da tema in *-a*, come l'irlandese.

crougeai (o *crouceai,* o *grougeai,* il che è problema a parte), di Hubner, MLI.LVII (= Schmoll 127) come identica parola e non come antroponimo derivato, è più probabile, oltre che per la ragione probabilistica di supporre un derivato ad hoc piuttosto che la stessa forma in una struttura che con *-i-/-a-* implica anche *-ja-* tramite *-i-* per una regione interna: malgrado le difficoltà contestuali connesse alle strutture sintattiche degli attanti, in Hubner, MLI.LVII l'accusativo *angon lamaticom* + *crugeai* dipendente da *doenti* 'dant' corrisponde all'accusativo *crougin* (dipendente da Ø? o da *digoe*); quindi si può porre:

acc. *crougin*	acc. *angon lamaticom*
	dat. *crougeai* 'per la *crouga*'

In ogni caso *crougeai* come dativo dello stesso paradigma aggiunge poco, rispetto all'accusativo *-im* se, come appare, questo è da un tema in *-a.*

Indipendentemente dall'appartenere direttamente al paradigma in *,-i-* tramite *crougin, crougeai* potrebbe qualificarsi quale dativo di tema in *-ī-* di tipo *vṛkī.* Questo, come noto, è *vṛkyè,* con svarita da **vṛkí(y)e* < *-íăi,* a differenza di *devyái* < **-jāi*: *-e-* del lusitano dovrebbe corrispondere ad *-ĭ-* e non a *-j-* (cfr. sopra) e, quel che è più, *-ăi* e non *-āi* pare l'unica spiegazione per giustificare qui la conservazione del dittongo (in

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quelle im vorrömischen Hispanien, in: II. Fachtagung für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Innsbruck 1962, p. 62–93.

quanto breve) rispetto all'esito *-a* dove è sicuramente lungo (< *-CeH*$_2$), come nei dativi tipo *Trebopala* (cfr. Tovar cit.); la solidarietà e complementarità tra *-e-* < *-ĭ-* e non da *-j-*, e *-ai* < *-ăi* e non da *-āi,* cioè con una sovrapposizione col tipo **vr̥kíe* doppiamente motivata e che risolve due fatti fonetici lusitani – non solo pare provata l'appartenenza di *crougeai* al paradigma in *-ī-* ma riporta nel lusitano il paradigma *vr̥kī-* da postulare anche per il celtico; il che non è senza significato.

Già nelle due iscrizioni note allo Schmoll, con conferma decisiva nella iscrizione da Cabeço das Fraguas[7] accanto a questi accusativi in *-im,* dativo in *-eai,* vi sono accus. in *-Cam* e in *-Ceam,* quindi con una morfologia 'irregolare': nello stesso contesto si ha quanto leponzio e celtiberico hanno da una parte e il gallico tipo Larzac dall'altra, quindi un dato prezioso per la dinamica dei processi.

6. *-as* ~ *-ias, -aN* ~ *-iN*; l'unità del celtico e il lusitano

Posta l'antichità del paradigma eteromorfo *-ā/-ī/-jā* almeno in un nucleo tale da poter, eventualmente, irradiare; posta che l'antichità è tale da raggiungere recta via la formazione stessa del femminile da *-eH*$_2$ e/o da *-j(e/o)H*$_2$, si pone il problema delle forme in *-Cas, -Cam* di leponzio, celtiberico e gallico (qui, invece che *puis* dello schema di Lejeune, sarà dà porre, almeno in un caso, *et*). Poichè queste sono le forme 'regolari' di un tema in *-Ca,* possono essere regolarizzazioni di un paradigma eteromorfo; teoricamente possono essere regolarizzazioni indipendenti, ma, per economia, è ragionevole pensare a fenomeno unitario, che unisce del celtico lontano per area e cronologia e spacca, all'interno, il gallico, quindi, comunque, con problemi per il concetto di unità celtica o per la concezione di questa unità in rapporto alla varietà interna.

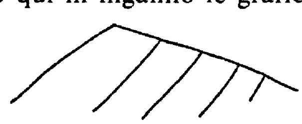
Questo, che è già problematico nell'ipotesi debole di una innovazione antica, lo è a maggior ragione nella variante forte, secondo cui il celtico – meglio: quelle parlate indeuropee che poi

[7] Su cui A. Tovar in Et. Celt. 11 (1966–67) p. 237–268, ripreso con correzioni nel III Coloquio cit. a nota 6, p. 227–253.

sono andate a costituire quel complesso che noi definiamo celtico – aveva ab origine questa eteromorfia quale sistemazione sui generis dei due paradigmi di 'femminile' -CeH_2 e -$Cj(o/e)H_2$ (e -$Cj(e/o)H_1$?). Si può risolvere col concetto di 'celtico come farsi' di una serie di dialetti indeuropei prossimi ma differenziati (Prosdocimi 1987 'Celtico') o con un celtico 'come fatto', con un sottostante modello a Stammbaum, tendenzialmente con partizioni binarie[8]: in questo, come per altri casi, è immanente la questione della varietà all'interno dei nodi e, correlatamente, il senso della classificazione che deriva dalle alternative 'aut.. ~ aut..' se, invece, sono 'et.. et..'.

Proprio questo fenomeno che divide all'interno il celtico pone però una questione di unitarietà per la caratteristica (caso a quanto mi consta unico)[9] di costituire un paradigma di femminile combinando le due possibilità -CeH_2 e -$Cj(e/o)H_2$. Questo fenomeno, riconosciuto nel lusitano, ripropone la celticità dello stesso o, meglio, ripropone la questione di cosa significhi attribuzione di celticità rispetto a un parametro preciso: se sia valido un criterio dicotomico semplice (sì ~ no) o se non sia valido un criterio non dicotomico ma graduale, per cui – posti alcuni parametri – si parli di **grado** di celticità. Abbiamo posto la questione a proposito del 'ligure' (Prosdocimi 1987 'Celti') come area marginale non raggiunta dalle isoglosse (fonetiche) individuanti la celticità, quali *p*- conservato rispetto a *p* appena scomparso nel leponzio di Prestino (fine VI – inizio V secolo a.Cr.). Al proposito ho esplicitato la distinzione tra fenomeni **non**- e tra fenomeni che, oltre che 'non', sono anche **anti**-: *p*- conservato è un fenomeno non-celtico ma non è anticeltico; un eventuale $*p > b$, sarebbe un fenomeno anticeltico ove la direzione innovativa fosse disgiuntiva e non nell'asse genetico $p > \emptyset$.

[8] Non trarranno qui in inganno le graficizzazioni apparentemente sequenziali del tipo



[9] Un caso che ha qualche analogia presenta forse il messapico con il femminile sia in $-eH_2 > -a$ che in $-w(e)H_2 > -ua$, ortografato *-oa*: questa interpretazione è avanzata in un mio articolo in stampa nell' "Archivio Glottologico Italiano".

Naturalmente è un criterio che va usato con cautela, ma che va usato dove lo spazio, il tempo (e la stratificazione sociale) siano pertinenti alla definizione dei concetti. Il lusitano, quale ci si presenta, fa parte del gruppo di dialetti indeuropei occidentali, alcuni dei quali hanno poi evoluto in modo tale da poter essere raggruppati sotto l'etichetta di 'celtico'.

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Bernardo Stempel, Patrizia de, *Britannischer Komparativ und Konsonantenverdoppelung* ,
Indogermanische Forschungen, 94 (1989) p.207

Britannischer Komparativ und Konsonantenverdoppelung*

Im Zentrum dieses Beitrages steht die Klärung des produktiven britannischen Komparativformans. Die Untersuchung gliedert sich folgendermaßen:

1. Mittel des steigernden Vergleichs
   (a) im allgemeinen
   (b) im Indogermanischen.
2. Die Komparation im Keltischen mit besonderer Berücksichtung des Britannischen:
   (a) *yos*-Reste im brit. Komparativsystem,
   (b) der brit. regelmäßige Komparativ
      (1) deskriptiv,
      (2) Thesen zur Erklärung,
      (3) Neuansatz:
         (α) Doppelung und expressive Geminierung,
         (β) zu den innerbrit. Lautverhältnissen;
   (c) brit. unregelmäßige Komparative (außer denen unter (a)).

1.a.

In seiner 1884 veröffentlichten Studie „Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Comparation ..." kommt Hermann Ziemer - auch unter Berücksichtigung außerindogermanischer Parallelen - zu dem Schluß, „dass die Sprache, als sie jene organischen Gradationsformen schuf, sie ursprünglich nur als Positive in verschiedener syntaktischer Verbindung ansah"[1].

Zu derselben Ansicht gelangt H. Jensen (1934, S. 115), der sich bemüht, „eine Art psychologischer Stufenfolge aufzustellen für die verschiedenen Formen, deren sich die Sprachen zum Ausdruck des steigernden Vergleichs bedienen"[2].

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* Herrn Professor K. H. Schmidt möchte ich für wertvolle Hinweise und Ergänzungen danken.

[1] S. 18, vgl. auch S. 10f., 25, 135 und 137.

[2] S. 108. Jensens Beispiele lassen sich wie folgt formalisieren: a) X ist A, Y ist B (wo B die entgegengesetzte Eigenschaft von A darstellt); b) X ist A, Y nicht;

Auch bei Greenberg (^{2}1968, S. 88) heißt es: „A minority of the worlds languages have ... an inflected comparative form of the adjective. More frequently a separate word modifies the adjective, as in English, ‚X is more beautiful than Y', but in many languages this is optional or does not exist at all."[3] Infolgedessen wurde das 22. Universale (das eine Reihenfolge 'standard-marker-adjective' für postpositionelle, d. h. SOV-Sprachen, postuliert und umgekehrt)[4] aus einer kleineren Anzahl von Sprachen gewonnen[5], wodurch es nicht unumstritten blieb[6].

Stassen 1985 unterscheidet „Five major types of comparative constructions" (S. 39 ff.), für die er folgende „tendencies" beobachtet: „a. If a language has a Separative Comparative, then its

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c) X und Y, X ist A (wo A mehr oder weniger emphatisch ausgedrückt wird); d) X ist A bei Y bzw. (d_1) X ist A verglichen mit Y; e) X ist A von Y aus; f) X ist A über Y; g) X ist A Y übertreffend; h_1) XA übertrifft Y; h_2) X übertrifft Y an ‚A-heit'; h_3) X übertrifft die ‚A-heit' von Y; h_4) die ‚A-heit' von X übertrifft die von Y; i) Y ist A, X ist noch A; j) X ist noch A von Y aus; k) X ist mehr A im Verhältnis zu Y bzw. k_1) X ist mehr A von Y aus; l) X ist ‚A-er' als Y (wo ‚A-er' ein mit Komparativsuffix versehenes Adjektiv vertritt).

Es fällt auf, daß alle Strukturen bis auf (l) ohne ein spezielles Komparativsuffix auskommen, wobei sich (a)-(h_1) und (i)–(k) des bloßen Positivs bedienen.

[3] Ähnliches auch bei Greenberg 1957, S. 87; Benveniste 1948, S. 126 f.; N. Berg 1958, S. 202, 212, 215, 217; W. Thomas 1958, S. 132 u. 134 ff.; M. Wittwer 1970, S. 103 f.; J. Puhvel 1973, S. 146 f.; W. P. Lehmann 1974, S. 202; P. K. Andersen 1980, S. 225 f.; id. 1983, S. 108 ff.; W. Stefański 1984, S. 41; L. Stassen 1985, S. 27 u. 39 ff.

[4] „If in comparisons of superiority the only order, or one of the alternative orders, is standard-marker-adjective, then the language is postpositional. With overwhelmingly more than chance frequency, if the only order is adjective-marker-standard, the language is prepositional." Greenberg ^{2}1968, S. 89 und 111.

[5] „A number of languages are not entered in this table because they utilize a verb with general meaning ‚to surpass'. ... Loritja, an Australian language which has ‚X is large, Y is small', is likewise not entered." Greenberg, l. c. S. 88.

[6] Vgl. die jeweils geänderte Formulierung bei Lehmann 1974, S. 15 und Stassen 1985, S. 317 ff. u. 334 f., sowie Andersens Einwand (1983, S. 121), daß „the motivation for the order of elements differs from construction type to construction type", so daß (S. 125) „we should replace Greenberg's one universal (# 22) ... by a number of other universals ..." (vgl. auch S. 134 f.).

basic word order is SOV. b. If ... an Allative Comparative, then ... is verb-initial[7]. c. If ... a Locative Comparative, then ... is either SOV or verb-initial. d. If ... an Exceed Comparative, then ... is SVO" (S.54). Dagegen (S.45) „Basic word order does not seem to be a determining factor in the choice for or against a Conjoined Comparative"; die „Particle Comparatives" (S. 45 ff.)[8] bilden, genauso wie die „Mixed cases" (S.47 ff.), keine homogene Kategorie, und wiederum „basic word-order patterns do not seem to constitute a determining factor" (S.47) für ihre Wahl.

1.b

Wie schon in der in Anm. 3 angeführten Literatur vielfach erwähnt wird, weisen im Indogermanischen speziell[9] das Hethitische[10], das Tocharische[11] und das Armenische[12] kein Komparativsuffix auf, wobei allerdings keine Übereinstimmung herrscht, ob wir es in jedem Falle mit einem tatsächlichen Archaismus oder vielmehr mit sekundärem Verlust zu tun haben[13].

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[7] Darunter zählt Stassen S.41 Bretonisch auf.

[8] Darunter S.47 Schottisch-Gaelisch.

[9] D.h. abgesehen von sporadischen Erscheinungen wie lat. *super omnes beatus* (Plin. bei Jensen 1934, S.120) oder *tacita bonast mulier semper quam loquens* (Plaut., Rud. IV,4,70 schon bei Ziemer 1884, S. 25) und von eindeutig sekundären Entwicklungen, wie z.B. der Verlust der Komparative im Mittelindischen (Thomas 1958, S.134; Andersen 1980, S.226 f. u. 233 Anm. 8).

[10] Vgl. auch Friedrich ^{2}1960, S.61, §93 ff. und S.127, §221 ff.; ferner Andersen 1983, S.176 ff.

[11] Vgl. bes. Thomas 1958, S.136 ff. und Krause-Thomas 1960 I, S.158 §249.

[12] Vgl. auch Jensen 1959, S.68 f. §172 f. und Schmitt 1981, S.159 (4).

[13] Während die meisten Autoren wohl annehmen, im Tocharischen und Armenischen sei ein ehemals entwickelter Komparativ verlorengegangen, divergieren die Meinungen v.a. im Falle des Hethitischen wegen seines hohen Belegalters: So sprechen sich Berg 1958, S.217, Wittwer 1970, S.104 und Lehmann 1974, S.202 für einen anatolischen Archaismus aus, wogegen sich Puhvel 1973, S.147 vor dem damals „discredeted ghost of Indo-Hittite" fürchtet und sich somit auf die Seite von Thomas 1958, S.135 stellt. Dezidiert zugunsten der Verlusttheorie äußert sich Andersen 1980, S.229, der das Komparativsuffix als e i n e n von zwei ‚markers' (neben der Ablativendung) ansieht, wonach die Unterdrückung des Suffixes nichts anderes als eine zu erwartende Verein-

Auch bei den idg. Steigerungssuffixen **-yos* und **-tero-* geht man davon aus, daß „Neither suffix is in origin truly comparative", doch ist lediglich für **-tero-* die Entwicklung zum Komparativsuffix deutlich nachzuvollziehen[14]. In einem parallelen Prozeß treten dann gelegentlich in idg. Einzelsprachen neue, ursprünglich ebensowenig „komparativische" Suffixe für die älteren Formantien **-yos* und **-tero-* ein.

Ein derartiger Vorgang hat im Lettischen stattgefunden, wo in den regelmäßigen Komparativbildungen auf *-âks* (z.B. lett. *platâks* 'broader', *slapjāks* 'wetter', *mazâks* 'smaller' vs. lit. *platókas, šlapókas, mažókas* resp. 'pretty broad, wet, small') das idg. Ableitungssuffix **-ākos*[15] eindeutig zu erkennen ist[16].

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fachung sei. Da es genügend Sprachen gibt, die von Anfang an Konstruktionen wie (d) und (e) (vgl. Anm. 2) aufweisen, scheint mir jedoch die umgekehrte Annahme wahrscheinlicher.

[14] Zitat nach Puhvel 1973, S. 145. So schon Benveniste 1948, S. 115 („Les comparatistes s'accordent aussi à juger que ni l'une ni l'autre n'était proprement comparative à l'origine") und S. 125 („ 1° ... **-yes-* ... indique une modalité interne; tandis que **-ter-* ... ajoute à une qualification donnée une caractéristique externe; 2° **-yes-* a une valeur ‚dimensionelle'; **-ter-*, une valeur ‚positionelle'; 3° **-yes-* définit quantitativement; **-ter-* localize spatialement; 4° **-yes-* est ‚évalutif', *-ter- est ‚séparatif'."); Seiler 1950, S. 1 u. 122; Berg 1958, S. 202 u. 229; Kuryłowicz 1964, S. 226ff.

[15] Vgl. Brugmann 1906, II, 1, § 381, S. 498–501. Im Griech. erscheinen „Die (ausgeprägt umgangssprachlichen) Velarsuffixe ... teilweise in deutlicher (deminutiv-pejorativer) Funktion in den Formen -αx- ..." (Schwyzer [5]1977, S. 496). Insbesondere wird -ᾱx- wie in πλούτᾱξ 'rich fool' oder νέᾱξ 'youngster' als „substantivierend, deminutiv-pejorativ, aber auch augmentativ" geschildert (ibid. S. 497). Vgl. auch Buck-Petersen 1949, S. 614f. u. 636.

Zu den lat. *āc*-Bildungen vom Typ *linguax, vorax, loquax,* vorwiegend „Verbaladjektiva aktiver Bedeutung 'mit Hingabe etwas betreibend' ... öfters zur Bezeichnung einer tadelnswerten Neigung", und zu deren möglichen Entstehung aus einer denominalen Bildung vgl. Leumann [5]1977, S. 376; zu den selteneren Ableitungen auf *-aco-* ibid. S. 340.

Vgl. ferner Jensen 1934, S. 129 und Endzelin 1971, S. 114f. § 146a, b. Zur deminutiven Verwendung des Suffixes (das im Idg. „Wörter zur Bezeichnung der Herkunft und Zugehörigkeit und die der Träger einer Beschaffenheit" ableitet, wie lett. *mežaks* 'Wäldler' oder den lett. PN. *Rudak* zu *ruds* 'rötlich') sowie zur gelegentlichen komparativischen Verwendung von *-ókas* in ostlitauischen Mundarten vgl. Gāters 1955, S. 48f. u. 56f.

Zu der Verbreitung im Keltischen vgl. unten Anm. 62.

Da es sich um eine Komparativkonstruktion mit Partikel handelt, bei der als 'marker' meistens die Negation fungiert[17], und da Reste von *yos*-Bildungen im Lettischen und Altpreußischen zu finden sind[18], liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß hier ein ursprünglich als stilistische Variante[19] existierender parataktischer Komparativ vom Typ (b), *X ist A* ⟨± -ākos⟩, *nicht* ⟨ne⟩ *Y* (vgl. Anm. 2)[20] als synthetischer Komparativ grammatikalisiert wurde, d.h. mit *-āks* als 'marker' und *ne(kā)*, dem ursprünglichen 'marker', nur noch als 'link'[21].

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[16] So schon Bezzenberger 1880, S. 98. Jensen 1934, S. 128f.; Gāters 1955, S. 47; Thomas 1958, S. 130f. Anm. 3; Kuryłowicz 1964, S. 228f.; Stang 1966, S. 267; Endzelin 1923, § 326, S. 352ff.; id. 1971, S. 115, § 146(c) u. S. 276; Markey 1985, S. 354 u. 360.

[17] Vgl. Endzelin 1923, S. 353 Anm. 2; Stassen 1985, S. 63 (18) und, zur Erscheinung im allgemeinen, Ziemer 1884, S. 144ff.; Fraenkel 1911; id. 1926, S. 295 mit Anm. 2 u. ff.; Benveniste 1948, S. 139; Andersen 1983, S. 128; Stefański 1984, S. 42ff.

[18] Vgl. Stang 1966, S. 267ff.; Endzelin 1971 § 276, S. 174f.; Gāters 1955, S. 50; Markey 1985, S. 360.

Zu den lit. Superlativen aus älteren Komparativen sowie zu den weitergebildeten lit. Komparativen auf *-esnis* vgl. außerdem auch Thomas 1958, S. 132 und Szemerényi 1968, S. 27.

[19] So schon Ziemer 1884, S. 144 u. 149. Vgl. Stefański 1984, S. 44 „la plupart de langues possèdent (possédaient) deux constructions parallèles ...".

[20] Nach Puhvel 1973, S. 146: „This construction lies at the base of what we might call the contrastive or disjunctive alternative that looms large in both early and modern Indo-European, also after the application of morphological means of comparison."

Bereits Ziemer 1884, S. 142 spricht von „parataktische⟨n⟩ oder separative⟨n⟩ Partikeln". Vgl. auch ibid. S. 144f. sowie Small 1929, S. 14f.

[21] Nach der Terminologie von Andersen 1983, S. 116, ist *link* „the morpho-syntactic means of connecting the standard to the adjective" und *marker* „that specific element which distinguishes a comparison of inequality from a comparison of equality".

Zum Übergang (im Englischen) vgl. schon Holthausen 1913, S. 339: „Die Erklärung des eigentümlichen Gebrauchs ist ja einfach, denn *he is older nor I* bedeutet wörtlich: 'ér ist áelter, und nícht ích'; wir haben also ursprünglich zwei Hauptsätze anzunehmen, aus denen dann allmählich durch Aufhebung der syntaktischen Pause und Veränderung der Betonung ein einziger wurde".

2.

Wenden wir uns jetzt dem Keltischen zu: Während man im Inselkeltischen die erwartete Reihenfolge 'adjektive-marker-standard' antrifft, die zu einer VSO-Syntax paßt[22], lassen sich nicht alle der dem Keltischen eigenen drei Steigerungsformen des Adjektivs, Aequativ[23], Komparativ, Superlativ[24], als grundsprachlich oder zumindest als gemeinkeltisch ansetzen.

2.a.

So ist im Britannischen das im Irischen noch bewahrte und idg. gut belegte[25] Komparativsuffix **-yos* nur noch in wenigen Resten erhalten, die bedeutungsmäßig in den Kreis der suppletiv gesteigerten Adjektive passen[26] und somit, aufgrund ihrer hohen Textfrequenz, eine vergleichbar archaische Gestalt bewahrt haben:

Vgl. die deskriptiv gesehen „unregelmäßigen" britannischen Komparative wie mky. *hyn* 'älter' (: air. *siniu* < **senyōs*) und mky. *llei* 'kleiner, weniger', nky. *llai* (: air. *laigiu* < **lagh-yōs*[27]; mky. *moe,* aky. *moi,* nky. *mwy,* ko. *moy,* bret. *mui, muy* 'größer,

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[22] So Greenberg ²1968, S. 106, Anm. 18 und S. 108 (zum Ky.); zum Ir. vgl. Stenson 1977, S. 79. Für eine Neuformulierung von 'universal 22' vgl. allerdings die in Anm. 6 angeführte Literatur.

[23] Der Terminus bezeichnet einen 'marker' der Vergleichung, der im Keltischen an das Adjektiv, im Ossetischen dagegen als Kasusendung an den 'standard' tritt, vgl. Abaev 1964, S. 19, § 50.

[24] VGKS. II, § 460–467, S. 118 ff.; CCCG. § 318–324, S. 182 ff.; GOI. § 366–376, S. 232 ff.; AirGr. § 126, S. 46 f. und § 203 c, 241 S. 106 bzw. 119; WGr. § 147–152, S. 241 ff.; GrMW. § 41–47, S. 38 ff.; St. J. Williams 1980, § 44–53, S. 34 ff.; H. Lewis ²1946, § 15–20, S. 18 ff.; Fleuriot 1960–61, S. 175 ff.; id. 1964, § 107–110 a, S. 248 ff.; Lewis-Piette ²1966, § 15–20, S. 15 ff.; Hemon 1975, § 32–43, S. 48 ff.; id. 1984, § 72–80, S. 29 ff. Ferner Thomas 1958, S. 131 mit Anm. 1 und 2; Meid 1967, Cowgill 1970 und Charles-Edwards 1971.

[25] Vgl. u. a. Ascoli 1891, S. 53; Seiler 1950, S. 19; Szemerényi ²1980, S. 178 ff. S. auch Kuryłowicz 1964, S. 228.

[26] Vgl. Osthoff 1899, S. 20 ff.

[27] Vgl. WGr. § 148 I (2) und (7) S. 245 und 247 f.; VGKS. II § 462, S. 119 (erwägt für *llei* die Möglichkeit eines alten Neutrums); CCCG. § 319 S. 183; GPC. s. v. *llai*¹; LHEB. S. 449; Sommer 1900, S. 222 f.; Cowgill 1970, S. 115.

mehr'[28]; mky. *ieu,* nky. *iau* 'jünger' (: air. *óa*)[29]; ferner, mit Schwundstufe des Suffixes, mky. *hwy* 'länger' (air. *sīa*)[30] und mky. *lled* 'breiter, weiter'[31].

Auch der britannische Aequativ und der gesamtkeltische Superlativ enthalten womöglich, in unterschiedlicher Weiterbildung, die Schwundstufe *-is-* des idg. Komparationssuffixes **-yos*[32].

2.b.

Produktiv ist dagegen im Britannischen gerade eine Neuerung[33] geworden, die sich nicht aus dem üblichen idg. Komparativbestand ableiten läßt, so daß ihr Ursprung - vermutlich eben aus diesem Grunde - bislang nicht eindeutig geklärt wurde.

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[28] Nach LHEB. S.375f. entweder < **māyōs* (so WGr. § 148 I (12), S.249) oder < **mā-yos* (so VGKS. II, § 463, S.120 und CCCG. § 320, S.184) über **māiyos*; vgl. auch WGr. § 151, S.253, DGVBr. S.334 und 261 s. vv. *mui*[1] u.[2] sowie *mui ha uid bu pelloch* und HMSBr. § 42. Zu abr. *muioc* vgl. DGVBr. 261, verbessert in HMSBr. S.59 mit N.1 und DGVBr./S S.521.

[29] IEW. S.510f. < **yew-yos*; VGKS. II, § 463, S.120, mit einer Vorform **jew-is* für das Kymrische; GPC. s.v. *iau*[3]; WGr. § 148, I (9), S.248; LHEB. S.366 u. 370f.

[30] < **sēis,* VGKS. II, § 463, S.120, CCCG. § 320, S.182; anders WGr. § 148 I (8), S.248.

[31] Wenn, wie allgemein angenommen, mit VGKS. II § 463, S.120, CCCG. § 320, S.184, GOI. § 375 und GPC s.v. *lled*[2], < **plet-is*; WGr. § 148 I (11), S.248f. setzt dagegen ***llyd* < **pletyōs* an, mit Vokalausgleich nach dem Superlativ, der aber nicht sehr wahrscheinlich ist, da die Positivform *llydan* ebenfalls den *y*-Vokal aufweist.

[32] S. Anm. 24. Etwa air. *sinem,* aky. *hinham* < **sen-isamos* < **sen-is-m̥''os* (Cowgill 1970) oder < **sen-i-sm̥Hos* (Szemerényi 1976); mky. *tecket* < **teg* + *-iseto-* (vgl. aber H. Zimmer 1897).

[33] Vgl. u. a. Berg 1958, S.213 Anm. 1.

2.b.1.

Wir haben nämlich *-ach* im Alt-, Mittel- und Neukymrischen (vgl. aky. *guobriach* 'sapientior, Ox. 1 (Ov.), p. 1055, 37b[34]; mky. *cassach* zu *cas* 'häßlich'[35], nky. *trymnach* zu *trwm* 'schwer'[36]), sowie *-ac'h* vereinzelt auf dialektaler Ebene im Bretonischen, vgl. *isélac'h* 'höher'[37].

Die für Aequativ und Superlativ charakteristische Verhärtung des der Endung vorangehenden Konsonaten wird dann im Neukymrischen[38] auch auf den Komparativ ausgedehnt: nky. *tecach* 'hübscher' zu *teg*, vs. mky. *tegach*[39].

Das Mittelkornische zeigt *-a* neben *-e* (*pella, pelle* 'entfernter'

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[34] VVBr. S. 142; LHEB. S. 459, § 82; Fleuriot 1964, S. 249, § 108 note.

[35] Strachan 1909, S. 28 f., § 37 u. 38 (a); GrMW. § 41, S. 38 f.; WGr. § 147, S. 241 f.

[36] St. J. Williams 1980, § 44, S. 31 f.

[37] VVBr. S. 142; Ernault 1901, S. 373; HMSBr. § 35 note, S. 53; Fleuriot 1964, § 108, S. 249; id. DGVBr. § 34, S. 24 sowie S. 233 s. v. *isselach* 'submersior und S. 232 s. v. *iselach* 'interiores, die allerdings als "forme vieille-galloise?" markiert sind (im DGVBr./S S. 497 f. heißt es entsprechend „May be obr or obr2", d. h. Old Breton bzw. Old Breton 2, vgl. ibid. S. 1), zumal sie aus der späteren Hand der Handschrift Angers 477 stammen (dazu DGVBr. § 4, S. 3, § 7, S. 9, § 10. IV, S. 15 f. und § 53, S. 40). Die DGVBr. S. 16 geäußerte Vermutung („Il conviendrait de rechercher si certains faits dialectaux du Breton, tels que les comparatifs en *-ac'h* ..., ne sont pas ... des traces du dialecte parlé par la fraction des immigrants originaires de Galles. ... quelques indices ... font penser que ces formes, non écrites dans les textes relativement rares du Breton moyen tardif, ont pu être anciennes") wird DGVBr./S S. 1 f. mit mehr Überzeugung ausgesprochen: „We replaced the former ... ‚Old Welsh form' by ... ‚Old Breton two' ... ; the term ‚Welsh', ..., is particularly unfortunate, especially when we are dealing with a dialect spoken both in Armorica and Great Britain. ... It is clear that the majority of continental ‚Brythons' spoke ‚Southwestern Brittonic', the ancestor of Breton and Cornish, whereas a minority spoke ‚Western Brittonic', the ancestor of Welsh. These ‚Westerners' seem to have been particularly numerous in the former Cornouia (later Kerneo and Bro-Wened) ...".

[38] „... erst im 16. Jahrhundert" nach den Untersuchungen von L. Ch. Stern 1901, S. 137; damit übereinstimmend (vgl. GrMW. S. XXI) WGr. § 147 II (1), S. 241 („In Late M⟨odern⟩ W⟨elsh⟩").

[39] S. a. GrMW, § 41, S. 39 N. 2; CCCG. § 322, S. 184; St. J. Williams § 44, S. 32; Sommer 1900, S. 244 Anm.

zu *pel(l)*)[40], wobei eine beinahe vollständige Vermischung von Komparativ und Superlativ eingetreten ist[41], da zum einen die auslautenden Konsonanten reduziert worden sind, zum anderen die bereits erwähnte analogische Verhärtung des der Endung vorangehenden Konsonanten seit frühester Zeit auf den Komparativ übergegriffen hat[42]: Kpv. *teka, tecka, teke* vs. Spv. *tecke, tekke* und Aeqv. *tekca* zu *tek* (ky. *teg*) 'hübsch, schön' (Nko. Kpv. *tecca,* Nance s.v. *tēk(g)*). *O*-Vokalismus der Endung begegnet uns dagegen im Bretonischen, und zwar altbretonisch noch in verschiedenen Schreibungen[43] *cualoch* 'plus rapide', *pelloch* 'plus loin, plus tard'; *cnouilleticoh·* enucleatius, 'plus à fond'; *cuntullho* · cumulatius; *crafho* in der Adverbialbildung *ent crafho* · inopportunius, 'plus insistant'[44]; mittelbretonisch als *-och* (*brassoch* 'größer' zu *bras*), *-ouch* (*iselouch* 'niedriger' neben *iseloch* zu *isel*), bzw., analogisch bedingt, *-hoch* (*pelhoch* 'weiter, ferner' zu *pell*)[45]; neubretonisch schließlich als *-oc'h* mit nunmehr durchgeführter Verhärtung des Auslautes des Adjektivstammes: *gwanoc'h* 'schwächer' zu *gwan, glepoc'h* 'feuchter' zu *gleb*[46]

Was die Konstruktion der angeführten Formen anbelangt, so werden sie meistens prädikativ gebraucht[47], wobei der Anschluß an den ‚standard' durch eine Partikel mky. *no(c)*, nky. *na(g)* er-

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[40] Lewis ²1946, §15, S.18f.; CCCG. §322, S.184. Nko. *pella,* Nance s.v. *pell. -ah* als Komparativsuffix bei Jenner 1904, S.92f.

[41] „Y cyd-destun yn unig a ddengys ym mha un o'r ddwy radd hyn y bydd ansoddair." (Lewis ²1946 l.c.); L.Ch. Stern 1901, S.156; Sommer 1900, S.241 Anm.2; VGKS.II, §466 (1), S.122. Dafür fehlt es nicht an Parallelen, vgl. GOI. §366; Thomas 1958, S.132f.; Gäters 1955, S.62.

[42] „Trwy gydweddiad lledodd y calediad i'r radd gymharol, ond digwyddodd hynny'n gynharach mewn Cern. a Llyd. nag mewn Cym." (Lewis ²1946 l.c.); VGKS.II, §465, S.121f.

[43] Fleuriot 1960–61, S.175ff.; id. 1964, §108, S.249. HMSBr. §35, S.53.

[44] DGVBr. S.124; ibid. S.283, 334, 282 u. 261 sowie DGVBr./S S.536; DGVBr. S.110; ibid. S.126 u. 117; ibid. S.121 u. 161. Zu abr. *mui-oc* vgl. supra Anm. 28.

[45] Lewis-Piette ²1966, §15, S.15f.; HMSBr. §35, S.53; Ernault 1901, S.373.

[46] R.Hemon 1984, §73, S.29 u. §75, S.30; id. HMSBr. l.c.

[47] CCCG. §324, S.187; GrMW. §46, S.43f.; Lewis ²1946, S.20 Anm.

folgt, die im Kymrischen der Negativpartikel nahesteht[48], während sich im Bretonischen außer *eguet* (abr. *hacet* 'pro, DGVBr. S. 205; nbr. *eget*) auch *evit* (mbr. auch *euit, euyt*) 'pour; quant à, pour ce qui est de'[49] und die gekreuzte Form *eguit* (*eguyt*) finden[50]. Die Konstruktion des Kornischen entspricht – anders als beim Vokalismus des Suffixes – erwartungsgemäß der des Bretonischen[51].

2.b.2.

Während Cowgill 1970 von „(originally augmentative?) adjectives in **-akko- *-okko-* in lieu of the old comparatives" (S. 132) spricht, ohne die Frage jedoch eingehend zu diskutieren, hält Gāters 1955 immer noch an der alten, durch Ascoli 1891 bereits widerlegten[52] lettisch-britannischen Gleichsetzung im Bereich des Komparativs fest: „lett. *āk-*, walisisch *-ach*, corn. *-a, -e*, breton. *-oc'h*" (S. 47), die dabei auf idg. **-āko-* zurückgeführt werden, „vom lautgesetzlichen Standpunkte aus ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit" (Sommer 1900, S. 244 Anm.).

Umfassendere Versuche zur Deutung der britannischen produktiven Komparativendungen stammen von Sommer 1900, Stern 1901 sowie Ernault 1901, Pedersen, VGKS. II, § 372.2, S. 25 und Morris Jones, WGr. § 147. IV. 3, S. 243, dem sich Jensen 1934, S. 129 anschloß. Im GPC. wird zwischen einer kompa-

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[48] Vgl. A. Joly (1967) bei R. M. Jones 1971, S. 98; Stassen 1985, S. 63; Markey 1985, S. 335 f. Zu den Formen GrMW. § 46, 197 b u. 254; CCCG. § 207, S. 123; St. J. Williams 1980, § 51, 229 u. 231.

[49] Hemon ⁷1985 s. v.; vgl. auch GlMBr S. 227 f. s. v. *euit*, sowie Ernault 1890, § 5, S. 196 zu *euit haff* 'pour lui'.

[50] Fleuriot 1964, § 109; Lewis–Piette ²1966, § 17; Pennaod ²1966, § 35; Hemon 1975, § 36; id. 1984, § 73; Stassen 1985, S. 41 (15); Ernault 1901, S. 380 § 24; Ziemer 1884, S. 234 f. u. 238 f. DGVBr. S. 205 erwähnt außerdem „qu'à Ouessant à côté de *égit* ... on emploie *négit*".

[51] Vgl. ko. *ages, agis, es, ys, eys*. Lewis ²1946, § 17 (3); Nance s. vv. *es* u. *age's*; Ziemer 1884, S. 233 f.

[52] „Consuona la formazione britannica per *-ach -och* con fuzione prelativa ..., che è però diversa, dovendo risalire ad *-acc* o *-aks*" (S. 58 Anm. 2, im Original nicht gesperrt).

rativischen Endung *-ach*[1] und einer deminutiven Endung *-ach*[2] aus brit. **-aks-* bzw. **-akko-* unterschieden.

Genauso wie sich brit. *-Vch#* (< **-VchV*) lautlich auf **-VksV-*[53] oder auf **-VkkV-*[54] zurückführen läßt, so lassen sich auch die Deutungsvorschläge in die beiden Gruppen (A) resp. (B) unterteilen.

