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Inhalt

I. Aufsätze:	Seite
Ambrasas Saulius. Zur Entwicklung der Abstraktbildungen im Baltischen	277
Andreyew N.D. Early Indo-European Typology	1
Bonfante G. Il Protoindoeuropeo aveva un genitivo?	72
Bubenik Vit. On Wackernagel's Law in the History of Persian	105
Giannini Stefania. Categorie e strutture naturali. i metaplasmi di diatesi nel latino tardo	190
Kimball Sara E. Loss and retention of voiced velars in Luvian: another look	75
Klein Jared S. Gothic <i>paruh</i> , <i>panuh</i> and <i>-(u)h pan</i>	253
Klimov Georgij A. Kartvelian Evidence for the Indo-European Laryngeal?	62
Lindeman Fredrik Otto. Phonology and 'Laryngeals': Some critical observations on 'lex Rix'	42
Nilsson Torbjörn K. Reflexes of IE. laryngeals in four Finnish words	50

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Indexed in Current Contents

	Seite
Orlandini Anna M. De <i>l'oratio obliqua</i> comme papier de tournesol; une analyse pragmatique d'un phénomène du discours en latin: le changement des modes	168
Oshiro Terumasa. The Mediopassive Endings in Hieroglyphic Luwian	95
Peters Christian. Gothic <i>haldana</i>	252
†Rădulescu Mircea. Dacian Reduplications	157
Schleicher Charles. A Chronology of the PIE. Obstruents	21
Shields Kenneth. 3rd Pl. Pret. <i>-er</i> and Its Indo-European Origins . .	86
Suzuki Seiichi. Final Devoicing and Elimination of the Effects of Verner's Law in Gothic	217
Symeonidis Ch.P. Zur mittel- und neugriechischen Gruppe von Suffixen -ίτσι(ν), -ίτσα, -ούτσικος usw.	123
Tzitzilis Christos. Phrygisch ἀκριστis	101

II. Besprechungsaufsatz:

Catsanicos Jean. La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites	301
---	-----

III. Besprechungen:

Birkenmeier Willi, Mohl Irene. Russisch als Fachsprache (Eckhard Eggers)	379
Einhäuser Eveline. Die Junggrammatiker. Ein Problem für die Sprachwissenschaftsgeschichtsschreibung (Eckhard Eggers) . . .	341
Fanning Buist M. Verbal Aspekt in New Testament Greek (Hans Schmoll)	359
Gipper Helmut. Wilhelm von Humboldts Bedeutung für Theorie und Praxis moderner Sprachforschung (Klaas Willems)	336
Schelesniker Herbert. Slavisch und Indogermanisch. Der Weg des Slavischen zur sprachlichen Eigenständigkeit (Eckhard Eggers)	375
Kany Werner. Inoffizielle Personennamen. Bildung, Bedeutung und Funktion (Ernst-Michael Christoph)	346
Lebsanft Franz. Studien zu einer Linguistik des Grußes. Sprache und Funktion der altfranzösischen Grußformel (Volker Noll) .	362
López Eire Antonio. Ático, Koiné y aticismo (Hans Schmoll) . . .	357
Markus Manfred. Mittelenglisches Studienbuch (Klaus Bitterling)	368
McCone Kim. The Indo European origins of the Old Irish nasal presents, subjunctives and futures (Karl-Horst Schmidt)	365
Perspectives on Indo-European language, culture and religion I, II. Studies in honor of Edgar C. Polomé (Karl-Horst Schmidt)	350
Schelesniker Herbert. Das slavische Verbalsystem und seine sprachhistorischen Grundlagen (Eckhard Eggers)	377
Schneiders Marc, Veelendorf Kees. Celtic studies in the Netherlands (Karl-Horst Schmidt)	364
Starke Frank. Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens (Fredrik Otto Lindeman)	353

	Seite
imball Sara E. Loss and retention of voiced velars in Luvian: another look	75
hields Kenneth. 3rd Pl. Pret. <i>-er</i> and Its Indo-European Origins . .	86
shiro Terumasa. The Mediopassive Endings in Hieroglyphic Luwian	95
zitzilis Christos. Phrygisch ἀρχιστῆς	101
ubenik Vit. On Wackernagel's Law in the History of Persian	105
ymeonidis Ch. P. Zur mittel- und neugriechischen Gruppe von Suffixen -ίτσι(ν), -ίτσα, -ούτσικος usw.	123
Rădulescu Mircea. Dacian Reduplications	157
rlandini Anna M. De <i>l'oratio obliqua</i> comme papier de tournesol; une analyse pragmatique d'un phénomène du discours en latin: le changement des modes	168
ianini Stefania. Categorie e strutture naturali. i metaplasmi di diatesi nel latino tardo	190
uzuki Seiichi. Final Devoicing and Elimination of the Effects of Verner's Law in Gothic	217
eters Christian. Gothic <i>haldana</i>	252
lein Jared S. Gothic <i>paruh</i> , <i>panuh</i> and <i>-(u)h pan</i>	253
mbrazas Saulius. Zur Entwicklung der Abstraktbildungen im Baltischen	277

. **Besprechungsaufsatz:**

atsanicos Jean. La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites	301
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I. **Besprechungen:**

ipper Helmut. Wilhelm von Humboldts Bedeutung für Theorie und Praxis moderner Sprachforschung (Klaas Willems)	336
...nhauser Eveline. Die Junggrammatiker. Ein Problem für die Sprachwissenschaftsgeschichtsschreibung (Eckhard Eggers) . . .	341
Kany Werner. Inoffizielle Personennamen. Bildung, Bedeutung und Funktion (Ernst-Michael Christoph)	346
Perspectives on Indo-European language, culture and religion I, II. Studies in honor of Edgar C. Polomé (Karl-Horst Schmidt)	350
Starke Frank. Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens (Frédrik Otto Lindeman)	353
López Eire Antonio. Ático, Koiné y aticismo (Hans Schmoll) . . .	357
Fanning Buist M. Verbal Aspekt in New Testament Greek (Hans Schmoll)	359
Lebsanft Franz. Studien zu einer Linguistik des Großen. Sprache und Funktion der altfranzösischen Grußformel (Volker Noll) .	362
Schneiders Marc, Veelendorf Kees. Celtic studies in the Netherlands (Karl-Horst Schmidt)	364
McCone Kim. The Indo European origins of the Old Irish nasal presents, subjunctives and futures (Karl-Horst Schmidt)	365
Markus Manfred. Mittelenglisches Studienbuch (Klaus Bitterling)	368

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Schelesniker Herbert. Slavisch und Indogermanisch. Der Weg des Slavischen zur sprachlichen Eigenständigkeit (Eckhard Eggers)	375
Schelesniker Herbert. Das slavische Verbalsystem und seine sprachhistorischen Grundlagen (Eckhard Eggers)	377
Birkenmeier Willi, Mohl Irene. Russisch als Fachsprache (Eckhard Eggers)	379

I. AUFSÄTZE

Early Indo-European Typology

The deep reconstruction line of fundamental IE. studies, started by F. de Saussure, and continued by both A. Meillet and E. Benveniste, has found its further development in system reconstructing of Early IE. Protolanguage (EIEP.).

The most important result, obtained by the French school of IE. comparativist research, was that successful penetration into the entangled problem of Early IE. word-structure, – the penetration, which proved finally: EIEP. root had had only two consonants (always two and always different), with – or without – an apophonic vowel between them.

Efforts of E. Benveniste (and of J. Kuryłowicz as well) resulted in discovering a score of EIEP. biconsonantal roots, – but that was only a small part of the whole, pointing to a much broader research goal: first, to reveal the full set of EIEP. rootwords, second, to find out, whether they formed any system, semiotically organized.

The well known six phonological equations of E. Benveniste gave an effective key for achieving that difficult purpose, but the better part of the work still remained to do: it was necessary to show EIEP. biconsonantal predecessor roots for all five thousands of IE. word-bases, registered in the famous J. Pokorny's etymological thesaurus, in that wonderful monument, crowning the labour of so many generations of brilliant IE. scholars, after their patriarch F. Bopp.

This task of showing predecessor roots not only has taken a quarter of a century, full of hard toiling, but also has opened several independent lines of theoretical research, requiring both entirely new approaches to old materials and the substantial enlargement of factual basis (plus its following verification).

The first problem to solve was that of different IE. schwas, marked in E. Benveniste's equations by three ə-symbols (ə₁, ə₂, ə₃). Nearly four decades ago they had been identified as velar spirants: labiovelar *Xw*, palatovelar *Xy*, simplevelar *X*, correlated with plosives *Kw*, *Ky*, *K* in the same manner as dental spirant *S* – with plosive *T*.¹

The second problem consisted in defining a protoseme for each biconsonantal EIEP.rootword. Speaking of protoseme, we have in view the most ancient sememe, from which we may discern all later derivational meanings of 3-, 4-, 5- (and more) consonantal IE.bases – with the least possible quantity of semantic bridges from the protoseme to later derivatives.

The third problem was posed by the necessity to analyse the semantic trees, reflecting the evolution from a protoseme to secondary, tertiary, quaternary (etc.) branches – on the second, third, fourth (and so on) levels of semantic development.

The fourth problem to deal with was that of binomials, consisting of two EIEP.rootwords, united both by putting the accent upon one of their two syllabemes, and by eliminating any stress from the other. Later on, the binomial accented syllabeme acquired a timbre resulting from the interaction influence of all four consonants in the compound EIEP.word.

The transition from binomials to determinatives was the fifth research problem – the most complicated in the whole set. Being uniconsonantal elements, determinatives originated from different EIEP.rootwords. For instance, the IE.determinative *-d-* might be the result of quite various changes: from *-DXw-* to *-d-* (a frequent case), from *-DX-* to *-d-* (frequent too), from *-XwD-* to *-d-*, from *-XD-* to *-d-*, and, rather rarely, from *-DXy-* to *-d-*.

Naturally, the determinative *-d-* meanings, resulting from so different semantic transitions, were very broad ones indeed: there is no possibility to show some unified meaning for that determinative, the latter partaking at least in five different

¹ N. D. Andreyew, *Periodizacija istorii indoevropskogo prajazyka*. – *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, 1957, 2, p. 5, 6.

functional sememes within the sphere of word-derivation. In all other cases a determinative had not less than three sememes (usually from four up to eight). In broad lines that system evolution was characterized in our book on Early IE. protolanguage².

To the end of Middle IE. period, the formerly separate determinatives began to develop an intertwined net of their own, which included those word-forming entities, whose origin already was not due to binomials. Here arises the sixth problem to investigate: what were the ways of transmutation of determinatives into grammatical elements, finally constituting the IE. morphological system, so well studied since the times of Bopp and Rask.

All these six problems of typology development have been treated in our new volume on typological evolution of the IE. protolanguage³.

Three problems (out of the six enumerated above) will be touched in this article: a) revealing the identity of protosememes in the three Boreal protolanguage (BP.) branches (IE., Uralian, Altaic); b) showing the parallelism of later semantic tree evolution; c) demonstrating the binomial word-compounds, born during the process.

We shall illustrate the results of our research work by the materials of several BP. rootwords: *S-W*- “pregnant”, “to give birth”; *P-W*- “clean”, “to cleanse”; *S-L*- “swamp”, “to slide”; *K-R*- “treebark”, “to be hard”; *S-M*- “fat”, “to grow fat”; *M-N*- “man”, “to think”.

It is evident from the list, that there were no parts of speech in the BP.: each Boreal rootword might correspond both to a noun or to a verb of modern languages.

A good example of such state of affairs was represented by the Boreal rootword *S-W*- “pregnant”, “to bear a child”, “to give birth”, “the birth”, “a newly born child”, “born” (the plus

² N. D. Andreyev, *Ranneindoevropskij prajazyk*. Leningrad 1986, p. 282, 283.

³ N. D. Andreyev, *Tipologičeskaja evolucija indoevropskogo prajazyka* (Deposited at Library of Congress, USA.).

sign here and further denoting those word-forms, which could not find place in our limited-sized book on EIEP.): + Skr. *SaV-ana-* “end of pregnancy”, “child-birth” (*S^zW-nx_w-*; triple ablaut); + Skr. *SaV-ati* “gives birth” (*S^zW-*; I state, thematic base); Skr. *a-SuV-i* “gave birth” (*- SW-x_yy^z-*); + Skr. *SU-tá-* “born” (*SW-t^z-*; III state); Manchu *SÜ-čilä-* “to become pregnant” (*SW-k_yy-l^zx_y-*); Tungus *SÜ-rki* “pregnant” (*SW-rx_y^z-*); OHG. *SW-angar* “pregnant” (*SW^znk-*; II state); + Hung. *SzÜ-lni* “to give birth” (*SW-lx_y^z-*); Est. *SÜ-nnitama* “to give birth” (*SW-x_yn^z-*; IV state); Fin. *SY-ntyä* “to be born” (*SW-x_yn^z-*); + Kurd. *SaW-a* “new-born” (*S^zW-*); + Nenets *S’U-nzawäi* “a new-born child” (*SW-x_yn-g_y^zw-*); + Orok *SU-γatči-* “to put the new-born child into a cradle” (*SW-x^zt-k_yy-*; III state); Tungus *SäW-ü-* “to have a milk-illness of a new-born child” (*S^zW-x_yw-*; I state); + OMong. *SÜ-n* “mother-milk” (*SW-x_yn^z-*); + OTurk. *SÜ-t* “mother-milk” (*SW-tx_y^z-*); + Avestan *HU-nāmi* “I give birth” (*SW-n^zx_w-*; III state); Tungus (dialect) *HÜ-nki-* “to give birth” (*SW-x_yn^z-*; IV state); Est. *SÜ-nd* “birth” (*SW-x_yn^z-*); OIrish *SU-th* “birth”, “the born”, “fruit” (*SW-t^z-*); Skr. *SaV-a-* “birth”, “the born”, “descendants” (*S^zW-*; thematic base); Fin. *SU-ku* “kith and kin” (*SW-ghw^z-*); + Tungus *SÜ-ngā* “our kin”, “members of our family” (*SW-nx_w-g^zx_y-*); + Tungus *SäW-žän* “settlement of our family”, “family dwellings” (*S^zW-g_yn-*; I state; together with the previous Tungus noun revealing the biphonemic value of the root-word); + Manchu *SÜ-SÜ* “motherland”, “the country of forefathers” (*SW-SW-x_y^zw-*; intensive).

Both biconsonantism of the considered Boreal rootword *S-W-* and the identity of its protoseme in the three BP.branches are perfectly clear.

A similar picture can be observed in the next case, in the Boreal rootword *P-W-*, which meant “clean”, “to wash up”, “to cleanse”, “to sift”: Est. *PU-has* “clean” (*PW-x^zs-*); Lat. *PU-tus* “clean” (*PW-tx^z-*); + Skr. *PU-ṇya-* “clean” (*PW-ny^z-*); Lat. *PŪ-rus* “clean” (*PW-xr^z-*); + Lat. *ne-PU-s* “not clean” (*-PW^z-*); Skr. *PU-nāti* “cleanses”, “cleans” (*PW-n^zx_w-*); Fin. *PU-hdistaa* “to clean” (*PW-xd-x_y^zs-*); Lat. *PU-rgō* “I cleanse” (*PW-xr-gx^z-*); Est. *PÜ-hkima* “to sweep”, “to cleanse”

(*PW-x_yk_y-*); Kor. *PU-bida* “to wipe dry” (*PW-bhx-*); + Kor. *PU-sida* “to wash up” (*PW-sx-*; these two Korean verbs, when compared, show clearly the biphonemic nature of the Boreal rootword); Fin. *PYY-kki* “washing”, “laundry” (*PW-x_yk_y-*); Skr. *PaV-ita-* “cleansed”, “wiped up”, “washed up”, “clean” (*P^zW-xt-*); + Orok *XaW-* “to clean”, “to wash”, “to wipe up” (*P^zW-x_wx-*; several Tungus-Manchu dialects have weakened the initial Boreal *P-* down to initial *X-* or *H-*, quite like Old Armenian or Old Cornish); Tungus *PÜ-tä-* “to wipe up”, “to sift” (*PW-tx_y-*); Khanty *PÜ-nata* “to sift” (*PW-nx_y-x_wx_y-*); OHG. *FoW-en* “to sift” (*P^zW-x_wx_y-*); Est. *PÜÜ-lima* “to sift” (*PW-x_yl-*).

The protoseme identity in the three BP.branches may be well seen in the materials of the Boreal rootword *S-L-* “swamp”, “to creep along a swamp”, “to slide”: Udihä *SaL-aha* “swamp (in the woods)” (*SL-x_wx-*; IV state); Greek *HéL-eios* “swampy” (*S^zL-x_yy-*; I state); Lith. *SL-enùs* “marshy”, “swampy” (*SL-nw-*; II state); OFries. *SL-āt* “swamp” “bog” (*SL-x_yd-*); + Lith. *SaL-pà* “shallow stale waters” (*S^zL-px-*); + OEngl. *SL-ōh* “swamp” (*SL-x_wk-*); + Nenets *SaL-m* “shallow muddy waters, good for fishing” (*S^zL-xm-*); Arm. *SoL-un* “creeping along a swamp”, “snake” (*SL-x_wn-*); + Lith. *SL-ankiklis* “creeper” (*SL-nk-*); + OHG. *SL-īhhan* “to move, easily sliding” (*SL-x_yy-*); + Lith. *SL-am̃pinti* “to move slowly and easily” (*SL-x^zm-py-*); + Ukr. *SL-imák* “snail”, “slug” (*SL-x_yz-*); + Lith. *SeL-ėti* “to move imperceptibly” (*SL-x_yx-*; with double ablaut vocalisation); + Lith. *SL-apčią* “furtively” (*SL-xp-k_wy-*); + Lith. *SL-iñkti* “to creep”, “to wriggle” (*SL-nk-*); + Lith. *SL-íekas* “earthworm” (*SL-x_yz-*); Negidal *SuL-ama* “snake” (*SL-x_wm-*); Khanty *SõL-əyta* “to snake-hiss” (*SL-x_yx_w-*); Lamut *SaL-ama* “snake” (*SL-x^zm-*); + Khanty *SăL-əmtəta* “to snake-hiss” (*SL-x^zm-*); OHG. *SL-ango* “snake” (*SL-nk-*; II state); + Khanty *SõL-əyta* “to snake-hiss” (*S^zL-x_yy-*; the vocalic difference between the three Khanty verbs, which denote snake-hissing, is due not only to different second components of binomials, but also to state variation in resulting bases); + Lith. *SL-ýsti* “to slide” (*SL-x_yy-*); + Yakut *SuL-* “to slide” (*SL-x_wx-*); + OEngl. *SL-īdan* “to slide”

(*SL-x_yy^z*); + Tungus *SoL-dor-* “to slide” (*SL-dh^zr-x_wx-*); Fin. *SoL-ua* “to slide” (*S^zL-wx-*); Norw. *SL-ipra* “to slide” (*SL-x_yy^zbr-*); + Buryat *HoL-žor-* “to slide” (*SL-gh_y^zr-x_wx-*); + Nenets *SaL-täl’os’* “to slide along the even ice” (*S^zL-tl-*); + Nenets *SaL-aba* “ice” (*S^zL-xp-bhx-*).

The rootword *S-L-*, analysed here, has had an interesting feature: its secondary sememes have been also very concrete. From the primary sense “to slide along the ice, along the snow” there branched a materially specialised “sledge”, “hand-sled”, “sleigh”, “toboggan”: + Nenets *SoL’-os’* “to be dragged after a narta-sledge, being tied to it” (*SL-x_wx-*); + Nenets *SoL-as’* “to hook on to a narta-sledge” (*SL-x_w^zx-*; comparison of these two Nenets verbs demonstrates the role of accented syllabeme at different binomial states; confronting these verbs with the other above-cited Nenets word-forms points at the reasons of syllabeme timbre variations); + Kor. *SōL-mä* “sled”, “sledge” (*SL-m^zx_y-*; III state, by virtue of which the initial spirant did not change); + Russ. *SaL-azki* “sled”, “sledge”, “sleigh”, “toboggan” (*S^zL-x_wx-gh_yx_y-*; two ablaut vowels); + ONorse *SL-edhi* “sleigh”, “sled” (*SL^ztx_w-*); + OIrish *SL-aod* “sleigh” (*SL-x_w^zd-*); + Kor. *SSōL-mä* “sled”, “ski” (*S^zL-mx_y-*; I state, which caused the gemination of the initial); + Lith. *SL-ìdēs* “ski” (*SL-x_yy-dh^zx_y-*).

Another secondary sememe had separated in a direction, which had been not less concrete, going from the sense “swamp silt”, “silt (any)” to the meaning “mucus”, “slime”, “saliva”: + Middle Low German *SL-īk* “silt” (*SL-x_yy^zyg-*); + Nenets *SeL-w* “clotted blood”, “gore”, “ichor” (*S^zL-x_yw-*); + Nenets *SiL-es’* “to coagulate (of blood)”, “to thicken (of slime)” (*SL-y^zx_y-*); + Lith. dial. *SL-iēnas* “dense slime”, “saliva” (*SL^zyn-*); + ONorse *SL-īm* “slime” (*SL-x_yy^z*); + Russ. *SL-iz’* “slime” (*SL-x_y^zy-*); + Lat. *SaL-iva* “saliva” (*SL-yw^z*; the initial *SL-* in Latin gave *SaL-*); + Bulg. *SL-iza* “saliva” (*SL-x_y^zy-*); + Fin. *SyL-ki* “saliva” (*S^zL-g_wy-*); + OSlav. *SL-ina* “saliva” (*SL-x_y^zy-*); + Fin. *SyL-käisy* “a spit-out” (*SL-g_w^zy-sw-*); + OMong. *SiL-üsün* “saliva” (*SL-x_y^zw-sw-*); + Lith. dial. *SL-iēkas* “saliva” (*SL^zyk-*); + Manchu *SiL-ängi*

“saliva”, “dew” (*SL-x_y’m-gy-*); + Olcha *SiL-ämsä* “dew”, “tear” (*SL-x_y’m-sx_y-*); + OSlav. *SL-žza* “tear” (*SL-x_ygh_y’*).

We are far from assertion, that secondary sememes always preserve the initial measure of protosemic concreteness; the evidence of some change to less material meanings may be found in the third semantic branch, namely, “to ooze out”, “to thaw”: + Lith. *SaL-vėti* “to ooze a little at a time” (*S’L-wx_y-*); + Lith. *SuL-óti* “to ooze out” (*SL-x_w’x-*); + Nenets *S’aL-arts* “to ooze out” (*SL-x_yr-x_wx’*); OMong. *SaL-u-* “to get detached” (*SL-xw’*); + OMong. *SaL-ga-* “to detach” (*SL-g’x-*; these two Old Mongol verbs clearly reflect the biconsonantism of the Boreal root); + Lith. *SL-iuõgti* “to slip down”, “to get down” (*SL-y’x_w-*); + OTurk *SoL-* “to disappear”, “to diminish”, “to decrease” (*S’L-wx_w-*); + Lith. *SáL-ti* “to thaw” (*S’L-*); + Fin. *SuL-a* “thawed”, “melted” (*SL-x_wx’*).

The voluminous materials, used here for the analysis of semantic evolution of the Boreal *S-L-*, clearly demonstrate the most concrete character of its protoseme, remaining still concrete after development of the two secondary sememes within the considered rootword, that property being traced in each BP.branch (only in the third line of semantic evolution its concreteness becomes somewhat diluted).

Parallelism of later semantic tree evolutions may be easily shown by materials of the Boreal rootword *K-R-* “treebark”, “rough”, “uneven-surfaced”, “hard crust”, “wooden-soled footwear”: OSlav. *KoR-a* “treebark” (*K’R-xx_w-*); + Saam *KāR-r* “treebark” (*K’R-x_yr-*); Fin. *KaaR-na* “treebark” (*K’R-xn-*); Fin. *KuoR-i* “treebark”, “crust” (*K’R-x_wy-*); + Saam *KāR-an* “crust” (*K’R-x_yn-*); + Est. *KoR-p* “crust” (*K’R-x_wp-*); Khanty *KāR* “treebark”, “crust”, “scab” (*K’R-x_yx-*); + OSlav. *KR-asta* “scab” (*KR-st’*; with zero ablaut grade in the IV state); Fin. *KaR-ski* “rough”, “uneven-surfaced” (*K’R-sk_y-*); Negidal *KuR-kurōjī* “coarse (of wool)” (*KR-k_wr’x_wy-*); + Fin. *KaR-hea* “uneven-surfaced”, “rough” (*K’R-xx_y-*); + German *HaR-sch* “rough”, “uneven-surfaced”, “hard”, “covered with ice-crust” (*K’R-sk_y-*); + Fin. *KaR-kea* “hard”, “rough”, “uneven-surfaced” (*K’R-kx_y-*; comparison of these three Finnish adjectives shows well the biconsonantism of their Boreal root);

Tungus *KoR-koli* “coarse (of leather, of cloth)” (*KʷR-k_wl-*); Lat. *CoR-ium* “treebark”, “thick skin”, “hide”, “cover” (*KʷR-yx_w-*); Greek *KR-ēpís* “bottom (of a barrel)”, “footwear” (*KR-ʔpy-*; with ablaut vocalisation); Khanty *KiR-tä* “to put on footwear” (*KR-x_yʔ-*); Lith. *KùR-pē* “footwear” (*KR-x_wpʔ-*).