Zur Gruppe A gehört als erster Sommer 1900: seiner Meinung nach hat das Bretonische mit Kpv. *-oc'h,* Spv. *-aff* den älteren Zustand gegenüber ky. Kpv. *-ach,* Spv. *-af* bewahrt (S. 244 Anm.).

Brit. **-och* erklärt er dann aus **-o-kso-s,* d. h. einer Ableitung eines durch falsche Trennung entstandenen „sekundären Komparativsuffix⟨es⟩" **-kso-*[55].

Letzteres sei wiederum durch das Antreten von **-so-* an Adjektivstämme auf Guttural zustande gekommen. Die komparativische Bedeutung habe **-so-,* ursprünglich bloßes Adjektivableitungssuffix, zunächst bei Adjektivstämmen angenommen, „die ihrer Bedeutung nach schon an und für sich ‚komparativisch' waren, d. h. immer im gedachten Vergleich zu einem gegensätzlichen Begriff wie 'hoch', 'nieder' ..." (l. c. S. 243).

Diese These läßt aber folgende Fragen offen: (a) Wie definiert man Sommers „Adjektivstämme ..., die ihrer Bedeutung nach schon an und für sich ‚komparativisch' waren", zumal, wie wir gesehen haben, jedes Adjektiv in seiner Grundform auch zum Ausdruck der Steigerung dienen kann und die Opposition Positiv vs. Komparativ ursprünglich syntaktisch ausgedrückt wird?

(b) **-so-* als Adjektivableitungssuffix dürfte wohl kaum häufig genug, noch dazu hinter Guttural (und **-p-*[56]) gewesen sein[57], um die Abtrennung eines **-kso-* zu ermöglichen. Auch unter den unregelmäßigen Komparativen gibt es keine Formen auf *-och,* die als Ausgangspunkt der Neubildung in Frage kämen;

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[53] Bzw. auf „IE. *k's, qs, q^us* (with *gs*) and *ps*", vgl. LHEB. § 125 f.

[54] LHEB. § 145 ff.

[55] „*-xos*" bei Sommer l. c.

[56] Vgl. oben Anm. 53.

[57] VGKS. II, § 365 heißt es nur „Ein an ein konsonantisches Vorstück gefügtes *-so-, -sā-*Suffix wird hin und wieder anzunehmen sein".

überhaupt kommt *-ch*# lediglich in ky. *trech* und *uch* vor (s.u. S.226).

Außerdem fällt auf, daß es Adjektivbildungen auf *-s-* gibt, die keine komparativische Funktion haben: eine davon ist womöglich ky. *pell* 'entfernt' (IEW.640 2. *k*ʷ*el-* 'fern').

(c) Die falsche Abtrennung von *-k-so-* und der Antritt dieses neuen Suffixes an *o*-stämmige Adjektive müßten noch vor Wirkung der Auslautgesetze stattgefunden haben, d.h. es müßte ein Nebeneinander von regelmäßigen, noch nicht veränderten und somit durchsichtigen Komparativen auf **-yōs* und neuentstandenen auf **-oksos* gegeben haben, wobei es dann an einer Motivation für die Neuerung fehlte.

Dagegen haben überzeugenderweise bisher die meisten Forscher das Motiv für die Herausbildung einer neuen Komparativendung in der fortgeschrittenen Reduktion des Lautkörpers des ererbten Morphems gesehen, die den Komparativ vielfach unkenntlich machte[58].

Ebenfalls zur Gruppe A der Erklärungsversuche zählt Morris Jones, der aber (W.Gr. S.243) von einem gemeinbritannischen **-aks-* ausgeht: **-aks-* habe sich in unbetonter Stellung aus **-āks-* < **āk'son* < **-āk-is-ōn* entwickelt, „the cpv. in **is-ōn* ... of a derivative in **-āk-os* of the adj.", ein Suffix, das „itself prob⟨ably⟩ had a heightening force, as it has in Lith⟨uanian⟩ when added to an adj.". Dabei bleibt einiges unberücksichtigt:

(1) Der ad hoc angenommene Schwund des *-i-* in **-ākisōn*# müßte zu einem Zeitpunkt stattgefunden haben, als es sich unter dem Ton befand[59].

(2) Sollte *-i-* trotzdem geschwunden sein, so ruhte der Akzent auf **-āks-*, was eine frühe Vokalkürzung verhindert hätte.

Ansonsten wissen wir, daß **-āko-* in unbetonter Stellung keineswegs brit. ***-ako-* ergibt[60].

(3) Warum sollte an *ākos*-Ableitungen statt des regelmäßigen

[58] So Stern 1901, S.155; Morris Jones, WGr. S.243; Cowgill 1970, S.132. Vgl. auch Szemerényi 1968, S.28 zu einer ähnlichen Entwicklung im Lit.

[59] Vgl. LHEB. S.265.

[60] D'Arbois de Jubainville 1881, §III S.15*-16*; LHEB. S.287ff.; CCCG. §9(1).

**-yōs* ein Suffixkonglomerat **-is-ōn* antreten, für das wir im Keltischen sonst keine Evidenz haben?

Außerdem sollten (4) entweder von frühester Zeit an die Komparativsuffixe **-yōs* und **-is-ōn* in komplementärer Distribution gestanden haben, nach deren Ratio dann zu fragen wäre, oder (5) **-is-ōn* müßte später zustande gekommen sein, wobei man sich fragt, wieso dasselbe Komparativsuffix, das es zu ersetzen galt, doch noch produktiv genug war, um an *-āk-* anzutreten (vgl. auch oben sub (c)).

Eine Sonderstellung in der Gruppe B nimmt Pedersen ein, der VGKS. II § 465, S. 122 und expliziter § 372.2, S. 25 brit. *x* zwar als aus *-kk-* hervorgegangen ansieht, dies aber wiederum als britannische Stimmloswerdung von *-gg-* aus assimiliertem *-gn-*, was jedoch im Widerspruch zu der sonst belegten Entwicklung steht[61].

Ansprechender ist dagegen Ernaults Deutung (1901, S. 373), der von einer „formation en *-a-cc-*, voisine de *-ā-c-* (gall. *-awc*, bret. *-euc, -ec*) et de *-i-c-*" spricht und somit deutlicher als Stern wird, der im selben Jahr 1901 die Proportion aufgestellt hatte: ir. *-acc* : ky. *-ach* = ir. *-ach* : ky. *-awc, -og*, „in Form und Bedeutung differenziert" (S. 156f.).

Keiner der beiden Gelehrten geht allerdings näher auf das Problem der Gemination oder auf die innerbritannischen Verhältnisse im Vokalismus ein (warum ky. *-a-* und br. *-o-*?), so daß wir eine etwas detailliertere Erklärung vorschlagen möchten.

2.b.3.

Wir nehmen an, daß das im Keltischen und vorwiegend im Britannischen u. a. zur Bildung von Adjektiven besonders produktive[62] idg. Suffix **-ākos* – dessen sich auch das Baltische

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[61] LHEB. § 84ff. und selbst CCCG. § 36, S. 32f.

[62] Z. B. gall. PN. *Dumnacus*; brit. PN. *Caratacus*, air. *carthach* 'loving', mbr. *caradoc*, nbr. *karadec* 'aimable', br. PN. *Caraduc* (XI. Jh.), *Caradeuc* (XIII. Jh.); abr. *euonoc* 'spumaticus, nbr. *eonek* 'écumeux', mky. *ewynawc*, nky. *ewyn(n)og* 'id.' zu mbr. *eon*, ky. *ewyn* 'écume'; mbr. *ivinecq, ivinocq* 'qui a

zum Ausdruck der Steigerung bediente[63] – dem regelmäßigen britannischen Komparativ zugrunde liegt, und zwar, daß sich bei elativischem[64] Gebrauch durch die Emphase eine Dublette des positiven Adjektivs auf *-ākos* mit expressiv geminiertem *-kk-*[65] (*-ākkos*) entwickelte, die nicht zuletzt wegen ihrer größeren Durchsichtigkeit und Regelmäßigkeit und als eher volkstümliche Bildung die Oberhand über die alte *yos*-Komparativform gewann und an deren Stelle grammatikalisiert wurde. Dabei begünstigte auch die Syntax, daß ein ursprünglicher 'conjoined comparative' mit Negativpartikel als 'marker' im Kymrischen[66], bzw. ein 'allative comparative' mit Präposition 'für' als 'marker' im Bretonischen und Kornischen[67], als synthetischer 'particle comparative' uminterpretiert wurde, wo *-ak(k)os* zum 'marker' wird und die jeweilige Partikel nur noch als 'link' fungiert[68].

2.b.3.α.

Die Annahme einer expressiven Bildung im Bereich der Steigerung – zumal bei einer Kategorie, die im Idg. überhaupt erst spät entwickelt wurde – erscheint nicht weit hergeholt, wenn man an Ausdrücke wie ky. *da dda* 'very good', *péll-bell* 'very far'

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de grand ongles', ky. *ewinog* (GlMBr. S. 342).
Vgl. D'Arbois de Jubainville 1881, § III bes. S. 16*; VGKS. II, S. 30, 25 u. 32; GOI. § 349; Fleuriot 1964, S. 244, 342 u. 45; id. 1982, S. 81 ff. u. 100 f.; Quentel 1980, S. 45 ff.

[63] Vgl. auch Benveniste 1948, S. 127. Dabei wird es sich sicherlich nur um konvergente Entwicklung handeln: für eine Diskussion der gesamten Frage keltisch-baltischer Sprachkontakte vgl. K. H. Schmidt 1985.

[64] Vgl. Ascoli 1891, S. 54 f.: „dalla qual funzione ⟨elativa⟩ possono ugualmente rampollare le seguenti due, essenzialmente relative: ... 4. funzione prelativa (p. e. 'piú buono', 'che emerge cosí da oltrepassare l'altro')".

[65] Vgl. GlMBr. S. 98 f. s. v. *carrec* mit Beispp. ähnlicher Dubletten, sowie Zeuss GC^2. II, S. 851 (c) u. 812 (c).

[66] D. h. mit 'juxtaposition' (Andersen 1983, S. 112): *ist X A* ⟨± *-ak(k)os*⟩, *nicht Y*, vgl. Typ (b) oben Anm. 2.

[67] D. h. mit 'adposition' (Andersen 1983, S. 113), etwa: *ist X A* ⟨± *-ak(k)os*⟩ *für Y*.

[68] Zur Terminologie vgl. Anm. 21 und zu der Entwicklung im Lett. hier oben S. 210 f.

denkt[69] oder an air. Superlative mit redupliziertem Suffix wie *húaislimem* 'highest' (neben *húaislem*) zu (*h*)*úsal,* die in den Mailänder Glossen überwiegen[70].

Mit expressiver Geminierung des *s* wird auch gerechnet, um den lat. Superlativ *-issimus* zu erklären[71]. Ferner „si ... on trouve dans d'autres langues une classe de même nature caractérisée par le redoublement, procédé dont le caractère expressif ne peut être mis en doute, il y aura là au moins une présomption en faveur du caractère expressif de cette gémination". (Martinet 1937, S.39)[72].

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[69] WGr. §152; Pott 1862, S.105f.; Ernault 1901, S.381.
Für analoge Fälle der Steigerung durch Doppelung außerhalb des Keltischen vgl. E. Hofmann 1930, I, §2, S.14ff.; J.B. Hofmann [4]1978, bes. S.60; Thomas 1958, S.155 (4); Godel 1945; Schmitt 1981, S.159, §4, S.87f. u. 212; Leroy 1986 bes. S.71; Moravcsik 1978, S.301; Tischler 1976, S.11; Skoda 1983, S. 242; Dray 1987; Deny 1949, S.21; Shepherd 1985, S.536; Markey 1985, S. 355; Gonda 1949, S.184ff.; Kimenyi 1987, S.150; Emeneau 1987, S.109f. mit Anm.2 S.113.
Zum Phänomen der Doppelung vgl. schon Potts „Doppelung (Reduplikation, Gemination ⟨hier ‚Wiederholung im Ganzen'⟩) als eines der wichtigsten Bildungsmittel der Sprache ..." 1862. Darin besonders B.1.c.β. S. 93–111 zur Steigerung von Adjektiva. In neuerer Zeit vgl. Moravcsik (1978), wo es S.317 heißt „the most outstanding single concept that reduplicative constructions recurrently express in various languages is the concept of increased quantity."
Zur Reduplikation als spezielle Form der intensivierenden Doppelung bei Adjektiven vgl.: André 1978, S.55; Skoda 1983, S.152ff.; Martinet 1937, S. 40; Swanton 1921/23, S.27; Durand 1961, S.xxiii; Berlin 1963, S.216f. Ferner Grammont [8]1965, S.380; Tischler 1976, S.9; Marouzeau 1946; J. Pohl 1969.

[70] 14 von 23 nach Sommer 1900, S.223f. Vgl. auch GOI. §371; Pott 1862, S.106; Cowgill 1970/S.128.
Zur emphatischen Doppelung innerhalb des kelt. Pronominalsystems vgl. Holmer 1955.

[71] Vgl. Cowgill 1970, S.128: „in working toward an adequate solution ... the likelihood of expressive gemination in a form charged with expressive meaning like the superlative ⟨should be kept in mind⟩".
Szemerényi 1976, S.414 „early *-isomos* [aus (*-i*)*-somo-*] was changed to *-issomos,* obviously because the elative had a peculiar expressive force". Vgl. auch Seiler 1950, S.20: „In einem ganz außergewöhnlichen Maße spielt bekanntlich das Affektische bei der Steigerung eine Rolle."

[72] Vgl. auch ibid. S.42 u. 44.

Die auch sonst verbreitete expressive Geminierung[73] ist im Keltischen – im Brit. stärker als im Goidelischen – gut verankert[74], und zwar bei Verwandtschafts-[75], Tier-[76] und Personennamen[77].

Es herrscht ferner Übereinstimmung darüber, daß expressive Geminierung zum Ausdruck der Intensität dienen kann[78]; in dieser Funktion kann sie bisweilen grammatikalisiert werden[79], wobei sich – vom lateinischen Superlativ abgesehen – vorwiegend Parallelen aus nichtidg. Sprachen beibringen lassen[80].

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[73] Meillet 1908/1909; id. 1922; id. 1924, S. 102; Grammont [8]1965, S. 382; Sommer [3]1914, § 118, S. 202 ff.; Havers 1931, S. 160 f.; Martinet 1937; André 1978, S. 68 u. 97 f.; Skoda 1983, S. 30; Benveniste 1922, S. 53; Guinet 1982, S. 177 f.; Locker 1933, S. 149 ff.; Kuryłowicz 1975; Lühr 1985, S. 281; Masson 1986; Wissmann 1932, S. 162 ff.

[74] Baudiš 1918, § 27; Kuryłowicz 1973, bes. 269 ff. VGKS. § 404 u. § 375, S. 477. Vgl. auch Tovar 1984, S. 463.

[75] Z. B. air. *macc*, Ogam *maqqi* 'Sohn'; vgl. K. H. Schmidt 1979, S. 280; id. 1979 a, S. 117 mit Anm. 3 u. 120 f.; Kuryłowicz 1973, S. 271.

[76] Vgl. u. a. die verschiedenen Bezeichnungen für 'Eber' bei K. H. Schmidt 1985 a, S. 328 f.; z. B. air. *mucc*, ky. *moch*, *mochyn*, br. *moc'h*, *penmoc'h* 'Schwein'; Kurłowicz 1973, S. 271.

[77] Vgl. z. B. gall. PN. *Sennus* und air. *Broicsech* (BethuBr. 1,1) < **brogissacus* zu *brocc*, 'badger'. Vgl. Dottin 1920, S. 64 f.; Weisgerber 1969, S. 120; K. H. Schmidt, KGPN. S. 40; id. 1979, S. 280; GPN. S. 296 f. u. 376 s. v. *Sennilo*; Kuryłowicz 1968, S. 346 ff. (§ 446 ff.); id. 1975, S. 135 f. Zur Geminierung bei Matronennamen wie im gall. *Matronis Dervonnis* vgl. K. H. Schmidt 1987, S. 146.

[78] Martinet 1937, S. 17, 31 ff., 152, 156 f.; Grammont [8]1965, S. 382. Ferner André 1978, S. 99 ff.; Skoda 1983, S. 30; Gouffé 1975, S. 315. Darunter fällt auch diejenige, die man bei PN. und anderen Adjektiven zum Ausdruck einer verstärkten Eigenschaft findet, vgl. Masson 1986 u. die Literatur in Anm. 73 u. 71. Einige einfache Beispiele aus dem Gr. und Lat. sind: μικκός, μικκύλος zu μικρός; γύννις 'femmelette, womanish man' zu γυνή; lat. *glutto, -onis* 'Freßsack' vs. *glūtire* 'schlucken'. Dressler 1968, S. 101 führt u. a. Haussa *duka* 'all' vs. *dukka* 'absolutely all' an.

[79] Vgl. Moravcsik 1978, S. 324 f.; ibid. S. 330 „a strong tendency was noted for reduplicative constructions to express a more specific meaning than their unreduplicated counterparts".

[80] Ein bekanntes Phänomen ist die Verdoppelung des mittleren Radikals beim Verbum zum Ausdruck der Intensität in den semitischen Sprachen, z. B. arab. *qatala* 'tötete' : *qattala* 'metzelte nieder'; vgl. Brockelmann 1908, S. 508 und Moscati et al. [3]1980, § 16.4. Die Gemination konkurriert auch, zusammen mit

2.b.3.β.

Hier bleibt nunmehr die Aufgabe, die genauen innerbritannischen Lautverhältnisse zu untersuchen: Da kelt. **-ākos* sich zu brit. **-ōkos* entwickelt, woraus ky. *-awc, -oc* (als *-óc* wiederum ins Irische entlehnt[81]), und bret. *-oc, -uc, -ec, -euc* (in unterschiedlichen Zeitstufen[82]) entsteht[83], lassen sich ky. *-ach* und bret. *-oc'h* nicht unmittelbar aus **-ākkos* ableiten.

Für das Kornische schließt zwar Quentel (1980, S.47) von den Ortsnamen auf eine Entwicklung „en *-ok,* (*uc*) en *-ek,* et enfin, généralement, en *-ak*", doch wären dann für den Komparativ zumindest Restformen mit *-o-* zu erwarten.

Sommers Vermutung (1900, S.244 Anm., vgl. oben S.217), der *a*-Vokalismus der ky. und ko. Formen sei eine Neuerung in Analogie nach dem Superlativ, während die im Bretonischen überwiegend bewahrte Form *-oc'h* das Ältere darstelle, stehen zwei Tatsachen entgegen: Erstens kommt das Suffix *-ach* im Kymrischen auch in Funktionen vor, bei denen wir nicht mit Beeinflussung durch den Superlativ rechnen können, nämlich Pejorativ- und Deminutivbildungen, die ca. ein Fünftel der bei St.Zimmer 1987 verzeichneten Belege auf *-ach* ausmachen[84],

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der Doppelung, zur Bildung dravidischer Intensiva: vgl. tamil *puttapputiya, puttamputiya* 'brand-new' zu *putu, putiya* 'new'; telugu *kaṯṯakaḍa* 'the very last' zu *kaḍa* 'end'; darüber Emeneau 1987, S.110ff.

Wissmann, 1932, Kap.6, macht deutlich, wie die Gemination (unabhängig von ihrer Entstehung) in germ. Sprachen zum Ausdruck der Intensität produktiv wird, so daß sie auch bei einem Lehnwort wie dt. *plagen* : *placken* verwendet werden kann. Geminierung wird auch häufig, z.B. im Romanischen, zur Bildung von Deminutiva genutzt; dabei wird nicht nur die Expressivität, sondern auch die Regelmäßigkeit und Konstanz derartiger Ableitungen eine Rolle spielen.

[81] Vgl. Tovar 1984, S.467; VGKS.II, S.31, §378. Die ererbte irische Entsprechung lautet *-ach.*

[82] D'Arbois de Jubainville 1881, §III bes. S.22*-23*; LHEB. §8-13; HPhBr. §208-212; Fleuriot 1964, S.44f.

[83] Vgl. LHEB. S.287-301 und HPhBr. S.127-139 sowie Fleuriot 1964, S.40 u. 44f. für eine detaillierte Schilderung der Fortsetzung von idg. **-ā-* und relativen Ausnahmen in den brit. Sprachen.

[84] Belege: *bwbach* 'evil spirit, scarecrow'; *corrach* 'dwarf' zu *cor* 'id.'; *crebach, crepach* 'withered, shrunk'; *llegach* 'feeble, weak'; *mantach* 'toothless' zu *mant*

und für die man wegen ihrer Semantik kein getrenntes Suffix (wie im GPC. geschehen) anzusetzen braucht. Zweitens zeigt sich die analogische Übertragung des *-h-* aus dem Superlativ auf den Komparativ gerade im Kymrischen erst spät (vgl. Anm. 37 u. 41).

Statt dessen würden wir von kelt. **-ākkos* ausgehen und folgende Weiterentwicklungen postulieren:

a) Die instabile Silbenstruktur[85] führt - noch vor der brit. Entwicklung zu **-ōkkos* - zur Entstehung einer Nebenform **-akkos,* die für den kymrischen, kornischen und dialektalbretonischen *a*-Vokalismus verantwortlich ist[86].

b) Bret. *-oc'h* geht dagegen aus der lautgesetzlichen brit. Fortsetzung **-ōkkos* (< **-ākkos*) hervor; für den Vokalismus ergeben sich zwei Möglichkeiten:

α) Kürzung zu **-okkos* wegen der instabilen Silbenstruktur wie bei (a) und Behandlung des Vokals wie ererbtes kurzes *o*;

β) Kürzung zu *-och* in unbetonter Silbe, wobei die lautgesetzliche Fortentwicklung zu nbr. ***-ec'h* unterbleibt: Ursache für den Erhalt von *-oc'h* wie in den älteren Sprachstufen (bis auf wenige Ausnahmen) könnte der Einfluß der Präposition *oc'h, ouch, ouz(h)* 'against' sein, die mit dem Positiv für progressive Steigerung gebraucht wurde (*quer ous quer* 'dearer and dearer')

'mouth, lip'; *swbach* 'wizened person'; *simach* 'ape, monkey'; *ffollach* 'boot, clog; short fat person, wabbler' zu *ffoll* 'bag, purse';

baw(i)ach 'rascals, trash' zu *baw* 'dirt, dung'; *ceriach, geriach* 'odds & ends'; *petheuach* 'id.'; *crachach* 'snobs' zu *crach* 'mean, pseudo'; *cawlach* 'hotchpotch' zu *cawl* 'cabbage';

dynionach 'contemptible men'; *sothach* 'rascals, trash'; *papurach.* Vgl. auch VGKS. II, S. 25; Stern 1901, S. 156.

85 Vgl. zum Romanischen, wo $\bar{V}\bar{C}$ meist zugunsten von $\breve{V}\bar{C}$ beseitigt wurde, Weinrich 1958, S. 18 ff., 26, 32; Lausberg ³1969, I, S. 100, § 96; als sog. Ten Brinks Gesetz bei Tagliavini ⁶1982, S. 240 Anm. 52.

Für analoge Fälle der Neubestimmung von Vokalquantität im Germ. vgl. zum Frühnhdt. K. H. Schmidt 1985 b, S. 976; zu den mittelengl. Steigerungsformen mit Geminata aus langvokalischen Positiven vgl. Brück 1886.

Beispiele: lat. **mĭtto* (< **smeitō*) > *mĭtto* vs. **mīssit* > *mīsit*; *sūcus* : *sŭccus*; *cūpa* 'Faß' : *cŭppa*; mhd. *brāhte* > nhd. *brachte*; me. *lāte* : *lătter* 'später'; ne. *late* : *later* vs. *latter* 'letzterer'.

86 Für den Ansatz von idg. *-ako-* neben *āko-* vgl. Gäters 1955, S. 48 f., sowie oben Anm. 15.

und von der es heißt, daß sie „became confused with the ending *-oc'h* of the comparative" (HMSBr. § 45, vgl. dazu auch Ernault 1901, bes. S. 382)[87].

2.c.

Zum Schluß noch ein Blick auf jene „unregelmäßigen" britannischen Komparative, die keine Reste der alten *yos*-Bildung darstellen. Es handelt sich um neun Formen: 1) ky. *amgen* 'other, different; better, superior', trotz WGr. § 148 II (2) S. 250 lediglich ein positives Adjektiv, das komparativische Bedeutung angenommen hat[88].

2) Ky. *gwell* 'better' (suppletiver Komparativ zu *da* 'good'), bret. *guell*, ko. *guel* (GrMW. § 42; HMSBr. § 42), mit GOI. § 374 S. 236 zusammen mit air. *ferr* 'better' als alter Positiv **wer-lo-* interpretierbar „with different assimilation of *rl*"[89].

3) Ky. *gwaeth* (suppl. Kpv. zu *drwc* 'bad'), bret. *goaz, gwazh*, ko. *gueth* (GrMW. § 42, S. 40; GlMBr. S. 268 ff.; HMSBr. § 42): diachronisch betrachtet auch eine Form, „die in ihrer bildung nichts komparativisches an sich hat" (Osthoff 1899, S. 25). CCCG. § 321 vermutet darin ein ursprüngliches Substantiv[90].

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[87] Eine ähnliche Erstarrung liegt vielleicht in der Endung *-ac* (< *-āko-*) bretonischer ON. vor: darüber d'Arbois de Jubainville 1881, S. 24* f. und 27*; Fleuriot 1982, S. 80 f.
Das nicht produktive ir. *-acc* (L. Ch. Stern 1901, S. 156; VGKS. II, S. 25) kann sowohl aus **-ākko-* wie aus **-akko-* hervorgegangen sein.

[88] GrMW. S. 44, N. 2; CCCG. S. 226 und Supplement S. 12; GPC. s. v.

[89] Weniger gut ers¢heint die Rückführung auf ein Substantiv (etwa 'Vorzug, Wahl') **wel-no-* (so VGKS. II, § 464, GPC. s. v. *gwell*[1] und IEW. 1137), weil nur unter Trennung von der air. Form (< **wer-so*?, IEW. 1152) möglich.

[90] Vgl. die Konstruktionen (h_2)-(h_4) oben Anm. 2 und Thomas 1958, S. 141, Anm. 3.
WGr. § 148 (5), S. 246 f. lehnte wegen des bret. *a*-Vokalismus den Ansatz **wakto-* (IEW. 1135 **w$_a$k-* 'gebogen sein' und GPC. s. v.) ab und schlug eine Rückbildung aus dem „lautgesetzlichen" Superlativ *gwaethaf* (< **upo-ped-is$_e$mos*) vor. Man vergleiche aber die abret. Glosse *guohethe* · prob(r?)um, d. h. *guoethe* „avec une terminaison *-e* de nom abstrait, ..., peut être un dérivé d'un mot **guoeth*, du sens ancien de 'mauvais', ancien positif": „comme

In den Komparativen (4)-(7) liegen ebenfalls alte Positive vor, nur daß der Ausdruck der primären Funktion mittels suffixaler Erweiterung geneuert wurde:

4) ky. *cynt* 'earlier', bret. *kent,* ko. *kyns,* ir. *cét-,* gall. *Cintu-* 'first', dazu als abgeleiteter Positiv *cynnar*[91].

Bei 5) ky. *uch* vs. *uchel* 'high' (GrMW. §42, S.41; IEW.1107) und 6) ky *is* vs. *isel* 'low' scheinen auch die Aequative darauf hinzuweisen, daß die ursprüngliche Form keine *lo*-Ableitung zeigte, was auch aus dem gall. ON. Οὐξισάμη (Strabo) hervorgeht[92].

7) Das in ky. *trech* 'stronger', br. *trec'h* 'victorious' (ohne dazugehörigen Positiv im Britannischen[93]) enthaltene *s* (CCCG. §321) scheint keine besondere Funktion zu erfüllen, da es auch in der Grundform air. *trén* aus **treks-no-* wiederkehrt[94]; vermutlich handelt es sich um einen alten Positiv **trek-so-,* dem ebenfalls die Funktion des Komparativs zukam, so daß für den Positiv die markierte *no*-Ableitung eintreten mußte. Darauf weist auch die Bedeutung des br. Wortes sowie dessen abweichende Konstruktion mit *da* 'to' hin[95].

8) Ky. *nes* 'nearer' (suppl. Komparativ zu *agos* 'near'), entspricht br. *nes,* von dem es heißt, es sei sehr früh als Positiv gebraucht worden (HMSBr. §42(2), S.58), wobei aber die Entwicklung womöglich in umgekehrter Richtung verlief. Während es für den Superlativ (ky. *nessaf,* ko. *nessa,* br. *nessaff*) die italischen Vergleichsformen osk. *nessimas* 'proximae' und umbr. *nesimei* 'proxime' gibt, steht der brit. Komparativ isoliert[96], so daß

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gwaeth dans certains ex. gall. anciens, *guohethe* aurait le sens d'un substantif plutôt que celui d'un adjectif" (DGVBr. S.195f. und DGVBr./S S.473).

[91] CCCG. §321 und §50; WGr. §148(3), S.245f.; GrMW. §42; HMSBr. §42, S. 58f.; GPC. s.vv. *cynt* und *cynnar* 'early'); Simon Evans 1979/80.

[92] WGr. §148, I(10) u. (18), CCCG. §321 sowie §25(1), S.19 u. (6), S.21. K.H. Schmidt 1987a, S.405. Merke, daß der Komp. *uch* dieselbe Form der Präposition 'above' hat, GrMW. §242.

[93] GrMW. §42 u. HMSBr. §42, S.59f.; ky. *tren(n)* in WGr. §148, I(13), S.249 wird eher als ir. Lehnwort diskutiert.

[94] GOI. §362; LEIA-T-136f.; IEW.1090 *treg-* 'alle Kräfte anstrengen'; DGVBr. s.v. *ardrén* · praepugnis (S.72) und *trecheticion* · caducis (S.318).

[95] HMSBr. §42, Anm.2.

[96] Zum air. Komparativ *nessa* vgl. GOI. §375 und Kuryłowicz 1964, S.231.

man auch an eine Rückbildung aus dem Superlativ denken könnte[97].

Schwieriger ist die Erklärung von (9) ky. *haws*, Komparativ zu *hawdd* 'easy', mit Superlativ *hawssaf*, Aequativ *hawsset*; die bisher vorgetragenen Etymologien sind nicht vollkommen zufriedenstellend, wobei Morris Jones' (WGr. S. 247) Anschluß an **swādu-* (IEW. 1039f.) über **hwawdd* mit Dissimilation zu *hawdd* doch erwägenswert erscheint[98], zumal das Etymon in PN. wie gall. *Suadu-*, *Suaduilla* gut belegt ist. Wenn, wie von Pedersen (VGKS. II, S. 120) und Cowgill (1970, S. 132) angenommen, *haws* als Komparativ nach dem lautgesetzlichen Superlativ *hawssaf* und dem Aequativ *hawsset* rückgebildet wurde, möchten wir die Vermutung wagen, daß die letztgenannten Formen auf **hawd(i)samos* bzw. **hawd(i)seto-* zurückgehen. GPC. vergleicht ko. *hueth* 'peaceful, serene'.

Durch die nähere Betrachtung dieser Formen hoffen wir u. a. gezeigt zu haben, daß es im Britannischen selbst nicht an Parallelen für die Grammatikalisierung eines positiven Adjektivs als Komparativ fehlt – wie hier für *-āk(k)os* angenommen wurde.

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[97] IEW. 758f. 1. *ned-*; WGr. § 148 (1), S. 245; GrMW. § 42 (2) u. (4).

[98] Stern 1901, S. 155 erklärt den Komparativ *haws* als *yo*-Ableitung zum Positiv *hawdd*, wobei die von ihm angeführte Evidenz zugunsten einer derartigen lautlichen Entwicklung heutzutage überholt ist. Morris Jones (WGr. § 148 (6), S. 247) trifft auf die hier oben S. 218f. ausgeführten Schwierigkeiten, indem er *haws* auf **swādisōn* zurückführen möchte. Hamp 1974 geht davon aus, daß der Komparativ *haws* „must involve a suffix **-s(o)-*", das weder dort näher erläutert wird, noch als spezielles komparativbildendes Suffix auf der Hand liegt – wie aus dem hier besprochenen Material hervorgeht – und rekonstruiert ein **sād-so-* „to my view ... a thematic adjectival derivative of an intensive (abstract) nominal formation in **-(e)s*", für die aber keine Parallelen beigebracht werden. Ferner werden air. *asse* und *annse* als **ad-sād-s-io-* 'very-eas-y' bzw. **n̥-sād-s-io-* dazugestellt, was ebenfalls nicht unproblematisch ist.

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Bibliographische Abkürzungen

AirGr.	=	Pokorny, J., Altirische Grammatik, Berlin ²1969.
CCCG.	=	Lewis, H.-Pedersen, H., A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar, Göttingen ³1974.
DGVBr.	=	Fleuriot, L., Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton, Paris 1964.
DGBRr./S	=	Evans, C.-Fleuriot, L., A Dictionary of Old Breton, Part II, Toronto 1985.
GlMBr.	=	Ernault, E., Glossaire moyen-breton, Paris ²1895-96.
GOI.	=	Thurneysen, R., A Grammar of Old Irish, Dublin 1946 (Repr. 1975).
GPC.	=	Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, Caerdydd 1967ff.
GPN.	=	Evans, D.E., Gaulish Personal Names, Oxford 1967.
GrMW.	=	Evans, D.S., A Grammar of Middle Welsh, Dublin ³1976.
HMSBr.	=	Hemon, R., A Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton, Dublin 1975.
HPhBr.	=	Jackson, K., A Historical Phonology of Breton, Dublin 1967.
IEW.	=	Pokorny, J., Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bern 1959.
KGPN.	=	Schmidt, K.H., Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen, ZCPh.26 (1957) S.33-301.
LHEB.	=	Jackson, K., Language and History in Early Britain, Edinburgh 1953 (Repr. 1971).
Nance	=	Nance, R.M., An English-Cornish and Cornish-English Dictionary, Penzance 1978.
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Il relativo in irlandese antico. Una riconsiderazione II*

(continua)

5. Il problema della frase relativa in irlandese antico

Ritorniamo ora nell'ambito irlandese dal quale ci siamo allontanati. Per quanto sia difficile comparare strutture sintattiche, abbiamo concluso che il tipo irl. ant. ⌜*cach*led dochoidsom sund isdoprecept et forcitul⌝ conservi, sia pure sotto una particolare forma che è quella dei pronomi ed aggettivi indefiniti (in rapporto o meno alle base $*k^w$-) una antica funzione caratteristica di $*k^w$- nelle frasi dichiarative, quella topicalizzante-indefinita. Il parallelismo esatto con itt. e lat. arc. ben si inserisce nel quadro delle numerose tendenze comuni o convergenti dell'area italo-celtica-anatolica e, più specificamente, si aggiunge alle corrispondenze celtico-ittite rilevate da Dillon. È noto, d'altra parte, che in irl. ant., come in altri rami del celt., $*k^w$- non diede luogo a veri e propri relativi (relativi anaforici). Sembrerebbe dunque che l'irl. ant., al pari del gr. e delle lingue indo-ir. mostri una divaricazione tra un tema $*k^w$- ed un tema **yo-*. È opinione comune, infatti, che il celt. appartenga al gruppo di lingue indoeuropee con relativo **yo-*[91]. Ma è proprio così? Questa domanda sarà l'argomento del presente paragrafo e dei prossimi.

Come si è detto, l'intera questione della formazione della frase relativa in irl. ant. è assai complessa e mostra a tutt'oggi diversi punti oscuri, come l'origine delle forme verbali relative di 3ª persona sing. in *-s* (*beres, cretfes,* e così via) e l'origine della frase relativa nasalizzante[92]. Ora, a me pare che le conclusioni

* Continua IF. 93 (1988) p. 124–167.

[91] Cfr. OIG. § 509; VGKS. § 545; Schmidt 1976, p. 57; Schmidt 1981 b.

[92] Dichiara oscura l'etimologia delle forme verbali relative di 3ª sing. in *-s* Watkins 1963, p. 24e, in maniera più sfumata, 1976, p. 20–21; per le spiegazioni

raggiunte per l'irl. ant. nei par. 1–4 consentano anche di riconsiderare in qualche modo alcuni aspetti di tale problema.

È noto che in irl. ant. i dispositivi attraverso cui veniva attualizzata la relativizzazione erano:

a) il verbo semplice assumeva speciali forme relative limitatament ad alcune persone, la 3ª sing. e pl. e, nei testi più antichi, anche la 1ª pl. (cfr. *berid* 'porta' ~ *beres* 'che porta', *bermi* 'portiamo' ~ *berme* 'che portiamo', *berit* 'portano' ~ *berde, berte* 'che portano');

b) le altre persone del verbo semplice erano precedute dalla particella verbale *no*;

c) la negazione assumeva forme speciali, *năd, nă* (prima di pronomi infissi *năch*) e *nadcon, nadchon,* invece di *nī̆, nī̆con*;

d) le preposizioni pretoniche *im*(*m*)- e *ar-* avevano forme disillabiche, rispettivamente, *imme* o *imma* e *are* o *ara*;

e) i pronomi personali presentavano forme la cui occorrenza era limitata solo alle clausole relative;

f) le preposizioni pretoniche, le particelle verbali *ro* e *no,* le particelle negative e le forme della copula erano seguite da lenizione o da nasalizzazione del segmento immediatamente successivo[93].