The strong variation of syllabeme timbres is striking, when we grasp the totality of word-forms, represented above. A very similar picture may be observed, when we study the development of a secondary sememe along the lines “hard”, “to be hard”, “to harden”, “ice crust”, “frozen snow crust”: + Saam *KaR-rasit* “firmly”, “with hardness” (*KʷR-xr-*); + Goth. *HaR-dus* “hard” (*KʷR-tw-*); + Skr. *KaR-KaR-a-* “hard”, “of stone”, “of oak” (*KʷR-KR-*; intensifying reduplication of the root); + Kor. *KaR-aknamu* “oak” (*KR-ʔkx-*; Korean *namu* means “tree”); + Kor. *KaR-annip* “oak leaf” (*KR-ʔkx-ny-*; with positional nasalisation of the second root-initial in the trinomial); + Kor. *KaL* “oak” (*KR-ʔxx_y-*; Boreal sonants *R* and *L* have converged in Korean into a unified phoneme with purely positional distribution of the vibrant allophone and the liquid one, – something of the kind did occur in several Old Indian dialects); + Kor. *KaL-lip* “oak leaf” (*KʷR-ny-*); + Kor. *KuL-bamnamu* “oak”, “oaklike, beachlike acorn-tree” (*KR-pʔx-mx-*; thus, we may find variations of syllabeme timbre in Korean too); + Greek *KáR-yon* “nut-tree”, “chestnut-tree” (*KR-xwʔ-*); + Nenets *XaR-w* “larch-tree” (*KR-xwʔ-*); + Est. *KaR-k* “a piece of wood”, “crutch” (*KʷR-kx-*); + Kor. *KiR-u* “stump”, “stub” (*KR-xwʔ-*); + Lith. *KìR-na* “sharp stump” (*KR-xnʔ-*); + Tungus *KiR-ür* “scraper (for cleaning the flesh side of hide)” (*KR-ʔwr-x_yy-*); + Saam *KāR-res* “hard”, “stiff” (*KʷR-x_yr-*); + Skr. *KaR-kaça-* “stiff”, “hard as flint” (*KʷR-kx_w-k_yx-*); + Manchu *XiR-ga* “flint for striking fire” (*KR-ghxʔ-*); + OTurk *QaR-ča-* “to harden”, “to become hard as flint or old bough” (*KʷR-k_yx-*); + Khanty *KäR-n’aylata* “to become hard”, “to become stiff with cold” (*KR-nx_yʔxl-*); + Greek *KR-ȳmós* “hard frost” (*KR-x_ww-x_wʔm-*); + Kurd *KĒ-ēwə* “heavy snow-storm” (*KR-nʔy-wx_y-*); + Greek *KR-yerós* “chilling”, “icy” (*KR-x_ww-x_yʔr-*); + Khanty *KiR* “ice-crust” “thin frozen snow-crust” (*KR-x_yyʔ-*); + Khanty *KaR-təy*

“icy rust”, “frozen snow-crust” ($K^{\text{z}}R\text{-}tx\text{-}$; the aggregate of Khanty forms confirms both biconsonantism of the root and variability of its syllabeme); + Nenets $XaR\text{-}\ddot{a}'n$ “ice-hummock” ($K^{\text{z}}R\text{-}x_y n\text{-}$).

Another secondary sememe had branched to such meanings as “hard”, “firm”, “strong”, “mighty”, “bear”: + OSlav. $KR\text{-}\acute{e}p\ddot{u}$ “hard”, “firm”, “strong” ($KR\text{-}p_x\text{-}$; with ablaut vocalism); + OTurk $QuR\text{-}\check{c}$ “firm”, “strong” ($KR\text{-}k_y w\text{-}$); + Saam $K\ddot{a}R\text{-}as$ “hard”, “strong” ($K^{\text{z}}R\text{-}x_y s\text{-}$); + Aeol. $KR\text{-}\acute{e}tas$ “strong” ($KR\text{-}t_x y\text{-}$); + Cymr. $CR\text{-}aff$ “strong” ($KR\text{-}xw\text{-}$); + Greek $KR\text{-}at\acute{y}s$ “mighty” ($KR\text{-}tw\text{-}$); + Skr. $KR\text{-}athati$ “tears up”, “kills”, “rends cattle (of a bear)” ($KR\text{-}t_x y\text{-}$); + Fin. $KaR\text{-}hu$ “bear” ($K^{\text{z}}R\text{-}xw\text{-}$); + Tungus $KoR\text{-}ko$ “bear” ($K^{\text{z}}R\text{-}k_x w\text{-}$); + Selkup $KaR\text{-}qasok$ “bear-cub” ($K^{\text{z}}R\text{-}ghx\text{-}sk_w\text{-}$).

It is not difficult to see, that in reflections both of the proto-seme and of the two secondary sememes there existed all principal timbres of a syllabeme (a , o , u , e , i , and also zero in the non-first states of IE. forms).

One must note the fact, that the proto-seme as well as the two secondary sememes are widely represented in all three BP. branches; the parallelism of their later semantic development is wonderful indeed.

Binomial word-compounds had already been produced during the Boreal era, but the main part of their growth occurred to come later, in the Early Indo-European period, in the Early Uralian time, in the Early Altaic one. That may be illustrated by the materials of the rootword $S\text{-}M\text{-}$ “fat”, “to grow fat”, “suet”, “grease”, “lard”, “to grease”, “to oil”: Goth. $SM\text{-}a\acute{i}rthr$ “fat”, “suet”, “grease”, “lard” ($SM\text{-}x_y r\text{-}$); Olcha $SiM\text{-}s\ddot{a}$ “fat”, “suet”, “butter” ($SM\text{-}sx_y\text{-}$); OTurk $SeM\text{-}iz$ “fatty”, “obese” ($S^{\text{z}}M\text{-}x_y s\text{-}$); + ONorse $SM\text{-}j\ddot{o}r$ “fat”, “suet”, “butter” ($SM\text{-}x_y r\text{-}$); OTurk $SeM\text{-}ri\text{-}$ “to fatten”, “to become fat” ($S^{\text{z}}M\text{-}sx_y\text{-}$); Manchu $S\ddot{a}m\text{-}s\ddot{u}$ “epiploon (fat, covering stomach and guts)” ($S^{\text{z}}M\text{-}sw\text{-}yx_y\text{-}$); OMong. $SeM\text{-}e\check{z}i$ “epiploon”, “abdominal fat” ($SM\text{-}gh_y y\text{-}$); + Khanty $SA\text{-}n\acute{a}l$ “epiploon” ($SM\text{-}nx_w\text{-}l_x y\text{-}$; via intermediary $*sm\text{-}n\acute{a}l\acute{a}$, with characteristic vocalizing of M between consonants, rather similar to analogous processes in Ancient Greek and Indo-Iranian); Manchu $SiM\text{-}\ddot{a}\text{-}$ “to be-

come greasy”, “to become soiled” (*SM-x_yx^z*); Greek *SM-áō* “I oil”, “I butter”, “I grease” (*SM-x_yx^z*); Goldi *SiM-üči-* “to smear with fat, with grease”, (*SM-wx_y’k_yy-*); OHG. *SM-alz* “melted fat”, “grease”, “lard” (*SM’lx-*); + Nenets *S’aN-z’o* “melted fat”, “grease”, “lard” (*S’M-dk_y-*, giving intermediary **S’aM-ds’-*, hence dental assimilation of the former labial and hence the observed simplified result); Khanty *SaN-mattata* “to melt fat” (*S’M-km-*, later **S’N-km-*, with final velar assimilation); + Kor. *SaM-tta* “to cook (using fat)” (*SM-tx_y’*); + Manchu *SüM-üsü* “soup, cooked with fat” (*S’M-x_yw-sw-*); + Fin. *SieM-aista* “to swallow a mouthful (of a soup, of another liquid)” (*S’M-xy-*); + Kor. *SaM-khida* “to swallow”, “to gulp down” (*SM-ghx_y’*); + Manchu *SiM-i-* “to gulp down”, “to suck down” (*SM-x_yy’*); + OMong. *SiM-e-* “to suck”, “to suck dry”, “to lick round” (*SM’x_yy-*).

It is well seen from the cited materials, that all three BP.branches developed numerous binomials with participation of the Boreal rootword *S-M-*, and sometimes the development, remaining quite independent, had been strikingly similar (for instance, in the case of Manchu and Greek forms from Boreal *SM-x_yx^z*).

And now we proceed to the most interesting rootword of our set, namely, to *M-N-*, whose primeval meaning was “man”, “thinking”, “to think”, “to ponder”, “to remember”, “memory”: Goth. *MaN-na* “man” (*M’N-nx_w-*); Ved. *MáN-u-* “man” (*M’N-x_yw-*); + Nenets *MeN-ekad* “man, leading a settled life” (*M’N-yk-xd-*); + ONorse *MeN-nskr* “human”, “reasonable” (*M’N-ny-sk_y-*); Skr. *MaN-as-* “mind”, “intelligence”, “reason” (*M’N-sx_y-*); + OEngl. *MyN-de* “mind”, “thinking”, “memory” (*MN-dhx_y’*); OTurk *MeN-ä* “brain”, “cerebrum” (*M’N-gx_y-*); Skr. *ma-MN-ē* “has thought out”, “has pondered over” (*-MN’*); + Nenets *MaN-z’* “to say”, “to think over”, “to ponder over” (*M’N-gh_yx-*); Tungus *MüN-dā-* “to talk over”, “to give careful consideration”, “to think out”, “to hit upon an idea”, “to be ready-witted” (*MN-x_wd’x_yx_w-*); + Kor. *MoN-ččächida* “sly”, “cunning” (*MN-g_y’x-gh_yx_y-*); Est. *MeeN-utama* “to remember”, “to recollect” (*M’N-x_yw-*); Lith. *MiN-ėti* “to remember”, “to keep in mind” (*MN-x’x_y-*);

+ Russ. *po-MN-it* “to remember”, “to keep in mind” (-*MN-x_yy^z*); + Khanty *MaN'-t'amta* “to remember a tale”, “to tell tales” (*MN-dhx_yxm-*); + Hung. *MoN-da* “tale”, “legend” (*MN-x_wd^z*); + Saam *MāiN-as* “tale”, “folk-tale”, “fairy tale” (*M^zN-yx-xs-*); + Skr. *MaN-tra-* “speech”, “sacred tale”, “incantation” (*M^zN-tr-*); + Hung. *MoN-dani* “to tell”, “to say” (*MN-x_wd^z*); + Saam *MāiN-s'e* “to tell a tale”, “to tell”, “to talk” (*M^zN-yx-sx_y-*); + Skr. *MaN-īśā* “tale”, “praise”, “hymn” (*M^zN-x_yy-sx-*); + Nenets *MiN-eko* “narrator of folk-tales”, “character, on behalf of whom the tale is being told” (*MN^zx_yx_w-kx_w-*); Greek *MN-émē* “memory”, “recollection” (*MN^zx_ym-*); + OTurk *MeN-kü qaja* “tombstone with letters”, “rock of memomry” (*M^zN-x_yx-ghw-*).

One and the same root may develop two antonymous meanings in the course of its historical evolution; a well-known example is given by Old Slavic: from IE. **ken-* / **kon-* there developed both OSlav. *na-čĭn-o(n)* “I shall begin”, *is-kon-i* “from the very beginning”, and OSlav. *kon-ĭčĭ* “limit”, “ending”, “end”.

So there is nothing astonishing in the fact, that on the basis of the protoseme *M-N-* “thinking”, “to ponder”, “memory” there arose an antonymous secondary sememe “with poor memory”, “unreasonable”, “to err”: + Kor. *MāN-čhu* “suffering from a poor memory (an abusive word)”, “brainless” (*MN-gh_yw^z*); + Kirghiz *MaN-kurt* “a brainless man”, “a zombie-like man (an abusive word)” (*M^zN-k_wr-*); + Greek *MaN-ía* “madness”, “insanity” (*MN-xy^z*); + OTurk *MuN-qul* “devoid of reason”, “unreasonable”, “stupid” (*MN-k_wl^z*); OTurk *MuN-duz* “stupid”, “foolish” (*MN-dw^z*); + Tungus *MoN-non* “fool”, “blockhead”, “stupid” (*M^zN-ghn-*); + Kor. *MōN-čhōŋi* “fool”, “blockhead”, “none too clever”, “short-witted man” (*M^zN-gh_yn-gy-*; I state – but without Korean initial gemination, which occurs only with unvoiced phonemes, not touching sonants); + OMong. *MeN-ere-* “to become foolish” (*M^zN-x_yr-*); + OMong. *MeN-gde-* “to become taken aback”, “to lose one’s head” (*MN-gh_wdh^zx_yx-*; comparison with the previous Old Mongol form shows biconsonantism of the root); + Khanty *MüN-ærkholta* “to faint away”, “to lose conscious-

ness" (*MN-k_wr-gh-l-*); + OTurk *MuN-* "to err", "to grow feeble-minded", "to become a dotard" (*MN-x_wx-*); + Kor. *MoN-nada* "stupid", "foolish", "slow-witted", "weak-headed" (*M^cN-x_wn-xd-*; comparing Korean adjectives, we see both biconsonantism of the root and the influence of the binomial second root upon the syllabeme timbre); + Greek *MaN-ēnai* "to lose one's head", "to lose one's reason", "to lose one's senses", "to be frantic", "to be in a frenzy", "to rave", "to rage" (*MN-x_wx_y-*).

Both the basic meaning and the antonymous one are fully represented in each of the three BP.branches: in Indo-European, in Uralian, in Altaic.

Now let us pass to the conclusions.

Speaking about Indo-European, we certainly must distinguish between isolating Early Indo-European (EIE.), agglutinative Middle Indo-European (MIE.), and inflectional Proto-Indo-European (PIE.), the latter differing from Old European, as it was very convincingly shown by W. P. Schmid⁴.

The typology of the Boreal protolanguage was both peculiar and primitive.

Its system included 203 biconsonantal rootwords, the derivatives of which were preserved in Early Indo-European (fully, in all the 203 cases), in Early Uralian (in 201 cases), in Early Altaic (also in 201 cases, the lacking two Altaic rootwords being not same with the lacking two Uralian ones).

Each Boreal rootword consisted of two – always two and always different – consonants and a non-phonemic syllabeme between them.

The paradigm of Boreal root-forming consonants contained 25 units: among them 6 dentals (*T, D, Dh, N, L, S*), 4 labials (*P, B, Bh, M*), 5 simplevelars (*K, G, Gh, R, X*), 5 palatovelars

⁴ W. P. Schmid, *Alteuropäisch und Indogermanisch*. Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. zu Mainz. Abh. d. Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl. Jg. 1968, 6. – W. P. Schmid, 'Indo-European' – 'Old European' (On the reexamination of two linguistic terms), in: *Proto-Indo-European, The Archaeology of a Linguistic Problem*. Studies in Honor of Marija Gimbutas, Washington, The Institute for the Study of Man 1987, p.322–338.

(*Ky, Gy, Ghy, Y, Xy*), 5 labiovelars (*Kw, Gw, Ghw, W, Xw*). Each of the 25 units occurred both as the first and as the second element inside the biconsonantal rootwords.

A syllabeme had no phonemic value, being only the carrier of accent within a rootword (within a whole binomial too), and receiving its timbre from the two neighbouring consonants (in the case of a binomial – from the four phonemes, represented in the compound).

There were no parts of speech at all, any Boreal rootword corresponding both to a noun and to a verb of younger languages, and, when possible, also to an adjective and/or an adverb of theirs.

Looking at the typology of Early Indo-European, we must say, that in broad lines it was very near to the Boreal typology as described above.

The EIEP.lexicon consisted of the same 203 rootwords, the only difference being in protosemes: those concrete Boreal basic meanings in many cases became less concrete EIEP. ones (sometimes after the passage from Boreal to EIEP. they assumed rather abstract contents).

The reasons are obvious: the simple life of Boreal hunters – gatherers had transformed into a much more complicated existence of Early IE.cattle-breeders and/or earth-tillers. That existence required, first of all, at least an elementary system of counting and some small set of relatively abstract notions. The higher the civilisation, the richer its conceptual system.

As for rootward structure (biconsonantism plus syllabeme), there was no difference between Boreal and EIEP.typology. The same must be said about the paradigm of root-forming consonants: again 25 units in 5 groups (see above), and no changes in the system, which fact opposes Early IE.typology as compared to Early Uralian and Early Altaic, where in both cases that system was simplified (and somewhen rather drastically).

Quite the opposite, the syllabeme timbre variations were better preserved in Uralian and in Altaic, where no ablaut gradations developed (because their source, the velar spirants, had retained there the consonantal quality) and,

consequently, many ancient timbres have lived up to modern days, supported by the evolving of polysyllabic word-structure and resulting synharmonism.

Moreover, just the Uralian and Altaic ancient syllabeme timbres substantially help to reconstruct the quality of Boreal velar spirants, when Indo-European data (thanks to ablaut changes) are either dubious or nil. But we are obliged to mark, that in Early IE., before the stage of ablaut genesis (which manifested itself in full swing only to the end of Middle IE. period), the syllabeme timbre variations did exist: their relics may be found in Proto-Indo-European **a* and **ə* (still differing from each other in Indo-Iranian reflexes), which never took part in the ablaut alternations system.

As regards parts of speech, naturally, the state of affairs in the Boreal – and in the Early IE. as well – was pre-morphological. That explains, why all efforts to reconstruct any morphological elements for those periods failed so resoundingly.

The differences between the BP. and the EIEP. lay not in the sphere of morphology (there was none in both cases), but in the degree of paratactical word-compounds development: in the Boreal protolanguage it had only been started, whereas in the Early IE. it had reached such high level, that at the later stage, in the Middle IE. period, there began inevitably the processes of step-by-step disetymologisation, then of evolving the next stage, namely, the determinative word-derivation, and, at last, of the inner genesis of the future affixal word-building.

Now there remains the question of correlating the Boreal theory with its predecessors. The problem of genetic links between the Indo-European and the other language families has been investigated many times. We must attract our readers' attention to those distinctions, which oppose the Boreal conception to its predecessors.

The first principal difference between them concerns the size of a basic unit, treated within the syntagmatic plane analysis. Each of our predecessors considered protolanguage lexical units of varied length – from two to five phonemes, sometimes consisting of one or even up to nine phonemes, and unit

in question usually included both consonantal and vocalic segments.

On operational level it meant, that the materials, taken for comparison, belonged to Middle or Late Indo-European (= Proto-Indo-European), and to corresponding temporal strata of Uralian and of Altaic. No wonder that the results of such comparing uncomparables were rather non-productive and disappointing (like something, which would appear from direct comparing Modern Irish with Modern Bengali). But when the research strategy was radically changed and at last made adequate to the typology of compared linguistic strata – then we could see quite another picture revealed.

We based our research upon the assumption, that the Boreal typology at this parameter was in fact identical with that of the Early IE. Protolanguage, where all 203 rootwords consisted of two and only two consonantal phonemes each. Such state of affairs has required a greater depth of diachronic penetration into derivative forms; moreover, it has demanded much vaster amount of materials involved. The most important point is that Early IE. rootword-structure proved to be the key factor in moving along the further research lines: without it the chances for success were poor indeed, because it was flatly impossible, when ignoring that key factor, to get any approach to truly strict correspondences between IE. and non-IE. phonemes.

Only after the Early IE. rootword typology was firmly established and the full list of EIEP. lexical units was effectively closed up, it became possible to treat any element in the list as some kind of invariant, which might be traced inside much broader spectrum of IE. derivatives, and at the same time might be observed inside the even vaster spectrum of Uralian and/or Altaic forms. As a result, the most ancient meanings, belonging as deep as to the Boreal epoch, were revealed with due certainty.

The second main distinctive feature, opposing the Boreal conception to its predecessors, is connected with vocalism. All efforts to establish working correspondences between IE. vowels and Uralian/Altaic ones have failed utterly. The

three vocalic systems emerged from the analysis to be hopelessly irreducible to each other or to any common denominator, which fact must not astonish: the vowels as true phonemes in all three BP. branches were much younger than consonants, the former belonging to a time only after the development of binomials (but not necessarily after the genesis of determinatives).

Unfortunately, that repeated failure of efforts to establish vocalic correspondences did not lead to natural solution – in terms of positional variability of syllabeme. But when that way was found at last, then suddenly everything took its proper place.

The third difference, being most fundamental, concerns the approach to velar spirants: the majority of comparativists, who sought the kinship between IE. and other language families, usually tried to establish the laws of correspondence for “schwa indogermanicum” among Semito-Khamitic laryngeals, at the same time postulating the absence of those phonemes reflections both in Uralian and in Altaic. Such an attitude looks rather strange, because the well documented language history gives rich evidence of long vowels, appearing after the lenition of just the velar spirants (like vocalic length in modern German *sehen*, *ziehen*, etc.).

We chose the interpretation of “schwa indogermanicum” in terms of velar spirants, basing both on phonological system reasons (such as ratio $T:S = K:X = Ky:Xy = Kw:Xw$) and various corollary phonetic development laws (Benveniste’s six equations plus formation of long sonants and of unvoiced aspirates).

The IE. evidence for velar spirants is strongly supported by Uralian and Altaic facts, where we can observe the first-hand proofs both of the existence and of the phonetic value of the spirants in question.

Sufficiently substantial is the fourth difference between the Boreal conception and some of the predecessors: it consists in admission of three velar consonant series (simplevelar, palatovelar, labiovelar). Those, who reduce the three series to only two (or even one – aiming to equalise the IE.

typology with the Semito- Khamitic), make a heavy mistake, because all constructions, meant to explain the second articulation of labiovelars and of palatovelars by means of the so called “absorbed vocalism”, lead to an absurd.

For instance, if *Gw-R-* “mountain” appeared as a result of development from *GU-R-*, then how to explain the fact, that the *GU-R-* was preserved intact with the PIE. meaning “to flame”? If *Kw-R-* “worm” resulted from *KU-R-*, then why, remaining intact, the latter continued to mean “sour milk”? If *Ghw-R-* “warming by sun or fire, heating by them” was formed after *GhU-R-*, then what was the reason by force of which its semantics – in the remaining intact form – gave the resulting “to prick up one’s ears”, “to look back”, “to gaze round”?

Such questions may be put to each of the 47 EIEP. root-words, containing bifocal plosives, – which fact gives a full semantic disproof of the “absorbed vocalism” hypothesis, forwarded to explain the origin of labiovelars and of palatovelars.

Another important argument for the three velar series are three different rows of velar series reflections in Ob-Ugor and Tungus-Manchu languages⁵.

The fifth basic difference is related to problems of morphology. Pre-phonematic status of a syllabeme, absence of any word-formative means other than word-compounding, use of the binomial accent only as a unifying expression characteristic of composite build-up, and as an indicator of its semantic centre, – all these typological features witness not simply an isolating language type, but more than that: a pre-morphological one, – and in both cases too, of Boreal as well as of Early Indo-European.

The change during the transition from the more ancient BP. to the EIEP., the latter originating from the former, was connected not with any morphological type, but with the level of binomial word-compounding development: in the BP. it had only begun, whereas in the EIEP. it achieved such degree, that in due time the processes of step-by-step disetymologisation of

⁵ Op. cit. (note 2), p. 31, 32.

word-compounds led to beginnings of determinative word-derivation, and – last but not least – to the development (inside the determinative system) of the affixal word-inflexion.

Correspondingly, we do not follow our predecessors, and do not try to reconstruct, when analysing the three compared language families, any kind of their common morphology, – for the simple reason, that both morphological categories and the means of their denomination are not only younger than the BP., but cannot be traced even at the initial periods of autonomous existence, when Early IE., Early Uralian, and Early Altaic had branched from the BP. and detached from each other.

There arises a natural question: why, having one and the same starting zero point, the three branches of the BP. went so widely apart in formation of their morphologies?

In principle there is nothing wonderful about it: having a common Proto-Indo-European basis, the Hittite and the Sanskrit developed two grammars, whose systems went very far from each other. Another example: from the common Proto-Slavic ancestor there came such unlike morphologies as Russian and Bulgarian.

Returning to divergences in morphological evolution between Early IE., Early Uralian, and Early Altaic, one may see the reason of so widely dispersing lines of development first of all in the fact, that the main mass of word-compounds in each of the three BP.branches was created only after the splitting of BP. But just those main masses of compounds were the initial substance for self-organising of the determinatives entangled paradigm, and the latter, in its turn, was the building material for future word-inflexions.

The vast unconformities between those autonomously built masses of composites inevitably were burdened with even greater discrepancies in such half-signs as determinatives, which in due course led to further divergence upon the ways of morphological genesis.

The sixth – and may be the most important – peculiarity, characterising the Boreal conception, is placed in ethnohistorical and sociolinguistic domain.

Usually, the ancient semantics, reconstructed by those linguists, who worked upon the problem of kinship between IE. and non-IE. language families, was interpreted by the researchers predominantly in terms of the Iron Age or of the Bronze Age cultures, much rarer – in terms of the Neolithic Age, and only in isolated excursi they touched the elements, pertaining to the Mesolithic Age.