La spiegazione generalmente accettata da Thurneysen in poi, tanto delle forme relative speciali del verbo semplice (la 1ª pl. e la 3ª pl.) che delle forme speciali delle particelle pretoniche e della lenizione è che "a non-palatal vowel once stood, not at the beginning of the clause, but enclitically after its first element, whether this element was a preverb (preposition, negative particle) or the verb itself. After consonants and non-palatal vowels this vowel was lost, but its effect has survived in the lenition of the following initial. After palatal vowels it has remained as *-e* in *imme* (*imma*), *are* (*ara*); further in rel. *berde, berte* beside non-relative *berit* ...".[94] Sia pure con una certa cautela, Thurneysen avanzava l'ipotesi che la ricostruzione di tale vocale non palatale fosse permessa in base alla forma "dugiiontiio" dell'i-

(poco convincenti) avanzate tradizionalmente, cfr. OIG. §567; VGKS. §546; Lewis and Pedersen p. 243; cfr. ora anche Sims-Williams 1984. Per la clausola relativa nasalizzante cfr. OIG. §510; VGKS. §536e 540; Howells 1966; Watkins 1963, p. 29, *n* 2; McCone 1980.

[93] Cfr. OIG. §493; VGKS. §534–540 e §546–547.

[94] Cfr. OIG. §509.

scrizione di Alise-Sainte-Reine (n. 33 Dottin), che egli interpretava come un verbo relativo.[95] Concludeva, pertanto, ricostruendo un elemento **i̯o-*, riconducibile al neutro del relativo indoeuropeo **yod*.[96] Questa ipotesi, accolta anche da VGKS. § 545, è stata poi precisata da Watkins 1963, che ha riconosciuto nella posizione enclitica di *yod* in seconda posizione un caso della legge di Wackernagel.[97] Successivamente però egli ha in parte modificato questa conclusione, sostenendo che **yo-* non comparisse in realtà in celt. insulare come un vero e proprio pronome flesso, ma come semplice particella relativa priva di flessione.[98] Analogamente, Schmidt 1976 ricostruiva alle base della nasalizzazione nella clausola relativa un connettivo **yom*. Ad ogni modo, nuova forza all'ipotesi della originaria presenza di un elemento **yo-* è venuta dal ritrovamento dell'iscrizione di Botorrita, nella cui faccia A recentemente molti autorevoli studiosi avrebbero riconosciuto l'occorrenza di un relativo in *yo*.

Ma vediamo se questa tesi possa davvero essere considerata come definitivamente provata, sottoponendola ad un vaglio puntuale rispetto ad argomentazioni di diversa natura.

6. L'evidenza formale

Un primo gruppo di questioni riguarda il congegno formale in senso stretto con cui è costruita la tesi in esame, ovvero i meccanismi fonetici che la regolano ed il modo in cui si è fatto ricorso alla legge di Wackernagel. Per quanto riguarda i meccanismi fonetici, lo sviluppo generale di *i̯* indoeuropeo in sillaba iniziale, mediana o finale, ed in questi due ultimi casi tanto in posizione successiva a vocale che a consonante, sembra essere il dileguo.[99] In verità, si ha l'impressione di non poter evincere

[95] Si noti però che la sua formulazione era piuttosto sfumata: "If it be permissible to infer that the oldest Celtic form was i̯o ..." (§ 509, p. 323).

[96] Cfr. più avanti la nostra discussione alle p. 239 e ss.

[97] Cfr. Watkins 1963, p. 29.

[98] Cfr. Watkins 1976, p. 457.

[99] Cfr. sull'intera questione OIG. § 197–199; VGKS. § 44–46. Non mancano, peraltro, pareri contrari, come quello di Zupitza 1899 secondo cui *i* + vocale in posizione iniziale può dar luogo in irl. a *ī* o *i*, come ant. irl. *hícc* 'Heilung, Zah-

una casistica veramente dettagliata e sempre sicura degli esiti di -*i̯*- indoeuropeo in irl. ant. Così OIG. § 197 osserva per la posizione mediana dopo consonante che la presenza originaria di -*i̯*- ha come contrassegno il carattere palatale della consonante che precedeva: *gairem* < **gari̯omo(s)*, *ad-suidem* < **sodei̯omo(s)*. Come esempi di occorrenza di -*i̯*- in posizione finale dopo consonante si ha *aile* < **ali̯a, caire* < **karii̯a.*[100] In definitiva, la prova della presenza di un elemento in -i̯o- nelle forme relative riposa: 1) sulla permanenza della vocale finale (dopo -*i̯*- infatti le vocali finali non vengono perdute); 2) sul carattere palatale della consonante della sillaba finale della forma verbale relativa (che, peraltro, in alcuni casi può essere solo supposto); 3) sulla qualità *e* della vocale finale, che è appunto lo sviluppo atteso per una -*o* finale preceduta da *i̯*-. La trafila così ricostruita, ben congegnata da un punto di vista strettamente fonetico, più difficilmente potrebbe tuttavia spiegare forme come quelle deponenti relative *suidigedar* (3ª sing. pres.: cfr. la corrispondente forma non relativa *suidigedir*), *suidigmer* (1ª pl. pres.: cfr. la corrispondente forma non relativa *suidigmir*), *suidigetar, -eddar* (3ª pl. pres.: cfr. la corrispondente forma non relativa *suidigtir*) e passive relative *berar* (3ª sing. pres.: cfr. non relativo *ber(a)ir*), *bertar* (3ª pl. pres.: cfr. non relativo *bert(a)ir*). La stessa oggettiva diversità delle forme di 3ª sing. in -*s* complica il quadro delle forme relative del verbo e fa pensare a porre il problema in termini di un paradigma morfologico specifico, seppure non unitario, piuttosto che in termini di una regola fonetica (o fonosintattica).

La spiegazione avanzata per la prima volta da Thurneysen presente poi un punto oscuro. Come mai una strategia sintattica come la subordinazione di una clausola ad un'altra mediante un connettivo "relativo", la cui natura avrebbe dovuto essere eminentemente anaforica, sarebbe stata sensibile al tratto di perso-

lung' da confrontare al gr. ἄκος 'Heilmittel' ed al sanscr. *yaśas* 'Ehre, Ruhm', ecc.

[100] Pochi e dubbi gli esempi sia in OIG. § 198 che in VGKS. § 45, per la posizione intervocalica, *máo, mó* < **mo-i̯os*(?) e *táu, to* < **stāi̯ō*(?) (ma Thurneysen stesso ammette che la derivazione potrebbe essere da **stāō*).

na? In altri termini, sembra improbabile che si sia avuta suffissazione di *yo-* al verbo soltanto alle terze persone ed alla 1ª pl., mentre per le altre persone del paradigma sarebbe stata usata la strategia *no* + *yo-* + V. Si potrebbe osservare con una formulazione un po' bizzarra che questa spiegazione è troppo fonetica per essere sintattica. Di nuovo invece la situazione farebbe pensare ad uno schema morfologico in progressiva recessione che viene intregrato da fenomeni di suppletivismo.

C'è poi un altro conto che non torna. Se, come ha dimostrato Jackson, la lenizione è un fenomeno che precede la perdita delle sillabe finali, come mai la vocale di *yo* non avrebbe provocato lenizione del segmento consonantico successivo se non nel caso (stando all'opinione di Thurneysen) di *no* + *yo-* + V?

Non convince molto, in verità, neppure il trattamento delle forme relative gall. ant. *issid,* med. gall. *yssid, yssi, sy, syd,* gall. mod. *y sydd, y sy, sy, sydd* 'who/which is' e med.- bret. *so* 'id' che OIG. §509, limitatamente alla forma med.-bret., e VGKS. §535 e §542 giustificano, sia pure cautamente, con la suffissazione di un relativo, come nella forma gallica dell'iscrizione di Alise-Sainte-Reine "dugiiontiio".[101] Per le forme gall., ad ogni modo, sembra più convincente il raccostamento alle forme irl. con un elemento *-d,* (*i*)*d* (*nad, mad,* ecc.), così come aveva proposto OIG. §511,[102] i cui rapporti in ambito indoeuropeo sono ben riconoscibili (cfr. indoeur. **de*: *gr.* δέ).[103] *so,* attestato già nel Credo del 1456

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[101] Cfr. inoltre Lewis and Pedersen p. 240; Evans 1964, p. 63; Morris-Jones 1931, p. 116.

[102] Idem, l. c. menziona, ma non sembra tenerne molto conto, la possibilità che *-yd* sia uno sviluppo di *i̯o*. In effetti, gli sviluppi britt. *đ* di (*i*)*i̯o* sono troppo esigui per potervi ricostruire regolarità probanti (per tali esempi si veda VGKS. §45; Lewis and Pedersen §20 e §21).

[103] Cfr. Watkins 1963, p. 28 che (ibidem, *n* 1) riconosce l'elemento anche nel dimostrativo irl. ant. *suide* < **so de o.* Tale elemento non aveva naturalmente in origine alcun valore relativo. Come osserva Watkins l. c., p. 28 "It was only late in Irish prehistory that the pronominal forms with which it fused, those of class C, came to be used as an optional accessory mark of the relative function".

(17) "Hac in Jhesu Crist e-map quer
hon autrou unan a saluer
So conceuet an spirit glan"

'Et en Jésus-Christ son cher fils,
notre Seigneur unique et (notre) Saveur
qui a été conçu du Saint Esprit'

(Le Nestour 1899, p. 184)

avrebbe dovuto subire, nell'ipotesi di una derivazione da **is-i̯o*[104] una trafila poco convincente: non si spiegherebbe, infatti, la perdita della vocale iniziale. Lo stesso Thurneysen inoltre aggiunge che la sua ipotesi, formulata in modo molto sfumato, può valere se l'uscita in *-o* è veramente antica e non semplicemente modellata su *eo* 'is'.[105] Ancora una volta, dunque, nulla di conclusivo.

Possiamo a questo punto occuparci di un'altra questione. Thurneysen, e analogamente Pedersen, avevano ipotizzato che l'elemento **-yo-* identificato nelle forme relative galliche, irl. ant., gall. e bret. fosse da ricondurre ad un neutro **-yod* che, come è noto, è alla base del ved. e del sanscr. *yad,* connettivo con un valore subordinante per eccellenza, anche se non specificamente attinente alla subordinazione relativa.[106] Tuttavia, come si è già accennato, c'è una certa oscillazione nelle posizioni che sono state assunte a proposito del ruolo funzionale di questo elemento **yo* ricostruito. Così Watkins 1963 e 1977 propone una particella relativa non flessa,[107] analoga al connettivo enclitico delle lingue anatoliche *-ya,* il cui valore funzionale vediamo qui dall'esempio itt.[108]:

(72) "nu-mu ^{D}*IŠTAR* GAŠAN-*YA* ku-it/ ka-ni-eš-ša-an ḫar-ta ŠES-*YA*-ya-mu NIR. GÁL-iš/ a-aš-šu ḫar-ta" 'Now because My Lady Ishtar had favored me and my brother Muwatallis was well disposed toward me' (The

104 Accetta questa ipotesi anche Guyonvarc'h 1972, p. 245.

105 Cfr. OIG. § 509.

106 Per il ved. cfr. Macdonell 1916, p. 242–43; per le forme sanscr. cfr. Macdonell 1927³, p. 150.

107 Cfr. Watkins 1963, p. 28–30; Watkins 1976, p. 457.

108 Si noti che *-ya* in itt. poteva essere tanto un connettivo transfrastico, come nell'esempio citato, che un connettivo coordinatore di parole: cfr. Friedrich 1960, I, p. 154.

Apology of Hattusilis 1.28 e ss., cit. secondo Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935, p. 66).

Per quanto riguarda la forma neutra **yod* postulata da OIG e VGKS come termine di riferimento, mi pare che sia condividibile la perplessità di Watkins, secondo il quale la perdita di *-d* finale in Celtico è solo un'assunzione.[109] D'altra parte, si potrebbe aggiungere che postulare una forma pronominale neutra in una situazione come quella in esame vuol dire cercare a tutti i costi una mediazione tra i dati da una parte, che non mostrano alcuna traccia di morfemi di caso, e una sorta di pregiudizio di fondo dall'altra, per cui in una frase relativa *deve* essere presente un elemento pronominale flesso. In realtà, se si considerano i riflessi di **yod* come il ved. e anche sanscr. *yad* con valore di connettivo subordinante, non si può fare a meno di osservare che essi rappresentano un passo avanti nella strada dell'irrigidimento o pietrificazione in connettivo non flesso, un passo avanti nella perdita del grado di "pronominalità" (lo stesso tipo di trafila che esiste in lat. tra *quod* pronome neutro e *quod* connettivo transfrastico).[110] Converrebbe dunque ammettere senz'altro come base un connettivo enclitico **-yo*. Con il che, tuttavia, non avremmo esaurito tutti i problemi concernenti il ruolo funzionale del supposto elemento **-yo*. In che rapporto questo si porrebbe con il connettivo pronominale? Ne sarebbe uno sviluppo per pietrificazione, con perdita dell'originaria funzione pronominale o dobbiamo ravvisare in questo connettivo non flesso nient'altro che una immutata particella enclitica, alla stregua di **k*^{w}*e*? In altri termini, ha mai avuto il celtico insulare un pronome relativo in **yo-*? Come vedremo, la risposta a questa domanda può avere delle ripercussioni di una certa portata nel nostro discorso. L'opinione di Watkins 1976, secondo cui l'iscri-

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[109] Cfr. Watkins 1963, p. 28 *n* 2. Egli chiama in causa come controesempio la conservazione di *-t* dopo *n* nelle forme congiunte di 3ª pl., che forse però non è il parallelo più opportuno.

[110] Si veda Ernout-Meillet p. 560. Una dinamica di pietrificazione nel passaggio da valore pronominale a valore di particella deittica sembra essere quella del got. *ei* : cfr. Longobardi 1980; Ramat 1981, p. 126 *n* 78. L'intera questione è affrontata rispetto a varie lingue indoeuropee, in un quadro teorico stimolante da Holland and Ickler 1978 e specialmente da Holland 1984.

zione celtiberica di Botorrita fornirebbe la prova definitiva che il celt. comune aveva un vero e proprio pronome relativo - la mancanza di flessione della particella **yo* del celt. insulare essendo pertanto probabilmente un'innovazione[111] - non manca di una certa contraddittorietà. Infatti, uno dei vantaggi dell'ipotizzare una particella relativa invece di un pronome relativo sta proprio nell'evitare una difficoltà che invece sussiste nella tesi a favore del pronome: in nessun'altra lingua indoeuropea il pronome relativo **yo-* è stato vincolato all'assunzione della seconda posizione della clausola, che è appunto quella che riguarda la legge di Wackernagel.[112]. Watkins ne è consapevole, eppure

[111] Cfr. Watkins 1976, p. 457. Una certa incongruenza su questo punto si trova anche in Watkins 1963, p. 29, dove egli sostiene a proposito dell'occorrenza di *yo-* nel *Rig Veda*: "We have the same alternation between initial position and second position which was noted above in the case of the sentence connectives, which is itself additional evidence that the *"relative pronominal stem was in origin simply another such epiphoric connective particle"* (corsivo mio). Ma se così era, quello del celt. insulare non sarebbe stato un tratto innovativo, bensì conservativo, e ciò conferma che la funzione di particella enclitica di *yo* in celt. insulare dovrebbe essere semmai originaria.

[112] Nell'Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa quando la clausola relativa precede la clausola reggente, il relativo tende a non occorrere in posizione iniziale assoluta e a cedere questa posizione ad *atha, tasmāt, tat,* o a gruppi più complessi come *atho khalu, athāsya, sa ha sma* o, ancora, di regola, all'anaforico declinato *sa/ta-*. Quando la clausola relativa segue la clausola reggente (caso nettamente meno frequente), il relativo è di norma in posizione iniziale, mentre l'anaforico *sa/ta-* è anticipato in enclisi nella clausola matrice (cfr. Verpoorten 1977, specialmente le p. 319 e ss. e 323 e ss.). Esami parziali del Rig Veda (che pure, come è ovvio, offre un quadro sotto questo rispetto "tarato" dagli schemi metrici) mostrano molto spesso l'occorrenza del relativo in posizione iniziale di clausola relativa, con questa che precede la clausola matrice. Non mancano anche i casi di occorrenza in seconda posizione dopo anaforici, dopo preposizione, dopo verbo, ma la casistica non si esaurisce qui, mostrando altre possibilità ancora che rendono più complessa la situazione (cfr. Delbrück 1888, p. 554 e ss.; Miehle 1974). È difficile dunque ricomporre in base a questi dati un quadro che si conformi alla legge di Wackernagel. Analoga conclusione vale per il gr., dove la posizione iniziale di clausola sembra essere la più frequente, sia che la clausola relativa preceda la clausola matrice che in caso contrario (cfr. Schwyzer, p. 640). Per una ulteriore discussione di questi problemi, in riferimento agli esempi ved. di occorrenza del relativo in seconda posizione, citati da Watkins 1963, p. 29 cfr. McCone 1980, p. 19 *n* 19, con persuasive critiche. C'è da dire, inoltre, che è poco convincente an-

imposta la questione da una parte accentuando il rapporto tra pronome relativo e particella "relativa", dall'altra sostenendo che anche il vincolo dell'indicatore relativo alla posizione della legge di Wackernagel è una innovazione del celt. insulare. Ora, se in tale sottogruppo **yo* era già una particella, non c'è bisogno di generalizzare in maniera ad hoc l'assunzione della posizione della legge di Wackernagel al pronome relativo. I casi contemplati da Wackernagel riguardavano: pronomi personali; particelle enclitiche; pronomi indefiniti. Dunque molto meglio sarebbe anche da questo punto di vista postulare una particella **yo,* originariamente tale, visto che la legge di Wackernagel rappresenta un fenomeno di antica data. Il riscontro comparativo sarebbe inoltre immediato, se si pensa che l'itt. *-ya* tendeva ad assumere, appunto, la seconda posizione nella sequenza.[113] In conclusione, dunque, se proprio si dovesse postulare un elemento **-yo* nelle forme verbali relative dell'irl. ant., converrebbe assumere una originaria particella connettiva e non un pronome.[114]

7. L'evidenza documentaria

Un secondo ordine di questioni riguarda la documentazione epigrafica o comunque le attestazioni del tipo con *-yo* enclitico. I dati non sono molti, ma sono stati assunti soprattutto recentemente come prova inequivocabile e definitiva dell'ipotesi ini-

che l'equazione operata da Watkins 1963 tra l'enclisi dei pronomi personali, che occorrono in seconda posizione di sequenza, ben attestata in irl. ant. e l'enclisi congetturale del relativo, secondo la formula V *yo*, P *yo* V *no-yo* V = V E, P E V, *no* E V.

113 Cfr. Friedrich 1960, I, p. 154.

114 Si potrebbero tuttavia considerare delle altre possibilità. Una ipotesi assai suggestiva, tutta da approfondire, è quella avanzata da Watkins 1963, p. 16 *n*, dove, riprendendo una idea di Lewy, egli postula un rapporto tra genitivo e frase relativa, documentabile sia in lingue indoeuropee (cfr. la forma di genitivo in *-os-yo*, irl. ant. *a* 'its, his' < **es-yo*) che in lingue non indoeuropee (cfr. Lewy 1938 specialmente a p. 32): *-yo* potrebbe essere dunque un morfema legato esprimente non il relativo in quanto tale, ma una modificazione attributiva generalizzata.

zialmente avanzata da Thurneysen. Analizziamo dunque questi dati caso per caso.

Il primo testo utilizzato (dallo stesso Thurneysen) a supporto della tesi in discussione fu l'iscrizione ritrovata ad Alise-Sainte-Reine:

(73) "Martialis Dannotali ieuru Ucuete sosin celicnon etic gobedbi dugiiontiio Ucuetin in Alisia" (cfr. Dottin 1918, p. 160-61, nº 33; Whatmough 1970, p. 169 e ss.).

In una recensione a Rhŷs (The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy) Thurneysen (1908) considerò "gobedbi" un dativo pl. (Rhŷs lo aveva considerato un verbo) e "dugiiontiio" un verbo, dando del testo la traduzione 'Martials, fils de Dannotalos, a fait pour Ucuetis cet édifice (?) et pour les prêtres (?) qui servent (?) Ucuetis dans Alise'. Dottin ripropose la traduzione di Thurneysen, su cui peraltro rimangono molti dubbi a tutt'oggi.[115] L'accertamento del valore lessicale di "ieuru",[116] "celicnon",[117] "gobedbi",[118] "dugiiontiio"[119] (e lo stesso teonimo

[115] Per altra bibliografia sull'iscrizione di Alise-Sainte-Reine cfr. Schmidt 1958; Evans 1974; Lejeune 1979.

[116] Per quanto riguarda "ieuru", il termine è stato tradotto a volte con 'fece' a volte con 'consacrò'. Molti sono stati i tentativi di etimologizzazione: cfr. Whatmough 1970, p. 10: **epi-u̯er*; Wagner 1962 opera un confronto con itt. *ija-* 'to do, to make' < indoeur. **i̯ei̯eu*; Lejeune 1970–71, p. 398 e *n* < **pi* + **$ə_1$eu-r-*, forse collegato ad *uritu escingos* (*uritu* = 'fecit' < **$ə_1$ur-yō* / **$ə_1$ur-i-*). Cfr. inoltre Evans 1967, p. 338 e ss.; Evans 1977, p. 84; Lejeune 1980 assegna alla voce il valore 'dedicavit'; Lambert 1979, p. 208–209. Cfr. inoltre Lejeune 1980, p. 110 con ulteriore bibliografia; Schmidt 1981 b, p. 72–73.

[117] Per "celicnon" cfr. Fleuriot 1975 b, p. 449–50 che discute la voce a proposito dell'iscrizione (un graffito) su vaso di Banassac, ed argomenta convincentemente a prò del valore 'vaso'.

[118] Cfr. Evans 1967, p. 351 e *n* 3; Meid 1968, p. 49; Jung 1969, p. 453 e s.; Lejeune 1970–71, p. 436 e *n* e Bachellery 1972, p. 52 riconoscono nella forma in *-bi* i resti di un antico strumentale distinto dal dativo in *-bo*. Lejeune l. c. suggerisce che "gobedbi" possa avere un valore comitativo (si tratterebbe cioè di una dedica congiunta di M. e dei G.), per cui la traduzione del testo sarebbe 'Martialis ... dedicauit ..., sociis etiam ... ibus qui ...'. Dello stesso parere anche Schmidt 1981 b, p. 77. Schmidt l. c. *n* 45 convincentemente ricollega la voce a *gobenn-, gobend-* 'Schmied'.

[119] Nel suo valore lessicale, la voce è stata messa in rapporto alla radice indoeur. $\sqrt{dheugh\text{-}}$ (cfr. sanscr. *duháti*, gr. τυγχάνω, germ. *taugen*), per cui si veda

Ucuet-) non è stato raggiunto. Ma converrà concentrarsi sulla voce veramente cruciale ai fini della nostra discussione, ovvero "dugiiontiio". Thurneysen infatti (e dopo di lui unanimemente tutti coloro che si sono occupati del problema) vi ravvisò un verbo "relativo", con *-yo* cliticizzato al verbo.[120] Senonché, tra tanti pareri concordi Whatmough, che pure mantenne la trascrizione "dugiiontiio" (Whatmough l.c.) pose un problema di carattere epigrafico che per lo più è stato trascurato nella bibliografia. Egli osservava nel commento: "Well marked finials as in good Latin style, but in the last *i* of line 4 so large as to make the letter resemble the preceding *t* (read *dugiont·to*?)". A distanza di tempo Evans, dopo un riesame dell'originale, conservato al museo comunale di Alise-Sainte-Reine, sosteneva: "Protracted inspection of the stone from various angles and in varying light suggests to me that the letter in question *may* be *t*. I will not put it any stronger than that. But there is a clear depression in the stone to the left of this letter. It may be a fitting in the stone. It could mask the left hand extremity of the horizontal of a capital *t*. The stone seems to show the right end of such a horizontal line with an upward inclination or flourish like that of the *t* in *etic* and in *Ucuetin*. Therefore I think that we should not rule out the possibility that the end of this line should properly be read as *dugiiontito*".[121] Ciò che si può concludere dunque è che, quanto meno, questa attestazione non costituisce una prova definitiva. Né pare più solida la prova fornita da Fleuriot 1974 che riconoscerebbe nella formula citata nell'opera medica di Marcello di Bordeaux:[122]

IEW. 271, purtroppo però senza che a tutt'oggi si sia potuto stabilire con certezza l'esatto significato.

[120] Così oltre a OIG. l.c. anche Lewis and Pedersen, p. 243; Meid 1963, p. 86; Watkins 1963 l.c.; Watkins 1969 *a*, p. 162; Watkins 1969 *b*, p. 8; Lejeune 1968–69, p. 35 *n* 29; Wagner 1969, p. 230 *n* 18; Bachellery 1972, p. 54; Schmidt 1981 b, p. 74.

[121] Evans 1974, p. 20. È doveroso avvertire, d'altra parte, che si ha notizia, sia pure indiretta, che Evans abbia ritrattato i suoi dubbi, dopo la scoperta di forme in *io-* del celtiberico (comunicazione personale di Evans a McCone: cfr. McCone 1980 p. 20 *n* 21).

[122] Cfr. Niedermann 1916, p. 120–21.

(74) "XI EXUCRICONE XV CRIGLIONAISUS SCRISUMIOUELOR EXUCRICONEXU GRILAU"

secondo una diversa suddivisione in parole:

(75) "EXUCRI CONEXUCRI GLION AISUS SCRISUMIO UELOR EXUGRI CONEXUGRI LAU" 'Fuis, va-t-en, chose collante! Aisus, je veux cracher! Fuis, va-t-en, mal!'[123]

una forma *scrisumio*, senz'altro confrontata alla forma *dugiiontiio* dell'iscrizione di Alise-Sainte-Reine. Lascia perplessi nel procedimento di interpretazione del testo seguito da Fleuriot l'immediato assegnamento di un valore morfologico e sintattico alla forma in questione, in base ad una mera somiglianza di "sostanza dell'espressione" con un elemento il cui valore formale e di contenuto (e lo stesso accertamento della sostanza dell'espressione!) è a sua volta, come si è visto, dubbio. E d'altra parte, non convince neppure la massiccia adozione del metodo etimologico, soprattutto nell'interpretazione di un testo "abracadabra" rispetto al quale sarebbe stata desiderabile una maggiore prudenza nell'accostarsi,[124] dato l'ovvio carattere artificiale di questo tipo di testo che spesso ricorre volutamente a interferenza tra sistemi linguistici diversi (sempre in Marcello, si pensi alla formula "HEILEN PROSAGGERI VOME SI POLLA NA-

[123] Cfr. Fleuriot 1974, p. 59 e p. 63. Per la bibliografia sulle formule di Marcello cfr. Whatmough 1970, p. 388–90; oltre alle edizioni di Marcello pubblicate dal Niedermann si ricorda anche quella di Helmreich, Leipzig, Teubner, 1889. Cfr. inoltre Dottin 1918, p. 28 *n* 4; p. 214 e p. 355; Weisgerber 1930, p. 160–61, 156, 209. Must 1960 legge il testo come: "xi exu cricon, exu criglion, Aisus, scri-su mio velor exu gricon exu grilau", dandone l'interpretatione 'Rub out of the throat, out of the gullet, Aisus, remove thou thyself my evil out of the throat, out of the gorge'. Per la lettura del testo è verosimilmente giusta l'osservazione di Fleuriot 1974, p. 57 *n* 1, secondo cui Must "n'a pas reconnu que l'on a ici quatre fois le mot *exugri*". Ma si pensi ad una formula come *abracadabra*. Operereemmo una scansione *abra-cad-abra*? Bisogna tener presente quindi il fatto che il linguaggio delle formule magiche si serve di strategie diverse, che hanno a che fare con dispositivi retorici speciali che sfuggono anche a considerazioni "razionali" come quella di Fleuriot.

[124] Eppure all'inizio dell'articolo l'autore premette: "Certes une grande partie de ces incantations ne pourra jamais être interprétée car, de tous temps, des formules abracadabrantes ont été revêtues de grands pouvoirs thérapeutiques".

BULIET ONODIENI IDEN ELITON" [cit. secondo Niedermann 1916, pp. 120-121] dove *vome* sembra un imperativo da *vomo* e la stessa sequenza "si polla nabuliet" ha una forma "latineggiante") o ad anagrammi, o a ripetizioni di corpo di parola (come l'altra formula in Marcello "ARGIDAM MARGIDAM STURGIDAM").

Se andiamo ad esaminare ora la prova più cospicua fornita dalla documentazione epigrafica, ovvero l'importante quanto ancora oscura iscrizione di Botorrita,[125] vedremo che gli stessi procedimenti che sono sembrati discutibili nell'interpretazione della formula magica di Marcello da parte di Fleuriot, ritornano in gran parte della pur autorevole letteratura al riguardo. Le attestazioni del presunto relativo si trovano nella faccia A del bronzo, la più complessa e di difficile interpretazione. Riporto dunque il testo secondo la lettura di Beltrán 1982, p. 37[126]:

(76) 1. ticui cantam: bercunetacam: tocoitos cue: sarnicio: cue: sua: combalces nelitom
2. necueto ertaunei: litom: necue: taunei: li.tom: necue: masnai: tisaunei: litom: sos: aucu
3. areitaso: tamai: uta: oscues: stena: uersoniti: silabur: sleitom: conscilitom: cabiseti
4. cantom sancilistara: otanaum: tocoidei: eni: uta: oscues: boustomue: coruinomue
5. macasi mue: ailamue: ambitiseti: camanom: usabitus: osas: sues: sailo: custa: bisetus: iom
6. asecatim: bitimcounei: stena: es: uertai: entara: tiris: matus: tinbitus: neito: tirncantam

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[125] Si tratta di una lamina di bronzo opistografica di circa 40 cm. × 10, rinvenuta nel 1971 a Botorrita, una località situata ad una ventina di Km. a sud-ovest di Saragoza. La lamina, spezzata in due frammenti di diversa grandezza, reca un'iscrizione in caratteri iberici, che è stata riconosciuta come celtiberica da Tovar 1973 e da Lejeune 1974. L'iscrizione sulla faccia A consta di 11 righe, quella sulla faccia B di 9. Per una discussione delle diverse posizioni relative al problema dell'unitarietà del testo in A e di quello in B rinvio a Motta 1980, p. 107-108 con bibliografia; cfr. inoltre Beltrán 1982, p. 34-36; Tovar 1982; Motta 1984.

[126] Le altre edizione di riferimento sono Tovar 1973, De Hoz e Michelena 1974; Lejeune 1974. Beltrán 1982 e Tovar 1982 presentano, peraltro delle differenze, sia pure non vistose, di lettura; per una discussione di queste rinvio a Motta 1984.

7. eni: on satus: iomui: listas: titas: sisonti: somui: iom: arsnas: bionti: iom: custaicos
8. arsnas: cuati: iàs: osias: uertatosue: temeiue: robiseti: saum: tecametinas: tatus: somei
9. enitousei: iste: ancios: iste: esancios: use: areitena: sarnici: ei: acainacubos
10. nebintocu: tocoitei: ios: ur: antiomue: auseti: aratimue: tecametam: tatus: iom: tocoitoscue
11. sarnicio cue: aiuisas: combalcores: aleites: iste: icues: rusimus: abulu: ubocum

Tovar 1982, ripetendo quanto aveva già sostenuto precedentemente, considera senz'altro occorrenze del relativo indoeuropeo **yo- ios* (r. 10: nom.), *iom* (r. 5, 7, 10: acc.), *iomui* (r. 7: dat.), *ias* (r. 8: gen. sing. femm.).[127] Lascia molto perplessi il deciso riconoscimento di *iomui* come forma dativale maschile.[128] Fleuriot 1975 (che segue la lettura di Tovar 1973) considera le sequenze "bionti iom" (r. 7) e "iom aśeśti" (r. 5–6; nella lettura di Beltrán 1982 a questa sequenza corrisponde "iom asecatim") come prove del fatto che il celtiberico non aveva irrigidito il relativo in una posizione fissa, al pari del gallico.[129] Differentemente Tovar[130] sembra ritenere che "bionti iom" e forse anche "cuati iaś" (r. 8) esemplifichino la posizione enclitica del relativo.[131] A questo punto però non si può evitare di fare qualche considerazione sui procedimenti che in genere sono stati seguiti per giungere a queste conclusioni. Nel caso di un testo come quello in esame,

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[127] Cfr. Tovar 1975, p. 8. È da rilevare, peraltro, che Lejeune. 1974 al r. 10 leggeva non "iom", ma "ioTi".

[128] Tovar 1975 aveva sostenuto che l'ipotesi che si tratti di una forma dativale riposa sulla corrispondenza con *śomui* (r. 7); secondo Tovar l. c. il valore morfosintattico di quest'ultima forma era a sua volta assegnabile in base al parallelismo con *temei* (r. 8), in cui egli vedeva un dimostrativo. Tuttavia, idem 1982 ha sconfessato esplicitamente l'idea che *temei* sia un dimostrativo. Fleuriot 1979, p. 175 considera *iomui* correlativo a *śomui* = 'pour celui-ci ... pour celui-ci même'. Il valore di queste ipotesi resta, in definitiva, ancora congetturale.

[129] Cfr. a p. 418. Si noti che al r. 7 la lettura di Beltrán 1982, come pure quella di Tovar 1973, si discostano da quella di Lejeune 1974, che legge "onTi iom" invece di "bionti : iom".

[130] Cfr. Tovar 1975, p. 8.

[131] Si noti però che Tovar 1982 non ripete questa affermazione.

infatti, nonostante l'ormai indiscusso carattere indoeuropeo della lingua sottostante, parrebbe più opportuno procedere prima ancora che in base al metodo etimologico o ad identificazioni di elementi secondo la sostanza dell'espressione (quando non proprio secondo criteri precostituiti, come nel caso dell'accertare se il relativo occorra in posizione enclitica o meno), in base a un approccio che privilegi l'analisi distribuzionale degli elementi e l'esame dell'architettura interna del testo.[132] I problemi di demarcazione di unità testuali (non mi avventuro a chiamarle "frasi", dato che la nozione di frase è teoricamente assai controversa, oltre ad essere inapplicabile a tipi di testo diacronicamente e culturalmente lontani)[133] costituiscono ad esempio un punto cruciale per l'ermeneutica di un testo siffatto, specialmente rispetto ad una questione come quella del relativo, in cui è centrale la nozione di subordinazione di unità informative testuali. Una illustrazione di quali oscillazioni possa produrre il metodo che abbiamo criticato è fornita dall'interpretazione del r. 10. Fleuriot 1975 leggendo il r. 10 secondo Tovar 1973 "neBinToṛ : ToCoiTei: ioś : urantiomue : auseti araTimue : TeCa : eCom : Tatus ..." demarca la sequenza in due "frasi", "neBinToṛ: ToCoiTei" e "ioś ...", assegnando alla prima il senso generale 'qu'il n'y a pas d'obligation au titre du TOCOITOŚ e alla seconda l'interpretazione 'celui-ci acceptera le labour partagé et les dons des dixièmes'. "BinTo[ṛ] (a proposito di cui Fleuriot osser-

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[132] Untermann 1981 osserva a proposito del numero non elevato delle iscrizioni celtiberiche: "queste carenze vengono compensate da altre circostanze: la struttura linguistica è quella di una lingua indoeuropea di tipo arcaico, e perciò è molto più facile identificare i morfemi - desinenze, congiunzioni, pronomi, preposizioni eccetera ... contrariamente a quel che succede con i testi iberici, non siamo costretti a riconoscere il ruolo che una forma ha nella grammatica soltanto dalla sua frequenza nelle iscrizioni" (p. 22). Tutto ciò è vero, purché però si trovi un ragionevole punto di equilibrio tra i vari procedimenti e non si sottovaluti che l'analisi distribuzionale può dare importanti risultati nello studio di Restssprachen, sia pure appartementi ad un gruppo linguistico ben noto. Considerazioni metodologiche di questo genere si possono ritrovare nel lavoro di Motta 1980, p. 109.

[133] Per una discussione di questi problemi a proposito dei testi itt. cfr. Justus 1976.

va che si tratta di radicale occorrente anche nella faccia B)[134] è interpretato come "un nom du "lien", de l'obligation",[135] laddove in Schmidt 1976 la voce è messa in rapporto ad una radice **bhei*(ə) (per cui cfr. IEW. p. 117) ed è tradotta 'sie sollen getötet werden' (3ª pl. imperativo passivo),[136] ipotesi accolta, cambiando la precedente opinione, anche da Fleuriot 1979, il quale afferma che la voce significa senza dubbio 'ils seront taillés'.[137] Ma a parte questi vistosi cambiamenti, forse in una certa misura inevitabili nell'interpretazione di testi di questo tipo, il procedimento di analisi etimologica parola per parola dà poca affidabilità per quanto riguarda la scansione di unità informative testuali. Ad esempio, chi ci dice che la demarcazione di unità informative testuali del r. 10 sia quella proposta da Fleuriot e non una diversa, includente tutta la sequenza "ne ... auseti"?

A conclusioni non definitive conduce anche l'esame della iscrizione di Chamalières,[138] nella cui forma "toncsiiontio" si è voluto vedere un verbo relativo[139]:

(77) ANDEDION UEDIIUMI DIIIUION RISU NARITU MAPON(ON) ARUER(N)IIATIN.
LOTITES SNI EÐÐIG SOS BRIXTIA ANDERON : C.LUCION, FLORON NIGRINON ADGARION, AEMILION PATERIN, CLAU-

[134] Ma Fleuriot 1979, p. 172 cambia opinione, esprimendo un dubbio al riguardo. Motta 1980, p. 116 *n* 40 dichiara del pari che troppo incerto è il valore della forma del r. 10 della faccia. A per stabilire un rapporto con *PinTiś*. Motta 1980, p. 116 e ss. ha communque convincentemente mostrato che il radicale ricorrente nella faccia B sotto la forma di *PinTiś* denota un titolo o una carica pubblica, come magistrato o giudice ecc. Idem, p. 117 osserva che "può darsi che *PinTiś* sia una voce celtica collegata etimologicamente a *binden*, ma non è di qui che occorre partire, in quanto l'analisi interna alle formule del mondo celtiberico ne mostra prima di tutto il carattere di titolatura politica, pubblica, magistratuale".