Let us try to fix the key moments, permitting to date approximately the Early IE. period, and to define the upper chronological limit of the Boreal protolanguage.

In the EIEP. word-list there was no single lexical unit, pointing at the use of metals; that excludes from consideration both the Iron Age and the Bronze Age.

The Neolithic Age society was characterised not only by cattle-breeding, but also by earth-tilling. The Early IE. word-root-list did not contain a single lexeme, denoting agricultural tools or cultivated plants; it follows from here, that the epoch of Early IE. wordroots did not know agriculture, and evidently was older than the Neolithic Age.

As for the Mesolithic Age, it is considered to be the time for development of cattle-breeding and cattle-raising. Nevertheless, among the EIEP. rootwords there were none, denoting the indoor maintenance of cattle, or, at least, enclosure/pen/sheepfold maintenance.

Being the only EIEP. rootword, which bears some relation to cattle-breeding semantics, the rootword *P-Xw-* “to tend grazing cattle”, “to pasture” (in the BP it meant “the defending fire of hunters in the night”, later it acquired the sense “the defending fire of shepherds”) must be understood correctly: it witnesses no more than pasture migration, no more than a simple kind of accompanying the half-tamed animals, during which the tended ones were both protected and used for man’s needs, but still continued to graze under open-air conditions.

The presence (in the EIEP. wordroot-list) of the considerable quantity of lexemes, forming a part of the hunting/fishing/gathering semantic sphere, points at the situation, whereat those three kinds of employment were the principal means of

life-maintenance in the epoch of EIEP.formation, – with only the very beginnings of cattle-protecting and cattle-using.

Such situation permits to date the EIEP. time back as far as the borderline between the Palaeolithic Age and the Mesolithic Age.

As regards the Boreal Protolanguage, which, naturally, is a whole era older than the EIEP., the time of the former's existence must be drawn back to the concluding phase of the Upper Palaeolithic Age.

Finally let us summarize:

Only after the true Early Indo-European typology was duly revealed, it became possible to solve the problem of kinship inside the Boreal group of language families.

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A Chronology of the PIE. Obstruents

1. Introduction¹

The past and ongoing debate over the glottalic theory has considered the application of typology to language reconstruction in two ways. First, the examination of the traditional reconstruction of PIE. against synchronic typology where PIE. is found wanting² (the primary motivation for proposing the glottalic theory). This seemingly open-and-shut case was challenged by Michael Job (1989) who submitted an examination of diachronic typology, that is, discovering the normalcy and frequency of the kinds of sound shifts necessary to derive IE. from traditional PIE. and sound shifts necessary to derive IE. from glottalic PIE. This second stage of inquiry found the glottalic theory wanting because the sound shifts necessary to derive IE. according to the glottalic theory turn out to be implausible when regarded by diachronic typology.

The glottalicists have made their own rejoinders to this charge which relate to the Germano-European hypothesis. This hypothesis, first made by Griffen (1988) actually before Job's study, demonstrated that the Germanic consonant shift (Grimm's Law) was indefensible and that according to the glottalic theory Germanic and Armenian were more conservative than the rest of IE. A modified version of this analysis was presented by Vennemann (1989) as a counterattack to Job. Vennemann also added that PIE. dialects lost to history like Messapic, Illyrian, etc. seem to show the same kinds of sound

¹ I here wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Andrew L. Sihler of the University of Wisconsin for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

² See Hopper (1973), Gramkrelidze-Ivanov (1972), and Gramkrelidze-Ivanov (1973) for the basic problems and solutions.

shift as Germanic and Armenian and that there could have been conceivably many more such dialects lost to history so that originally most IE. dialects really did preserve the glottalic PIE. sound system. Such argumentation could be avoided if we understand accurately the role of synchronic typology in language reconstruction. In this paper I will attempt to define that role and show that once it is applied together with other data, it is possible to produce a more realistic account of the development of the PIE. obstruent inventory as well other problems in PIE. phonology.

1.1. Diachronic/Synchronic Typologies

The glottalicists' mistake was that they interpreted synchronic typology as binary: i.e. a language is either typologically correct or incorrect and subsequently a reconstruction which is typologically correct is right while a reconstruction which is typologically incorrect is wrong. This ignores two facts: first, that languages and language reconstructions meet up to typological expectations at varying degrees from nearly impossible to nearly perfect and everywhere in-between; second, that languages are constantly changing and therefore must pass through typologically unusual phases at some point, however briefly. A language does not change by resting in a typologically perfect state and then suddenly snapping into another typologically perfect state.

When a reconstruction of a language is made, that reconstruction is a snapshot of what that language was like at the time that it broke up into the daughter languages. The question is, is that snapshot a still life, or a captured moment of an object in motion? In other words, is the proto-language as reconstructed very stable, or was it in the midst of (rapid) transition? I propose that the way to judge this is to compare a reconstruction with synchronic typology, not in a binary way, but to use typology as a stability scale. A proto-language (or, say, its sound system) can be said to have been stable to the extent that its reconstruction is typologically

‘correct’. The more ‘correct’ it is, the more stable that language was.

Applying this to PIE., we see that the sound system arrived at is typologically very aberrant (but not unheard of; cf. Hock 1986, p.625–6). This would not mean that the reconstruction is wrong, only that the sound system of PIE. was extremely unstable. The phonological developments in the various daughter languages are enough to confirm this. This by itself precludes the need to propose the glottalic reconstruction, but for the sake of argument, the glottalic reconstruction is so typologically correct, the sound system should have been extremely stable which it was not (Vennemann’s (1989) argument that there could conceivably have been one or two dozen dialects with Germanic/Armenian type sound shifts is not only unsound methodologically, but it begs the question: why is it that at least ten dialects of IE. did change this extremely stable system completely?). The internal reconstruction presented in this paper shows that through a series of regular sound changes, PIE. arrived briefly at a very unstable sound system around the time of the dissolution of PIE. into separate languages and hence this is the system reconstructed for PIE. This unstable system was then restabilized in various ways by the daughter languages.

1.2. Principle of Structural Change

This destabilization and restabilization seen in the following account of the PIE. sound system demonstrates the fact that there are two basic types of sound change: destabilizing change and stabilizing change. Jakobson (1931) elegantly described the interaction between the two types:

“If a rupture in the equilibrium of a system precedes a given mutation, and if a suppression of disequilibrium results from this mutation, we have no trouble in discovering the function of this mutation: its task is to reestablish the equilibrium. However, when a mutation reestablishes the equilibrium in one point of the system, it can disturb the equilibrium at

other points and consequently provoke the necessity for a new mutation. In this way, a whole series of stabilizing mutations is often produced.” (Jakobson 1978, p.117)

Destabilizing change is the purely mechanical result of phonetics. An example of destabilizing change would be $k^w \rightarrow p$. These are changes which occur due to the nature of the articulation and/or acoustics of a sound. Such changes may or may not disturb the overall symmetry or typological ‘correctness’ of the sound system. When it does, a sound change will eventually take place to restabilize the system; this is stabilizing change. Stabilizing change is the exploitation of acoustic phonetics to the end of maximizing the efficiency of a language’s phonemes to be encoded with meaning. The other stipulation made here by Jakobson is that a stabilizing change is totally fixated on that aspect of the system which is aberrant and the change remedies that problem alone. In other words, the change that takes place is not strategic, i.e. does not plan ahead to make sure that the change does not create another problem in the process of solving the one at hand. This means that a stabilizing sound change can theoretically leave a sound system in as bad a shape as, or even in worse shape than it was before.

2. Arriving at the Chronology

Bearing in mind the above notions concerning the role of synchronic typology in language reconstruction, we can assume here that the traditional reconstruction is reasonable and that the PIE. sound system was unstable.

According to the interaction of sound changes, an unstable system must have arisen from a stable system by means of destabilizing change, or possibly from stabilizing change which followed earlier destabilizing change. In order to arrive at an explanation for the PIE. sound system we must discover what sound changes took place that created the instability. Such discoveries are not only possible, but, I believe, inevitable if we successfully tackle two familiar problems in

PIE. phonology: the phonetic value of laryngeals and the rarity of /b/ in PIE.

2.1. *Laryngeals and Murmured Stops*

In an earlier paper (Schleicher 1992a), I suggested the following values for the PIE. laryngeals:

- (1) $H_1 = \hbar$
 $H_2 = \mathcal{K}$
 $H_3 = \mathcal{K}^w$

This reconstruction was based on the following facts: H_1 was syllabic, disappeared without a trace (except that it lengthened immediately preceding vowels) and did not color vowels. This has generally led to two different reconstructions for H_1 : ʔ and $\hbar$. It is physically impossible for ʔ to be syllabic, and very implausible for $\hbar$ to be, since it is voiceless. The only sound that seems to match the ‘profile’ of H_1 is $\hbar$. This also makes sense phonologically, since a language with murmured stops would be likely to have $\hbar$.

As to the value of H_2 , nearly everyone who has written on the subject is of the opinion that it was some sort of fricative. Opinion is divided as to whether this fricative was velar, uvular, or pharyngeal. In (2) below, uvular and pharyngeal are grouped together because of the ambiguity of Henry Sweet’s (1880) statements, and also because Schmitt-Brandt (1967) who labeled H_2 as uvular also posited pharyngeal fricatives for H_4 . None of those listed under ‘velar’ have proposed pharyngeal or uvular fricatives for any of the laryngeals.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (2) | $H_2 = \textit{velar}$ | $H_2 = \textit{uvular/pharyngeal}$ |
| | Sapir (1938) | (Möller (1907)) – pharyngeal |
| | Sturtevant (1942) | Sweet (1880) – uvular/pharyngeal |
| | Lehmann (1952) | Couvreur (1937) – pharyngeal |
| | Lindeman (1970) | Kieler (1970) – pharyngeal |
| | Bomhard (1979) | Schmitt-Brandt |
| | | (1967) – uvular |
| | | Beekes (1989) – pharyngeal |

Based on its *a*-coloring effects, H_2 must have been at least as far back as uvular, possibly even pharyngeal³. Apart from those who claim that the laryngeals were parallel to the velar series, the majority of linguists reconstruct H_2 as either uvular or pharyngeal, usually the latter. From a structuralist viewpoint, it makes less sense for PIE. to have had pharyngeals and no uvulars. Further, Beekes has recently (1989) publicized what must be the most striking parallel to the reconstructed laryngeals in a modern language that could be hoped for. Shuswap, a Salish language, has voiced uvular fricatives⁴ which behave in a way almost identical to that of H_2 and H_3 in PIE. They are respectively: K and K^w . Note that this also conforms to a very logical and widely held idea about H_3 : that a laryngeal which colors to a round vowel must itself have had lip rounding and that in fact $H_3 = H_2^w$.

There are some interesting consequences of this reconstruction. If $H_1 = h$, it might help to explain the anomaly of the 'voiced aspirate' series. Assuming that these were really murmured stops (as in, say, Sanskrit) they could at some earlier stage of IE. have been not d^h , g^h etc., but bh , dh etc., that is, consonant clusters of stop + H_1 . Such consonant clusters could have become phonemicized as a result of two things: the early loss of H_1 in environments other than after a stop; and the fact that stops began to have murmured allophones following $/h/$. The order of the changes could be expressed as follows:

³ There are no examples of vowel lowering caused by $[x]$ and/or $[\gamma]$. Even in languages where such lowering has taken place (ex. Germanic (Howell 1988 and 1991), American Sp. (Navarro, 1968)), it does not take place due to velar fricatives despite the fact that such fricatives existed in the languages (the culprit instead was in all cases $[h]$). This does not completely rule out the possibility of *a*- and *o*-coloring by velar fricatives, but it makes it more likely, for the time being at least, to suppose that something further back was involved. Even Germanic scholars traditionally assumed that velar fricatives passed through a uvular stage in order to cause vowel breaking before disappearing, since uvular trills/approximants have been documented to have this effect in high and low German dialects (see Howell 1991).

⁴ Beekes himself, however, apparently takes these to be really pharyngeal.

- (3)
 - a. h disappears before vowels (word initially)
 - b. stops acquire murmured allophones so d^h would be a unit allophone of /t/.
 - c. $Vh > \bar{V}$
 - d. $\underset{\circ}{h} > V$

The last step phonetically means that murmured voice changed to regular voice in vocoids. Given the separate and independent developments of $\underset{\circ}{h}$ in the daughter languages (e in Greek, i in Sanskrit, a elsewhere), it is reasonable to assume that this last change took place after the break-up of PIE.

Since h could form clusters with stops just like resonants, I propose that h evolved from a resonant or resonant-like sound. Further, since CK became C^h in Indo-Iranian, I propose that h was from $**K$. Reasoning along the same line, if $*h$ was from $**K$ then $*K$ (i.e. H_2) must have been some other sound at that stage, and it is reasonable to suggest that K was the result of the lenition of some sound as was $*h$. If $*K$ appeared in very few clusters, and only with t (as in the 2nd sg. perfect ending), I suggest that $*K$ evolved from an earlier homorganic stop (Figure (4)). bH_2 and bH_3 would be as impossible as bg^h while tH_2 and tH_3 could be possible just as dg^h was.

(4)	H_1	H_2	H_3
	K	G	G^w
	↓	↓	↓
	h	K	K^w

So for example PreIE. $bK >$ PIE. b^h , just as PIE. $tK >$ PinIr. t^h .

This created an obstruent system that was typologically aberrant (which is not to say impossible, only unstable). This stage was realized when the dialects were breaking up and so each dialect had its own way of smoothing out this irregular sound system.

In late PIE. H_2 and H_3 merged to H_2 . This process had already begun in PIE. and explains the fact that H_2 shows up in reconstructions more frequently than H_3 .

2.2. *The (Mostly) Missing b*

Another anomalous aspect of PIE. phonology which needs to be dealt with in this chronology is the missing **b*. It has been suggested⁵ that missing *b* correlates with the high frequency of **w* in PIE. (much higher than **y*). It is also noted that /*w*/ is the only resonant which combines with other resonants hence initial clusters like **wl-*, **wr-*. This is explained by proposing that **w* is from ***b*. This proposition can also account for the *w/m* alternation in PIE. morphology. It is difficult to claim that **m* denasalized to **w* (since *n* did not undergo a similar development) and likewise to nasalize *w* to *m* (since *y* did not undergo a similar development). It has been suggested, however, that **w/*m* came from ***b* (cf. Meyer 1992). I would like to propose how this could take place.

Pre-IE. *b* could not reasonably become *m* (elsewhere we might expect to see *d/n* (perhaps even *g/η*). We do, however, see *r/n*, specifically in *r/n*-stems. Further, if *b* > *w*, it almost certainly underwent the change through an intermediate stage: *b* > *β* > *w*. It is at the stage **β* that it is reasonable to propose nasalization parallel to *r/n*.

$$(5) \quad \begin{array}{l} \beta \sim m \\ r \sim n \end{array}$$

In many languages of the Americas *β* and *r* have been shown to fall into a natural class called lenis (Schleicher, 1992b)⁶. In these languages there exists the alternations *p ~ β ~ m*, *t ~ r ~ n*; while *r* and *t* in PIE. never were in complementary distribution, it can be argued that *r* and *β* fall into a single class which was subject to nasalization (Figure 6).

⁵ Unfortunately, no exact reference for this idea is available to me.

⁶ I do not use these terms “fortis” and “lenis” in their usual phonetic sense. In this paper fortis and lenis refer to a phonological categorization of consonants based on the “strength” of articulation. For PIE. there was a third category intermediate between fortis and lenis which will therefore be called ‘media’.

$$(6) \quad \begin{array}{c} m \\ \nearrow \\ b \rightarrow \beta \rightarrow \beta \rightarrow w \end{array}$$

This itself fits perfectly together with the above account of Pre-IE. laryngeals to show a general pattern of lenition, i.e. $K > h$, $G > K$, $b > \beta$. Pre-IE. then would be:

(7) -vce Stops:	p	t	k	
			k^w	
+vce Stops:	b	d	g	G
			g^w	G^w
Fricatives:		s		K
Liquids:		r, l		

First, K lenited to h . This triggered the lenition of the uvular stops: $G > K$, $G^w > K^w$. This in turn led to the lenition of voiced stops in general, beginning with b : $b > \beta$. At this point β , r , and K would be reanalyzed as lenes and the stops reanalyzed as fortes and mediae.

(8) Fortes	p	t	k	
			k^w	
Mediae		d	g	
			g^w	
Lenes	β	r		K
				K^w

2.3. Problems

(1) The system reconstructed for PreIE. is odd because the apical fricative is voiceless while the only uvular fricative is voiced. If the only uvular fricative is voiced it looks like a lenis, not fricative (cf. Guarani). However, if we posit a lenis category from the beginning, we only have r and K which hardly constitute a lenis category. Indeed it is hard to imagine that β and K would trigger a spontaneous recategorization of obstruents from voiced/voiceless stops//fricatives to fortis/media/lenis (henceforth 'f/m/l'), especially when it promptly went right back to voice distinction. It is that much harder to

imagine such a recategorization when there would be no real structural advantage to such a change. There is no advantage because the lenes don't match up: there are velar fortes and mediae, but no lenis; there is no uvular fortis or media, but there is a uvular lenis; there is a labial fortis and lenis, but no media.

(2) Another oddity is the presence of *G* without *q*. It is very rare in the world's languages to have *G* without *q* (in fact, it is rare to have *G* with *q*). Again, this would not therefore be impossible, only unstable, but it does call for some explanation as to how the system got that way to begin with.

2.4. Solutions

Let's solve problem (1) first. It has already been pointed out that there is an abundance of **w*'s in PIE. – the shape **wer*, for example, has some 11 homophones. Tracing some **w*'s to ***b* helps explain this, but the result would still seem to be an unusually large number of homophonous roots in both ***b* and ***w*. But let us suppose that *r* and *K* really were lenes from the beginning. One would expect a full lenis inventory, say:

(9) *β* *r* *γ* *K*

If ***b* > **w*, what would be the fate of ***β* and ***γ*? Certainly they would lenite to **w*. And in fact, given 11 homophones for **wer* and the like, it is not at all outlandish to imagine more than two sources for **w*. There may be no need for an 'original' *β*, but it is very reasonable that pre-IE. would have had *γ* if it had apical and uvular lenis consonants.

If this is correct, we would have a very early f/m/l distinction for preIE. This would also eliminate our need for the somewhat dubious temporary reanalysis of the consonant system as f/m/l, since it was that way 'to start with'.

(10) *p* *t* *k*
 b *d* *g* *G*
 β *r* *γ* *K*

Now we can solve problem (2) (*G* without *q*). If preIE. was *f*/*m*/*l*, *q* could have lenited directly to *K*, especially if there was no *G*. In other words, what we have reconstructed as *G* was actually *q*.

(11)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>
			<i>k^w</i>	<i>q^w</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
			<i>g^w</i>	
	<i>β</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>γ</i>	<i>K</i>

In languages with only *f*/*l*, fortis when lenited generally become lenes. Without a media in the uvulars, *q* could easily lenite to *K* (it is important to remember that there is no voice distinction in such a language)⁷.

The full chronology proposed above is summarized below.

Chronology of PIE. Obstruents

STAGE 1

Fortes:	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>
labialized:			<i>k^w</i>	<i>q^w</i>
Mediae:	(<i>b</i>)	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
labialized:			<i>g^w</i>	
Lenes:	<i>β</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>γ</i>	<i>K</i>

⁷ The fact that the reconstruction has only labio-dorsal fortis and mediae (and no labio-dorsal lenes) is not a problem since a similar system existed in Proto-Eastern Oceanic (PEO.):

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
<i>p^w</i>			
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>b^w</i>			
<i>β</i>	<i>ð</i>	<i>r</i>	

Here, as in pre-IE., the lack of labialization on the corresponding lenis was phonetically motivated (this reconstruction is based on Geraghty (1983) who does not make it clear whether prenasalization was phonemic in PEO.).

STAGE 2

Fortes:	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>		general lenition of uvulars: $\mathcal{K} > \hbar$; $q > \mathcal{K}$; $q^w > \mathcal{K}^w$
labialized:			k^w		
Mediae:	<i>(b)</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>		
labialized:			g^w		
Lenes:	β	<i>r</i>	γ	$\mathcal{K}$	
labialized:				$\mathcal{K}^w$	
Laryngeal:				$\hbar$	

STAGE 3

Fortes:	<i>p</i> [b ^h]	<i>t</i> [d ^h]	<i>k</i> [g ^h]	k^w [g ^{wh}]	Former uvulars $\mathcal{K}$ and $\mathcal{K}^w$ form separate class with $\hbar$. Fortes have murmured allophones. Zero grade appears; lenes acquire syllabic allophones which are nasal.
Mediae:	<i>(b)</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	g^w	
Lenes:	β [m]	<i>r</i> [n]	γ [ŋ]		
Laryngeals:			$\hbar \mathcal{K} \mathcal{K}^w$		

STAGE 4 ("Classic" PIE.)

Voiceless:	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	k^w	Lenition of β and γ to <i>w</i> leaving only <i>r</i> as lenis; <i>r</i> is reanalyzed as liquid with <i>l</i> . Murmured stops are phonemicized.
Voiced:	<i>(b)</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	g^w	
Murmured:	b^h	d^h	g^h	g^{wh}	
Liquids:		<i>r l</i>			
Laryngeals:			$\hbar \mathcal{K}$ $\mathcal{K}^w$		

STAGE 5 (Late PIE.)

Voiceless:	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	k^w	$\hbar$ all but gone in all environments except where syllabic; lenited $\mathcal{K}$ and $\mathcal{K}^w$ are murmured and begin to merge.
Voiced:	<i>(b)</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	g^w	
Murmured:	b^h	d^h	g^h	g^{wh}	
Liquids:			<i>r l</i>		
Laryngeals:			$(\hbar) \mathcal{K}$ $\mathcal{K}^w$		

3. Further Consequences of Fortis/Media/Lenis

Having proposed a chronology for PIE. obstruents, we now focus on a particular feature of that reconstruction; the proposal of a fortis/media/lenis distinction for PreIE. A f/m/l distinctions not only helps explain the development of the PIE. phonemic inventory, it has consequences for PIE. morpho-

phonemics as well. Part of the reason why this might be so is that there is reason to think that in a f/m/l system, media is more marked than lenis. This together with the spread of murmured voice from laryngeals would have an effect on the shape of roots as well as the distribution of obstruents in morphology.

3.1. Evidence for Media Being More Marked than Lenis

Evidence for this exists in the fact that languages exist which have fortes and lenes, but no mediae. Tupi-Guarani languages, for example, all have a f/l distinction but no mediae. No known language has only fortis and media.

It might be tempting to suggest that fortis/media does exist – those are the languages that have a voiceless/voiced stop distinction. This is not necessarily so, however. For example, English has *p/b*, but is not fortis/media because English has the oppositions *p/b f/v*.

Essentially, a f/l distinction exists in a language in which voice and manner of articulation are redundant features for obstruents. Hence a language with an inventory like (12)

(12)

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
<i>β</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>γ</i>

would be f/l. A language having the inventory in (13)

(13)

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>β</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>γ</i>

would be rare to be sure, but still possible, since *β – r – γ* as a class cannot be labeled as fricatives. In such a language, mediae would not be regarded as voiced (or as stops, for that matter), but as obstruents intermediate between “fortis” and “lenis” in strength of articulation⁸.

⁸ The only known modern case of fortis/media/lenis in the real world known to me is Fijian (see Geraghty (1983)). Here mediae are realized as prenasalized stops.

So then it seems that the primary distinction of degrees is fortis/lenis and then if another degree of articulation exists it is media; hence media is more marked. A parallel can be found in voicing where the primary distinction is voiceless/voiced and if there is a third degree of voicing that third degree is the most marked.

3.2. Root Structure Constraints and the Distribution of Obstruents in Morphology

The foregoing sheds light on the vexing problem of root structure constraints. If *d* and *g* were originally mediae in an f/m/l system they would be very highly marked and we would not find it unusual if (few or) no roots have the structure *DeD*. As for the absence of *Te(R)D^h* and *D^he(R)T*, these are easily explained by the following rule:

$$(14) \quad T > D^h */_ (C)h$$

While this may look neat enough on the face of it, the exact

$$(15) \quad \begin{array}{ccccc} TEhT & TEhT & TEhT & TEhT & TEhT \text{ etc.} \\ TETH & TETH & TETH & TETH & ThET \\ TED^h & TED^h & TEhD^h & TEhD^h & \text{etc.} \\ DED^h & D^hED^h & D^hEHD^h & DEhD^h & \end{array}$$

fate of roots like *tegh^h* has not been fully answered. Did *tegh^h* become *d^heg^h*-, or *deg^h*-? And since *D^h* itself is supposedly from *T^h*, which of the derivations in (15) is correct?

Did *TEhT* and *DEhT* merge? If so, did they merge as *DED^h* or *D^hED*? If they developed differently, did *TEHT* become *DED^h* while *DEhT* became *D^hED*, or vice versa? What about *DEhD*? Did it develop the same as *DEhT*? Did it ever occur at all?