[135] Cfr. a p. 436 dove si risale ad una radice **bhendh-*, ampiamente rappresentata in germ. e presente anche in celt: cfr. IEW. p. 127.

[136] Cfr. a p. 387.

[137] Cfr. a p. 172. Non prende posizione tra le due ipotesi Tovar 1982.

[138] Cfr. Fleuriot 1976; Fleuriot 1979; Lambert 1979; Fleuriot 1980; Schmidt 1981 a.

[139] Schmidt 1981 a, p. 85, 1981 b considera la forma relativa, traducendo *toncnaman toncsiiont-ío* come 'die den Eid schwören werden'.

DION LEGITUMON, CAELION PELIGN(ON). CLAUDION PELIGN(ON), MARCION UICTORIN ASIATICON.
ADDEDILLI ETIC SECOUI TONCNAMAN TONCSIIONTIO.
MEION. PONC SESIT, BUETID OLLON.
REGU-C CAMBION UXSOPS.
PISSIIUMI ISO-C CANTI RISSU ISON SON BISSIET.
LUGE DESSUMMIIIS. LUGE DESSUMIIS. LUGE DESUMIIS. LUXE.

Come rileva anche Fleuriot 1976, la forma in questione sembra occorrere in una sequenza composta solo di una proposizione principale, il che escluderebbe quindi un valore "relativo".[140]

Ricapitolando, possiamo dire che, benché per quanto riguarda la sostanza dell'espressione i vari elementi in *-i̯o, i̯o-* che compaiono nei testi esaminati siano isomorfi agli elementi relativi in *yo-* delle lingue indoeuropee, nulla si può dire per il momento sulla loro identità funzionale con questi ultimi, ovvero sul loro valore sintattico e semantico. Ma vi è di più. Qualora questa identità funzionale fosse dimostrata, si tratterebbe ancora di una condizione debole per poter stabilire la originaria presenza di un relativo in *yo-* in celt. insulare e nella fattispecie in irl. ant., come elemento che giustifica la lenizione e le forme verbali relative. Un dato comparativo più probante, ovvero una condizione più forte, sarebbe l'accertamento per il celtiberico della seconda posizione del pronome "relativo" nella sequenza frastica. Anche così, tuttavia, non avremmo una prova definitiva a favore della tesi che l'irl. ant. ebbe in qualche fase preistorica un relativo in *yo-*.

8. Lenizione e nasalizzazione

Fin qui abbiamo cercato di esaminare gli argomenti tradizionalmente addotti in favore dell'ipotesi della presenza di un relativo **yo-* in irl. ant. C'è un'altra questione però che non abbia-

[140] Cfr. a p. 177; idem l. c. aggiunge: "Quand *-yo* apparait, comme il semble ici, dans une principale non suivie d'une subordonnée, on ne voit pas comment le traduire". Egli richiama inoltre il lavoro di Haudry 1973, il quale osservava che la funzione ed il senso di *-yo* è veramente relativo solo in una struttura binaria, concludendo con quest'ultimo che "la valeur pleine de *-yo* ne se laisse pas restituer". Su "toncnaman toncsiiontio" cfr. ora anche Henry 1984, p. 141 e ss.

mo ancora discusso, se non di sfuggita, e che avrebbe forse trovato una collocazione più opportuna quando abbiamo analizzato le condizioni formali, ovvero fonetiche e morfologiche, delle marche di relativizzazione. Mi riferisco al fenomeno della lenizione, che tanta parte ha nel contrassegnare la frase relativa in irl. ant. Si è già detto, infatti, che le preposizioni pretoniche, le particelle verbali *ro, no,* la particella negativa *năd* leniscono la consonante iniziale di parola successiva. Ciò avviene obbligatoriamente quando la testa della relativa è il soggetto della relativa stessa, opzionalmente, quando la testa della relativa è l'oggetto della relativa.[141] Comunque, il fenomeno non è stato considerato a proposito delle condizioni fonetiche e morfologiche, perché è possibile, a mio avviso, nutrire il dubbio se il contesto in cui esso si verifica sia fondamentalmente fonetico/fonosintattico o non nasconda invece un meccanismo più complesso concernente l'organizzazione di altri livelli della grammatica.

Thurneysen, lo si è già accennato, sosteneva che anche la lenizione fosse dovuta alla presenza di una vocale non palatale che originariamente precedeva il segmento lenito. Egli quindi riconduceva anche questo fenomeno alla supposta presenza in seconda posizione di sequenza di *yo-*. Si sarebbe cioè avuto *ro* + **yo-* + V, *no* + **yo-* + V, *năd* + **yo-* + V, ecc., ed in seguito la perdita completa di **yo-* della cui vocale non palatale non sarebbe rimasta in questi casi traccia alcuna, eccezion fatta per la lenizione dell'iniziale del verbo successivo. Si sono già espresse in 6. delle perplessità sulla trafila strettamente fonetica di questa spiegazione. Ora, è vero che una delle condizioni per il determinarsi della lenizione consonantica in posizione iniziale di parola era che la parola precedente terminasse in vocale.[142] C'era però un'altra condizione, di natura eminentemente sintattica, e cioè che la parola precedente fosse in relazione gramma-

[141] Cfr. OIG. §493 e §494.

[142] Cfr. OIG. §122; VGKS. §295. Anche il contesto fonico successivo al segmento consonantico era però determinante: doveva seguire una vocale (sillabica o non sillabica), oppure *p* o una sonante: cfr. VGKS. l.c. Il riferimento classico ai meccanismi fonetici della lenizione è inoltre Pedersen, Aspirationen i Irsk, Leipzig 1897, di cui c'è un sommario in Pedersen 1899; cfr. inoltre Martinet 1955.

ticale stretta con la successiva. Vedremo tra poco che cosa si intenda con relazione grammaticale "stretta". Mi preme invece sottolineare per il momento che questa seconda condizione era verosimilmente più forte della prima, se pensiamo che presentano il fenomeno della lenizione anche casi in cui la seconda condizione è soddisfatta, mentre non lo è la prima: ad esempio, alcune preposizioni provocano lenizione senza che ciò sia motivabile con una loro uscita vocalica.[143] Del resto, basta dare un'occhiata all'ampia fenomenologia sintattica concernente la lenizione per rendersi conto che il fenomeno deborda ben al di là del semplice contesto di parola che precede terminante in vocale, sino ad assumere la portata di un fenomeno di sandhi esterno che, sia pure con delle irregolarità, marca in maniera alquanto generalizzata le relazioni grammaticali tra gli elementi della sequenza. Ma vediamo in quali contesti sintattici si determini la lenizione. Essa occorre:

a) dopo la particella interiettiva, nella parola che esprime il vocativo;

b) dopo preposizioni come *ar* 'for', *cen* 'without', *di* 'from', *do* 'to', *fo* 'under', *ol* 'on account of, beyond', *tre* 'through', *amal* 'as, like', *fiad* 'in presence of';[144]

c) dopo avverbi come *mor* (l'attestazione del fenomeno però sembra essere solo med.-irl.)

d) dopo congiunzioni come *nó* 'or' (nelle Glosse di Milano) e *acus* 'and';

e) dopo numerali come *óin* 'uno'; nominativo, accusativo, genitivo masch. e genitivo femm. *da, dá*; nominativo, accusativo femm. *di, dí* 'due'; le forme neutre *trí* 'tre', *cethir* 'quattro', *cóic* 'cinque';

f) dopo alcune forme pronominali indeclinabili, come *mo, -m* 'my', *do, -t* 'thy', *a* 'his', le forme pronominali in *-í*;

g) dopo le forme dell'articolo che originariamente terminavano in vocale;

h) dopo *in(d)* usato in formule avverbiali e predicative, come ad esempio, *in chorpdid* 'corporaliter', *ind fir* 'truly';

j) I dopo pronomi declinabili come *cia* (ma solo in alcune combinazioni co-

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[143] Cfr. Lewis and Pedersen § 226, p. 131, i quali osservano che "Some prepositions cause lenition ... *not due to original vocalic ending*" (corsivo mio).

[144] Il requisito della terminazione vocalica, almeno originaria, non vale certamente per *amal* e *fiad*, inizialmente nomi, passati poi ad assumere valore preposizionale: *amal* originariamente era un dativo avverbiale di *sam(a)il* 'likeness', con perdita di *s-* in posizione pretonica (cfr. OIG. § 826), mentre *fiad* è una forma casuale pietrificata di un nome confrontabile al gall. *gŵydd* 'presence' (OIG. § 836).

me cia chruth 'in what way', *cia chuin* 'when'); II *cach* 'every', *nach* 'any', *alaile* 'another', *ind-ala* 'the one', *huile* 'all', *cétne* 'the first', *inonn* 'the same';[145]

k) nella consonante iniziale di un nome che segue un aggettivo, come in *inna sen-chomrorcan* 'of the old errors' (Ml 2a 6);

l) nella consonante iniziale di un aggettivo che segue un nome in nominativo sing. femm., nominativo pl. masch., dativo sing. di tutti i generi, genitivo sing. masch. e neutro, vocativo sing. masch. e femm., nominativo, accusativo duale masch. e femm. dei temi in *o-* e in *ā-*;[146]

m) nella consonante iniziale di un nome in genitivo (o in altri casi) che segue un nome nelle condizioni morfosintattiche specificate in l);

n) nella consonante iniziale del nome che funge da predicato nominale e del nome che funge da soggetto, dopo il verbo 'essere', più esattamente, dopo le forme 1ª sing. *da*, 1ª pl. *dan*, *ban*, 2ª sing. *da*, *ba*, 2ª pl. *bad*, 3ª sing. *bo*, *bu*, 3ª sing. imperfetto e imperativo *bad*, *bed*, 3ª pl. *bat*, ed inoltre dopo forme come *masu* 'if it is', *cesu*, *cetu* 'though it is, they are', *issí* 'it is';[147]

o) in tardo irl. ant. e in med.-irl. talvolta nella consonante iniziale di un nome che funge da soggetto, frequentemente nella consonante iniziale di un nome che funge oggetto, che seguano verbi diversi dalla copula;[148]

p) in tardo irl. ant. nell'iniziale consonantica di un avverbio che segue un verbo, anche se l'avverbio è separato dal verbo.[149]

È il caso di ricordare, inoltre, che per quanto riguarda la cosiddetta lenizione "relativa", questa si determina anche dopo le forme relative della copula, come nel tipo di frase *cleft* ⌜is hed as chomairlle lim⌝ (it) is this (which) is my advice' (Wb 16c 12) o nella vera e propria relativa ⌜aní as chotarsne⌝ 'that which is contrary' (Wb 17d 27).[150]

La casistica riassunta, apparentemente così eterogenea, rivela in realtà una sorprendente omogeneità, quando pensiamo che

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[145] Cfr. Lewis and Pedersen p. 134 per alcune deviazioni nelle Glosse di Würzburg rispetto a questa regola.

[146] Gli altri temi seguono in un certo numero di casi il comportamento dei temi in *o-* e in *ā-*: cfr. Lewis and Pedersen § 234–42.

[147] La lenizione del soggetto si limita nelle Glosse di Würzburg alle lenizione dell'iniziale di *cách* dopo *biad* (cfr. Wb 9d 25), ma nelle Glosse di Milano la gamma di nomi colpiti dal fenomeno è più ampia (cfr. Ml 137c 8).

[148] Nelle Glosse di Würzburg non si ha di norma lenizione del soggetto né dell'oggetto in questo caso, ma cfr. "nertad chách" 'let him encourage everyone' (Wb 5d 11).

[149] Anche in questo caso nelle Glosse di Würzburg il fenomeno non si determina. Per la trattazione e l'esemplificazione dettagliata dei punti che ho riassunto come a)–p), rinvio ad OIG. § 232–235; Lewis and Pedersen § 225–237.

[150] Cfr. OIG. § 495; Lewis and Pedersen § 237.

tutt i contesti sintattici elencati possono essere ricondotti ad un fenomeno generale unitario, che è quello della dipendenza sintattica. Infatti, tutti i punti a)–p) sono raggruppabili secondo una fenomenologia classica in linguistica teorica, che concerne le relazioni grammaticali tra i costituenti. Si ha lenizione in irl. ant.:

1) nelle teste di costruzioni endocentriche, dopo modificatori, sia del sottotipo determinativo (casi g), h)) che del sottotipo attributivo (casi c), f), k));

2) nelle teste di costruzioni endocentriche, dopo quantificatori (casi e), jII));

3) negli elementi retti di costruzioni endocentriche, dopo l'elemento reggente, sia l'elemento retto un modificatore attributivo (casi l), m), p)) o un complemento (il complemento oggetto in o));

4) nell'elemento retto di costruzioni esocentriche preposizionali (caso b)) e frasali (il soggetto in o));

5) dopo complementizzatori coordinativi, sia disgiuntivi che congiuntivi (d));

6) dopo complementizzatori subordinativi (dopo *ma* e *cia ce, co,* ecc.)

Anche la lenizione dell'elemento che funge da predicato nominale, inoltre, è ben spiegabile nel quadro della teoria della dipendenza.

Se riesaminiamo ora lo schema dei punti 1)–6), vedremo che ne risulta un generale dispositivo di "realizzazione" delle relazioni di reggenza, che marca mediante la lenizione il secondo elemento della relazione, indipendentemente dal suo status di elemento reggente o di elemento retto. Si tratta quindi di una strategia di tipo lineare, piuttosto che gerarchico. L'intero sistema, ad ogni modo, si conforma ad uno schema teorico troppo coerente per poter essere il risultato casuale di un mutamento rapido messo in moto da soli fattori fonetici. Si è molto discusso, anche recentemente in termini di linguistica teorica, sul rapporto tra aspetto fonetico e aspetto sintattico della lenizione celtica.[151] Ora, per quanto riguarda il contesto puramente fonetico del fenomeno, da molto tempo Jackson (1953) ha dimostrato che la lenizione dovette determinarsi in irl. nella seconda metà

[151] Per una recente formulazione del problema, nel quadro della teoria generativa del *Government and Binding,* cfr. McCloskey 1979, cap. II per un trattamento della situazione irl.; Harlow 1981, per un trattamento della situazione in gall. letterario.

del V sec. d. C., più esattamente „near the beginning of that half century".[152] In seguito, in base all'analisi di nomi propri, che ci sono giunti attraverso la tradizione grecoromana, delle iscrizioni ogamiche, dove il fenomeno non è presente (o meglio, non è rappresentato), e in base allo studio della struttura fonetica dei più antichi prestiti dal latino, Campanile (1961)[153] ha proposto una datazione posteriore di alcuni decenni a quella di Jackson. La lenizione sarebbe stata dunque "un fenomeno estremamente rapido, sviluppatosi tra gli ultimi decenni del V sec. e i primissimi del VI"[154] e, verosimilmente, uno dei centri di irradiazione sarebbe stato il Galles.[155]. Ma pur ammettendo che questa datazione valga incondizionatamente per tutti i fatti di lenizione, considerati come un fenomeno unitario (il che non si può escludere, se si pensa ai mutamenti di grossa portata nel sistema fonologico e con ripercussioni su altri livelli della grammatica, che si sono determinati nel giro di una – due generazioni in situazioni moderne),[156] bisogna concedere due cose, e cioè che le condizioni strettamente linguistiche del mutamento non fossero solo fonetiche, ma investissero livelli più profondi della grammatica, come quelli sintattico-semantici, ed inoltre, che almeno alcune di tali condizioni sintattico-semantiche fossero molto antiche, ovvero che preesistessero da lungo tempo alla attualizzazione del mutamento. Per quanto riguarda il primo punto, esso sembra provato dalla impossibilità di spiegare il determinarsi della lenizione sintattica esclusivamente in base al contesto Voc # ___ (il che vale senz'altro per la lenizione dopo il notevole

[152] Cfr. p. 142.

[153] Cfr. quanto si dice a p. 63.

[154] Campanile 1961, l. c.

[155] Campanile 1961, p. 65 fa risalire la lenizione britannica alla prima metà del V sec. Il fenomeno sarebbe dunque più antico di alcuni decenni rispetto alle lenizione irl. Campanile osserva inoltre che "dal fatto che la lenizione britannica sia più antica di quella irl. dovremmo, in primo luogo, dedurre che – ammesso, appunto, che i due ordini di fatti non siano reciprocamente indipendenti – il punto di irradiazione del fenomeno debba situarsi in territorio britannico da dove, in breve tempo sarebbe passato in Irlanda".

[156] È esemplare da questo punto di vista l'indagine di Labos 1966 sulla pronunzia di /r/ : per l'andamento diacronico del fenomeno cfr. id. l. c., in particolare alle p. 434–436.

numero di forme del verbo 'essere', per *amal* e *fiad*, per *cethir* e per le forme verbali del tardo irl. ant. senza terminazione vocalica provocanti lenizione del nome oggetto susseguente) e, subordinatamente, dalla linea generale che ci è parso di cogliere nella distribuzione sintattica del fenomeno. Considero, naturalmente, questo dato in via subordinata perché esso non è univocamente interpretabile: anche il sistema dall'aspetto più "geometrico" potrebbe in linea di principio essere il risultato di concause operanti in tutt'altra direzione. E d'altra parte è noto che un intero livello di organizzazione grammaticale, come quello sintattico, possa essere ristrutturato preponderantemente de forze che nella diacronica di una lingua agiscono a livello fonologico. Un caso esemplare da questo punto di vista è la perdita del sistema casuale nelle lingue romanze e lo slittamento di queste verso una sintassi analitica, in cui giocò un ruolo importante l'indebolimento e la perdita delle consonanti finali. Tuttavia, anche in questo caso è difficile non fare i conti del pari con fenomeni sintattici di lunga durata in latino, come la tendenza ad una sintassi "analitica" già registrabile in lat. arc.[157] In quest'ottica di complessità di interrelazioni tra forze operanti in seno alle grammatica, è forse possibile interpretare anche la situazione dell'irl. ant. Bisogna riconoscere, per altro verso, che si prestano a valutazioni diverse indizi come l'asimmetria nel sistema morfologico, per cui erano preponderantemente i temi nominali in *o-* e in *ā-* a provocare lenizione del modificatore successivo. Né si può sottovalutare il fatto che alcuni fenomeni cruciali, come la lenizione del nome oggetto dopo verbo diverso dalla copula, o di modificatore avverbiale dopo verbo, sono attestati relativamente tardi.

C'è poi un'altra considerazione da fare e questa riguarda il rapporto della mutazione per lenizione con la mutazione per nasalizzazione.[158] Come è noto, anche quest'ultima è un fenomeno

[157] Cfr. Kroll 1933; Till 1936, e per una formulazione recente, in termini di tipologia, Durante 1981.

[158] Come è noto, questa ha l'effetto di prefissare un elemento n al segmento iniziale di una parola, dando luogo a variazione allofonica combinatoria di tale elemento (/n/ = [n] davanti a vocale o a /d/, /n/ = [m] davanti a [b], /n/

di sandhi con una ben precisa distribuzione sintattica. Essa si determina infatti[159]:

a') dopo la particella interrogativa *i*;
b') dopo le preposizioni *co* 'with', *i* 'in', *iar* 'after', *re* 'before';
c') dopo i pronomi personali infissi di 3ª sing. masch. e femm. e dopo le forme pl. in *-s-*;
d') dopo *cechtar, nechtar, ind-ala,* nei sintagmi *cechtar n-ái* 'each of the two', *cechtar n-athar* 'each of us two', *nechtar n-ái* 'either of the two', *ind-ala-n-ái* 'one of them';
e') dopo *a* 'their', *ar* 'our', *for, far, bar* 'your';
f') dopo i numerali *secht, ocht,*[160] *noi, deich*;
g') dopo tutti i casi neutri di '2' e dopo il dativo di '2' in tutti i generi;
h') dopo elementi nominali o pronominali in accusativo sing. e genitivo pl. di tutti i generi e in nominativo e accusativo per i neutri; inoltre dopo l'accusativo sing. masch. e femm. dell'articolo si determina mutazione per nasalizzazione nell'elemento modificatore (attributo, complemento in genitivo) o apposizionale rispetto ad una determinata testa;[161]
j') nelle clausole relative, in luogo della lenizione, con le seguenti caratteristiche formali: nel segmento iniziale del verbo, dopo le preposizioni pre-toniche, comprese *ro* e *no,* dopo la negazione *năd, nă,* quando questi elementi no siano seguiti da un nome infisso; dopo le forme assolute della copula, nel segmento iniziale dell'elemento che funge da predicato nominale; nel segmento iniziale delle forme relative del verbo semplice (ma non della copula). Da un punto di vista funzionale, le clausole relative nasalizzanti occorrono opzionalmente quando la testa della relativa è il complemento oggetto della relativa (ma è stato dimostrato di recente che in questo contesto esse non sono in variazione del tutto libera rispetto alle clausole relative con

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= [ŋ] davanti a [g]), ed inoltre a coalescenza con /k/, /t/ successivi e sonorizzazione di tali elementi, rispettivamente in [g] e in [d]; infine ad assimilazione con /s/, /r/, /l/, /m/, /n/ successivi: cfr. OIG. §236; VGKS. § 261; per la bibliografia classica sull'argomento cfr. Zimmer 1885, Pedersen 1899; Thurneysen 1905, p. 1-19.

159 Cfr. OIG. § 237-239; Lewis and Pedersen § 189-§ 190.

160 Nel caso di '7', '9', '10', si tratta di numerali originariamente terminanti in nasale (**septm̥, *neu̯n̥, *dekm̥*); OIG. § 392 giustifica la nasalizzazione provocata da '8' per analogia.

161 La nasalizzazione di un nome 'nelle condizioni specificate in 4') è regolare nelle Glosse di Milano ed è molto frequente nelle Glosse di Würzburg, mentre la nasalizzazione di un nome in genitivo o di un elemento avverbiale non compare con frequenza (cfr. OIG. § 237). Va tenuto presente però anche il fatto che il fenomeno della nasalizzazione non sempre è rappresentato ortograficamente in irl. ant.

lenizione),[162] ed inoltre quando l'elemento reggente della relativa è un cosiddetto "circostanziale" di tempo o maniera, o un elemento a metà strada tra un circostanziale e un vero e propprio complemento (un elemento cioè esprimente causa, origine, ecc.);[163]

k') quando introduce una proposizione completiva, causale,[164] oggettiva, soggettiva.

Va da sé che anche nel caso della nasalizzazione valgono gli schemi della grammatica della dipendenza precedentemente individuati.

Quale che sia la spiegazione etimologica del fenomeno della nasalizzazione - una spiegazione che difficilmente può essere unitaria o comunque unilaterale[165] - è probabile che anche in questo caso ci si trovi davanti al quadro di una deriva messa in moto negli strati meno profondi da fattori fonetici e morfologici, ma che comunque già nel periodo delle Glosse di Würzburg doveva aver raggiunto uno stadio in cui l'elemento nasale rap-

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162 Cfr. McCone 1980, p. 11 e ss.

163 Cfr. OIG. § 497-502; Lewis and Pedersen § 193.

164 Cfr. OIG. § 498 e § 503; Lewis and Pedersen l. c.

165 Si tratta, in effetti, di un problema spinoso e controverso, per il quale le spiegazioni sinora avanzata sembrano tutte insoddisfacenti e parziali. Così quella proposta da Thurneysen (OIG. § 510), secondo cui alla base della nasalizzazione sarebbe da riconoscere un elemento *-sa*^{n}, formalmente uguale all'articolo neutro e funzionalmente considerabile alla stregua di una particella pietrificata, dà luogo a difficoltà di ordine morfofonologico (si veda OIG. l. c., p. 324). La spiegazione di Pedersen 1899, p. 394 e ss., è che la nasalizzazione sarebbe dovuta in primo luogo alla occorrenza di un accusativo sing. o di un nominativo sing. neutro, con successiva estensione ad altri casi, formalmente diversi, della marca nasale. In questa ipotesi, l'impiego di tale marca nelle clausole relative sarebbe dunque una ulteriore estensione o generalizzazione. Ma questa ipotesi, giudicata poco convincente da OIG. l. c., deve veramente spiegare in maniera ad hoc troppi contesti che rispetto ad essa costituiscono delle irregolarità. Per contro, la giustificazione proposta da Schmidt 1976 e ripresa da Breatnach 1980, p. 7-8, secondo cui alla base del fenomeno della nasalizzazione nelle proposizioni relative o, comunque, subordinate sarebbe da riconoscere un connettivo **yom* è una spiegazione di tipo formale, avanzabile solo per alcuni contesti in j') e in k'). Watkins 1963, p. 29 *n* 2, pur sostenendo che la relativa con nasalizzazione "is marginal ... and is of obscure origin", si dichiara in favore delle linee generali della spiegazione proposta da Pedersen 1897. Per una valutazione della bibliografica concernente il problema, cfr. McCone 1980.

presentava a livello sistemico, o quanto meno di "norma",[166] la marca di relazioni grammaticali di dipendenza. E che sia così lo vediamo dal fatto che già nelle Glosse di Würzburg ci sono casi di nasalizzazione non provocati da parola nasalizzante.[167] Lenizione e nasalizzazione, dunque, si possono considerare per la fase diacronica che ci interessa, varianti di realizzazione, sintatticamente condizionate, di un generale meccanismo "profondo" della grammatica, come la reggenza.

Per quanto riguarda l'antichità di alcune delle condizioni sintattico-semantiche, ritengo che si possano addurre delle considerazioni di varia natura. Una è offerta dal confronto dei contesti sintattici a)–p) nelle altre lingue celt., le quali, sebbene di più tarda attestazione, forniscono una corrispondenza considerevole. È vero che ci sono delle difformità in questo confronto, che vanno tenute presenti, come il fatto che non sempre le preposizioni provocanti lenizione siano le stesse in irl., gall., bret. e corn., e ancor più il fatto che l'ampiezza per genere, numero e caso degli elementi nominali provocanti la lenizione del modificatore aggettivale o nominale successivo sia più ridotta in gall., corn. e bret. Ad esempio, un aggettivo che segue un nome è lenito in gall. mod. quando il nome è femm. sing., in corn. e in bret. anche quando il nome è in nominativo pl. masch., e le stesse condizioni valgono quando si tratta di un genitivo che segue un nome.[168] E tuttavia, due dei contesti che più sicuramente contribuiscono a farci pensare che il fenomeno sia in buona parte pilotato da dispositivi sintattico-semantici, ovvero la lenizione dell'elemento che funge da predicato nominale e dell'elemento che funge da complemento oggetto, si ritrovano con elevata frequenza in med.-gall./ benché il secondo caso in corn. e in bret.

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[166] Cfr. Lewis and Pedersen § 191 che, pur impostando discutibilmente in termini di "valore psicologico" l'esame della funzione del sandhi nasale, riconoscono che in irl. ant. e in med.-irl. l'elemento nasale venne a contrassegnare l'esistenza di una qualche relazione grammaticale.

[167] Cfr. "didiu n-and" 'two things, then, are therein' (Wb la 5). La nasalizzazione (a distanza) è provocata dal nome numerale *déde*, formato con il suffisso neutro *-de* (cfr. OIG. § 387).

[168] Cfr. Lewis and Pedersen § 234-2) e § 235-2).

sia raro.[169] È da non sottovalutare poi il fatto che anche in gall. ant. ci siano tracce di lenizione dopo il pre-verbo *ry* e la negazione, mentre in fase moderna il pronome relativo *a*, comune al bret., corn. e all'irl. causa del pari lenizione.[170]

Ma il dato forse più interessante a favore dell'antichità di alcune condizioni sintattico-semantiche della lenizione ci viene da riscontri comparativi nell'ambito dell'intero gruppo indoeuropeo. Non si può fare a meno riconoscere, infatti, che i contesti b), c), e), j), k), l), m), o) limitatamente alla lenizione dell'oggetto, p) sono gli stessi contesti in cui si determinativa il cosiddetto fenomeno della "composizione", fenomeno attestato sin dalle fasi più antiche nella documentazione delle varie lingue indoeuropee.[171] Il riscontro è sia categoriale che funzionale. Dal punto di vista categoriale, si possono stabilire le seguenti equivalenze:

b') Preposizione + N, tipo irl ant. *ar-chiunn* 'in front': cfr. ved. *paro-mātrá* 'beyond measure', gr. ἐν-ῶπα 'ins Angesicht', lat. *ad-modum*, ant. alt. ted. *bi-diu* 'deshalb', ant. sl. *o-kolo* 'herum';

c') Avverbio + Aggettivo, tipo med.-irl. *mór-dolig* 'very difficult': cfr. ved. *satómahat* 'equally great', gr. ἀρι-πρεπής 'sehr stattlich', lat. *per-magnus*;

e) Numerali + N, tipo con suffissazione zero nella forma del numerale *trechenélae* 'three-gendered' e tipo con suffissazione nella forma del numerale *di chétbuid* 'two senses': i riscontri riguardano composti aggettivali con suffissazione zero del primo elemento, come ved. *dvi-pad* 'two footed' che mostra la riduzione al grado debole della radice del numerale, gr. δί-πους 'idem', lat. *bi-pēs* 'idem', anglosass. *twi-féte* 'idem', ved. *aṣṭā-pad* 'eight-footed', gr. ὀκτώ-ποδ- 'idem';

j ii) tipo irl. ant. *huile* + N: cfr. got. **ala-mans* 'alle Menschen';

k-l-m) Aggettivo + N, tipo *inna sen-chomrorcan* 'of the old errors' cfr. ved. *nava-jvārá* 'new pain', *mahā-grāmá* 'great host', gr. ἀκρό-πολις 'die obere Stadt', lat. *perenni-servos*, ant. alt. ted. *junc-frouwa* 'junge Herrin';

N + N, tipo *rig-suide* 'royal seat': cfr. ved. *brahma-putrás* 'Priesterssohn', gr. μητρο-πάτωρ 'der Mutter Vater', lat. *plebis scītum*, got. *baurgs-waddjus* 'Stadtmauer', *Þiudan-gardi* 'Königshaus', ant. sl. *domu-zakonъ-nikъ* 'Hausverwal-

[169] Cfr. Lewis and Pedersen §237-2a), 2b). Va detto poi che corn. e bret. partecipano insieme al gall. della lenizione dell'avverbio dopo il verbo, fenomeno pressoché generale in britt. anche in fasi antiche: cfr. Lewis and Pedersen §237-2c).

[170] Cfr. VGKS. §543.

[171] Per tutti gli esempi non celt. che citerò rinvio a Brugmann 1904, p.298-304; Mcdonell 1916, p.267-282.

ter'; Il caso N + Aggettivo, tipo *i-rróe choir* 'at the right time' e il caso N + N, tipo *trebaire chollno* 'prudence of (the) flesh' costituiscono probabilmente una permutazione d'ordine delle due combinazioni precedenti. Difficilmente questi due tipi possono avere confronti nelle lingue indoeuropee ant. anche rispetto alle relazioni d'ordine. Nelle lingue indoeuropee ant., infatti, l'ordine basico S O V era congruente con quello Determinante + Determinato,[172] mentre l'ordine fondamentalmente V S O dell'irl. ant. è congruente con l'ordine Determinato + Determinante;

o) V + $N_{(oggetto)}$, tipo tardo irl. ant. *atchiu churach* 'I see a boat': anche in questo caso i riscontri sono effettuabili, tenendo presente che non possono valere rispetto alle relazioni d'ordine; dato il carattere S O V delle lingue indoeuropee ant., nei termini presi a confronto, queste saranno dunque N + V: cfr. ved. *náms kar-* 'huldigen', gr. κἀκὰ ποιεῖν τινα, lat. *anim(um) adverto,* ant. alt. ted. *wara neman* 'wahrnehmen';

p) V + Avverbio, tipo tardo irl. ant. *contoat chucai* 'who turn to him'; riscontri Avverbio + V: cfr. ved. *amutra-bhuya* 'state of being there', *puro-yắvan* 'going before'.

Come è possibile vedere da questo quadro, in molti casi il confronto tra irl. ant. e altre lingue indoeuropee è completo, nel senso che l'irl. ant. presenta un vero e proprio composto, ovvereo una unità complessa morfosintatticamente autonoma. Ma non sempre è così. In altri casi, infatti, dove nelle altre lingue indoeuropee abbiamo sovente una unità complessa ma morfosintatticamente autonoma, in irl. ant. abbiamo due unità distinte, non solo perché quella dipendente conserva la sua morfologia regolare, ma anche perché ciascuna conserva la sua distribuzione sintattica. È anche vero però che la questione delle alterazioni subite dagli elementi del composto, sia per la morfologia che per l'accento, sembra coinvolgere nella diacronia delle lingue indoeuropee "livelli" diversi (cfr. Brugmann 1904, p.306–307).

Più interessanti sono però i riscontri da un punto di vista funzionale. Se si prescinde infatti dalla questione del grado di alterazione degli elementi del composto, e più in generale del grado di amalgama della costruzione risultante, possiamo rilevare che quasi tutte le condizioni irl. ant. che abbiamo confrontato rientrano in una casistica della reggenza nei composti, riscontrabile

[172] Ci sono naturalmente delle eccezioni a questa congruenza (per la quale il riferimento classico è Greenberg 1963; ma cfr. anche Lehmann 1974, p.14–23; Vennemann 1975): si pensi, ad esempio, al lat. *pater familiās* che mostra un ordine Determinato + Determinante.

in generale per le lingue indoeuropee ant.: b) è infatti un composto a reggenza preposizionale (Präpositionale Rektionskomposita), o) è un composto a reggenza verbale (Verbale Rektionskomposita), mentre c), e), j II), k), l), m) costituiscono dei composti nominali determinativi, sia del sottotipo descrittivo che i grammatici indiani chiamavano karmadhāraya (c)-e)-f)-j II)-k) [Aggettivo + N]-l)) sia del sottotipo dipendente che i grammatici indiani chiamavano tatpuruṣa (k) [N + N]-m)).

Avendo stabilito questi paralleli, è possibile considerare la lenizione e la nasalizzazione come dei fenomeni fonetici che, sviluppatisi come peculiarità del celt. sono venuti ad essere impiegati come una nuova marca di superficie di strategie sintattico-semantiche certamente molto antiche, forse preesistenti da lunga durata (se si mantiene anche per le condizioni sintattiche della lenizione la cronologia di Campanile).

Ciò ha dei risvolti di immediata rilevanza per il problema della lenizione (per la nasalizzazione la questione non può essere affrontata qui) come marca della frase relativa. È infatti possibile che per giustificare tale lenizione non ci sia affatto bisogno di ricorrere all'elemento **yo* occupante la discutibile posizione della legge di Wackernagel, ma semplicemente si può chiamare in causa la strettezza della relazione di composizione tra le particelle pre-toniche, *ro* e *no, nad* e il verbo successivo. In altri termini, si ipotizza qui che la lenizione sia una marca di dipendenza, che farebbe sistema con i molti altri casi che abbiamo già visto. Naturalmente, rispetto a questa ipotesi ci sono delle difficoltà: tradizionalmente si considera che i pre-verbi relativi e la negazione relativa formino un composto debole con il verbo. Perché mai inoltre questa strettezza della relazione di composizione varrebbe solo nella frase relativa?

Consideriamo innanzitutto le caratteristiche della composizione debole. Nella composizione debole:[173]

1) Il pre-verbo è proclitico, cioè l'intero aggregato verbale è deuterotonico;
2) È possibile la infissazione di elementi pronominali tra il pre-verbo e il verbo;

[173] Cfr. Lewis and Pedersen § 400.

3) Non c'è fusione della originaria consonante finale del pre-verbo con il segmento iniziale del verbo;
4) Non si determina elisione quando un pre-verbo che termina in vocale precede un verbo con segmento iniziale vocalico;
5) Un pre-verbo che termina in vocale non lenisce né nasalizza il segmento iniziale del verbo successivo.

Di queste condizioni è immediatamente evidente che la 5) non può essere assunta come parametro per assegnare ai pre-verbi relativi e all'avverbiale negativo di forma relativa *nad* lo statuto di elementi che formano composti deboli. Analoga è la situazione per 2), perché i pre-verbi *ro, no* in frasi relative non ammettono la infissazione di pronomi personali.[174] *nad* in quanto tale non tollera del pari combinazione con pronome personale, ma sussiste a questo scopo un suo allotropo *năch-* (che non provoca lenizione).[175] La condizione 1) apparentemente non pone difficoltà per l'assegnamento delle unità in questione alla classe di elementi che formano composto debole: essa è infatti senz'altro soddisfatta. Invece essa richiede una messa in discussione più radicale del problema dell'accentazione dei composti verbali in irl. ant. e, paradossalmente, può essere utilizzata per arrivare alla conclusione contraria. Vediamo perché. Come è noto, in irl. ant. il verbo composto era di solito accentato sul secondo elemento, era cioè deuterotonico, di contro al verbo semplice che era prototonico. Per quanto riguarda la situazione del verbo composto, questa è dunque così rappresentabile:

(78) P-V́
(79) P-Ṕ-V

L'elemento portatore di accento era cioè la sillaba iniziale del verbo, se il compostó aveva un solo pre-verbo, il secondo preverbo, se il composto aveva due (o più) pre-verbi. D'altra parte, anche il verbo composto poteva essere prototonico in alcuni casi particolari. Ad esempio, quando il verbo era imperativo, a meno che un pronome personale non fosse attaccato alle prima preposizione, quindi *tó-mil* 'eat!' (sing.), ma *du-m·ém-se* 'protect me' (sing.); dopo le particelle congiunte *cani* 'nonne', *ma-ni* 'if not', *ce-ni* 'though not', *arná* 'in order that not', ecc. e *nĭ, nĭcon,*

[174] Cfr. OIG. § 495.
[175] Cfr. OIG. § 493.

nă, năd (*nach-*), *nacon*; dopo le particelle relative *ar-a, di-a, do-a, fu-a,* ecc. (cfr. *fu-a·tábarr* 'under which is brought') e in altri casi ancora.[176] Ora, in fasi molto antiche dell'indoeuropeo dovette esistere una situazione, attestata dal ved., in cui i composti verbali avevano un comportamento differenziato rispetto all'accento, a seconda della loro occorrenza nella frase principale e nella frase secondaria.[177] Nella frase principale il verbo finito era infatti enclitico rispetto alla particella o preposizione (P) portatrice di accento, mentre nella frase secondaria il verbo era accentato, e al contrario P era priva di accento: cfr. *ắ gamat* 'may he come', ma *yád niṣī́dathaḥ* 'when ye two sit down'.[178] La situazione era dunque:

(80) Ṕ-V frase principale
(81) P-V́ frase secondaria[179]

Oltre a questa diversificazione accentuale, i composti verbali presentavano un'altra caratteristica dipendente dall'occorrenza in frase principale o in frase secondaria, e cioè l'interrompibilità o meno di P-V. Nella frase principale, infatti, P può essere separata da V mediante una o più parole, mentre ciò non vale nel caso della frase secondaria.[180] Denotando con '#' il confine di parola, con '+' il semplice confine di morfema, possiamo dunque rappresentare la situazione nel modo seguente:

(82) P#V frase principale
(83) P+V frase secondaria

È evidente che tra il quadro offerto dall'irl. ant. e il quadro offerto dal ved. sussiste una relazione per cui è stata neutralizza-

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176 Cfr. OIG. §37.

177 Cfr. Wackernagel 1892, p.457 e ss.; Delbrück 1878, p.76 e ss.; Delbrück 1888, p.44 e ss.

178 Cfr. Macdonell 1916, p.466–469. È da notare che nelle frasi principali la preposizione a volte precede e a volte segue il verbo. Nella frase secondaria P segue V con molto minore frequenza: cfr. p.468–69.

179 È da rilevare che nella frase principale se c'erano due preposizioni, entrambe erano indipendenti ed accentate: cfr. *úpa prá yāhi* 'come forth', mentre nella frase secondaria entrambe erano composte ed accentate o solo la prima era indipendente ed accentata: cfr. Macdonell 1916, p.468–69.

180 Macdonell 1916, p.469 avverte però che in una frase secondaria P all'interno di un Pāda è spesso separato da V con altre parole.

ta l'opposizione accentuale nei contesti frase principale/frase secondaria, e si è generalizzata la regola operante in ved.[181] È questa una situazione innovativa che lascia solo poche tracce di un quadro più antico, come nel caso dell'imperativo.[182] Diversa è la relazione per quanto riguarda la composizione. Hermann 1895, criticando alcune delle conclusioni a cui era giunto Thurneysen, aveva sostenuto che la composizione del verbo irl. ant. corrisponde a quella della frase principale in ved. Che non sia così, e che la situazione sia più complessa e possibilmente mostri ancora una volta numerose tracce centrifughe rispetto a ciò che pensava Hermann, lo dimostra in primo luogo proprio l'esistenza di fenomeni di sandhi, quali la lenizione e la nasalizzazione tra i pre-verbi e il verbo, come marca diffusa della frase dipendente. Mi riferisco alla frase dipendente o secondaria, più in generale, e non alla sola frase relativa, perché bisogna pur rilevare che ciò che viene definito complessivamente nella bibliografia tradizionale "frase relativa" dell'irl. ant.[183] in parecchi casi è piuttosto un altro tipo di subordinata. Altro dato che conferma ulteriormente il primo è la già notata impossibilità di infissare un pronome personale tra i pre-verbi relativi e il verbo. Il che equivale a dire appunto che la frontiera P–V nella frase relativa era piuttosto simile a P + V che non a P # V, che cioè P–V formavano un composto stretto, incompatibile con la frapposizione di altre unità. È possibile a mio avviso che questa situazione rispecchi la più antica situazione di composizione verbale indoeuropea in frase secondaria.[184] Se ne può dunque con-

[181] Ciò fu riconosciuto da Thurneysen 1883–1885.

[182] È legittimo chiedersi sé la prototonia dopo le particelle congiunte, le forme della negazione, le particelle relative, che apparentemente fanno eccezione a questa regola innovativa, non si risolva anch'essa in deuterotonia, potendo essere assimilati tutti questi elementi ad unità della classe P.

[183] Cfr. quanto si è detto a proposito della nasalizzazione. Caratteristico è inoltre il caso della lenizione nelle *cleft sentences*.

[184] Oscillazioni che mostrano di contraddire la conclusione di Hermann 1895 sono costituite dalla legge di Bergin, il cui schema è $\#\# \ldots \acute{P}_1\ (P_2 \ldots)\ V\#\#$, dove P V è una unità accentuale, è cioè una sola parola, mentre nella tmesi, il cui schema è $\#\#\ P\ (E) \ldots \acute{V}\ \#\#$, l'univerbazione non ha avuto luogo. Come si può vedere, la legge di Bergin segue la regola di accentuazione della frase principale, ma segue la regola di composizione della frase secondaria.

cludere che la proclisi dei pre-verbi relativi e delle forme relative della negazione non necessariamente constituisce una prova di composizione debole; è invece possibile che la proclisi rifletta una caratteristica di composizione stretta tra P e V, che era tipica dei composti verbali in frasi secondarie in stadi antichi dell'indoeuropeo.

I soli punti che contraddicono sostanzialmente l'ipotesi della composizione stretta tra P e V nelle frasi relative in irl. ant. sono dunque 3) e 4), la mancanza dei fenomeni di assimilazione consonantica e la mancanza di elisione. A me pare, comunque, che il peso di fenomeni fonosintattici di questo genere non debba essere sopravvalutato: molto spesso sono dovuti a meccanismi di riaggiustamento "di superficie" nella grammatica.[185] Un fenomeno come la non interrompibilità mediante pronomi personali è molto più significativo quanto alla morfosintassi più profonda della sequenza. A parte queste considerazioni, ad ogni modo, è possibile che una spiegazione di 3) se non di 4) venga fornita proprio dalla presenza della lenizione o della nasalizzazione, che potrebbero avere agito da "barriera" contro l'applicazione delle altrimenti normali regole di assimilazione.

Riepilogando, dunque, possiamo dire che non c'è bisogno di postulare la presenza di **yo-* dopo i pre-verbi e la negazione in frasi relative, per giustificare la lenizione. E se, in tal modo, si perde una generalizzazione, quella del comportamento unitario di verbi semplici, verbi composti, particelle e preverbi relativizzanti, se ne guadagna un'altra, forse più convincente dal punto di vista strutturale, quella concernente la unitarietà dei fenomeni di dipendenza in irl. ant.

La tmesi, invece, segue la regola di accentazione della frase secondaria, ma segue la regola di composizione della frase principale.

185 Lewis and Pedersen §99, p. 69, con una formulazione che fa riferimento al "sentimento linguistico" del parlante, sostengono che: "A preverb-verb combination changes considerably in form with the change in accent. This is not exclusively due to the accent, but for the most part to the fact that from a very early period the accented preverb has been felt to form a close compound with the following element (preverb or verb), while the proclitic was felt to form a loose compound". È quindi possibile che la composizione si ristrutturò in parte dopo la formazione dell'accentazione, come del resto pensava Hermann 1895, p. 529.

9. Alcune considerazioni conclusive

Cerchiamo di riassumere quanto si è detto sinora. L'evidenza formale non può "provare" la presenza di un elemento **-yo-*, particella relativa o vero e proprio pronome relativo che fosse, agglutinato in modo da dar luogo alle forme speciali relative che abbiamo esaminato. Può, al massimo, ricostruirlo in maniera congetturale e, in questo caso, sotto la forma di una particella relativa e non di un pronome. D'altra parte, se si cerca un argomento nella lenizione, bisogna dire che tale fenomeno ha una estensione molto più ampia nel sistema linguistico, e che non si limita alla frase relativa. Inoltre, esso non ha contesti di occorrenza determinati solo foneticamente: al contrario, l'intera casistica fa pensare ad un sistema più o meno integrato, in cui la complementazione viene marcata attraverso una sorta di "amalgama" fonetico dell'elemento retto e dell'elemento reggente. La lenizione "relativa", poi, sembra seguire una antica regola di composizione tra pre-verbo e verbo dell frase secondaria indoeuropea. Più forti testimonianze non vengono dall'evidenza documentaria, tutta giocata su monumenti epigrafici di Restsprachen come il gallico ed il celtiberico. Di tali monumenti, per lo meno per ora, non è stato restituito con sufficiente affidabilità il valore testuale globale, sia nel suo aspetto semantico che in quello sintattico. Anche in questo genere di dati, ad ogni modo, le congetture avanzabili riportano tutte (eccezion fatta per Botorrita A) ad un elemento *-yo* non pronominale, un elemento che sembra riguardare in primo luogo la morfologia invece che la sintassi ed il cui esatto valore morfologico rimane da chiarire. Per le forme di Botorrita A, qualora si giungesse a dimostrare su basi più solide di quelle odierne che si tratta effettivamente di elementi pronominali "relativi", rimane il fatto che una tale testimonianza fornita dal celtiberico non può avere ripercussioni cogenti sulla originaria presenza in celt. insulare e, più specificamente, in irl. ant. di un pronome "relativo" in *yo-*. In questo senso si può forse notare un vizio di prospettiva nei tentativi, sinora effettuati, di porre in rapporto su questo problema i dati del celt. insulare con quelli del celt. continentale. Si è partiti infatti dall'assunzione implicita che un elemento "relativo" sia costituzionalmente tale ab origine e non sia piuttosto un punto d'arrivo (e, se si vuole, nuovamente di partenza) di un processo lungo e complicato che investe una molteplicità di fenomeni: meccanismi informativi testuali, relazioni d'ordine nel sistema linguistico, alterazioni diacroniche di funzione. Che sia così lo possiamo vedere, in ambito indoeuropeistico, dal fatto che sia il tema *$*k^w$-* che il tema **yo-* presentino, in uno stadio convenzionalmente assumibile come iniziale, un valore testuale focalizzante, e che in diacronia mostrino oscillazioni tra una posizione cataforica e una posizione anaforica; la prima mantiene la funzione focalizzante, la seconda si associa in modo più o meno stabile ad una funzione tematizzante (cioè di ripresa di informazioni DATE). D'altra parte lo slittamento massiccio, verificatosi in alcune lingue indoeuropee, dal tipo cataforico-focalizzante al tipo anaforico-tematizzante sembra anche in rapporto allo slittamento delle relazioni d'ordine dal tipo SOV al tipo SVO attuatosi lentamente in esse. Se è così, ammesso che si dimostri per il celtiberico la posizione anaforica e la funzione tematizzante degli elementi in *yo-* (che è quella del vero e proprio relativo), ciò non avrebbe alcuna implicazione sul quadro ricostruibile per il celt. insulare. La deriva potrebbe aver seguito una determinata direzione in celtiberico ed una direzione diversa in celt. insulare. A questo riguardo varrà la pena tener presente che le lingue celt. insulari sono VSO, mentre per quello che è lecito inferire, le lingue celt. continentali sembrano avere l'ordine SVO in un'area centrale come quella gallica e, occasionalmente, l'ordine più arcaico SOV in aree marginali.[186]

Ma c'è un'altra assunzione precostituita che ha avuto un effetto in una certe misura fuorviante: il ricercare a tutti i costi una marca di relativizzazione e, per di più, tale da conformarsi al tipo che ci è familiare per le lingue indoeuropee. Tutto ciò ha intrigato per anni chi si è cimentato col problema del relativo in irl. ant., come se l'assenza di una marca pronominale di relativizzazione fosse inaccettabile.[187] In realtà, da un punto di vista

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[186] Cfr. Schmidt 1981 b, p. 82.

[187] Una consapevole impostazione del problema della Nicht-komposition è in Gagnepain 1967, e già in Benveniste 1957-58, p. 262.

tipologico l'assenza di un elemento relativizzante di natura pronominale, e persino l'assenza di qualsiasi marca di relativizzazione, è una possibilità del tutto normale.[188] Ad esempio in Maori non c'è una specifica distinzione di tipi di subordinazione; la subordinazione è marcata attraverso l'occorrenza di particelle deittiche come *nei* 'here, present', *nA* 'there, near you', *rA* 'yonder, non present', nella cosiddetta periferia posposta del SV.[189] In ebraico ci sono due tipi di frase relativa, uno sindetico e l'altro asindetico. Questo secondo tipo viene principalmente indicato mediante la giustapposizione della sequenza determinativa alla sua testa e mediante un suffisso che concorda appunto col nome testa. Si tratta quindi di una frase aggettivale, formalmente marcata come tale.[190] Questa strategia di suffissazione di un dato elemento al verbo della sequenza determinativa si ritrova anche in basco: la sequenza determinativa precede in questo caso la sua testa nominale ed al verbo si attacca un suffisso -*(e)n*[191] (cfr. *hor dagoen etxea* = 'la casa [*etxea*] che è qui [*hor dagoen*]'. Il verbo così suffissato assume il carattere di un aggettivo.[192] Non meno interessante è il paragone con i dialetti berberi, utilizzati da Wagner 1959 per un confronto tipologico più ampio con il celt. insulare. Anche qui, come in ebraico, una marca di relativizzazione può essere espressa o meno. Ad esempio, nel berbero nefûsi di Fassâṭo il pronome relativo *élli*, invariabile in genere e numero, spesso non viene espresso: cfr. *ufûn twessért ġerés sen n arâ* 'trovarono una vecchia (che) aveva due figli'.[193] Ma uno dei casi più classici di relativizzazione senza alcuna marca formale ci proviene da una lingua polinesiana, la lingua dell'isola di Pasqua, dove la sequenza determinativa segue direttamente la testa: cfr. *he kī te kape ki te tahi rapanui noho oruga o te miro mo oho mai kiuta* 'The Captain told the other Easter Islanders (who) had stayed on the boat to go in-

[188] Cfr. Lehmann 1984, p. 80 e ss.
[189] Cfr. Biggs 1971, specialmente alle p. 479–80.
[190] Cfr. Brockelmann 1956, p. 143.
[191] Cfr. Lafon 1960, p. 70–71 e p. 85.
[192] Cfr. Lafon 1960, p. 75.
[193] Cfr. Beguinot 1942, p. 136. Sul problema del relativo nei dialetti berberi, cfr. anche Gouffé 1964; Galand 1969.

land', dove la clausola relativa *noho oruga o te miro* (*noho* 'stay') segue direttamente la testa nominale *rapanui* 'Ester Islanders'.[194]

Si dirà che queste lingue, alcune delle quali così lontane, hanno ben poco a che vedere con l'irl. ant. Eppure, c'è un rapporto tipologico ben preciso, non casuale, che lega le lingue da cui abbiamo citato gli esempi precedenti all'irl.: in tutti i casi, meno che nel basco, si tratta di lingue VSO. Ora, in tali lingue sembra essere una tendenza normale l'assenza di una marca, quanto meno pronominale, relativa. Naturalmente, questo dato di ordine tipologico non va assolutizzato[195] come *la* spiegazione del problema, ma è pur sempre uno dei fatti su cui riflettere. Mi pare anzi che, se sommato alle considerazioni che abbiamo svolto negli altri paragrafi, possa apportare un ulteriore contributo per trarre delle conclusioni.

In definitiva, a me pare che si possa sostenere che il celt. insulare non fa parte delle lingue indoeuropee a tema 'relativo' in **yo-*. Non c'è nulla nei vari dati che abbiamo esaminato che fornisca il minimo indizio effettivo per suffragare l'ipotesi di un tema pronominale siffatto. Il celt. insulare partecipa invece, secondo quanto ci si potrebbe aspettare, insieme all'italico, al germ. ed all'itt., di un tema pronominale **k^w-* focalizzante-indefinito. L'antica posizione cataforica di tale tema è continuata in celt. insulare da indefiniti morfologicamente indipendenti e da un gran numero di pronomi "relativi-indefiniti" o correlativi. Tuttavia, in tale gruppo linguistico il tema **k^w-* non arrivò presumibilmente a produrre un vero e proprio "relativo" (un pronome anaforico). È possibile che la deriva verso un pronome **k^w-* anaforico sia stata bloccata dallo sviluppo di un ordine basico VSO, che tutto concorre a far credere relativamente tardo. Nelle altre lingue indoeuropee occidentali, invece, la deriva verso un pronome **k^w-* anaforico fu agevolata, se non proprio permessa, da un generale slittamento dall'ordine SOV all'ordine SVO. Ma per chi non crede alle spiegazioni totalizzanti la dinamica del processo così ricostruito non può essere soddisfacente.

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[194] Cfr. Chapin 1978, p. 149–50.

[195] Per una spiegazione completemente tipologica della Nichtkomposition in irl. ant. cfr. Lehmann 1974, p. 68.

Sembra opportuno assumere quindi che le relazioni d'ordine siano state solo uno dei fattori di incidenza, non possiamo stabilire per il momento se attivo o passivo. Certo, l'irl. ant., al pari (e forse più) di altre lingue celt. insulari mostra nei fenomeni sintattici delle singolari differenze rispetto ad altre lingue indoeuropee. Le stesse relazioni d'ordine VSO sono all'interno del dominio linguistico indoeuropeo una caratteristica idiosincratica, tipologicamente isolata e tale da far avanzare ipotesi su commistioni con altre famiglie linguistiche nel quadro di contatti preistorici di culture. Quando ci si muove sul terreno della comparazione tipologica però la prudenza nel ricostruire parentele genetiche non è mai troppa. Se le lingue celt. insulari partecipino (come sostenevano Pokorny e Wagner) insieme al berbero, di una originaria unità linguistica nord-africana o europea occidentale, o se invece molti dei fatti apparentemente singolari che le caratterizzano si spieghino con certi caratteri indoeuropei arcaici, che si sarebbero poi risolti in sviluppi indigeni innovativi (come emerge dalle ricerche di Watkins) è molto difficile da stabilire per via puramente linguistica. C'è verosimilmente un punto al di là del quale gli strumenti del linguista non sono adatti e gli è solo possibile fare congetture. È il punto in cui deve subentrare il lavoro dell'archeologo, dello storico, del folklorista.

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Worttrennung und Silbenstruktur des Gotischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skeireins*

Bislang wurden die Wortbrechungen am Zeilenende in den gotischen Handschriften in drei Arbeiten genauer untersucht: Hechtenberg Collitz 1906, Schulze 1908 und Hermann 1923. Allerdings erfassen alle drei Autoren dabei fast ausschließlich die Wortbrechungen des Codex Argenteus; die Trennungen der Skeireins-Handschrift bleiben, bis auf ganz wenige Beispiele, weitgehend unberücksichtigt[1]. Insgesamt lassen sich nach meiner im folgenden dokumentierten Zählung in der Skeireins 335 Fälle von Wortbrechungen nachweisen. Diese Liste habe ich ergänzt durch die neun in getrennter Form vorliegenden Wörter des erst im Jahre 1971, während der Restaurierung des Domes zu Speyer, entdeckten Blattes des Codex Argenteus[2]. Es enthält sieben Verse des Markusevangeliums (MK. 16, 12–18), deren Worttrennungen bislang noch nicht untersucht wurden. Die

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[1] Hechtenberg Collitz nennt 17, Schulze 51, Hermann 6 Brechungen aus der Skeireins; dem stehen die 335 von mir ermittelten Brechungen gegenüber. Zurückzuführen ist dieser „Notstand" wohl hauptsächlich darauf, daß Hechtenberg Collitz, Schulze und Hermann zu Beginn unseres Jahrhunderts noch kein bezüglich seiner Lesung gesicherter Abdruck der Skeireins-Handschrift vorlag. Dieser wurde, zeilengetreu, erst im Jahre 1960 nach zehnjähriger Forschungsarbeit von Bennett vorgelegt. Mir stand dieser Text natürlich zur Verfügung, und so war es nunmehr möglich, das einschlägige Wortbrechungsmaterial vollständig zu erschließen.

[2] Unter dem Titel „A New Leaf of the Gothic Bible" (= NL.) 1972 von Szemerényi herausgegeben.

Analyse zeigt, daß die Wortbrechung am Zeilenende in der Skeireins und dem NL. in den allermeisten Fällen nach bestimmten Prinzipien vorgenommen wurde. Ich ordne das Material so, daß diese Prinzipien illustriert und belegt werden.

I. Folgen Bezeichnungen zweier Vokale unmittelbar aufeinander, so wird zwischen diesen abgetrennt:
di-abulau (Sk. I. c. 19/20[3])
Sabailli-aus (Sk. V. b. 21/22)
sa-ei (Sk. VI. c. 9/10)
stau-a (Sk. V. b. 18/19)
stau-os (Sk. V. c. 12/13)

II. Intervokalische Konsonantengruppen in Simplizia werden so getrennt, daß stets nur der letzte Konsonant zur Folgesilbe geschrieben wird. Man kann hier Fälle von einem intervokalischen Konsonanten bis zu Gruppen mit vier Konsonanten unterscheiden:

1. *afni-miþ* (Sk. I. b. 4/5)
ainai-zos (Sk. V. a. 3/4)
ai-nana (Sk. IV. d. 21/22)
airþakunda-na (Sk. IV. c. 5/6)
aiwagge-lista (Sk. III. a. 8/9)
ai-waggeljons (Sk. III. d. 8/9)
allai-ze (Sk. I. a. 10/11)
anahnei-wands (Sk. III. d. 18/19)
anananþi-dedun (Sk. IV. d. 22/23)
anastodei-nai (Sk. I. b. 23/24)
(*aftra*) *anasto-deinai* (Sk. I. d. 6/7)
andbei-tands (Sk. V. b. 15/16)
andho-fun (Sk. VIII. b. 5/6)
andni-man (Sk. II. d. 1/2; VII. c. 20/21)
anþa-ramma (NL MK. 16, 12; 1/2)
anþara-na (Sk. V. a. 9/10)
bari-zeinam (Sk. VII. d. 22/23)
bari-zeinans (Sk. VII. a. 10/11)
dau-peinai (Sk. III. d. 9/10)

[3] Die Zeilenangaben verweisen auf Bennetts Ausgabe für die Skeireins, auf Szemerényis für das NL.

dau-peinais (Sk. II. c. 25/d. 1)
daupei-nim (Sk. III. b. 11/12)
dau-peins (Sk. III. d. 1/2)
dau-peiþ (Sk. III.d. 22/23)
Farei-saium (Sk. VIII. a. 14/15)
fau-ramanwjandei (Sk. IV. b. 2/3)
faurawi-san (Sk. VIII. b. 17/18)
fi-laus (Sk. V. c. 6/7)
fo-dida (Sk. VII. d. 9/10)
fragi-bandan (Sk. V. c. 11/12)
fragi-bands (Sk. III. c. 22/23)
fri-japwa (Sk. V. d. 21/22)
fri-jondan (Sk. V. a. 6/7; V. a. 8/9)
fri-jos (Sk. V. d. 18/19)
fullafahi-da (Sk. VII. d. 3/4)
gabaira-da (Sk. II. c. 18/19)
gafullide-dun (Sk. VII. d. 19/20)
gagu-dein (Sk. I. c. 9/10)
gahai-tands (Sk. V. b. 12/13)
gahauside-dun (Sk. VI. d. 17/18)
gahauside-duþ (Sk. VI. d. 5/6)
galaubei-nai (Sk. II. c. 11/12)
galaubide-di (Sk. VIII. c. 3/4)
galaubi-dedun (NL Mk. 16, 13; 4/5)
galau-bidedun (NL Mk. 16, 14; 9/10)
galei-kon (Sk. I. d. 15/16)
galei-konds (Sk. V. b. 9/10)
Galei-laia (Sk. VIII. d. 23/24)
gasai-ƕan (Sk. II. a. 23/24)
gasai-ƕand (Sk. VI. d. 23/24)
gasai-ƕandam (NL Mk. 16, 14; 8/9)
gasa-kada (Sk. VII. a. 14/15)
ha-baiþ (Sk. VI. d. 7/8)
hau-ja (Sk. VII. b. 3/4)
Hero-des (Sk. III. a. 12/13)
himinakunda-na (Sk. IV. c. 2/3)
hlai-bam (Sk. VII. c. 11/12)
hwsso-þon (Sk. III. c. 7/8)

ƕai-wa (Sk. V. b. 24/25)
ƕa-þar (Sk. III. a. 22/23)
ƕei-lai (Sk. VI. a. 21/22)
idrei-gos (Sk. III. c. 13/14)
i-na (Sk. VI. a. 13/14)
ingi-be (NL Mk. 16, 18; 19/20)
innu-man (Sk. VI. b. 22/23)
insandi-da (Sk. VI. b. 7/8; VI. d. 10/11)
Io-hannes (Sk. I. a. 23/24)
Io-seba (Sk. II. a. 7/8)
jaggahausi-da (Sk. IV. d. 10/11)
jai-naize (Sk. VIII. b. 3/4)
jai-nar (Sk. III. a. 1/2)
jai-nis (Sk. V. a. 12/13; V. c. 16/17)
Jaurda-nau (Sk. IV. a. 12/13)
je-re (Sk. VII. d. 8/9)
Ju-daia (Sk. IV. b. 8/9)
Ju-daie (Sk. VIII. d. 9/10)
Ju-daium (Sk. IV. a. 7/8)
(*ga*)*kannide-di* (Sk. IV. d. 16/17)
lai-sareis (Sk. VII. a. 17/18)
lai-sein (Sk. VIII. b. 14/15)
lai-seinai (Sk. I. c. 25/d. 1)
leikei-non (Sk. II. b. 21/22)
leiti-lamma (Sk. IV. a. 25/b. 1)
mahte-di (Sk. V. c. 1/2)
mai-zein (Sk. VI. a. 24/25)
mai-zo (Sk. VII. c. 1/2)
manase-dais (Sk. I. b. 5/6)
ma-tida (Sk. VII. c. 2/3)
mau-deiþ (Sk. VI. a. 15/16)
mei-na (Sk. IV. a. 1/2)
meri-da (Sk. III. c. 14/15)
miki-lein (Sk. IV. d. 15/16)
mi-kiludþais (Sk. VII. a. 15/16)
missade-de (Sk. III. c. 15/16)
mu-nands (Sk. II. b. 22/23)
Ne-kaudemus (Sk. II. b. 6/7)

praufe-te (Sk. VI. c. 17/18)
qi-mandin (Sk. VIII. c. 18/19)
qi-mands (Sk. I. c. 5/6)
qi-pandans (Sk. VIII. d. 21/22)
qi-pands (Sk. II. c. 15/16; VII. a. 20/21)
qu-mana (Sk. IV. c. 16/17)
rau-dai (Sk. III. c. 8/9)
sai-walos (Sk. IV. b. 3/4)
sa-ma (Sk. V. b. 20/21)
sei-na (Sk. III. a. 17/18)
seinai-zos (Sk. VII. c. 12/13)
sto-jan (Sk. V. b. 25/c. 1)
sto-jandan (Sk. V. c. 10/11)
su-man (Sk. VI. c. 16/17)
su-manuhpan (Sk. VI. c. 20/21)
su-nau (Sk. V. d. 1/2)
su-nu (Sk. V. c. 18/19)
swe-rand (Sk. V. d. 10/11)
swe-ripos (Sk. V. a. 1/2)
swe-sa (Sk. II. d. 16/17)
swe-sai (Sk. V. b. 8/9)
swikunpa-ba (Sk. VIII. b. 15/16)
pa-naseips (Sk. III. b. 8/9)
pa-ta (Sk. I. c. 4/5; II. d. 24/25; IV. c. 21/22)
patai-nei (Sk. IV. d. 14/15)
pa-tei (Sk. VI. b. 6/7; VIII. a. 21/22)
pei-handei (Sk. IV. b. 11/12)
piu-dangardja (Sk. II. c. 21/22)
pi-ze (Sk. V. a. 15/16; VII. c. 8/9)
pi-zei (Sk. IV. c. 7/8; VI. a. 7/8; VI. c. 22/23)
pi-zos (Sk. I. a. 19/20; I. d. 12/13)
pra-sabalpein (Sk. V. b. 14/15)
ungalaubei-nai (Sk. VIII. b. 4/5)
unse-lein (Sk. VIII. a. 5/6; VIII. b. 10/11)
unse-leins (Sk. VIII. b. 19/20; VIII. d. 16/17)
usgi-baima (Sk. V. d. 6/7)
wa-ninassu (Sk. VII. c. 22/23)
wa-to (Sk. III. c. 5/6)

wei-hon (Sk. II. b. 1/2)
we-sun (Sk. III. a. 3/4; IV. d. 12/13)
wi-sandan (Sk. IV. b. 22/23)
wi-sandei (Sk. IV. b. 16/17)
wi-sandin (Sk. VII. b. 4/5)
wi-sandona (Sk. VI. c. 1/2)

2. *aflif-nandeins* (Sk. VII. d. 14/15)
ah-mins (Sk. III. c. 21/22)
ainhvar-janoh (Sk. VII. c. 18/19)
air-þai (Sk. IV. c. 13/14; IV. d. 5/6)
air-þeins (Sk. IV. d. 4/5)
aiþ-þau (Sk. I. a. 1/2)
aiwaggel-jons (Sk. IV. b. 5/6)
al-jai (Sk. VII. b. 14/15)
al-lai (Sk. I. a. 2/3)
al-lans (Sk. I. b. 10/11)
andbin-dau (Sk. III. d. 19/20)
andsitan-dans (Sk. VIII. b. 9/10)
an-þara (Sk. II. b. 3/47)
at-ta (Sk. VI. c. 10/11)
at-tan (Sk. IV. d. 23/24)
at-tin (Sk. V. d. 17/18; VI. c. 6/7)
az-gon (Sk. III. c. 1/2)
bal-þein (Sk. VIII. c. 20/21)
biuh-ti (Sk. II. b. 20/21)
bruk-jands (Sk. V. a. 25/b. 1)
daup-jandam (Sk. III. a. 15/16)
draus-nos (Sk. VII. d. 15/16)
faurrinnan-din (Sk. III. b. 15/16)
filus-na (Sk. VII. b. 6/7; VII. c. 13/14)
frakun-nan (Sk. VI. d. 14/15)
gabandwjan-dona (Sk. VI. c. 5/6)
gabran-nidaizos (Sk. III. c. 2/3)
gaggan-da (Sk. III. d. 15/16)
galaub-jan (Sk. VI. a. 9/10)
galaubjan-dans (Sk. V. d. 4/5)
ganoh-jands (Sk. VII. b. 21/22)
garaih-tein (Sk. I. a. 14/15)

garaih-teins (Sk. I. d. 13/14)
gaum-jan (Sk. VII. d. 5/6)
gudis-kai (Sk. I. c. 6/7)
gudiskam-ma (Sk. I. b. 9/10)
gud-jam (Sk. VIII. a. 13/14)
haus-jan (Sk. VI. a. 10/11)
himinakun-don (Sk. II. b. 2/3)
hrain-jahairtans (Sk. VI. d. 21/22)
im-ma (Sk. II. c. 13/14)
Iohan-ne (Sk. III. b. 13/14); IV. d. 13/14; VI. a. 25/b. 1)
Iohan-nes (Sk. III. a. 6/7; III. b. 1/2)
iupaþ-ro (Sk. II. a. 22/23; II. a. 25/b. 1)
kan-nida (Sk. IV. b. 18/19)
kan-nidedi (Sk. IV. b. 23/24)
kunnan-dins (Sk. VII. a. 1/2)
laisar-ja (Sk. II. b. 9/10)
liugan-dans (Sk. VIII. c. 12/13)
man-na (Sk. VIII. a. 23/24)
man-ne (Sk. IV. b. 13/14)
man-niskaim (Sk. VI. b. 8/9)
mannis-kodaus (Sk. VI. b. 17/18)
Markail-liaus (Sk. IV. d. 20/21)
mis-sadede (Sk. III. b. 24/25)
mis-saleikaim (Sk. V. b. 22/23; VI. c. 13/14)
mis-saleiks (Sk. VI. c. 12/13)
nah-tamata (Sk. VII. b. 12/13)
nauþjan-din (Sk. I. b. 24/25)
qiþan-dam (Sk. IV. a. 9/10; VIII. d. 1/2)
qiþan-dans (Sk. VIII. b. 24/25)
raih-tis (Sk. II. d. 6/7)
Sabail-liaus (Sk. IV. d. 19/20)
sildaleik-jandans (Sk. VIII. b. 13/14)
sipon-jans (Sk. VII. d. 2/3)
sokjan-dans (Sk. IV. a. 8/9)
stib-na (Sk. VI. c. 19/20; VI. d. 16/17)
sun-jus (Sk. III. c. 23/24)
swesam-ma (Sk. V. b. 7/8)
tain-jons (Sk. VII. c. 5/6)

þan-zei (Sk. V. b. 5/6)
þaþ-ro (Sk. VI. d. 24/25)
ufartrusnjan-dans (Sk. III. c. 9/10)
unbruk-jai (Sk. I. a. 4/5)
undrun-nun (Sk. III. a. 20/21)
unswikun-þozei (Sk. VI. a. 1/2)
un-te (Sk. VI. d. 22/23)
usdaud-jaina (Sk. III. b. 12/13)
uslaub-jandein (Sk. VIII. a. 8/9)
ustaik-niþs (Sk. VIII. d. 11/12)
usþulan-dans (Sk. VIII. d. 19/20)
wair-þan (Sk. I. c. 24/25; I. d. 20/21; VII. c. 17/18)
wal-dufnja (Sk. I. b. 14/15)
waur-dahai (Sk. IV. c. 14/15)
waur-de (Sk. VI. b. 21/22)
weit-wodjand (Sk. VI. b. 5/6)
weitwod-jands (Sk. IV. c. 12/13)
wil-jin (Sk. I. c. 23/24)
wisan-do (Sk. II. d. 9/10)
wiþ-rus (Sk. I. b. 3/4)

3. *anakumb-jan* (Sk. VII. b. 2/3)
anakumb-jandam (NL Mk. 16, 14; 5/6)
andþaggk-jandins (Sk. VII. a. 3/4)
andwairþ-je (Sk. V. c. 4/5)
bairh-tai (Sk. V. c. 22/23)
bairh-taba (Sk. VI. c. 4/5)
band-wiþs (Sk. V. b. 23/24)
gaswikunþ-jandona (Sk. VI. c. 2/3)
gatarh-jan (Sk. IV. d. 17/18)
gawand-jandam (Sk. III. c. 17/18)
gawaurh-tedi (Sk. I. b. 20/21)
þiudangard-ja (Sk. II. a. 24/15)
þiudangard-jos (Sk. III. c. 24/25)
wahs-jan (Sk. IV. a. 3/4; IV. a. 22/23)
waurk-jandins (Sk. VI. c. 3/4)

3a. Eine Ausnahme zu diesem Trennverfahren stellen Konsonantengruppen dar, bei denen ein Liquid einem Plosiv folgt; in solchen Fällen werden die Plosiv

+ Liquid-Gruppen geschlossen auf die neue Zeile geschrieben:
af-tra (Sk. I. c. 22/23)
An-draias (Sk. VII. a. 6/7)

4. *waurst-wa* (Sk. VI. b. 1/2; VI. b. 25)
waurst-wis (Sk. V. c. 7/8)

III. Bei Komposita wird nach dem ersten Teil der Zusammensetzung bzw. nach dem Präfix abgetrennt:
af-domjada (NL Mk. 16, 16; 14/15)
ain-falþaba (Sk. III. c. 16/17)
ain-ƕaþarammeh (Sk. III. a. 16/17)
ala-mannam (Sk. VIII. b. 16/17)
ana-aiauk (Sk. VI. d. 2/3)
ana-budana (Sk. III. b. 7/8)
ana-filhands (Sk. III. b. 18/19)
ana-haitandane (Sk. VIII. b. 11/12)
ana-stodeinai (Sk. I. c. 14/15)
ana-stodjandei (Sk. IV. b. 7/8)
ana-stodjands (Sk. II. a. 14/15)
anda-þahtan (Sk. II. d. 22/23)
and-bahtos (Sk. VIII. a. 11/12)
and-haitan (Sk. V. a. 21/22)
and-nam (Sk. I. d. 10/11)
and-saljan (Sk. V. c. 24/25)
and-wairþja (Sk. V. a. 19/20)
anþar-leikein (Sk. VI. b. 23/24)
bi-baurgeinais (Sk. III. c. 3/4)
bi-gitan (Sk. VII. c. 3/4)
bi-þe (Sk. VII. d. 10/11)
ei-þan (Sk. V. d. 3/4; VI. a. 14/15)
faur-þis (Sk. V. b. 10/11)
fra-gaf (Sk. VII. b. 25/c. 1)
fra-kunnan (Sk. I. d. 1/2)
ga-bairada (Sk. II. a. 21/22)
ga-bairaidau (Sk. II. c. 6/7)
ga-bairan (Sk. II. c. 2/3)
ga-dob (Sk. III. c. 10/11)
ga-ƕairbam (Sk. VI. d. 13/14)

ga-laisjaina (Sk. V. a. 17/18)
ga-lapon (Sk. I. d. 17/18)
ga-laubjandam (NL Mk. 16, 17; 15/16)
ga-mains (Sk. I. a. 8/9)
ga-manwida (Sk. VII. c. 16/17)
ga-raihtei (Sk. I. a. 15/16)
ga-raihteins (Sk. I. b. 18/19)
ga-rehsn (Sk. I. b. 1/2)
ga-rehsnais (Sk. II. d. 18/19)
ga-rehsns (Sk. IV. a. 24/25)
ga-sahtai (Sk. VIII. b. 1/2)
ga-saƕ (Sk. IV. d. 9/10)
ga-taujiþ (Sk. V. b. 6/7)
ƕan-hun (Sk. VI. d. 4/5)
inn-galaiþan (Sk. II. c. 20/21)
in-sahts (Sk. VI. a. 3/4)
jagga-raihtein (Sk. IV. c. 11/12)
missa-leikom (Sk. II. d. 3/4)
naudi-þaurfts (Sk. II. c. 22/23)
sama-leikoh (Sk. VII. c. 7/8)
swa-leikai (Sk. V. c. 21/22)
swe-þauh (Sk. I. b. 6/7)
swi-kunþaba (Sk. II. a. 6/7)
þana-seiþs (Sk. I. b. 17/18)
þat-ain (Sk. I. d. 24/25)
þat-ainei (Sk. VII. b. 23/24)
ufar-gaggan (Sk. I. c. 20/21)
ufar-maudein (Sk. VI. a. 12/13)
unana-siuniba (Sk. VIII. a. 4/5)
und-redan (Sk. VI. b. 19/20)
un-faurweisane (Sk. III. b. 23/24)
unga-laubjandane (Sk. V. b. 13/14; VI. c. 24/25)
un-kunnandans (Sk. IV. a. 17/18)
un-kunnandin (Sk. II. c. 14/15)
ur-raiseiþ (Sk. V. b. 2/3)
us-lunein (Sk. I. a. 21/22)
us-lutondins (Sk. I. d. 3/4)
us-taikneiþ (Sk. V. d. 23/24)

us-taiknida (Sk. II. a. 15/16)
us-tauhana (Sk. I. a. 24/25)
us-þulandans (Sk. VIII. b. 21/22)
us-wairþand (NL Mk. 16, 17; 17/18)
waila-wiznai (Sk. VII. b. 22/23)

IV. Schwankende Trennungen finden sich in Fällen mit dem Enklitikon *-uh*:
an-duh (Sk. V. a. 23/24)
anþara-nuhþan (Sk. V. a. 7/8)
nauhþa-nuh (Sk. III. a. 4/5)
þam-muh (Sk. II. b. 5/6; V. d. 24/25)
suman-uhþan (Sk. VI. c. 18/19)

Die Wortbrechungsbeispiele dieser Tabelle lassen somit bestimmte Prinzipien erkennen, aufgrund derer die Trennung in der Skeireins und im NL. durchgeführt wurde. Sie lassen sich als Regeln im einzelnen wie folgt darstellen[4]:

1. -VV- → -V/V-[5]: z. B. *di-abulau, sa-ei*
2. -VCV- → -V/CV-: z. B. *ai-nana, fi-laus*
3. -VCCV- → -VC/CV-: z. B. *ah-mins, man-na*
   3.1 Schwankungen sind möglich bei:
   -V*þ*LV- → -V/*þ*LV-: z. B. *wi-þra* (Mk. 4, 1), *þa-þro* (Jh. 14, 31)[6]
   → -V*þ*/LV-: z. B. *iuþaþ-ro, þaþ-ro*
4. -VCCCV- → -VCC/CV-: z. B. *bairh-tai, band-wiþs*
   4.1 -VCTLV- → VC/TLV-: z. B. *af-tra, An-draias*
5. -VCCCCV- → -VCCC/CV-: z. B. *waurst-wa, waurst-wis*
6. Zusammensetzungen und Präfixbildungen werden morphologisch getrennt: z. B. *ana-stodeinai, þat-ain*

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[4] Im folgenden steht ‚V' für Vokal, ‚C' für Konsonant, ‚L' für Liquid, ‚T' für Plosiv, ‚M' für Muta.