A question underlying many of the above is whether the above rule changed *T* to *D* or to *D^h*. The answer to this question can actually be found in the behavior of the PIE. 'tool' suffix, **tlo/-tro/-d^hlo/-d^hro*. Olsen (1988) has demonstrated

that the alternations of this root are phonologically governed, specifically, the *-r-* forms appear after roots with a liquid, while the *-d^h-* forms appear after roots that end in non-syllabic *H₁* or *H₂*⁹. This suggests that *t* became *d^h* (and not *d*) after *h*¹⁰. This means a root like *TEhT* could have either of the forms in (16)¹¹:

- (16) *TEhT* *TEhT*
TET^h *TEhT*
TEd^hh *TEhD^h*
D^hED^hh *D^hEhD^h*

What about original *D*? If *DEhT* > *D^hED^h*, there would be no roots of the shape *DED^h*. Therefore we can conclude that *D* did not become *D^h*. *D^h* is described as ‘fortitioned’ by Swiggers (1989) where ‘fortitioned’ is defined as applying to ‘lenis sounds (resulting in a fortis sound, or at times “Halbfortis” or a “potenzierte Fortis”), but also to intrinsically fortis sounds’ (Swiggers 1989, p. 189). Based on this description *D^h* would be more lenis than *T*, but very probably more fortis than *D*. Hence *D* > *D^h* would be an example of fortition which is seen nowhere else in the chronology; the process repeated over and over is lenition. It is reasonable then to propose that ob-

⁹ Olsen (1988) interprets the data differently than I do. She claims that *D^h* was *phonetically T^h* and that the laryngeals *H₁₋₃* were *h*, *h̥*, and *ʔ* respectively. In other words voiceless *H₁* and *H₂* aspirated a following *t*, whereas voiced *H₃* did not. While I do agree with her assessment of the phonetic value of **-d^hl-* as [t^hl], I differ as to the reconstruction of laryngeals and the explanation of why *H₃* alone did not affect the phonetic shape of **-tl-*.

¹⁰ The fact that this rule does not hold for *H₃* probably has to do with the labial feature of *H₃* (*k^w*). By late PIE, labiovelars and *H₃* must have had complete co-articulation; that is, a phoneme /*k^w*/, was not a sequence [kw], but [k] with lip-rounding from the beginning of the articulation. Nevertheless, at the time of the rule of murmur spread, the labialized consonants, including *H₃*, could have been phonetically *Cw*. The [w] of *H₃* could then block the spread of murmured voice.

¹¹ The precise phonetics are unrecoverable here, so when we say that *T* > *D^h*, we have no way of knowing whether this *D^h* is *D̥^h* (to use Ladefoged’s notation) or simply *D̥*. In any case the reflexes in the daughter languages indicate that, either immediately or ultimately, there was no difference between *D^h* and *D̥^h*.

struents did not fortition and therefore *D* did not become *D^h*. The fate of original *DEhD* is a particularly moot question, since the extreme markedness of mediae apparently prevented the occurrence of *DE(H)D* in PIE¹².

Finally, there is the problem of consonant distribution in bound morphology. Under the traditional analysis of PIE. this was a puzzle: relatively unmarked voiced stops appear almost nowhere in the morphology while murmured stops, which are much more marked, appear not infrequently. Under the new analysis, however, the morphology is not a problem. One would expect, in a *f/m/l* language, to have *p, t, k, β, r, γ* more commonly in the morphology than *b, d, g*, since fortis and lenes were less marked than mediae. This is what we find (specifically the most common consonants are: *t, r, w/m* (< *β&γ*), and *s*)¹³. As for affixes with murmured stops, these can now be seen as either clusters of fortis + *H₁* or murmured allophones of fortis. It was the newly acquired voice/voiceless distinction which would make this distribution strange only shortly before the break-up of PIE.

3.3. A Note on Chime Roots and *-tlo-

One loose end left at this point is the tool suffix **-tlo-*. The morphophonemics of this suffix were used above to support the idea of murmur assimilation. No other suffix, though, manifests the same morphophonemics. And according to Olsen, *H₂* as well as *H₁* changes *t* for this affix. Why?

¹² Compare Fijian, which has a *CVCV* structure instead of *CVC*. Geraghty lists over two thousand entries in his Fijian lexicon. Excluding cases of reduplication, only three – *babu*, ‘chest’, *daba*, ‘skin, bark’, and *dabe*, ‘sit’ – were of the shape *DVDV*. If this same ratio existed in PIE., then it is easy to see why no root of this shape is reconstructed for PIE., given the relatively small number of roots reconstructed for PIE.

¹³ Obviously, *s* as one of the most common consonants in PIE. morphology doesn’t prove anything one way or the other, although it may be noted that all the *f/l* languages mentioned in Schleicher (1992b) have a separate class of (voiceless) sibilants.

Consider the basic shape of this suffix. Olsen has demonstrated that the basic form is */-tlo-/*. The *-o-* is apparently really the stem vowel so the suffix itself is *-tl-*. Presumably this has diachronic significance, i.e. that *-tl-o-* is the original form of the suffix. Now, while a cluster like *-tr-* is normal enough, for PIE., *-tl-* is unexpected. This looks more like the zero grade of some other root. I propose that it is exactly that: *-tl-* is a compounding form of a root **t^e/o/*. That being the case, words with *-tl-* are compounds. Borrowing from the framework of Lexical Phonology, we can then say that compounding and affixation belong to different lexical levels in PIE. and that murmur assimilation occurs in the same level as compounding. This explains murmur spread for *-tl-* and not for affixes.

As for H_2 causing murmur assimilation, since $TH_2 \rightarrow T^h$ and $DH_2 \rightarrow D^h$ in InIr., it is likely that $H_2(B)$ eventually became more like h . This change may already have begun in late IE. Clearly H_1 and H_2 did not merge as h in PIE., since their syllabic allophones have different reflexes in Greek. But H_2 could have been headed in this direction, say $[B]$. This murmured H_2 could have caused murmur assimilation, at least in some dialects. The allophone $[a]$ was mostly the result of H_2 + a vowel. If H_2 was responsible for murmur assimilation, $[a]$ may have been generally pronounced with murmur voice. This in turn could have generalized to all other occurrences of $[a]$ where the murmured $[a]$ by analogy could have caused murmuring in surrounding stops. This would explain the so-called chime roots, e.g. *kap/g^hab^h*. These chime roots also confirm the effect of murmur assimilation on fortis in Pre-IE.

Yet one problem remains: a voiceless stop in PIE. should not become murmured next to a (murmured) H_2 since PIE. was not *f/m/l*, but *voiceless/voiced/murmured* and in such a language murmured voice seems to spread to voiced stops and not voiceless ones (cf. the rule for InIr. above, and for Javanese in section 4 below. What should happen to a voiceless stop in that environment? Consider Olsen's own argument that the d^h forms of *-tl-* were really t^h forms. This would not contradict our above claims about murmur assimilation in early and late PIE., and actually matches expectations to a

degree vis à vis PIE. 2nd sg. perf. suffix **- tH₂e* > PInIr. **t^ha*. Finally, if *H₁* and *H₂* caused aspiration instead of murmur assimilation for voiceless stops, this explains why *H₃* did not, since the vocoid character of labialization could reasonably be said to block the spread of aspiration. This does not unsettle the evidence for what the effects of murmur assimilation were on fortis, given the additional evidence of chime roots noted above. For further defence of *- t^hl-* see Olsen (1988).

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I referred to parallel phenomena in other languages to defend my positions, but have stopped short of using such comparisons to defend the traditional *T/D/D^h* reconstruction of PIE. itself. However, as an interesting postscript, and for those who demand such comparative evidence, Hock (1986) has recently drawn a parallel between stop systems in certain Indonesian languages and that of PIE. Javanese, Mundarese, Kelabit, and Lun Daye show stop systems similar to classic PIE. Hock presents the data as shown in (17).

(17) Javanese	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
	<i>b^h</i>	<i>d^h</i>	<i>g^h</i>
Mundarese	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
	<i>b^h</i>	<i>d^h</i>	<i>g^h</i>
Kelabit & Lun Daye	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
	<i>b^h</i>	<i>d^h</i>	<i>g^h</i>

The obvious resemblance to the traditional model of PIE. is striking. What is perhaps even more remarkable is that the derivations given for murmured stops run parallel to the account given here for PIE. In the case of Javanese murmured stops, 'the starting point may have consisted in an allophonic aspiration of original voiced stops' (Hock 1986, p.626). This is

very reminiscent of murmur assimilation as proposed above. As for Kelabit and Lun Daye, murmured stops 'seem to have come about from earlier clusters of voiced stop + *h*' (Hock 1986, p.626). Again reminiscent of $D^h < TH_1$ in PreIE./early PIE. Note that in the above Indonesian languages, murmur assimilation seems to have occurred on voiced stops rather than voiceless stops. This is apparently normal for languages with a voicing distinction as opposed to a *f/l* or *f/m/l* distinction.

By recognizing the proper role of synchronic typology in language reconstruction, it can be seen that the traditional system of PIE. is plausible but unstable. This is in line with the fact that the PIE. system is preserved in none of the daughter languages. This instability also coincides with the idea that the PIE. sound system was as reconstructed only shortly before the break-up of the dialects; that beforehand it was a *f/m/l* language. This hypothesis together with the phonetic values I have reconstructed for the laryngeals leads to a principled account of the various anomalies of the PIE. sound system.

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A Chronology of the PIE. Obstruents

41

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Phonology and 'Laryngeals': Some critical observations on 'lex Rix'

1. It is an indisputable fact of Indo-European phonology that the so-called 'laryngeals' (cover symbol *H*) posited for the parent language were consonantal phonemes inherently less sonorous than the resonants **y*, **w*, **r*, **l*, **n*, **m* (cover symbol *R*). See below, § 3, Remark. Some of these 'laryngeals' survive in the Hittite consonants *h*, *h(h)* which may represent fricative sounds.¹

2. It is further an undeniable fact of Indo-European phonology that – according to Sievers-Edgerton's Law² – the (phonemic) sequences *#/RC-/* (*C* = plosive or *s*) and *#/CRC-/* were realized phonetically as *#[RC-]* and *#[CRC-]*, respectively, in the parent language, cf. e.g. *#/ns-/* (zero grade of **nes-*, Skt. *nas-* 'unite') = *#[ns-]* > Skt. *ásta-* 'home'; *#/tntós/* (ptc. of **ten-*, Skt. *tan-* 'stretch') = *#[tntós]* > Skt. *tatá-*, Gk. *tató-*, Lat. *tentum*; *#/wk'-/* (zero grade of **wek'-*, Skt. *vas'-* 'desire') = *#[uk'-]* > Skt. *us'-(mási)*; *#/swp-/* (zero grade of **swep-*, Skt. *svap-* 'sleep') = *#[sup-]* in Skt. (ptc.) *sup(-tá-)*, Gk. *húpnos*, Alb. *gjumë* 'sleep', etc.

3. The preceding paragraphs inevitably lead to the conclusion that the phonemic sequence *#/HRC-/* must have been realized phonetically as *#[HRC-]* in the parent IE. language, which is confirmed beyond doubt by Anatolian as well as non-Anatolian IE. material. (For the regular loss of the 'laryngeals' in the position before a syllabic sound in the non-Anatolian IE. languages (with the possible exception of Armenian) see Lindeman 1987, p.34, 36f.).

¹ For a discussion of the evidence see Lindeman 1987, p.30 ff., 107 ff., with references.

² See F. Edgerton 1943, p.83 ff.

Examples (*H* = an unspecified 'laryngeal'):

#/*Hlt-ye-*/ = #[*H̥lt-ye/o-*] > Hitt. *halziya-*, *halzai-* 'call out' (: OHG. *ladōn* 'call, invite');³

#/*Hnsy-ro-*/ = #[*H̥nsi-ro-*] > Pal. *hasi-ra-* 'dagger', cf. Skt. *así-*, Lat. *ēnsis* 'sword';⁴

#/*H₂nHtyH₂*/ 'duck' = #[*H₂n̥HtiH₂*]. After the syncretism of all 'laryngeals' under one colour,⁵ the originally neuter⁶ formation #[*H₂n̥HtiH₂*] would have given non-Anatolian IE. #*H̥n̥HtiH* > Proto-Greek feminine **nātī*.⁷ This form may have been analogically reshaped to **nātyǎ*⁸ at a stage after *inherited* **ty* had resulted in the Proto-Gk. phoneme /*t't*/ (a palatal geminate), the reflex of which is seen in forms like Ion. Att. *prósō*, *opísō*, Arc. *osos*, Myc. *to-so*.⁹ The phonetic reflex of the **ty* of **nātyǎ* fell together with that of the cluster **ky* which gave Ion., Arc., Lesb., Thess., West Gk. *ss*, Att. Boeot., etc. *tt*, Myc. *z* (type Hom. *ósse*, Att. *tri-ottis*)¹⁰. The phoneme underlying these reflexes may have been a palatal geminate /*t̪t̪*/ which differed from /*t't*/ < IE. **ty*, see Stang 1957, p.28 f.: "On pourrait imaginer que -*k'k'*- s'est développé en *t̪t̪*, géminée palatale mais différente du représentant de i.e. *ty*. Le passage d'une consonne postpalatale à une consonne prépalatale, et ultérieurement à une consonne mouillée prononcée dans la sphère dentale, est chose bien connue dans les langues. (Cf. français dialectal *cintyème* < *cinquième* d'après Grammont, Phonétique du grec ancien, p.101). Ce *t̪t̪* a pu donner partie *tt*, partie *ss*, en passant par un stade intermédiaire avec assibilation."