[5] Die Gruppen -VV- werden nicht getrennt, wo sie einen Monophthong oder Diphthong darstellen, vgl. *stau-a, stau-os.*

[6] Die Beispiele für die -V/*þ*LV-Trennung sind aus dem Codex Argenteus (nach Hechtenberg Collitz 1906, S. 80/82), da sich in der Skeireins selbst hierzu kein Nachweis finden läßt, wodurch das gotische Schwanken in der Trennung von *þ* + Liquid-Gruppen hätte verdeutlicht werden können.

7. Schwankende Trennungen (phonologisch vs. morphologisch) finden sich beim Enklitikon *-uh*: z. B. *an-duh, suman-uhþan*

Mit diesen Regeln ist die Worttrennung in der Skeireins bereits weitgehend beschrieben. An ihnen wird ersichtlich, daß die Zeilenbrechung nicht zufällig oder willkürlich geschah, sondern daß ihr bestimmte Richtlinien zugrunde lagen. Entsprechendes gilt auch für die übrigen gotischen Handschriften, die von anderen Autoren untersucht worden sind[7].

Allerdings verbleibt unter den 335 Worttrennungen der Skeireins ein Rest von 10 Brechungen, die keiner der gotischen Trennregeln zugeordnet werden können. Es sind dies:

ain-shun (Sk. VIII. d. 2/3)
andþag-gkjands (Sk. VII. a. 18/19)
f-raqiþanam (Sk. VIII. d. 12/13)
ful-hsnja (Sk. IV. d. 8/9)
gaag-gwein (Sk. I. c. 12/13)
gareh-snais (Sk. IV. d. 2/3)
twa-ddje (Sk. III. d. 3/4)
tw-os (Sk. II. d. 14/15)
þwai-rheins (Sk. VIII. c. 10/11)
waurs-twa (Sk. VI. b. 15/16)

Es ist jedoch möglich, anhand der Handschrift nachzuweisen, daß vier von diesen (*ain-shun, gaag-gwein, twa-ddje, þwai-rheins*) kalligraphisch motiviert sind, während für die übrigen sechs Fälle ein Versehen oder momentanes unbekümmertes Vorgehen der Schreiber angenommen werden darf[8]. Aufgrund dieser Beobachtungen halte ich fest, daß die Worttrennung der Skeireins und des NL nach bestimmten Regeln durchgeführt wurde, die zudem den Brechungsprinzipien der übrigen Handschriften entsprechen.

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[7] V. a. Hechtenberg Collitz 1906, Schulze 1908. Ferner Streitberg 1910, Hermann 1923, Jellinek 1926, Braune-Ebbinghaus 1981 und Vennemann 1985.
[8] Vgl. hierzu die detaillierten Ausführungen in Frey 1986, S. 61–66.

Die ermittelten Regeln machen deutlich, daß wir im Gotischen grundsätzlich zwei Arten der Trennung unterscheiden können:

I. *Simplizialtrennung*:
Sie umfaßt: 1. ganz unzusammengesetzte Formen
2. Suffixbildungen

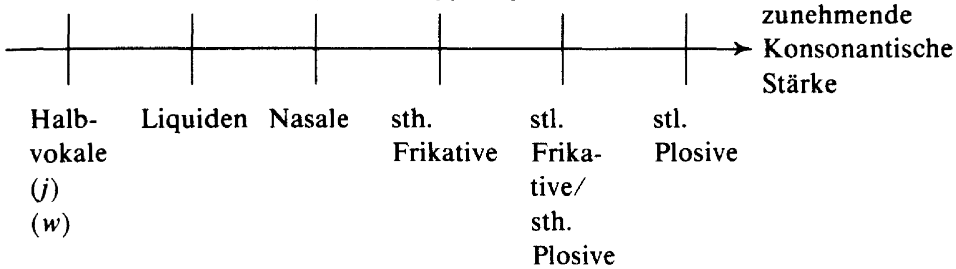
II. *Kompositaltrennung*:
Sie umfaßt: 1. Komposita
2. Präfixbildungen
3. Reduplikate

Die ältere Forschung spricht bezüglich dieser Unterscheidung von „phonetischer" vs. „etymologischer" Trennung, die jüngere Literatur, deren Terminologie ich mich anschließe, von „phonologischer" bzw. „morphologischer" Trennung. Ich möchte nun nachweisen, daß sowohl morphologische als auch phonologische Trennung im Gotischen auf der phonologischen Syllabierung beruhen, daß also eine Grenzziehung zwischen zwei Arten der Wortbrechung im Gotischen überhaupt nicht erforderlich ist. Diese theoretische Klärung ist - nach der Sicherung der empirischen Grundlagen - das zweite Hauptziel meiner Arbeit.

Obwohl in der gotizistischen Forschung - vgl. vor allem Hechtenberg Collitz, Schulze und Jellinek - schon früh Versuche unternommen wurden, die Simplizialtrennung des Gotischen durch Annahmen über seine Silbenstruktur zu erklären, scheinen mir die entsprechenden Nachweise erst in jüngster Zeit gelungen, und zwar in Murray/Vennemann 1983 und Vennemann 1985. Murray und Vennemann (1983, S. 519), die sich ihrerseits auf eine bis auf Sievers und Jespersen zurückgehende Tradition stützen, nehmen an, daß sich alle Konsonanten nach ihrer ‚Stärke', d. h. nach dem Kriterium ihres Öffnungsgrades, in verschiedene Gruppen unterteilen und auf einer linearen Skala anordnen lassen. Dies ist in der nachfolgenden Figur dargestellt.

Frey, Evelyn, *Worttrennung und Silbenstruktur des Gotischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skeireins* , Indogermanische Forschungen, 94 (1989) p.272

Skala der Konsonantischen Stärke:



Unter Zuhilfenahme der Skala der Konsonantischen Stärke (KS-Skala) lassen sich einige allgemeine Aussagen über den Aufbau von Silben machen[9], z. B. daß Sprachlaute mit sehr geringer Konsonantischer Stärke der Tendenz nach den Nukleus einer Silbe bilden (Vokale, Liquiden, Nasale), während stärkere Sprachlaute dazu tendieren, im Silbenkopf (Anfangsrand) oder in der Silbenkoda (Endrand) aufzutreten. Sie ordnen sich dabei bevorzugt „trogförmig", d. h. die Konsonantische Stärke des Silbenanfangsrandes bzw. -endrandes nimmt zum Nukleus hin beständig ab. Eine „gute" Silbe hat dabei einen möglichst starken Konsonanten im Anfangsrand, während ihr Endrand schwach oder sogar leer ist. Die idealtypische Silbe hat demnach eine CV-Struktur.

Folgen in einem Wort mehrere Silben aufeinander, ergeben sich die Silbengrenzen bevorzugt derart, daß jede einzelne Silbe der idealtypischen Form möglichst nahe kommt. Hierfür haben Murray und Vennemann (1983) folgendes Gesetz formuliert:

> **The Syllable Contact Law** (SCL): The preference for a syllabic structure $A\$B$, where A and B are marginal segments and a and b are the Consonantal Strength values of A and B respectively, increases with the value of b minus a.

> **Corollary:** The tendency for a syllabic structure $A\$B$ to change, where A and B are marginal segments and a

[9] Für eine genaue Ausführung zum Thema allgemeiner Silbenbauprinzipien s. Vennemann 1982. Einige zentrale Punkte daraus werden weiter unten referiert.

and *b* are the Consonantal Strength values of *A* and *B* respectively, increases with the value of *a* minus *b*.

Diese allgemeinen Silbenpräferenzgesetze (v.a. das Silbenkontaktgesetz) werden in Murray/Vennemann 1983 zum ersten Mal auf das Gotische angewendet. Dadurch ergeben sich ganz neue Perspektiven für die Betrachtung der gotischen Wortbrechungen, wie sie uns in den Handschriften überliefert sind. Aufgrund der Sprachanalysen, aus denen Murray und Vennemann ihr Silbenkontaktgesetz abgeleitet haben, ist anzunehmen, daß eine Lautfolge -VCV- oder -VC_1C_2V- als -V.CV- und -$VC_1.C_2V$- syllabiert wird, wobei die Einschränkung gilt, daß -$VC_1.C_2V$- immer dann zutrifft, wenn zwischen C_1 und C_2 kein sehr schlechter Silbenkontakt entsteht, d.h. wenn die Silbenkontaktdifferenz zwischen $KS(C_2)$ minus $KS(C_1)$ für die jeweilige Sprache noch tragbar ist, ohne daß irgendwelche Veränderungen an der Silbenstruktur vorgenommen werden müßten. Da das Silbenkontaktgesetz universelle Gültigkeit hat, muß es auch auf das Gotische zutreffen, d.h. es müssen auch hier Abfolgen von -VCV- und -VCCV- unter der genannten Einschränkung (über sie wird noch gesondert zu sprechen sein, vgl. unten S. 289 f.) als -V.CV- und -VC.CV- syllabiert werden. Das Wortbrechungsmaterial des Gotischen zeigt in den einschlägigen Fällen regelhaft folgende Trennungen: -VCV- → -V/CV- und -VCCV- → -VC/CV-, was den Aussagen des Silbenkontaktgesetzes genau entspricht. Damit ist es also durchaus gerechtfertigt, anhand der Brechungen auf eine Syllabierung -V.CV- bzw. -VC.CV- im Gotischen zu schließen. Für die Annahme einer solchen Silbenstruktur spricht auch, daß sie mit jener Silbenstruktur übereinstimmt, die für west- und nordgermanische Dialekte aufgrund von Untersuchungen des Versbaus angenommen werden muß, worauf bereits Murray und Vennemann 1983 (S. 518) hingewiesen haben.

Wenden wir uns nun den Trennungen der drei- und mehrgliedrigen Konsonantenverbindungen der Skeireins zu, die oben in II.3 (ohne 3.a) und II.4 aufgeführt sind. Es seien zunächst jene Beispiele von der Betrachtung ausgeschlossen, die die Folgesilbe mit *j* oder *w* eröffnen. Über sie wird gesondert zu sprechen sein. An getrennter Mehrfachkonsonanz verbleiben hier also: *bairh-tai, bairh-taba* und *gawaurh-tedi.* Es ergibt sich damit für die Trennung von drei (und mehr) Konsonanten im Gotischen folgende Regel, die auch durch das Material der anderen Handschriften (vgl. Hechtenberg Collitz, S. 82ff.) bestätigt wird: „The last and only the last consonant letter of an intervocalic consonant letter group ist transferred to the new line" (Vennemann 1985, S. 211). Es stellt sich hier wieder die Frage, ob es sich dabei um eine bloße Schreibkonvention handelt oder ob auch dieser Trennungsregel allgemeine Silbenpräferenzgesetze zugrunde liegen, was den Schluß ermöglichen würde, daß *bairh-tai, bairh-taba* und *gawaurh-tedi* die Silbenstruktur *bairh.tai, bairh.taba* und *gawaurh.tedi* widerspiegeln. Vennemann hat 1982 universelle Präferenzgesetze dargestellt, die „für den Silbenbau und die Silbenverkettung gelten" (S. 283). Die wichtigsten davon seien an dieser Stelle wiederholt[10]:

1. ALLGEMEINES SILBENBAUGESETZ: Die bevorzugte Silbe ist so gebaut, daß die CS im Anfangsrand und im Endrand zum Nukleus hin monoton abnimmt und im Nukleus ihr Minimum erreicht.
2. ALLGEMEINES RANDGESETZ: Ein zum Nukleus hin monoton abnehmender Rand ist bevorzugt, wenn die CS-Differenzen benachbarter Sprachlaute des Randes groß sind.
3. ANFANGSRANDGESETZ: Der bevorzugte Anfangsrand enthält genau einen Sprachlaut, und zwar einen mit großer CS.
4. NUKLEUSGESETZ: Der bevorzugte Nukleus enthält einen Sprachlaut mit kleiner CS.
5. ENDRANDGESETZ: Der bevorzugte Endrand ist leer.
6. SILBENKONTAKTGESETZ: Ein Kontakt einer Koda und eines Kopfes ist bevorzugt, wenn die CS-Differenz des ersten Kopfsprachlauts und des letzten Kodasprachlauts groß ist.

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[10] Aus Vennemann 1982, S. 283 und 285.

Wendet man diese Gesetze auf die Silbenstruktur von *bairh.tai, bairh.taba* und *gawaurh.tedi* an, sieht man, daß sie diesen universellen Präferenzgesetzen entsprechen. So wird z. B. *bairh.tai,* nicht aber **bair.htai* syllabiert, da letzteres dem Gesetz in 1 widersprechen würde: *ht* entspricht nicht dem Anfangsrandgesetz, seine KS fällt nicht monton zum Nukleus hin. Zudem entspricht bei einer Syllabierung *bairh-tai* der Anfangsrand der Zweitsilbe aufs schönste dem Gesetz in 3. Dieselben Gesetze lassen sich auch auf die anderen Beispiele anwenden. Damit steht die These eines Zusammenhangs zwischen Brechung und Silbenstruktur auf einer recht sicheren Grundlage.

Ich fasse also zusammen, daß die Annahme eines Zusammenhangs von Wortbrechung und gotischer Syllabierung für die Simplizialtrennung durch folgende Tatsachen erhärtet wird:

I. durch die Übereinstimmung der Trennungsgesetze von ein- und zweigliedrigen Konsonantengruppen im Gotischen mit:
  1. dem Silbenkontaktgesetz,
  2. der Silbenstruktur des Nord- und Westgermanischen, die aufgrund des Versbaus ermittelbar ist,
  3. generellen protogermanischen Tendenzen, die sich aus den Ergebnissen in Punkt 2 ermitteln lassen;

II. durch die Übereinstimmung der Trennungsgesetze von drei- und mehrgliedrigen Konsonantengruppen im Gotischen mit:
  1. allgemeinen Silbenpräferenzgesetzen.

Bezüglich der Kompositaltrennung hat bereits Schulze (1908, S. 621 ff.) nachgewiesen, daß auch sie auf der Silbenstruktur beruht. Er hat gezeigt, daß das zweite Glied eines Kompositums, einer reduplizierten Bildung oder eng zusammengehörenden Wortgruppe auch in selbständiger Verwendung vorkommen kann, was den Schluß nahelegt, daß sie auch innerhalb der Zusammensetzungen ihren selbständigen Charakter bewahrt haben. Streitberg (1909, S. 175) unterstreicht den recht eigenständigen Charakter der Präfixe im Gotischen mit dem Hinweis auf den Einschub der Enklitika *zwischen* Präfix und Verb. Beide Feststellungen lassen sich auf die Regeln, nach denen sich die

Kompositaltrennung im Gotischen vollzog, anwenden. Wir haben Schreibungen wie:

1. *uf-aiþeis, af-etja* usw. mit Auslautverhärtung im Präfix,
2. *us-ïddja* mit trematischem *ï*, das nur wort- oder silbenanlautend verwendet wurde[11].

Sie bestätigen den eigenständigen Charakter der Präfixe bzw. des zweiten Gliedes der Zusammensetzung. Es herrscht also sowohl bei der Simplizial- als auch bei der Kompositaltrennung die Brechung nach der phonologischen Silbenstruktur.

Meines Erachtens gibt es einen zusätzlichen Aspekt der gotischen Simplizialtrennung, der für einen Zusammenhang zwischen Orthographie und Phonologie spricht; und er scheint mir der beweiskräftigste. Ich meine die Behandlung von Muta + Liquid-Gruppen und von *þ* + Liquid in den Brechungen der gotischen Handschriften. Vor allem an ihnen läßt sich meiner Meinung nach der enge Zusammenhang von Worttrennung und Syllabierung nachweisen.

Wie die Trennungsbeispiele der gotischen Handschriften zeigen, werden Folgen von VMLV und V*þ*LV im Gotischen nicht automatisch als VM/LV oder V*þ*/LV getrennt, sondern durchaus auch als V/MLV oder V/*þ*LV. Dieser Sachverhalt unterstreicht, daß in der gotischen Worttrennung nicht nur stereotype Schreibregeln Anwendung fanden (dann hätte durchweg nur der letzte Konsonant aller Verbindungen abgetrennt werden müssen), sondern daß auch andere Kriterien eine Rolle spielten. Eine Erklärung für diese Besonderheit in der gotischen Worttrennung sucht die einschlägige Literatur in einem griechischen oder lateinischen Einfluß auf die gotische Schreibkonvention. Ich kann mich dieser v.a. von Hermann (1923, S.291 f.) vertretenen Meinung nicht anschließen. Ich meine vielmehr, daß die Tendenz zur geschlossenen Herübernahme von Muta plus Liquid zur Folgesilbe „auf der besonderen Natur“ (Schulze 1908, S.616) dieser Gruppen beruht. Wie anhand der KS-Skala und des Silbenkontaktgesetzes zu ersehen ist, bildet gerade eine Aufeinanderfolge von Muta und Liquid einen sehr schlechten Sil-

[11] Weitere Beispiele zu den Punkten 1 und 2 in Schulze 1908, S.622.

benkontakt. Da aber in jeder Sprache die Tendenz herrscht, schlechte Silbenkontakte zu verbessern, geschieht im Gotischen nichts anderes, als was in ähnlichen Fällen auch im Griechischen und Lateinischen geschehen ist: mittels Resyllabierung schafft das Gotische einen besseren Silbenkontakt, wobei gleichzeitig - vgl. das Anfangsrandgesetz - ein guter Silbenkopf der Folgesilbe entsteht[12]. Darüber zu spekulieren, ob diese Tendenz primär im Griechischen oder Lateinischen vorhanden war und von dort auf das Gotische übergegriffen hat oder nicht, ist meines Erachtens müßig. Festzuhalten bleibt in jedem Falle die Tendenz des Gotischen, schlechte Silbenkontakte zu vermeiden bzw. zu verbessern, die sich auch in der Geschichte des Griechischen und Lateinischen nachweisen läßt und den Worttrennungskonventionen jener Sprachen zugrunde liegt.

Die von Hermann behauptete Nachahmung griechischer oder lateinischer Konventionen durch die gotischen Schreiber ist im übrigen ja auch gänzlich unwahrscheinlich, worauf schon Hechtenberg Collitz (1906, S.80, 82, 84, 90) hingewiesen hat. Denn warum sollten die Goten ausgerechnet bei der Behandlung von Muta + Liquid-Gruppen eines lateinischen oder griechischen Vorbildes bedürfen, während sie ansonsten bei der Worttrennung mit bemerkenswerter Selbständigkeit verfahren? Ich meine vielmehr, daß gerade die Trennung der Muta + Liquid-

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[12] Mir drängt sich bei der Beobachtung der gotischen Verfahrensweisen in der Worttrennung bzw. Syllabierung der Muta + Liquid-Gruppen der Gedanke auf, daß Sprachen allgemein immer dann zur Verbesserung einer Syllabierung neigen, wenn ein bestimmter „kritischer Wert" der Silbenkontaktdifferenz erreicht ist. Anhand der Trennung von Muta cum Liquida bzw. *þ* und Liquid kann dieser für das Gotische mit Bezug auf die KS-Skala bei -3 angesetzt werden. Die Möglichkeit der durchgängigen systematischen Erstellung solcher kritischen Grenzwerte ist in der einschlägigen Literatur bislang noch nicht in Betracht gezogen worden; lediglich zwei Sprachen wurden einmal unter ähnlichem Gesichtspunkt verglichen, nämlich das Isländische und Faröische in Murray/Vennemann 1983, S.524. Meines Erachtens könnte die Angabe eines solchen Grenzwertes der zentrale Teil einer exakten Silbenstrukturbeschreibung jeder Sprache werden; er würde festlegen, ab welcher Kontaktdifferenz für ‚C_1C_2' eine Syllabierung ‚.C_1C_2' stattzufinden hat, während ansonsten ‚$C_1.C_2$' gültig ist. Voraussetzung wären allerdings entsprechend ausgerichtete Konsonantische Stärkewerte auf interlingual vergleichbaren KS-Skalen.

und *þ* + Liquid-Gruppen, indem sie einerseits von der sonstigen gotischen Trennungspraxis abweicht, andererseits mit universellen Präferenzgesetzen für Silbenstruktur harmoniert, den deutlichsten Hinweis auf eine völlig eigenständige, nämlich eine gänzlich auf der phonologischen Syllabierung des Gotischen beruhende Lösung des Worttrennungsproblems liefert. Damit erlauben uns diese Wortbrechungsfälle also nicht nur den Nachweis einer bestimmten Schreibgewohnheit, sondern darüber hinaus die Rekonstruktion der Silbenstruktur der gesprochenen gotischen Sprache[13].

Akzeptiert man die Auffassung, daß die Wortbrechung auf der Syllabierung beruhe und daß diese wiederum allgemeinen Silbenpräferenzgesetzen entspreche, so muß auch der Lautwert der Grapheme *j* und *w* neu festgelegt werden, da ihre Bestimmung als reine ‚Halbvokale' nicht mehr aufrechterhalten werden kann, wenn Trennungen wie ***bruk-jands*** etc. mit dem Silbenkontaktgesetz[14] übereinstimmen sollen. Deshalb muß man aufgrund der Worttrennungen mit *C/j* und *C/w* einen Verschärfungsprozeß für *j* und *w* annehmen, der *j* und *w* in Höhe der Obstruenten ansetzt[15]. Ein weiterer Hinweis auf eine Verschärfung von *w* besteht darin, daß *w* im Wortauslaut nach Langvokal (oder Diphthong) und nach Konsonant nicht vokalisiert wurde[16].

Erkennt man den Zusammenhang zwischen Worttrennung und Silbenstruktur des Gotischen an, so ist es möglich, auch das Trennungsverfahren in den Handschriften neu zu definieren:

Worttrennungsregel für das Gotische:
Die Worttrennung am Zeilenende ist bei den Silbengrenzen und nur dort erlaubt. (Abweichungen sind in

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[13] In seinem Aufsatz „Muta cum Liquida" entwickelt Vennemann diese „Korrespondenztheorie" (sein Ausdruck) unter zusätzlicher Einbeziehung der Variation der Muta + Liquid-Trennungen im Codex Ambrosianus B und in einem verfeinerten theoretischen Rahmen noch einen Schritt weiter (AdA. 98, S. 165–204).

[14] Und der Festlegung des kritischen Grenzwertes bei -3, vgl. oben Fußnote 12.

[15] Ausführlich hierzu Murray/Vennemann 1983, S. 524f., und vor allem Vennemann 1985, S. 206–218.

[16] Vgl. Vennemann 1985, S. 217.

orthographischer Hinsicht Normverstöße. Sie sind kalligraphisch motiviert, sofern es sich nicht um bloße Versehen handelt.)

Einzige Ausnahme: Das Enklitikon *-uh* kann abgetrennt werden.

Damit ist ausgedrückt, daß die orthographische Trennung (von der einen genannten Ausnahme abgesehen) genau der phonologischen Syllabierung entspricht. Diese genügt ihrerseits der folgenden Regel:

Syllabierungsregel für das Gotische:

Eine Silbengrenze liegt bei jeder Wort-, Kompositums-, Präfix- und Reduplikativgrenze sowie in den derart abgeteilten Stücken zwischen je zwei Vokalen (eventuelle Diphthonge als Vokale gezählt) derart, daß im Falle sie trennender Konsonanten von diesen nur der letzte – bzw. bei einer Liquida wahlweise zusätzlich ein unmittelbar vorausgehender Obstruent – zur zweiten Silbe gehört[17].

Die beiden Regeln reichen aus, um sowohl die Silbenstruktur als auch die Worttrennungspraxis des Gotischen hinreichend zu beschreiben. Dabei ist das theoretische Verhältnis der beiden Regeln das oben dargestellte. Das heuristische Verhältnis ist natürlich genau das entgegengesetzte: Die gotische Syllabierung erschließt sich uns durch Analysen der Wortbrechung am Zeilenende in den gotischen Handschriften, wie sie früher Hechtenberg Collitz, Schulze und Hermann vorgenommen haben und wie ich sie in diesem Aufsatz für die Skeireins und das 1971 neu aufgefundene Blatt des Codex Argenteus weitergeführt habe.

Fassen wir das Ergebnis der Arbeit kurz zusammen. Wie v.a. Schulze nachgewiesen hat, beruht die Kompositaltrennung des Gotischen auf seiner Silbenstruktur. Bezüglich der Simplizialtrennung konnte aufgrund der Beweisführung von Vennemann

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[17] Die Formulierung beider Regeln in dieser Form geht auf Vennemann zurück (schriftlicher Kommentar vom Juli 1985).

und Murray auch anhand des Skeireins-Materials nachgewiesen werden, daß die Regeln der Worttrennung im Gotischen den Präferenzgesetzen des Silbenbaus, die universelle Gültigkeit haben, entsprechen. Von hier aus war es dann aufgrund der festgestellten Übereinstimmung zwischen Silbenbaugesetzen und Brechungsregeln nur noch ein kurzer Schritt zu der Folgerung, daß die Worttrennung in den gotischen Handschriften (außer beim Enklitikon *-uh*) überall genau die phonologische Syllabierung der gotischen Sprache widerspiegelt.

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Protogermanische Kleinigkeiten

1. Proto-Germanic **wordam* or **wurđa* ?

In the excellent Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (ed. C.T. Onions, Oxford 1966, p.1012) the Proto-Germanic word for „word" is inferred as **wordam*. The recorded cognates are Goth. *waurd*, OS. *word*, OHG. *wort*, OE. *word*, OIc. *ord*. It is a neuter *a*-stem. At first sight it would seem to be logical to reconstruct **o* in a case in which all the cognate languages show a short *o*. On the other hand the comparative method requires the construction of only one protophoneme when different results can be shown to occur in mutually exlusive environments. This is the case with comparative Germanic reconstructions in which the quality of unstressed vowels is also carefully reconstructed. We can then show that the same proto-segment, say **u* yields different results according to its original umlaut position i.e. according to the quality of the vowel in the next syllable. This vowel is *a* here. PGmc. **u* in the *a*-umlaut position yields *o* in Old Saxon, Old High German, Old English and Old Icelandic. PGmc. **u* before *r* yields *au* in Gothic. Moreover there is no trace of a final *m* in any of the recorded Germanic languages, it is therefore not necessary to set up a final *m*. The best comparative reconstruction for „word" is consequently PGmc **wurđa*.

2. Proto-Germanic „seethe"

Our etymological dictionaries of Germanic languages offer no complete Proto-Germanic reconstruction for „seethe" although the word is well represented in the group. We have NE. *seethe*, OE. *sēōþan*, NHG. *sieden*, OHG. *siodan*, Du *zieden*, OIc. *sjóđa*, Dan. *syde* ... This equation entails more than a „root" or incomplete reconstruction in Germanic. It represents a complete series of perfect correspondences which can only resolved as PGmc. **seupana*.

3. English „fold"

The English verb „to fold" is ambiguous. It could be from PGmc. **falþana* as well as from PGmc. **falđana* since PGmc. **þ* after *l* merges with PGmc. **đ* as is shown by PGmc. **Xaldana* > NE. *hold* and PGmc. **gulþa* > NE. *gold.* NHG. *falten* can only be from PGmc. **falđana* and Goth. *falþan* clearly reflects an original **falþana.* One single protoform can therefore not be assumed; **falþana* and **falđana* are two regular variants (grammatical change or Verner's law). The basic ambiguity of the English word is, however, worth pointing out.

Proto-Germanic **aizō-*

The noun which became NHG. *Ehre* 'honour', Du. *eer,* OHG. *ēra,* OS. *ēra,* OE. *ār,* OIc. *eir,* can be traced to a Germanic prototype **aizō-*. From a strictly comparative point of view we notice that the consonant *r* in the recorded examples could be from PGmc. **r.* It is, however, possible to find the right origin of *r* in the above mentioned cognates without taking the alternation with *s* in Goth. *aistan* 'sich scheuen vor' into account. In Old Icelandic PGmc. **ai* before PGmc. **r* yields *á,* e.g. PGmc. **air* 'before' > OIc. *ár.* A protofòrm **airō-* would consequently have yielded OIc. **ár* instead of the actually recorded *eir.*

PGmc. **blauþjaz* / **blauþaz*

The modern German adjective *blöd* < OHG. *blōdi* has cognates in the other Germanic languages: OS. *blōđi,* OE. *blēaþ,* OIc. *blauđr.* All these words unambiguously point to a Germanic prototype **blauþ-*. If we want, however, to go further and reconstruct a whole word in Proto-Germanic, we notice that there is a discrepancy as far as the ending of the word is concerned. OS. *blōđi,* OHG. *blōdi* reflect a PGmc. **blauþjaz* which would have yielded OE. **blīepe,* and OIc. **bleyðr.* The actually attested forms OE. *blēap,* OIc. *blauðr* require rather a PGmc **blauþaz.*

Proto-Germanic 'woman'

The current word for 'woman' in Proto-Germanic must have been the one reflected by Goth. *qino,* OS. OHG. *quena* OE. *cwene* and OIc. *kona.* The first four words are perfect cognates and lead us to PGmc. **kwenō-.* OIc. *kona* is, however, divergent. Examples like PGmc. **kweþana-* 'say', 'speak' > OIc. *kveða,* OIc. *kvern* 'mill' = Goth. *qairnus* 'millstone', < PGmc. **kwern-,* show that there is no reason to assume a change PGmc. **-we-* > OIc. *-u-.* OIc. *kona* must consequently be derived from a different prototype. A regular variant would be, of course, another ablaut grade PGmc. **kwunō-.* It should be observed that from a strictly diachronic and comparative point of view OIc. *kona* might as well be from PGmc. **kunō-.* We set up PGmc **kwunō-* by internal reconstruction because we know that it is another ablaut grade of PGmc. **kwenō-.* For 'woman' in Proto-Germanic we consequently reconstruct **kwenō-/*kwunō-.*

Proto-Germanic **leugana*

In all Old Germanic languages there is a strong verb meaning 'to lie' i.e. 'to tell lies': Goth. *liugan,* OE. *lēogan,* OS. OHG. *liogan,* OIc. *ljúga.* The phonemes that make up this verb partake in perfectly regular phoneme correspondences between all the Old Germanic languages. We can therefore reconstruct a whole word **leugana* for Proto-Germanic. Strangely enough none of our current etymological dictionaries, not eben C.T. Onions, O.D.E.E., Oxford 1966 and N.Å. Nielsen, Dansk et. ordbog, Copenhagen 1976, which offer in general complete an correct Germanic prototypes, mentions a PGmc. **leugana* s.v. *lie* and *lyve* respectively.

Proto-Germanic **þankōjana*

The verb 'to thank' in the Germanic languages is generally regarded as derived from the noun 'thank' which is in turn easily traced back to a PGmc. **þankaz*. Even if the verb is secondary it displays perfect correspondences, including the infinitive ending or conjugation type: OS. *thankōn,* OHG. *dankōn,* OE. *þancian,* OIc. *þakka* represent indeed a perfect equation which could only be resolved as PGmc. **þankōjana,* a prototype not found in our current etymological dictionaries of Germanic languages.

Proto-Germanic 'hope'

As my comparative Germanic notes all imply, a comparative reconstruction or protoform remains a very important element in the etymology of a word. This is quite independent of the possible or probable phonetic reality of the reconstruction. If a protoform is correctly set up, i.e. if the comparative method has been correctly applied, the protolinguistic formula gives us a clear summary of the origin and the genetic relationship of the word in question, even if it does not appear in all the languages of the group. The prototype even enables us to predict the potential cognates in the other languages. A phonemic sequence like **Xupōjana* may never have been actually realised in Proto-Germanic, but anybody who knows the regular phonemic correspondences that are represented in the formula **Xupōjana* can tell us that it supposes OE. *hopian,* ME. ['hɔ:pən], NE. [həup] *hope,* OS. **hopon,* OHG. **hoffon,* Du. *hopen,* NHG. *hoffen.*

In short **Xupōjana* is the Germanic etymon of NE. *hope,* NHG. *hoffen,* Du. *hopen.*

NE. *open*

For NE. *open* < OE. *open* should we set up PGmc. **upanaz* or **upnaz*? In both cases we have a clear *a*-umlaut position, because of the first unstressed **a* in the former reconstruction and because of **a* in the last unstressed syllable in the latter reconstruction. If we choose PGmc. **upanaz* we might have trouble in explaining why it yielded OE. *open* and not e.g. **opan*. If we prefer PGmc. **upnaz* we explain OE. *e* in the second syllable as a svarabhakti vowel which developed between final *n* and the preceding voiceless occlusive in Pre-Old English times. An example like PGmc. **akraz* > OE. *æcer* shows that the svarabhakti vowel can be *e* in Old English. For this reason I would prefer to trace NE. *open*, OE. *open* to PGmc. **upnaz*.

A Note on Sound Change and Analogy

Analogy and regular sound change which are traditionally sharply distinguished, are closer to each other than one would think at first sight. Regular sound change, the indispensable basis of historical and comparative linguistics, is not given, it is actually derived from word comparisons. In practice a sound change like OE. *ī* > NE. [*ai*] is derived from word equations like OE. *rīdan* = NE. [*raid*], OE. *bītan* = NE. [*bait*], OE. *īs* = NE. [*ais*] etc. ... Analogy is also based on word equations according to the well known pattern: *stone*, pl. *stones*, then *book*, pl.?, the expected form is *books* instead of **beech* *[*bi:tʃ*] < OE. *bēċ*. From OHG. *leiten* = OE. *lǣdan*, OHG. *brōt* = OE. *brēād* we infer that if OHG. *breiten* has a perfect cognate in Old English, it must be *brǣdan*. OE. *brǣdan* is, however, not an analogical form, it is the regular phonetic development of a protoform also reflected by OHG. *breiten*. This shows that in the actual work of the linguist, not in lectures or textbook presentations of the subject, regular sound change is also derived from equations of full words and is therefore considerably closer to analogy in its essence than one would assume at first sight.

Are there different Types of Sound Change?

It is customary in general presentations of historical and comparative linguistics to distinguish two types of sound change: spontaneous and combinatory changes. This dichotomy is, in fact, superfluous. We have known since the days of the neogrammarians that the regularity of sound change holds for a certain period and for certain positions in the word. Every sound change can therefore be described according to a formula: *a* in *pl* in *L 1* > *b* in *L 2* where *a* and *b* stand for phonemes, *L 1* and *L 2* for two chronological stages of a language or a protolanguage and a daughter language, and *p 1* for a specific position in the word. *p 1* is necessary, it is inherent in the very concept of "regular" sound change. It can be extremely specific, e.g. only before one other phoneme, or extremely general, e.g. in all positions. In any case, "before *l*" or "in all positions" are two statements of positions in the word. One concrete example: PGmc. **ū* in all positions > Goth. *ū*; PGmc. **ū* outside the *i*-umlaut position > OE. *ū*; PGmc. **ū* in the *i*-umlaut position > OE. *ȳ*. There is no basic difference between these formulations. This means in other words that there is no reason to make a distinction between spontaneous and combinatory sound changes. Every sound change conforms to the above mentioned formula in which *p 1* can be more or less general.

Leonard Bloomfield's Prediction and the Comparative Method

Leonard Bloomfield's celebrated prediction of a specific consonant cluster in Proto-Algonquian has often been cited as an impressive argument in favour of the regularity of sound change and to some extent also the reality of comparative reconstructions. In fact it was the illustration of a not infrequent case in reconstruction by the comparative method. It could be formalized in this way:

	L 1	=	L 2
1)	a	=	a
2)	a	=	c
3)	c	=	c

The letters a and c stand for phonemes in two cognate languages L 1 and L 2. Each language has only two phonemes, a and c, but we have three sets of regular correspondences. If these sets do not occur in mutually exclusive environments, we are compelled to set up three protophonemes. We would probbly select the symbols *a for a = a, *c for c = c and something else, say *b for a = c. The confirmation of the reconstruction would be that a language not previously taken into account shows three phonemes corresponding to our three protophonemes and the two phonemes of L 1 and L 2. This often happens in all language families. Let us take the following cognates in modern Danish and Dutch:

Dan.	to	=	Du.	twee	'two'
	tid	=		tijd	'time'
	torn	=		doorn	'thorn'
	taenke	=		denken	'think'
	dag	=		dag	'day'
	datter	=		dochter	'dochter'

Each cognate language has only two phonemes, t and d, but we have three correspondence sets: t = t, t = d, d = d at the beginning of words i.e. in the same position. Even if Danish and Dutch were the only Germanic languages we knew, we would reconstruct three protophonemes for these correspondences. The subsequent discovery of English with three phonemes t, th, d (cf. the glosses which are also cognates except 'time'), would be said to confirm the reconstruction of three protophonemes.

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Zum schwachen Adjektiv in prädikativer Stellung

Die Behandlung der schwachen Adj.-Flexion ist zwar ein „Lieblingskind" der Forschung (Birkhan 1974, S. 1) und wurde folglich schon sehr oft besprochen, doch es lohnt sich trotzdem, ein bislang wenig beachtetes Problem zur Sprache zu bringen.

In ihrem Werk bespricht Trutmann (1972, S. 79f.) die Stelle Mark. 12,3 im gotischen Evangelium:

a) ... *jah insandidedun laushandjan.*
'und sie sandten ihn mit leeren Händen fort'.

Die schwache Flexion des Adj. ist hier in prädikativer Stellung völlig unerwartet und steht im Gegensatz zu Luk. 20,10, wo in der gleichen syntaktischen Fügung das Adj., wie erwartet, stark flektiert ist:

b) ... *ina insandidedun lausana.*
'sie sandten ihn leer fort'.

Deshalb kommt Trutmann zu folgendem Schluß: „Die schwache Form ist an anderer Stelle sehr befremdend ... Ich glaube, man muß auf eine Erklärung verzichten."

Dennoch ist der Fall von a) nicht ganz einmalig:

c) Laxdœlasaga Kap. 12: *Kona pessi er ómála.*
'Diese Frau ist stumm.' (wörtl. 'ohne Sprache')

Ganz ähnlich sind weitere Fälle mit substantiviertem Adj.[1]:

d) Hel. 147: *Than uuārun uuit nu atsamna antsibunta uuintron*
'So waren wir nun zusammen siebzig Winter
gibenkeon endi gibeddeon.
Bank- und Bettgenossen'.

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[1] Der genaue Zusammenhang wird im folgenden erläutert.

e) Notk. II, 513,3[2]: *Ketêilo bin ih allero die dih*
'Ich bin einer von all denen, die dich
furhtent.
fürchten'. (wörtl. 'Teilhaber aller, die')

f) Edda Alv. 28: ... *álfar fagrlima/ kalla vǫnd*
'[Den Wald nennen] die Elfen „Schön-gliedriger", „Rute" nennen [ihn]
vanir.
die Vanen'.

g) 2. Kor. 6,14: *Ni wairþaiþ gajukans ungalaubjandam.*
'Werdet nicht Gefährten der Ungläubigen'.
(wörtl. 'dasselbe Joch Habende')

In allen hier angeführten Fällen liegt ein (meistens substantiviertes) exozentrisches Kompositium vor. Das Hinterglied ist jeweils ein Subst., welches als Simplex nicht zu den *n*-Stämmen gehört:

a)	*handus*	'Hand'	vs.	*-handja*[3]
c)	*mál*	'Sprache'	vs.	*-máli*
d)	*benki*	'Bank'	vs.	*-benkio*
	beddi	'Bett'	vs.	*-beddio*
e)	*teil*	'Teil'	vs.	*-teilo*
f)	*lim*	'Glied'	vs.	*-limi*
g)	*juk*[4]	'Joch'	vs.	*-juka*

Somit handelt es sich hier um Bahuvrīhis, die zur Verdeutlichung ihrer Funktion mit einem possessiven *n*-Suffix erweitert sind[5], ein Vorgang, der eine Parallele im Ai. hat, vgl. *mahā-hastín-* (neben *mahāhasta-*) 'großhändig', *sa-rathín-* (neben *sarátha-*) 'mit einem Wagen versehen', *sarpa-śīrṣin-* (neben *sarpa-śīrṣa-*) 'schlangenköpfig' (Wackernagel 1905, S. 121 f. und Wakkernagel-Debrunner 1954, S. 331 f.). Eine gute Illustration der

[2] Zitiert nach Piper 1882, S. 83.
[3] Zitiert wird der N. Sg. m.
[4] Nur der N. A. Pl. *juka* ist bezeugt.
[5] Cf. Meid 1967, S. 34.

possessiven Funktion des *n*-Suffixes liefern folgende zwei Beispiele:

h) Beow. 3012: ... *gold unrīme, grimme geceāpod.*
'unermeßliches Gold, bitter erkauft'[6].

i) Beow. 1237f. *Reced weardode unrīm eorla.*
'Eine Unzahl Krieger hielt die Halle besetzt'[6].

In h) wird das Bahuvrīhi *unrīme* (eigentlich. 'eine Unzahl habend') schwach flektiert, während das endozentrische *unrīm* 'Unzahl' wie das Simplex *rīm* stark flektiert.

Bei diesem *n*-Suffix, das auch poss. Ableitungen von Simplizia bilden konnte (z. B. got. *waurstw* 'Arbeit' → *waurstwa* 'Arbeiter', an. *fax* 'Mähne' → *faxi* 'mit Mähne versehen, *vǫlr* 'Stab' → *Vǫlva* 'mit einem Stab versehen, Stabträgerin') handelt es sich um den Fortsetzer des Poss.-Suffixes $*h_3{}^e/_0n$ (Hoffmann 1976, S. 378ff., Hamp 1970, S. 35ff.), das in den germanischen Einzelsprachen noch eine gewisse Produktivität hatte.

Wie Hoffmann (1970, S. 380) schon festgestellt hat, trug dieses Suffix zur Ausbildung der nichtablautenden fem. *ōn*-Stämme bei (z. B. ahd. *hīwa* < $*keiwo\text{-}h_3on\text{-}$ 'ein Heim habend'). Wenn es nicht nur in Subst., sondern auch in Bahuvrīhis vorkam, wird es um so leichter verständlich, daß es schließlich zu einem völligen Ausgleich zwischen der Flexion der Poss.-Komposita mit „Hoffmannschem Suffix" und der Flexion der gewöhnlichen schwachen Adj., die mit einem individualisierenden Suffix $*\text{-}^e/_0n$ gebildet wurden[7], kam. Durch diesen Aus-

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[6] Übersetzung von Heyne-Schücking 1961 s. v. 'grim' bzw. 'reced'.

[7] Diese Erklärung, die auf Osthoff 1876 zurückgeht, findet sich in allen gebräuchlichen Handbüchern (cf. jetzt noch zusätzlich die Artikel von Birkhan 1974, Haudry 1980 und Orr 1982, wo auch das balt. und slaw. bestimmte Adj. als typologische Parallele besprochen wird). Doch sollte man hier zwischen den Fällen wie gr. στραβός 'schielend' → Στραβών, lat. *catus* 'schlau' → *Catō* einerseits (individualisierendes Suffix) und lat. *cicer* 'Erbse' → *Cicerō*, ahd. *hugi* 'Verstand' → *Hugo* andererseits (possessive Suffix) unterscheiden.

Ein wichtiger Fall, wo die Poss.-Bildungen alle mask. *n*-Stämme beeinflußt haben, ist der schleiftonige N. Sg. (z. B. ahd. *rōto* 'rot', *hano* 'Hahn' < urgerm.

gleich verschwand die unregelmäßig scheinende schwache Flexion in prädikativer Stellung. Wenn aber ein Bahuvrīhi mit dem Possessivsuffix substantiviert worden war, blieb die schwache Deklination erhalten (weswegen auch in den meisten hier angeführten Beispielen substantivierte Bahuvrīhis vorkommen). Als die Funktion des *n*-Suffixes in diesen Bildungen verblaßt war, dehnte sich die schwache Deklination auch auf andere Komposita aus (z. B. ahd. *stuatago* 'Gerichtstag' neben starkem *tag*).

Zusammenfassung

Vereinzelt kommen schwache Adj. in prädikativer Stellung vor. Bei diesen handelt es sich um exozentrische Possessivkomposita mit substantivischem Hinterglied, das mit dem Suffix $*h_3{}^{e}/_{o}n$ erweitert wurde. Im folgenden kam es zu einem vollständigen Ausgleich mit den gewöhnlichen schwachen Adj. auf $*\text{-}{}^{e}/_{o}n$ außer in substantivierten Bahuvrīhis, wo das *n*-Suffix erhalten blieb und dann auch auf andere Komposita übergriff.

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**raudōN, xanōN* mit **-ōN* $<$ **-o*h_3*ōn*. Cf. noch die Beurteilung verschiedener Ansichten zu diesem Problem bei Hollifield 1980, S. 46).

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Über einige bedenkliche baltisch-slawische Ansätze

Für R. Trautmann, der Anhänger der Theorie einer baltisch-slawischen Gemeinschaft war, bestand das Hauptziel eines Baltisch-Slavischen Wörterbuches in der Zusammenstellung aller möglichen lexikalischen Gemeinsamkeiten, mit denen man diese Theorie stützen und als glaubwürdig vorstellen könnte. In dem Bestreben, möglichst viele Übereinstimmungen festzustellen, hat er sich nicht auf die spezifisch baltisch-slawischen Neubildungen begrenzt, sondern viel irrelevantes Material angeführt. Dazu gehören einerseits die einfachen lautgesetzlichen Kontinuanten der verschiedenen indogermanischen Lexeme, die nichts charakteristisch Baltisch-Slawisches in sich enthalten, andererseits eine beträchtliche Gruppe angeblich balto-slawischer Ansätze, die ausschließlich einseitige, nur baltische oder nur slawische, Bezeugung haben[1]. Es gibt bei Trautmann noch eine dritte Gruppe völlig überflüssiger Beispiele. Dies sind fremde Entlehnungen, einerseits Germanismen, die unabhängig voneinander durch die baltischen und die slawischen Sprachen übernommen worden sind, andererseits Slawismen, die ins Litauisch-Lettische und ins Altpreußische, wahrscheinlich erst im Mittelalter, eingedrungen sind.

Hier möchte ich ein paar Bemerkungen den sogenannten exklusiven altpreußisch-slawischen Übereinstimmungen widmen, um zu zeigen, wie schwach die Material-Grundlage mancher baltisch-slawischer Rekonstruktionen ist. Bei Trautmann gibt es ca. fünfzig balt.-slaw. Ansätze, die von der Seite des Baltischen nur durch das Altpreußische vertreten sind. Aus diesen Beispielen habe ich 16 ausgesondert, die man als altpreußische Entlehnungen und nicht als mit dem Slawischen urverwandte Wörter beurteilen kann. Die Gründe für solch eine Auffassung sind: (1) die Abwesenheit der lit.-lett. Entsprechungen, (2) for-

[1] Zur Kritik s. Verf. 1986d.

male Unterschiede zwischen den preußischen und slawischen Formen, die sich nicht auf uns bekannten lautgesetzlichen oder morphologischen Besonderheiten beider Sprachen zurückführen lassen, (3) philologische und innerpreußische Bewertung der Formen.

1. Aus dem aksl. *ravьnъ* 'πεδινός, ἴσος', ru. *róvnyj* 'eben, glatt, gleich' usw. abstrahiert Trautmann 1923, S. 14, urslaw. **orvь-* und stellt es in genetischen Zusammenhang mit einem baltischen Stamm **ar̯ui-*, das nach ihm im apr. Adjektiv *arwis* 'wahr, gewiß' III vorliegen sollte. Die Beurteilung dieser Gleichung ist dadurch erschwert, daß die Etymologie von aksl. *ravьnъ* dunkel ist und somit keinen Schlüssel zur Analyse der apr. Bildung (die seinerseits am baltischen Boden vollkommen isoliert ist) gibt. Um das gegenseitige Verhältnis beider Formen aufs neue zu fassen, sei zuerst bemerkt, daß zwischen den Bedeutungen 'eben, glatt' und 'gleich' (so im Slaw.) und 'wahr, gewiß' (so im Apr.) eine schwer überwindbare Kluft liegt, und eben dies zwingt uns, mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, daß die formale Gleichung *ravь-* : *arwi-* ganz zufällig sein kann.

Von innerpreußischem Standpunkt gesehen, ist es auffällig, daß der Stamm *arwi-* hauptsächlich als Adverb verwendet wird. Vgl. in den Katechismen: *arwi* 'fürwahr' 2 ×, *arwiskai* 'zwar, freilich, gewißlich' 6 ×, *isarwi* 'treulich' 1 ×, *ucka isarwiskai* 'aufs treulichste' 1 ×, *per-arwi* 'wahrlich, fürwahr' 1 ×, *perarwiskai* 'gewißlich' 1 × und *perarwisku* 'freilich' 5 ×. Unter diesen Verwendungen zieht die Zusammensetzung *per-arwi*, die besondere Aufmerksamkeit auf sich, und zwar deshalb, weil sie einerseits eine bedeutungsmäßige Entsprechung für dt. *fürwahr* bildet, andererseits ihrer Form nach sehr stark an die deutsche Struktur *für-wahr* (aus dem mhd. *vür wâre*) erinnert. Versuchen wir nun, diese beiden Tatsachen mit dem Faktum, daß der dt. Präposition *für* im Altpreußischen ein *per* c. Akk. entspricht, zu verbinden, so drängt sich gleich die Frage auf, ob es nicht sinnvoll wäre, das apr. *per-arwi* für einen Calque des mhd. *vür wâre* anzusehen. Es scheint, daß eine zustimmende Antwort auf diese Frage in der Tat möglich ist. Daß im Enchiridion, wo oft Wort für Wört übersetzt ist, die Calquen der dt. Ausdrücke eine geläufige Erscheinung sind, ist eine gut bekannte Tatsache. Um nun den lautlichen Unterschied zwischen (*vür*) *wâre* und (*per*)*arwi* zu überwinden, hätte man wohl anzunehmen, daß das mhd. Adverb anfangs mit dem apr. **pervāri* wiedergegeben wurde und dann durch die apr. Metathese von *v*, **pervāri* > **perarvi* (*perarwi*) umgeformt wurde. Nimmt man an, daß das Apr. ein dt. Adverb entlehnt hat, muß man in der Folge eine weitere Annahme vorbringen, und zwar, daß das apr. Simplex *arwis* Produkt einer analogischen Proportion ist, nämlich mhd. *vürwâre* Adv. : *wâr* Adj. = apr. *perarwi* Adv. : *x*, woraus ein Adj. *arwis* entstanden ist. Die weitere Entwicklung führte zur Ableitung eines apr. *isk*-Adjektivs, **arwisk-* 'wahr, wirklich gewiß', und dann eines entsprechenden Adverbs auf *-ai*, das man in *perarwiskai, perarwisku* u. dgl. sieht. Wenn sich die dargelegte Deutung zutreffend erweisen sollte, wird man naturgemäß auf den slawisch-preußischen Vergleich verzichten und für das slaw. *ravьnъ* eine Sondererklärung suchen.

2. Apr. *gannan* Akk. Sg. F. 'Weib, Eheweib' III, neben dem sekundären *gennan* dss. III und *genno* EV. 188 dss.[2]. Dieses Wort, das bis jetzt als einziges baltisches Komparandum für aksl. *žena* 'Frau' angesehen wird (Trautmann 1923, S. 84, Vasmer 1950 s. v. *žená*, Toporov 1979, S. 207), scheint vielmehr eine preußische Transposition des mhd. *kone, kan* F. 'Weib, Eheweib' in apr. **gana* mit Sonorisierung des anlautenden *k*- darzustellen. Zum apr. *g*- statt zu erwartendem *k*- vgl. *girmis* EV. 786 'Made': lit. *kirmìs* M, 'Wurm' sowie *pagaptis* EV. 362 'Bratspieß' (< **pa-kep-tis*) : *kèpti* 'braten' (gr. πέψις F. 'Kochen, Backen', aksl. *pečь* 'Ofen') und als tertium comparationis apr. **gawabo* (emend. aus *gabawo* EV. 779) 'Kröte', das aus mndd.

[2] Die apr. Formen *genno* EV., *gennan* III und *gannan* III verhalten sich zueinander wie: *kekulis* EV. 495 'Badelaken' zu **kakulis* (Entl. aus ahd. *hahhul* 'Mantel'); *kelan* EV. 295 'Rad' zu **kalan* Akk. Sg. (Entl. aus apo. *koło* 'dss.'); *kexti* EV. 70 'Zopfhaar' zu **kakstē* (mit Synkope und *k*-Einschub aus **kasitē* entstanden, zu lit. *kasà* 'Zopf, Haarflechte', *kasulà, kãsulė* 'Traube, Dolde'; anders Toporov 1980, S. 354); *kērdan* III 'Zeit' (l. *kértan*) zu lit. *kar̃tas* 'Mal'; *wessis* EV. 308 'Reitschlitten' zu lit. *vãžis, važỹs* 'Schlittenkutsche; einspänniger Schlitten'; *iss-prestun* III 'verstehen' zu lit. *su-pràsti* 'dss.'; *sedinna sien prīki* III 'widersetzt sich' zu *saddinna* III 'stellet' (= *sǎd-ina*, Kaus. zu **sěd-* 'sich setzen', Verf. 1984, S. 135).

quabbe 'feuchte Masse' (mhd. *quappe* M. 'Aalquappe') als **kᵊvaba* entlehnt sein muß.

3. Apr. *cawx* EV.11 'Teufel', das ins Litauische als *kaũkas* 'Kobold, Gnom, zwerghafter Geist' übernommen wurde, hat höchstwahrscheinlich nichts mit dem bg. *kuk* 'Kobold' gemeinsam (gegenteiliger Ansicht Toporov 1980, S.296), sondern ist ein deutsches Lehnwort, vgl. mhd. *helle-gouch* M. 'Teufel' : *gouch* M. '1. Kuckuck, 2. Buhler, Tor, Narr, Gauch'. Zur Schreibung *c* für /g/ vgl. z.B. *aclo-cordo* EV.313 'Seil zum Leiten für ein Gespann', l. *a(u)kla-gurts,* wo das Vorderglied zum *auclo* EV.451 «halfter» gehört und das Hinterglied entlehntes mhd. *gurt* M. 'Gürtel' wiedergibt (abzulehnen Toporov 1975, S.69); aus derselben dt. Quelle stammt auch lit. *gur̃tas* 'dss.' im Kompositum *juñgurtas, jùngurtas* 'Riemen, mit dem das Kummet am Deichselgestänge befestigt wird'; ferner *ayculo* EV.47 'Nadel', l. *aigula, liscis* EV.412 'Lager', l. *lizgis* (aus **lizdis,* zu lit. *lìzdas* 'Nest', vgl. mhd. *nest* '1. Nest, 2. Lager'), möglicherweise auch *mosuco* EV.662 'Wiesel', falls aus *mocuso* verschrieben[3], l. *mō-guza* < **maiguz-* = lit. *maigužẽ* 'dss.'.

4. Apr. *kiosi* EV.402 'Becher' ist wegen der Schreibung *kio* keineswegs mit aksl. *čaša* 'poculum' (s. Trautmann 1910, S.358, Toporov 1980, S.371) vereinbar, da es die graphischen Verbindungen des Typs Konsonant + *i* + Vokal in dem *wurzelhaften* Teil des Wortes sonst einfach nicht gibt. In *kiosi* muß ein fehlerhaftes *i* für *r* (Verlesungsfehler des Abschreibers) stecken, wie auch in *sweriapis* EV. statt *swerrapis* 'Hengst' (**sverepis,* aus apo. *świerzepiec* 'equus admissarius' entlehnt)[4] und in *geeyse* EV.718

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[3] Verf. 1985, S.107. Dort auch die anderen Beispiele für die Umstellung der Buchstaben im EV. Zum *s* vgl. bes. *kuntis* EV.113 'Faust' für *kunsti* (aus **kumstē* = lit. *kùmstė,* lett. *kum̃ste* 'dss.'; anders Toporov 1984, S.290f.) und *abskande* EV.602 'Erle' für *alksn-ade* = /alksnāt-/, vgl. lit. *alksn-ótas* 'Erlenwald' (ganz anders, kaum richtig, Toporov 1975, S.53f.).

[4] Daß *sweriapis* unter 431 *Keynhengest* erscheint, beruht nur auf der (bisher unbeachteten) Umstellung der apr. Entsprechungen zwischen 430 *Hengest* und 431 *Keynhengest.* Daß unter 431 apr. *sirgis* stehen soll, beweist die Bedeutung seiner litauischen Entsprechung *žìrgas* 'Roß': *kāro žìrgas* 'Kriegspferd', *kovõs žìrgas* 'Streitroß'.

'Reiher' (zu lit. *géršė* 'dss.; urspr. apr. **geerse* «wurde als *geeise* verlesen, dann von Holtzwesscher als *geeyse* wiedergegeben», so Trautmann 1910, S.336). Ein umgekehrter Verlesungsfehler, *r* für *i* (ohne Punkt), zeigt sich in wenigstens drei Beispielen, die bis jetzt auch unbefriedigend interpretiert wurden: 1. *werwirsis* EV.733 'Lerche' für *weiwirsis* = lit. *vieversỹs* 'dss.', 2. *paustre* EV.624 'Wildnis' für *paustie* = /paustī/ F., aus **pūstē* < apo. *puszcza* F. 'locus vastus, desertus, incultus; magna silva' (Verf. 1986c), 3. *pomatre* EV.180 'Stiefmutter' für *pamatie* = /pamātī/, vgl. lit. *pãmotė* 'dss.' und EV.170 *mothe* 'Mutter', III *mūti* u. Gr. *muti* 'dss.'.

Wenn wir nun dem Graphem *o* im verbesserten *krosi* die Geltung des apr. /ū/ zuschreiben[5], bekommen wir eine Form /krūzī/ F., die sich als eine regelrechte Transposition des mhd. Wortes *krûse* F. oder mndd. *krûs* F. 'Krug, irdenes Tongefäß' auffassen läßt. Vgl. die parallele Entlehnung im lett. *krūze* F. 'irdener Krug'. Somit wird apr. *kiosi* als ein Lehnwort erklärt, d.h. als eine Form, die in keinem etymologischen Zusammenhang mit dem slaw. *čaša* stehen kann[6].

5. Apr. *talus* EV.207 'Fußboden eines Zimmers'. Damit verbindet Trautmann 1923, S.321 das lit. *pã-talas* M. 'Bett' und das ru. *potolók* (**taluka-*) 'Zimmerdecke', die im Ablaut zu lit. *tìlės* F. Pl. 'Bodenbretter im Kahn' stehen. Es scheint jedoch, daß es der Bedeutung wegen mehr plausibel wäre, apr. *talus* als ein Nom. Pl. F. **tal-ās* aufzufassen und aus dem mhd. *tale* F. 'Estrich, Fußboden' herzuleiten. Zum Ausgang **-ās*, der einmal *-us*, einmal *-os* geschrieben wird, bietet sich als Parallele *scrundus* EV.469 'Schere' neben *scrundos* EV.558 'dss.' = *skrundās*

[5] Vgl. *o* für /ū/ in *passons* EV.181 'Stiefsohn' : lit. *pósūnis* 'dss.', *brokis* EV.165 'Schlag' : lit. *brū̃kis* 'Strich (mit einer Bürste, einem Besen)', möglicherweise auch in *ackons* EV.277 'Granne', wenn aus **akūns* (lit. *akúotas* 'dss.'), *ansonis* EV.950 'Eiche', wenn aus **anzūnis* (lit. dial. *ánžuolas*).

[6] Die Gleichung apr. *kiosi* : aksl. *čaša* wurde ohne Bedenken in drei slawischen Großwörterbüchern wiederholt: Vasmer 1958, S.306, Sławski 1976, S.118, Trubačev 1977, S.30f. Zuletzt hat sich für *kiosi* als eine der »exklusiven preußisch-slawischen Isolexen» auch Martynov 1985 ausgesprochen.

F. Pl. tantum, wohl aus mhd. *schrunde* F. 'Scharte des Schwertes' entlehnt[7].

6. Ein balt.-slaw. Ansatz **u̯idau̯ā-* F. 'Witwe' sollte nach Trautmann 1923, S. 357, mit der Zusammenstellung von aksl. *vьdova*, ru. *vdová* usw. und apr. *widdewū* Widwe III (dazu auch Dat. Pl. *widdewūmans* «den Widwen» III), das lediglich im Enchiridion bezeugt ist, begründet sein. Angesichts des Fehlens jeglicher Spuren des betreffenden Stammes in den übrigen baltischen Sprachen (Witwe heißt im Lit. *našlẽ*, im Lett. hingegen *atraĩtne*), nimmt jedoch die Frage an Relevanz zu, ob apr. *widdewū* nicht als ein deutsches Lehnwort anzusehen wäre. Es handelt sich darum, daß die apr. Form, deren Schreibung die Lesung /videvú/ und die Herleitung aus **videva*[8] empfiehlt, sich nur unbeträchtlich von den entsprechenden deutschen Lautungen wie mndd. *wedewe* und mhd. *witewe* unterscheidet. Das apr. *i* in *vid-* das sich ohne Bedenken aus einem *e* herleiten läßt[9], scheint auf mndd. *wedewe* als Quelle der Entlehnung hinzuweisen. In semantischer Hinsicht vgl. *widdewū* mit solchen Fremdwörtern des Altpreußischen wie *gannan* 'Eheweib' III (s. oben P. 2), *swestro* EV. 174 < mhd. *swester*; *ane* EV. 172 < mhd. *ane* F. 'Großmutter', sowie *brote* EV. 173 'Bruder', Vok. Sg. *brāti* III < apo. *brat*, Gen. *brata*, Vok. *bracie* 'dss.'; *tisties* EV. 184 'Schwäher, Schwiegervater', l. *tistīs* < apo. *cieść* (s. unten 16), möglicherweise auch *ludis* EV. 185 'Wirt', l. *lūt-is*, mit *lū* < *lī*

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[7] *-us* aus **ās* könnte noch in diesen Belegen vorliegen: (a) *auwerus* EV. 529 «Sindir» ['Metallschlake'], wenn aus **au-var-ās* F. Pl., vgl. lett. *iz-vār-es* F. Pl. 'Absud' (zu *izvàrīt*) und lit. *iš-vir-os* F. Pl. 'dss.' (s. Toporov 1975, S. 176f.), (b) *wora-gowus* EV. 389 'Weinbeere', l. °*wogus*, zu lit. *úogos* F. Pl. 'Beeren', (c) *warſus* EV. 91 «Lippe», wenn für *wargus* verschrieben, d.h. **vargās* F. Pl., aus apo. *wargi* 'Lippen' entlehnt.

[8] Die Lautentwicklung von *va* zu *vu* (> *u̯u* > *u*) ist im Ench. durch die folgenden Beispiele gesichert: (a) *gallū*, *gallu* 'Kopf' : lit. *galvà*, (b) *deiwuts* 'seelig', *deiwūt-iskan* 'göttlich, seelig' < **deivât-* : lit. *dievótas* 'fromm, andächtig', (c) *wūkawi* 3. Sg. Präs. 'fordert' < **vukauja* < **vákauja*, denomin. Faktitivum zu *wackis* EV. 415 'Geschrei'. - Die Formen *widdewū* und *gallū* sind ferner mit *mergu* III 'Magd' (zu lit. *mergà* 'Bauernmädchen') zu vergleichen. Im Dat. Pl. findet man nebeneinander *widdewūmans* III und *mergūmans* III.

[9] S. Trautmann 1910, S. 114 sowie die Beispiele, die im Punkt 16 im Zusammenhang mit *tisties* angeführt wurden.

(vgl. *kail-ūst-iskun* III 'Gesundheit' < **kail-ist-*; FN. *Luko* 1331/35 nebst *Licka* 1326) aus mhd. *lît-gëber* M. 'Schenkwirt'[10].

7. Für Trautmann 1923, S. 38 (s. v. *bruu̯i-*), is apr. *wubri* EV. 82 'Wimper' ein unklares Wort; Endzelin 1943, S. 277 dagegen verbessert es in **bruwi* (Femin. auf **-ē*) und stellt es als urverwandt einerseits zum ostlit. *bruvìs* 'Braue' und andererseits zu aksl. *brъvь*, ru. *brovь* usw. 'dss.'; dasselbe tut jetzt auch Mažiulis 1981, S. 18, 261 (**bruvī*). M. E. wegen der fehlenden Parallelen für die hier angesetzte Metathese von **bruw-* zu *wubr-* sowie im Hinblick auf den augenscheinlichen Bedeutungsunterschied (apr. 'Wimper', aber slaw. 'Braue'), muß man die Endzelinsche Erklärung als verfrüht bezeichnen und sich nach einer anderen Lösung umsehen.

Eine neue Auffassung von *wubri* könnte aus der Tatsache ausgehen, daß in der Abschrift des EV. die Abbreviatur für den postvokalischen Nasal (die eine Form des Bogens über dem Vokal hat) gelegentlich weggelassen wird[11].

Nimmt man an, daß *wubri* für *wûbri* fehlerhaft abgeschrieben wurde, so ergibt sich gleich eine Möglichkeit, die Schreibung *wûbri* mit Hilfe einer streng parallelen und befriedigend erklärten Schreibung von (*silkas*)*drûb'* EV. 484 'Seidenschleier' zu interpretieren. Da °*drûb'* neben *drimbis* EV. 483 'Schleier' steht und dies eine sicherlich korrekte Form darstellt[12], wird das auf-

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[10] Nach der communis opinio sollte *ludis* auf der Entl. aus apo. *ludzie* Pl. 'Leute' beruhen (s. Trautmann 1910, S. 372, Milewski 1947, S. 25, Endzelin 1943, S. 206). Levin 1974, S. 97 führt *ludis* willkürlich auf urslaw. **ljudinъ* zurück. – Daß die deutschen Zusammensetzungen bei der Entlehnung ins Altpreußische in ihrem Vorderglied abgekürzt werden dürfen, bezeugen mit aller Sicherheit die folgenden Beispiele: *scinkis* EV. 388 'Schemper' aus mhd. *schenke-bêr*; *kelmis* EV. 474 'Hut' aus mhd. *hëlme-huot* 'Helm' (verfehlt Trautmann 1910, S. 356, Milewski 1947, S. 27, s. noch Toporov 1980, S. 311 f.); *sarwis* EV. 418 'Waffen' aus mhd. *sar-wërc* 'was zur Rüstung gehört' (anders Trautmann 1910, S. 419).

[11] Dazu vgl. Trautmann 1910, S. 397 (*pettegislo*) und 364 (*cucan*; hierbei wäre es wegen der Bedeutung 'braun' besser, ein **tûcan* anzusetzen, s. u. A. 12). Weitere Beispiele s. Verf. 1986a, S. 517 f., 1986b, S. 172 f.

[12] Es handelt sich dabei um eine Entl. aus ahd. *trembil* 'toga, palium' oder seiner mhd. Entsprechung (anders Trautmann 1910, S. 323, Toporov 1975, S. 373). Zum Schwund des dt. Suffixes bei der Transposition ins Apr. vgl. bes.: *nabis*

fällige *û* in °*drûb'* mit Trautmann 1910, S. XXIII so zu erklären sein, daß der Schreiber, der in seiner Vorlage (*silkas*)*drimbis* fand, *im* (ohne Punkt über dem *i*) in *un* verlas und dann als *û* abkürzte. Dementsprechend wäre das *wûbri* als eine abgekürzte Schreibung für **wunbri* (Verlesung) ← **wimbri* aufzufassen. Wenn jetzt so gewonnenes **wimbri* auf dem regelrechten lautlichen Wege auf ein ursprüngliches apr. **winbrē* F. zurückgeführt wird, wird es schon klar sein, daß es sich dabei einfach um eine Transposition des aus mhd. *vinbrâ* F. 'Wimper' entlehnten Wortes handelt.

8. Apr. *kerpetis* EV. 72 'Hirnschädel', das keine Entsprechung im Litauisch-Lettischen findet, muß zu dem ksl. *črěpъ* 'ὄστρακον', ru. *čérep* 'Schale (bes. der Schaltiere, Hirnschädel)', skr. *crȉjep* 'Scherbe' usw. (s. Trautmann 1923, S. 129) gar nicht gehören. Da der Beleg ein hapax legomenon ist, sollte man ein Auge darauf haben, daß sein *er* ein Verlesungsfehler für *ev* (= *eu*) sein kann; somit wäre *kerpetis* als /kaupetis/ zu lesen[13] und als eine Entlehnung aus mhd. *houbet, houpt* N. 'Kopf, Haupt an Menschen und Tieren' zu beurteilen. Zur Semantik vgl. etwa mhd. *kopf*, das sowohl 'Kopf' als auch 'Hirnschale' (Lexer 1962, S. 113) bedeutet.

EV. 123 'Nabel' aus mhd. *nabel* M.; *wipis* EV. 630 'Ast' aus md. *wippel* od. nhd. *wipfel* M.; *noatis* EV. 291 'Nessel' aus mhd. *nezzel* F.; *kugis* EV. 426 'Knauf auf Schwertgriff' aus mhd. *kugel*(*e*) F. und *cucan* EV. 465 'braun', wenn ein Fehler für *tûcan* = *tunkan* (Akk. Sg.), aus mhd. *tunkel* 'dunkel, trübe, unklar'. Genau dieselbe Erscheinung beobachtet man bei der Behandlung der altpolnischen Entlehnungen, vgl. z. B. *sweriapis* aus *świerzepiec* (s. o. unter 4); *pastowis* EV. 456 'feines Tuch' aus apo. *postawiec* 'textile quoddam coloratum, pretiosum, saepisse Sericeum' (falsch Trautmann 1910, S. 391, Milewski 1947, S. 33, Levin 1974, S. 97 zu apo. *postaw*); *salowis* EV. 727 'Nachtigall', l. *sal*^{u}*vis*, aus apo. *słowik*; *wumbaris* EV. 556 'Eimer' < **vambaris*, aus apo. *wamborek* (verfehlt Verf. 1986, S. 171); *wuysis* EV. 704 'Wachhund', l. *vu*^{i}*zis*, aus apo. *wyżeł*.

[13] Zum *eu* = /au/ vgl. *skewre* EV. 685 'Sau'; *skawra* GrA. 19 'dss.', *keuto* EV. 156, 497 'Haut' aus mhd. *hout* F.; ON. *Pevs* 1321, *Peus* 1354 neben *Povs* 1322 und ON. *Pewse-lauk* 1333 neben *Pause-lauke* 1340, alles zu *peuse* EV. 597 'Kiefer' < **púsē* (vgl. ON. *Pos-lawcin* 1361, FN. *Pos-mal* 1401) = lit. *pùšė* 'dss.', s. Verf. 1986 d, S. 27.

9. Apr. *luckis* EV.640 'Holzscheit'. Trautmann 1923, S.152 (auch 1910, S.372), hält das apr. Wort für eine schwundstufige Ablautsvariante zu dem balt.-slaw. Stamm **lauki-* F. 'Licht', der in ač. *lúč,* Gen. *lúči* 'Fackel, Kienspan', sloven. *lúč* 'Licht eines brennenden Körpers' (Kollekt. 'Lichtspäne') usw. fortgesetzt ist. Die Hauptschwierigkeit bei dieser Etymologie liegt darin, daß (a) das Baltische, wie auch das Slawische, bei den Nomina von der entsprechenden Wurzel **leuk-* ausschließlich eine *vollstufige* Form **lauk-* (aus idg. **louk-*) aufweist (apr. *laucks,* lit. *laũkas,* lett. *laũks* 'Feld'), und (b) dies **lauk-* im Baltischen lediglich mit der Bedeutung 'Feld' (daraus auch 'Acker'), wohl aus 'das Freie' < 'Lichtung (ausgerodete Stelle)', und nie als 'Licht' bezeugt ist. Die Form und Bedeutung des apr. Substantivs legen eher die Annahme eines etymologischen Zusammenhangs mit mhd. *lohe* M. 'Lohe, Flamme' und 'flammendes Leuchten' nahe. Das mhd. Wort würde unter der Substitution von *u* für dt. *o* ins Preußische übernommen, genau so wie auch apr. *russis* EV.429 '(Streit)-roß' aus mhd. *ros* N., *bugo* EV.445 (l. *bugs* M.)[14] 'Sattelbogen' aus mhd. *boge* M. und *surg-aut* Inf. 'sorgen' III aus mhd. *sorg-en.* Das apr. *k* für dt. *h* ist regelmäßig, vgl. z.B. °*staclan* EV.370 «Vuerysen» aus mhd. *stahel* M.N. 'Stahl', *kekulis* EV. 495 'Badelaken' aus ahd. *hahhul* (s.Toporov 1980, S.304f.), *doacke* EV.732 'Star' aus ahd. *dâha, tâha* F. 'Dohle'.

10. Die Gleichung apr. *austo* EV.89 'Mund' : aksl. *usta* N. Pl. 'στόμα', ru. *ustá* usw. (Trautmann 1923, S.19, Vasmer 1958, S. 191f.) ist schon dadurch verdächtig, daß (a) das apr. Wort kein pluralisches Neutrum, sondern – nach Ausweis des samländischen *āustin* (in 55.33f. *tu turei stesmu kurwan, kas arrien* [l. *arnen,* aus mhd. *arn* M. 'Ernte'] *tlāku ni stan āustin perreist* „Du solt dem Ochsen, der da [apr.: Ernte] Dreschet, nicht das maul verbinden") – ein singularisches Feminin ist, nämlich **aust-ā* im EV. und **aust-ē* im Ench. (daraus ein Nom. **austī* u. Akk. *āustin*), und (b) ein Name für 'Mund' wie apr. *austo* im Balti-

[14] Verlesenes *-o* für «rundes» -σ kommt in EV. nicht selten vor. Vgl. °*cordo* für *gurts* (s.o. unter 3); *pasto* 494 «Wepe» aus apo. *post* M. 'aulaeum, cortina'; *sticlo* 401 'Glas' aus alit. *stìklas* 'dss.' (vgl. lett. *stikls*); °*tinklo* 697 'Garn' : lit. *tìnklas* 'Netz'; *crauyo* 160 'Blut' : lit. *kraũjas* 'dss.'.

schen vollkommen isoliert ist. Eine Anknüpfung an das litauische Verb *áuščioti* 'schwatzen, munkeln' (s. Trautmann ib., Vasmer ib., Fraenkel 1955, S. 26, Toporov 1975, S. 173) ist in Wirklichkeit verfehlt, weil *áuščioti* nicht in **aust-i̯ātei,* sondern in *áuš-čioti* (mit einem üblichen Intensivsuffix *-čio-*) zu zerlegen und zum litauischen Idiom *áušyti liežùvį* (*bùrną*), wörtlich 'die Zunge (den Mund) abkühlen' zu stellen ist[15]. Die Tatsache, daß manche apr. Langvokale *ū* und *ī* in diphthongierten Varianten hervortreten[16], legt für *austo, āustin* die Annahme einer Entlehnung aus apo. *usta* N. Pl. 'Mund', mit der apr. Umgestaltung ins Singulativum **ūsta* u. **ūstē* und mit der darauffolgenden Diphthongierung zu **austa* u. **austī,* nahe.

11. Der apr. Adjektivstamm *pausto-*, der nur in zwei Zusammensetzungen, *paustocatto* EV. 665 «wildekatcze» und *pausto-caīcā* EV. 654 «wiltpfert» (l. *pausto-canican*), erscheint, wird von Trautmann 1923, S. 208 f., als baltische Entsprechung für slaw. *pustъ* 'wüst, unbebaut, öde, leer' (aksl. *pustъ* 'ἔρημος') angeführt. Ähnlich Endzelin 1943, S. 220 und Vasmer 1955, S. 467 f. Abgesehen von der Tatsache, daß das slawische *pustъ* bisher noch nicht befriedigend etymologisiert wurde (vgl. Vasmer ib.), sei hier nur darauf hingewiesen, daß unter der Annahme einer apr. Diphthongierung (*pausto-* < **pūsta-*) das apr. Wort sich einfach als Entlehnung des apo. Adjektivs *pusty* in der spezifischen altpolnischen Bedeutung 'indomitus, ferus' (vgl. Indomita fera *puste albo ploche swèszrą,* XV p. pr.) auffassen läßt. Nicht ohne Bedeutung ist dabei auch die Tatsache, daß das Hinterglied der Zusammensetzung *paustocanican* 'wildes Pferd', d. h. *kanika-,* ein gesichertes Lehnwort aus apo. *konik* M. 'Pferd' ist (s. Verf. 1986 c).

Mit *pausto-* 'wild' wird unter der Annahme eines Abstraktums mit dem *r*-Suffix apr. *paustre* EV. 624 'Wildnis' verbunden (Trautmann 1910, S. 391, Endzelin 1943, S. 220). Auch diese Interpretation scheint uns unannehmbar, und zwar aus zwei Gründen: erstens können im Baltischen von den Adjektiva keine Ab-

[15] Zu den Einzelheiten s. Verf. 1986 c.

[16] S. Trautmann 1910, S. 131 f., 135 f. Zur Sachlage im EV. s. Verf. 1985, 1986 d, S. 40 f.

strakta auf *-r-* gebildet werden; zweitens ist das apr. Adj. *pausto-* 'wild', so wie es überliefert ist, eine Bezeichung des Tieres ('indomitus, ferus') und nicht der Landschaft ('desertus, quem nemo incolit', vgl. die Bed. 'Wildnis'). Als Ausweg böte sich dabei die Vermutung, daß es sich in *paustre* um ein falsches *r* für *i*, wie in den schon im Punkt 4 genannten Beispielen, handelt. Das so erreichte **paustie*, l. *paustī*, wäre auf **pūstē* F., aus apo. *puszcza* 'locus vastus, desertus, incultus; magna silva', zurückzuführen.

12. Unter dem balt.-slaw. Ansatz **peizdā-* F. 'weibliche Scham' beschreibt Trautmann den baltischen Bestandteil der Zusammenstellung folgenderweise: «pr. *peisda* 'Arsch' ist vielleicht, li. *pyzdà*, le. *pīzda* F. 'weibliche Scham' sicher Lehnwort» (1923, S. 211). Die Vermutung des einheimischen Charakters des apr. Wortes, wenngleich vorsichtig vorgetragen, läßt sich schon deshalb nicht aufrechterhalten, weil das Baltische weder Ableitungen mit dem *dā*-Suffix kennt, noch die Vollstufe **peis-* von der Wurzel **pis-* aufweist. Im Litauischen ist das primäre Paradigma auf der Schwundstufe aufgebaut, vgl. *pisù, pisaũ, pìsti* 'coire cum femina', Gdbed. 'stoße' (ähnliches findet man übrigens auch im Slawischen: Präs. *pьch-nǫ*, Inf. *pьch-ati* 'stoßen, ausschlagen'); zu dieser Schwundstufe *pis-* wurde ein *o*-stufiger Iterativstamm, *pais-ýti* 'die Grannen abschlagen, enthülsen', hinzugebildet. Ein Nomen wie lit. *piestà* F. (neben *piẽstas* M.) 'Stampfe, Mörser' ist wegen seines *ie*-Vokalismus zwar zweideutig, sollte jedoch im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung sicherlich in die *pais*-Reihe (mit *ie* als morphologisch bedingter Umdeutung von **ai*[17]) eingeordnet werden.

Angesichts solcher Sachlage ist es wohl von Bedeutung, auf eine bisher unbeachtete Tatsache aufmerksam machen, nämlich daß es in dem Grunauschen Vokabular neben *peisda* (GrA 36 u. GrF 27) noch eine Variante ohne Diphthong: *pisda* GrG 82 'Arsch', gibt. Da die Zurückführung von *pisda* auf *peisda* lautlich unmöglich ist, führt der einzige Weg zur Erklärung über die Annahme einer sekundären Diphthongierung von **pīzda*

[17] Vgl. Kuryłowicz 1956.

(*pisda*) zu **peizda* (*peisda*)[18]. Berücksichtigt man das lange *ī* in *pisda* GrG 82, so muß man folglich in dem apr. *pisda*/*peisda* 'anus' ein aus dem apo. *pizda* 'anus; vulva' entlehntes (somit mit dem ru. *pizdá*, čak. *pīzdà* 'vulva' u. dgl. nur mittelbar „verwandtes") Wort anerkennen.

13. Im apr. Enchiridion kommt ein Verbalstamm *peisā-* 'schreiben' vor. Vgl. 3. Sg. Präs. *peisai* 63.16, 3. Pl. *peisāi* 49.20 < **peisā-ja*; Part. Prät. Pass. *peisāton* 67.4, *peisaton* 43.7 'geschrieben' (Nom. Sg. N.) < **peisā-ta-n*, alles zum Inf. **peisā-ti*. Nach Trautmann 1923, S. 210 sollte *peisā-* schon deshalb «sicherlich preußisch» und urverwandt mit dem aksl. *pьsa-ti* 'γράφειν' sein, weil sein Wurzelvokal ständig mit *ei* geschrieben ist (ähnlich urteilt auch Vasmer 1955, S. 360). Zu der auffälligen Divergenz im Vokalismus (apr. *peis-* gegenüber aksl. *pьs-*) nimmt Trautmann leider keine Stellung.

Die genetische Annäherung *peisā-* : *pьsa-* scheint aus mehreren Gründen wenig glaubwürdig zu sein. Das wichtigste ist dabei, daß diese Zusammensetzung keine Rücksicht auf die Tatsache nimmt, daß die Form *pьsati* eine spezifisch slawische und auf dem baltischen Boden nirgends vorkommende Weiterbildung zu der schwundstufigen Wurzel *pьs-* (d. h. balt.-slaw. **piš-* : idg. **pik̂-*, vgl. ai *piṁśáti*) darstellt, nämlich einen Iterativ mit *ā*-Suffix. Ferner wäre es zu beachten, daß die balt.-slaw. Wurzelform **piš-* im Baltischen ganz und gar verlorengegangen ist, so daß die Vollstufe **peiš-* und die darauf aufgebaute *o*-Stufe **paiš-* als die einzigen Glieder des litauischen Paradigmas erscheinen. Vgl. lit. *piešiù, piešiaũ, piẽšti* 'mit Kohle Linien ziehen, malen; schreiben' (Verallgemeinerung des Präsensstammes **peiš-* zuungunsten des altererbten Gegensatzes von Präs. **peiš-* und Prät.-Inf. **piš-*, welcher in aksl. *pišą* : *pьsati* und bis jetzt in tsch. *píši* : *psáti* bewahrt ist). Dazu das Iterativum *paišaũ, paišiaũ, paišýti* 'Zeichen mit Kohle oder Ruß machen', das jedoch

[18] Als sekundär diphthongierte Formen mit *ei* < *ī* sind bei Grunau nachzuweisen: *maiters* GrG. 99 'ein Schalck' aus **mīters* (wahrsch. aus mhd. *miete-knëht* 'mercennarius' oder *miete-man* 'Tagelöhner' entl.), *wolgeit* GrG. 36 'essen' : lit. *válgyti* 'dss.' (die Vermutung über 2. Pl. Imperat. bei Mažiulis 1981, S. 53 ist überflüssig), *pasteygo* GrF. 56 'Fasten', aus *pastneygo* verschrieben : *pastnygo* GrA. 56, *pastenick* GrG. 31 'dss.'.

zweideutig ist, weil es ebensogut als eine deverbale *o*-stufige Bildung von **piš-* (vgl. *braidýti* von *brindù, bridaũ, brìsti* 'waten') oder von **peiš-* (*piešiù* → *paišýti*)[19], wie auch als eine denominative Bildung von *paišaĩ* M. Pl., *paĩšos* F. Pl. 'Rußfleck' (vgl. die Bedeutung des lit. *paišýti*!) aufgefaßt werden kann.

Wenn nun das slaw. *pьs-a-ti,* das als eine Ableitung von dem ablautenden Paradigma *piš-/pьs-* anzusehen ist, eine verhältnismäßig alte Bildungsweise aufweist, so wäre im Baltischen entsprechend mit einer Bildung wie **piš-ā-ti* (lit. **pišoti*), eventuell **pīš-ā-ti,* lit. **pyšoti* (mit der gedehnten Schwundstufe) als Fortsetzung eines baltisch-slawischen Zustandes zu rechnen, und dies deswegen, weil die deverbativen Zeitwörter mit dem alten Schwundstufenvokalismus (lit. *kilóti*(*s*) : *kélti* 'auf-, emporheben', *simóti* : *sémti* 'schöpfen', *pilóti* : *pìlti* 'gießen, schütten') wenigstens im Litauischen bis in die späte historische Zeit lebendig und produktiv geblieben sind[20]. Da dies nicht der Fall ist, und das Altpreußische anstatt des zu erwartenden **pisāi* (**pisāton*) ein *peisāi* (*peisāton*) zeigt, das sich nicht nur bildungsmäßig, sondern auch semantisch (die Bed. 'schreiben') von dem lit. *paišýti* 'mit Kohle oder Ruß zeichnen' unterscheidet, so bestehen genügende Gründe, um die Möglichkeit der altpolnischen Entlehnung auch in diesem Falle in Erwägung zu ziehen. Da im Altpolnischen die Entsprechung von aksl. *pьsati* 'schreiben' *pisać* 'dss.' lautet (Verallgemeinerung des *i*-Vokalismus beruht hier auf einer polnischen Neubildung), wäre es notwendig, im Falle der Entlehnung ins Altpreußische einen Inf. **pīsā-ti,* Präs. **pīsā-ja* anzusetzen (vgl. apr. *signā-t* III 'segnen', Prät. *signa-i* III aus apo. *żegnać, żegna*). Die tatsächlich überlieferte Form *peisā-,* mit einem *ei,* wäre dann durch die im Enchiridion gut bezeugte Diphthongisierung von *ī* zu *ei* zu erklären. Der von Trautmann hervorgehobene Umstand, daß *peisā* konsequent mit *ei* geschrieben wird (1910, S. 140), verliert an Bedeutung, wenn man die Tatsache berücksichtigt, daß im Enchiridion manche Wörter mit der evident diphthongierten Länge auftauchen, die ausschließlich mit dem Diphthonge (und nicht pro-

[19] So z. B. Kuryłowicz 1968, S. 297.

[20] Vgl. Otrębski 1965a, S. 339f., Kuryłowicz 1968, S. 322.

miscue, d.h. mal mit dem Diphthong, mal mit dem Monophthong, wie in den meisten Beispielen) geschrieben werden. Dafür vgl. insbesondere: *boūt, boūton, baūton* Inf. 'sein' : lit. *bū́ti*; *ioūs* 'euer' : lit. *jū́sų*; *soūns* 'Sohn' : lit. *sūnùs*. Daß außer *peisā-* keine Nebenschreibung **pisā-* od. **pijsā-* (= *pīsā-*) zu finden ist, ist reinem Zufall zuzuschreiben, denn sonst ist *i, ij, ī* nebst *ei* in den Katechismen die Regel. Vgl. z.B. *gijwans* : *geīwans* III, *geywans* II, *geiwans* I (Akk. Pl. M. 'lebendig'), *powijstin* III (Akk. Sg.) : *poweistins* III (Akk. Pl. 'Ding'), *stawīdan* III, *stawijdan* III, *stewidan* II : *steweidan I, steweydan* I, *steweyden* II ('solches').

14. Apr. *staytan* EV.421 'Schild' wurde von Trautmann nur auf Kosten der Emendation zu **scaytan* (**skaitan*, angeblich ein Neutrum) mit dem lit. *skíētas* M. 'Querbalken der Egge; Weberkamm' verbunden und ferner in einen etymologischen Zusammenhang mit dem slaw. **ščit*, aksl. *štitъ* 'ὅπλον, θερεός', ru. *ščit*, Gen. *ščitá* 'Schild' usw. gestellt (1910, S.435; 1923, S.264; dasselbe bei Vasmer 1958, S.452). Doch in angegebenem Falle scheinen sowohl die Verbesserung von *st-* zu *sc-* als auch der Neutrumansatz einfach überflüssig zu sein. Bleibt man bei dem originalen Beleg mit *st-*, so erweist sich am plausibelsten die Zurückführung von /staitan/ auf urspr. **stītan* (Akk. Sg. M.) und die Herleitung des preußischen Wortes aus dem apo. *szczyt* M. 'scutum, clipeus; clipeus insignis gentilicii' (so schon Brückner 1898, S.499). Zur Diphthongierung unter den polnischen Lehnwörtern s. oben *pisda/peisda* (12), *peisāton* (13) und unten *ayculo* (15). Zum Verhältnis von apr. *st* zu apo. *šč* vgl. oben *paustre* (11) sowie: *ploaste* EV.491 'Bettuch' aus apo. *płaszcz* '1. palium, amiculum superius, 2. operimentum ad mensam altaris insternendam aptum'; *estureyto* EV.776 'Eidechse' (< **jestur-īt-*) aus apo. *jeszczur-ka* 'lacerta' oder *jeszczerz-yca* 'dss.'. Zum Ausgang *-an* ist schließlich zu beachten, daß er nur davon zeugen kann, daß das apr. Wort nicht im Nom. Sg., sondern – wie es nicht selten im EV. der Fall ist[21] – in der Akkusativform

[21] Außer den einheimischen Maskulina, wie *buttan* EV.193 'Haus' (lit. *bùtas*), *caulan* EV.155 'Bein' (lit. *káulas*), *median* EV.586 'Wald' (ostlit. *mēdžias*, lett. *mežs*), *piuclan* EV.547 'Sichel' (lit. *pjū́klas*), vgl. insbesondere die polnischen und deutschen Maskulina, die im EV. unter der Akkusativform auftauchen:

niedergeschrieben wurde und somit die Geltung des maskulinen Geschlechtes hatte, genau so wie *szczyt* im Altpolnischen.

15. Daß das apr. *ayculo* EV. 470 'Nadel' als /aigula/ zu lesen ist, weisen einerseits die Nebenbelege *augle* GrG 75 und *angle* GrA. 86 dss. (l. *aygle,* s. Toporov 1975, S. 59), andererseits die parallelen Beispiele mit der Schreibung *c* oder *k* für /g/ wie *liscis* EV. 412 'Lager', (*aclo*)*cordo* EV. 313 «halfter», *cawx* EV. 11 'Teufel', *mosuco* für *mocuso* EV. 662 'Wiesel' (die schon in 3. besprochen wurden) sowie *krūt* III 'fallen' (zu lit. *griū́ti* 'zu Boden fallen'), *kirdīt* III 'hören' (zu lit. *girdė́ti* 'dss.') und *sneko* GrA. 64, *schneko* GrG. 44 'Schnee', l. *snēks* (zu lit. *sniẽgas,* lett. *sniegs,* vgl. *snaygis* im EV. 55 'dss.').

Trautmann 1923, S. 3 verbindet *ayculo* (angeblich aus urbalt. **aigulā* od. **eigulā*) mit dem slaw. **jьgъla* 'Nadel' (ru. *iglá,* po. *igła,* tsch. *jehla*; ru.-ksl. *igъlinъ* 'τῆς ῥαφίδος') unter der ad-hoc-Annahme vom Wurzelablaut **aig-* : **ig-,* aber mit der ausdrucksvollen Bemerkung: «Auswärtige Beziehungen fehlen». In Anbetracht des Fehlens jeglicher auswärtigen Anknüpfung verfügt das slawische Wort über keine gesicherte Etymologie, s. Vasmer 1953, S. 469, Sławski 1952, S. 443 f. Im Zusammenhang damit führt die Trautmannsche Annäherung höchstens zum Schluß, der Verfasser möchte hier ignotum per ignotum deuten. Um ähnliches Verfahren zu vermeiden, sei darauf hingewiesen, daß das wurzelhafte *ai* in *ayculo* gar nicht altererbt sein muß, sondern ebensogut als ein sekundärer, aus der apr. Diphthongisierung von älterem *ī*-Vokal resultierender Laut, angesehen werden kann. Daß die Neigung, den hohen Langvokal zu diphthongieren, sich nicht bloß in den samländischen Katechismen, sondern ebenfalls in dem pomesanischen Vokabular zeigt, davon – außer *staytan* < **stītan* (S. 14) – können wenigstens diese Beispiele zeugen: *weydulis* EV. 81 'Augapfel' : alit. *akiẽs pavydu-*

swetan 792 'Welt' (vgl. Akk. Sg. in *swetan* I, *swytan* II, *swītan* III) : alit. *sviẽtas* 'dss.' aus aru. *světъ*; *paustocanican* 654 'wildes Pferd' aus apo. *pusty* und *konik* (s. o. unter 11); *anctan* 689 'Butter' aus mhd. *anke* M. (mit *t*-Zusatz nach *nk,* wie manchmal im Mndd., s. Lasch 1974, S. 160); *twaxtan* 553 'Badequast' – entweder für *cwaxtan* verschrieben oder durch Dissim. aus **kvakstan* (mit *k*-Einschub wie sonst) < mndd. *quest* M. 'Laub-, Zweigbüschel' entstanden.

lȳs 'dss.'; *seyr* EV.124 'Herz' (ohne Endung geschrieben!) < **sīrs* < **sirds* : lett. *sirds*, lit. *šìrdis* 'dss.'[22]; *estureyto* EV.776 'Eidechse' < **jestur-īt-* F. (s.14); *crupeyle* EV.780 'Frosch' < **krup-īl-* : lit. žemait. *krùpis, -io* M. 'Kröte', lett. *krups* 'dss.'. Die *ai*-Lautung des sekundären Diphthongs ist im EV. mit den Formen wie *kaywe* EV.433 'Stute' (aus **kīvē* < **kēvē* : lit. *kẽvė* 'dss.'[23]), *deynayno* EV.5 'Morgenstern' (aus **dein-in-* : lit. *dienìnė* 'dss.', vgl. *dein-in-an* III Adj. Akk. Sg. M. 'täglich') und naturgemäß auch mit *staytan* gesichert.

Wird man aufgrund der eben aufgezählten Beispiele für den *ī-* > *ei/ai*-Wandel eine Möglichkeit der Herleitung von *ayculo* = /aigula/ aus **īgula* als denkbar anerkennen, so ergibt sich als ein plausibler Weg, diese Vorform zu erklären, die Vermutung, der preußische Name für 'Nadel' wäre aus dem apo. *igła* entlehnt[24].

16. Apr. *tisties* EV.184 'Schwiegervater', ein Wort ohne Entsprechung im Litauisch-Lettischen, bedeutet genau dasselbe wie aksl. *tьstь* 'πενθερός' (aru. *tьstь*, Gen. *tьsti*, ru. *testь*, Gen. *téstja*, apo. *cieść*, Gen. *ćścia*). Die Gleichheit der Bedeutung und formale Ähnlichkeit haben Endzelin Anlaß gegeben, eine Annahme über ursprüngliche Identität des altpreußischen und slawischen Wortes vorzubringen (1943, S.265). Dieser Ansicht ha-

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[22] Apr. **sīrs* resultiert aus der Vereinfachung der Gruppe *-rts* (< *-rds* < *-rdis*). Diese ist mit (a) *-ns* in *wins* EV.45 'Luft' < **vints* (aus mhd. *wint, -des* M. 'freie Luft'; abzulehnen Trautmann 1910, S.462, 1923, S.360 u. Endzelin 1943, S.274), *syndens* II u. *sīdans* III 'sitzend' < **sinda-nt-s* (s. Verf. 1984) und (b) *-ps* aus *-pts* im Part. Prät. Pass. *encops* I 'begraben' (nebst *enkopts* III) zu vergleichen. – Vgl. Akk. Sg. M. *sīran, sijran* in III 'Herz'. Durch die Zurückführung von *seyr* auf **sīr-s* < **sird(i)s* gewinnt man eine enge Übereinstimmung der apr. Form mit ihrer lit.-lett. Entsprechung. Somit wird die in der Indogermanistik sehr verbreitete Zusammenstellung von apr. *seyr* mit gr. homer. κῆρ und heth. *ke-ir* (= *kēr*) (vgl. z.B. Kuryłowicz 1968, S.26 Anm.3) in Frage gestellt.

[23] Hinsichtlich der Diphthongierung von *ī* aus **ē* vgl. (a) Präpos. *preiken* I, *preyken* II '(ent)gegen, wider' : *prīkin, prīkan* III 'dss.', aus **prēk-* (Entl. von apo. *przeki* 'in traversum'), (b) 3.Sg. Prät. *ymmei-ts, ymmey-ts* II 'nahm er' : *ymmi-ts, jmmi-ts* I 'dss.', aus **īmē tas* (vgl. lit. *ẽmė* : *im̃ti*).

[24] Zum apr. *ī* für apo. *i* vgl. die Ausführungen von Levin 1974, S.34f. sowie alit. u. alett. *ī* für aru., wru. *i*.

ben sich dann Vasmer 1958, Otrębski 1965, S. 100, S. 79 und Levin 1974, S. 107 angeschlossen, die die klassische Deutung von *tisties* als ein Lehnwort aus dem Urpolnischen (vgl. Trautmann 1910, S. 449, Milewski 1947, S. 42, 49, 54) nicht glaubwürdig gefunden hatten.

Der problematische Charakter der Zusammenstellung von *tisties* und *tьstь* geht wieder daraus hervor, daß der stärkere Bestandteil des Paares, nämlich allgemein slawisches *tьstь,* hinsichtlich seiner Form ganz isoliert in der Indogermania steht und infolgedessen über keine verbürgte Etymologie verfügt[25]. Außerdem kann man in diesem Zusammenhang die Tatsache nicht außer Acht lassen, daß im Litauisch-Lettischen bisher absolut keine Spuren der von *tьstь* vorausgesetzten baltischen Wurzel **tiš-*(?) gefunden worden sind. Unter solchen Umständen scheint es uns angebracht, auf die alte und seit langer Zeit vergessene Auffassung A. Brückners hinzuweisen. Der Meister der altpolnischen Philologie schrieb über *tisties* Folgendes (1898, S. 487): «Unter den Verwandtschaftsnamen dürfte *tisties* Schwiegervater sicher aus poln. *cieść* dss. entlehnt sein (socer *czesc ..., czyeszcz Moyszeszow, ku czczyu swemu, czczyowy, cyescz moy*)». Es ist zu bedauern, daß dieses nüchterne Urteil über *tisties* als Entlehnung aus *historischer* Zeit, von Trautmann 1910, S. 449 tendenziös verschwiegen und durch eine vollkommen hypothetische Herleitung aus urpolnisch **t'ьst'* ersetzt wurde. Die Deutung Brückners ist im Prinzip richtig. Sie erfordert jedoch einige kleine Ergänzungen im Hinblick auf die morphologische und lautliche Transposition.

Wegen der manchmal im EV. vorkommenden Schreibweise *ie* für apr. /ī/[26] hätte man *tisties* als /tistīs/ zu interpretieren. Der Ausgang *-īs* zeugt davon, daß apo. *cieść* in die apr. Klasse der maskulinen Nomina angentis auf *-īs* (damit vgl. lit. *gaidỹs* 'Hahn' : *giedu, giedóti* 'singen', *žynỹs* 'Zauberer, Wahrsager' : *ži-*

[25] In der jüngsten Abhandlung Szemerényi's (1977, S. 64f.) über den Verwandtschaftsnamen sind *tьstь* und *tisties* überhaupt nicht erwähnt.

[26] S. Endzelin 1935, S. 90 (1980, S. 216). Hierzu gehören: *medies* EV. 696 'Jäger' = *medīs*; *liede* EV. 651 'Hecht' = *līd-* (vgl. lit. *lydỹs* M. u. *lyd-ekà* F. 'dss.'); *krixtieno* EV. 741 'Erdschwalbe' = *krikstīn-* od. *krigzdīn-* (vgl. lit. *kregždė̃, kregždingà* F. 'Schwalbe').

naũ, žinóti 'kennen, wissen') eingeordnet wurde. Dazu vgl. einerseits das einheimische *medies* EV. 696 'Jäger' (Anm. 26), andererseits das fremde *rikis* EV. 404 'Herr', welches man nach der Schreibweise in den Katechismen (*rikijs* 20mal im III, *rykyes* II) als /rīkīs/ auffassen sollte[27].

In lautlicher Hinsicht scheint alles bei *tisties* regelmäßig zu sein: (1) apr. *-stis* für apo. *-ść* stellt eine parallele Behandlung einerseits zu apr. *st* für apo. *šč* (vgl. *staytan, ploaste, estureyto* in 14 und *paustre* in 11), andererseits zu alit. *-stis* für wru. *-st* und apo. *-ść*[28] dar, (2) apr. *t* für apo. *ć* wiederholt sich z. B. in *kumetis* EV. 409 'Bauer' < apo. *kmieć* 'rusticus, domini nobilis vel ecclesiastici subditus, qui et ipse praedolim quoddam possidebat' (vgl. alit. *kùmetis* 'Instman'), (3) zum apr. *ti* für apo. *će* ist vor allem *katils* EV. 355 'Kessel' < apo. *kocieł* 'dss.', ferner *li* für *le* in *slidenikis* EV. 701 'Leithund' < apo. *ślednik* 'canis venaticus' und *zi* für *że* in *signāt, siggnat* III 'segnen' < apo. *żegnać* 'dss.' (Brückner 1898, S. 509) zu vergleichen[29].

17. Apr. *sompisinis* EV. 340 'Grobbrot' wurde von Trautmann 1923, S. 220f. und seinen Nachfolgern als **som-pisinis* analysiert und dementsprechend mit dem slaw. **pьš-eno* N. in aksl. *pьšenьno* N. u. *pьšenica* F. 'σῖτος', sloven. *pšéno* 'das in der Stampfe von den Hülsen befreite Getreide (bes. die enthülsten Hirsekörner)', ru. *pšenó* 'enthülste Hirse', ukr. *pšonó* 'Hirsengrütze' zusammengestellt. Bei diesem Erklärungsversuch besteht die Hauptschwierigkeit darin, daß das *en*-Partizip wie slaw. *pьšen-* 'gestampft' von *pьch-ati* 'stampfen; stoßen, ausschlagen' eine *spezifisch* slawische und im Baltischen vollkommen fehlende Weiterbildung von der gemeinsamen balt.-slaw. Wurzel

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[27] Die diphthongierten Varianten *reykeys* II, *reykeis* II und *rikeis* III scheinen dies zu bestätigen. Vgl. Berneker 1896, S. 140. – Zum *-eis* < *-īs* vgl. noch *gewineis* EV. 191 'Knecht', das sich als ein Nomen agentis zu *gewinna* III 'arbeiten' am plausibelsten erklärt. Der Ansatz **gelbinējas* (Schmalstieg 1969, S. 163) ist lautlich bedenklich. S. noch Toporov 1979, S. 228f.

[28] Aus der Arbeit von Skardžius 1931 vgl. alit. *žestìs* 'Blech' aus wru. *žestь* (S. 248), *čestis* 'Ehre, Ruhm' aus wru. *čestь* (S. 56), *mornastis* 'Eitelkeit' aus apo. *marność* (S. 135), *trūdnastis* 'Schwierigkeit' aus apo. *trudność* (S. 225).

[29] Levin 1974, S. 30f. bemerkt überhaupt nicht, daß kurzes *e* in manchen Lehnwörtern in *i* übergeht.

**pis-* (idg. **peis/pis,* vgl. ai. *pináṣṭi* 'zerstampft, zermalmt, zerschmettert') repräsentiert. Im Lettischen, wo im Gegensatz zum Slawischen eine altererbte Präsensbildung mit dem nasalen Infix noch zu spüren ist (*pìstu* intr. 'zerfasern, flusern, sich leicht ausschlauben' geht auf **pīs-stu* < **pīsu* < **pinsu* zurück[30], vgl. lat. *pinsō* 'klein stampfen, zerstoßen'), gibt es kein **pisens* noch **pisins.* Im Litauischen, wo das Verb *pisù, pisaũ, pìsti* die sexuelle Bedeutung 'coire, futuere' (aus 'stoßen') angenommen hat, heißt ein passives Partizip nicht **pisenas* noch **pisinis,* sondern *pìstas* ('beschaffen'). Es ist jedoch von Bedeutung, daß diese schwundstufige *to*-Bildung eine genaue morphologische Parallele in dem ai. *piṣṭá*- 'zerstampft' (daraus *piṣṭám* N. 'Mehl') findet. Aus dieser lit.-ai. Übereinstimmung folgt notwendigerweise, daß das litauische Verbaladjektiv einen Archaismus darstellen muß, während das slawische **pьšenъ* vielmehr als eine an Stelle von altem **pьstъ* 'gestampft' eingetretene Neubildung zu betrachten ist[31].

Im Lichte der vorgebrachten Einwände muß man die Annahme eines genetischen Zusammenhangs zwischen dem apr. *sompisinis* und dem slaw. **pьšeno* als äußerst zweifelhaft bezeichnen und sich nach einer anderen Erklärungsmöglichkeit umsehen. Versuchen wir, auf *sompisinis* einen Blick aus philologischer Warte zu werfen. Eine der Eigentümlichkeiten der deutschen Graphie in den altpreußischen Sprachdenkmälern besteht darin, daß das etymologische apr. /m/ manchmal mittels der Digraphe *mp* oder *mb* wiedergegeben wird[32]. Nimmt man an,

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[30] Mühlenbach-Endzelin III, S. 234. Zur Erneuerung des infigierten Stammes mittels eines *st*-Suffixes, s. Verf. 1984.

[31] Vgl. die folgenden Gegensätze zwischen dem Aksl. und Lit.: *tьrenъ* : *trěti* 'rieben', aber *tìrtas* : *tìrti* 'forschen'; *oblьčenъ* : *vlěšti* 'ziehen', aber *vil̃ktas* : *vil̃kti* 'dss.'; *nesenъ* : *nesti* 'tragen', aber *nẽštas* : *nèšti* 'dss.'.

[32] Vgl. (a) aus dem EV.: *glumbe* 652 'Hinde' : lit. *glùmė* 'hornlose Kuh'; *vumpins* 331 'Backofen' = *vumins,* aus **(v)uvins* < mhd. *oven* M.; *wissambs'* 649 (statt 648) 'Wisent', l. *wissamb(ti)s* = *vizamtis* < mhd. *wisant* M. (Verf. 1986b); (b) aus Grunau: *wimbmis* GrG. 37 'Speien' = *vīmis* : *wyms* GrH. 'dss.' (lit. *vémti*); *kampnit* GrG. 6 'Pferd' = *kamnit-* : *camnet* GrA. 41 'dss.'; (c) aus den Katechismen: *kumpinna* III 'hindert < **kam-ina* (aus mhd. *hamen* 'hindern, hemmen'); *lembtwey* I 'brechen' : *limtwey* II 'dss.' (lit. *pa-lìmti* 'unter schwerer Last zusammensinken').

daß es sich auch bei *sompisinis* um derartige Schreibweise handelt, gewinnt man sogleich eine apr. Form **somisinis,* die sich etymologisch als **san-mis-inis* analysieren läßt. Vgl. lit. *są-myš-inỹs* 'Verwirrung' als eine Weiterbildung von Nomina wie Sub. *są́-myšis, -io* M. 'Verwirrung; Durcheinander; Wirrwarr' und Adj. *są́-mišis,* F. *-ė* 'gemischt, zusammengesetzt', die ihrerseits von dem zusammengesetzten Verb *su-mìšti* (*sumìnšu, sumišaũ*) 'sich (ver)mischen; ganz verwirrt werden, in Verwirrung geraten u. dgl.' abgeleitet wurden. Nach dieser morphologischen Parallele zu urteilen, wäre der apr. Name für 'Grobbrot' ein substantiviertes Adjektiv auf *-ĩnis* von dem Verb **su-misti* 'sich mit etw. (ver)mischen', das mit dem regelrechten Wandel der verbalen Präposition *su-* zu nominalem *san-* gebildet wurde und vom etymologischen Standpunkt aus die Bedeutung 'Brot, das aus verschiedenen (= gemischten) Arten von Mehl gebacken wurde' hatte. In semantischer Hinsicht wäre hier lit. *są́malinė dúona* 'Schrotbrot' (*są́maliniai mìltai* 'Schrotmehl'), zum Adj. *są́malinis* 'grob gemahlen, geschrotet' : *su-málti* '(einmalig) mahlen, zer-, ausmahlen; zermalmen', zu vergleichen.

Abkürzungen

I, II, III	– Die Katechismen: I von 1545, II von 1545, III von 1561 (= Enchiridion). Zitiert nach Trautmann 1910.
EV.	– Das Elbinger ~~d~~eutsch-preußische Vokabular. Zitiert nach der Photokopie in Mažiulis 1966.
Gr. (A, F, G, H)	– Das preußische Vokabular des Simon Grunau (1571–1526). Zitiert nach Mažiulis 1981, S. 47–61.

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