The **nāt-* of Proto-Gk. **nātī* 'duck', seen in Ion. *nēssa*, Att. *nētta*, and 'Boeot.' *nāssa*, represents the zero grade (#/*H₂nHt-*/)

³ See Puhvel 1991, p. 63.

⁴ See Eichner 1980, p. 127, note 30.

⁵ Lindeman 1987, p. 115, 118.

⁶ See Burrow 1959, p. 230.

⁷ See Lindeman 1987, p. 60.

⁸ See Lindeman 1987, p. 60, for this refashioning.

⁹ Cf. Lejeune 1972, p. 103 f.

¹⁰ For **ky*, see Lejeune 1972, p. 104 f.

of (full grade) $\# / H_2 en Ht - /$, the stem form of Lat. *anas*, *anatis*, Lith. *ántis*, OHG. *anut*, etc.¹¹

From a formal point of view, however, the orig. neuter $\# [H_2 n Ht í H_2]$ could be analyzed morphemically in two different ways, i.e. 1) as $\{H_2 n Ht - y H_2\}$ (with the suffix $/ - y H_2 /$ attested by the Vedic type *devī*), or 2) as $\{H_2 n Ht - y - H_2\}$ = collective/neuter plural of an animate *i*-stem $\{H_2 n Ht - y -\}$. To the extent that the latter analysis was realized, it would have entailed the analogical creation of an *i*-stem $\# [H_2 n Ht í -]$ which may be the source of such forms as Vedic *ā́tí-* (RV.X, 95, 10 nom.plur. *ātáyas* 'ducks'¹² and Lith. *ántis*, OPruss. *antis*. It should be stressed that a collective/neuter plural $[H_2 n Ht - í - H_2]$ would be to an animate nom.plur. $[H_2 n Ht - éy - es]$ > Vedic *ātáyas* as Hitt. collective/neuter plur. *alpa* 'clouds' is to the animate (nom.) acc.plural *alpus*, or as Lat. *loca* is to masc. nom.plur. *loci*.

Remark. Lacking a native speaker, we, of course, know nothing about the occurrence and distribution of possible non-phonemic reduced (or anaptyctic) vowels in an Indo-European or pre-Greek sequence such as $/ CRHC /$. (Cf. Lindeman 1989, p.283 ff.). Hence, phonetic, not phonemic, reconstructions such as $*h_2 n_\alpha h_2 t -$ and $*s_\alpha n h_2 t -$, etc. (Rix 1991, p.194, 198), implying a *phonetic distinction*¹³ between e.g. $[CRHC -]$ and $[C_\alpha RHC -]$ and $[CR_\alpha HC -]$, have no rightful place in today's Indo-European linguistics. However, the ablaut of 'heavy' bases of the type $*pleH_1 -$ 'fill' teaches us that it was the resonant, not the inherently less sonorous

¹¹ See Lindeman 1990, p.19. Rix (1991, p.186 ff.) now unconvincingly attempts to explain away this example by assuming that what he reconstructs as $*h_2 n h_2 t -$ 'duck' suffered dissimilation to $*s n h_2 t -$ in Greek under the influence of the Greek verb meaning 'to swim'. This assumption being entirely *ad hoc* is just an invention which should rightly be ignored. For the Germanic forms of 'duck', see Lindeman 1987, p.120.

¹² For the (probable) meaning 'ducks' see Rix 1991, p.188, with references.

¹³ Cf. Rix 1991, p.194: "... $*h_2 n h_2 t^\circ$ bzw. schon $*h_2 n_\alpha h_2 t^\circ$...". Rix assumes an anaptyctic vowel to have developed in such cases between the *syllabic* n and the following h_2 , i.e. $*h_2 n h_2 t - > *h_2 n_\alpha h_2 t -$, $*s n h_2 t - > *s n_\alpha h_2 t -$, etc. See below, n.17.

'laryngeal' (§ 1, above), which was syllabic in the IE. sequence */CRHC-/*. As pointed out in Lindeman 1987, p.116f., it is possible that preconsonantal *!H*, *ṇH*, etc. may have developed regularly into the long phonemes */ī/*, */ṇī/*, etc. in non-Anatolian Indo-European; the fact that the non-Anatolian dialects present different phonologic reflexes of */ṇī/*, etc. is not a strong objection against the assumption of the earlier existence of such phonemes (see Lindeman 1987, p.116).

Some further examples:

/Hwsōs/ = *#[Husōs]* > Skt. *uṣās* 'dawn' (vs. Lat. *aurora*, Gk. *héōs* < full grade **/Hews-/*), cf. *#/Hws-ské-/* = *#[Hus-ské-]* in Skt. *ucchāti* 'shines';

#/Hwd-/ = *#[Hud-]* in Gk. *hudéō* 'sing', Skt. (pass.) *ud-yáte* (zero grade of **/Hwed-/*, attested by Gk. *audé* 'voice', Skt. *vad-* 'speak');¹⁴

#/Hrtk'o-/ = *#[Hrtk'o-]* in Hitt. *hartagga-* 'bear' (cf. Puhvel 1991: 201), Gk. *árktos*, Skt. *ṛkṣa-*, Lat. *ursus* 'bear';

#/Hydh-/ = *#[Hidh-]* in Skt. *idh-* 'kindle' (ptc. *iddhá-*), Gk. *itharós* 'cheerful, glad' (vs. full grade **/Heydh-/* seen in *aíthō* 'light up, kindle').

4. In my view, the preceding discussion (§§ 1–3) demonstrates that Rix's assumption (Rix 1970, p.79 ff.) according to which the 'replacement' of the IE. 'laryngeals' in initial position by Greek vowels (i.e. e.g. *H₂* > *a-*) is older than the development of IE. syllabic resonants such as **m̥*, **n̥* into Greek *a*, is unfounded. As I have repeatedly pointed out,¹⁵ we must insist that Rix and those who endorse 'lex Rix' justify the aberrant¹⁶ phonetics and phonology involved in the supposed development of e.g. PIE. *#/H₂mbhý/* = *#[H₂m̥bhí]* > Gk. *#amphí* where the *consonantal* 'laryngeal' is said to have been 'replaced by a prothetic vowel' in the position before the *vocalic* resonant *m̥*, in the same way as an initial 'laryngeal' in

¹⁴ See Lindeman 1987, p.43, for the Greek forms in question.

¹⁵ Lindeman 1982, p.60f.; 1988, p.43; 1989, p.271 f.; 1990, p.17 ff.

¹⁶ See above, § 3, Remark, and n.13.

the position before a following consonantal liquid or nasal (type #[*Hner-*] > Gk. *aner-*): as the phonetic environment of #[*HRC-*] differs from that of #[*HRV-*], there is no reason whatever to expect *a priori* the same development of the initial 'laryngeal' in these cases.

After an unsuccessful attempt at explaining away the phonologic objections that I have raised against his assumptions,¹⁷ Rix 1991, p.193 adds: "Wie im Griechischen anlautender Laryngal vor silbischer Liquida oder Nasalis vertreten ist, kann nicht deduziert, sondern nur durch induktive Untersuchung festgestellt werden, wie ich es in dem an dem Namen 'Lex Rix' schuldigen Aufsatz versucht habe." However, if 'deduce' here means what it usually does in logic, then the opposite is true: the deduction that **nā-t-* (in *nāssa*) represents the regular phonetic outcome in Greek of a PIE. sequence #/*H₂nH-t-*/ is precisely the result of reasoning from general IE. phonologic laws (such as those represented in §§ 1–3, above) to the special case of Greek.¹⁸

5. On the strength of *umbilicus*, *unguis* and *amb-*, Rix 1970, p.96, proposed to establish a new sound law for Latin: "Für idg. *ə*₁- *ə*₂- *ə*₃- im Anlaut vor *ŋ m* erscheint im Lateinischen

¹⁷ Regarding the development of e.g. IE. syllabic [*ŋ*], [*m*] in Greek, Rix 1991, p.193, suggests, rather vaguely, that "... die silbischen Nasale auf ihrem Weg zum Vokal (**t̥ntós* > *tatós*) wohl ebenfalls zunächst einen Vokal neben sich aufgefaltet hatten." An illustrative example is IE. #*H₂m̥bhí* > #*H₂mbhí* > #*amphí*. As pointed out above, § 3, Remark and n.13, such phonetic conjecture is no good as a linguistic explanation. Further, since there has been no such anaptyctic vowel development in the IE. sequence /*CnC-*/ > Gk. *CaC-*, (cf. e.g. Gk. *tatós* < */*tntós*/), there are no grounds for accepting any anaptyxis in the structurally parallel case of #/*HnC-*/, cf. above § 3.

¹⁸ I find it very strange, indeed, to read the following in Rix 1991, p.193: "Das Lexiconwort *akarós* ... hat Lindeman nach Peters auf **h₁ŋk'rh-os* zurückgeführt." Those who choose to look up what I actually did write in my article (Lindeman 1990, p.17 f.), will see straight away that I do nothing of the sort. On the contrary, whereas Peters (1986, p.366) tries to demonstrate that *akarós* does not contradict 'lex Rix', the subject of my contribution, entitled "Indo-European 'Laryngeals' and Fallacious Reasoning", is an explicit rejection of Peters' reasoning which seems logically untenable to me.

ungeachtet späterer kombinatorischer Veränderungen *e- a- o-* vor *n m* (*/e a o/ + /n m/*)." However, Rix (1991 b, p.273, n.3) has now withdrawn this hypothesis which, as pointed out in Lindeman 1982, p.61, finds no support in IE. phonology¹⁹.

6. If **nā-t-* in Gk. *nāssa* comes from $\# / H_2 n H - t - /$ (§ 3), it follows that *ánemos* cannot – despite Mayrhofer 1991, p.94 (with references) – be the phonetic outcome in Greek of PIE. $\# / H_2 \acute{n} H_1 m o - /$.

Since *H* represents a consonantal element inherently less sonorous than the resonants (*R*), it follows that an IE sequence of the type */-eRHRe-/* must be interpreted phonetically as *[-eRHRe-]* (according to Sievers' Law). After the regular loss of the prevocalic 'laryngeal', *[-eRHRe-]* would have given *-eRRe-* in the non-Anatolian languages, cf. */g'énH₁yo-/* (from **g'enH₁-* 'beget' plus suffix **-yo-*) = phonetically *[g'énH₁io-]*, whence **g'énio-* (with loss of the prevocalic 'laryngeal') > Vedic *jániya-* 'belonging to the race'. If this be accepted, it follows that *ánemos* cannot be a direct reflex of */H₂énH₁mo-/* since the latter was phonetically *[H₂ánH₁mō-]*. See the discussion in Lindeman 1987, p.104; 1986, p.79 ff.

However, as indicated in Lindeman 1970, p.91, *ánemos* might be analogic (for **ánamos*) after a thematic verb (3 sg. **aneti*), itself representing a refashioned older athematic verb (cf. Vedic *ániti*). Assuming *a*) that this refashioning took place at a stage prior to the syncretism of all the 'laryngeals' of different colour in the non-Anatolian languages,²⁰ and *b*) that the stem-final 'laryngeal' of the verb 'to breathe' was in fact *H₂*,²¹ we could represent the change in question formally as follows: (athematic) *[H₂ánH₂ti]* → (thematic) *[H₂ánH₂ati]*: in the latter form the (predesinential) *[-a-]* is a conditioned variant (due to

¹⁹ McCone 1991, p.37 ff., to no purpose resorts to this non-existing 'lex Rix' in order to account for certain Celtic, Latin and Greek forms such as *imbliu*, *umbilicus*, *omphalós*, see *ibid.* p.41, n.15, p.63 and n.74.

²⁰ Lindeman 1987, p.115, 118.

²¹ As pointed out in Lindeman 1987, p.104, the restitution of the stem-final 'laryngeal' of the verb 'to breathe' as *H₁* has no support in any linguistic material outside Greek, and rests entirely on the preconceived idea that an interconsonantal *H₁* gives Gk. *e*.

'laryngeal' colouring) of the thematic vowel /-e-/. After the syncretism of the 'laryngeals' under one colour, [*H₂ánH₂ati*] gives non-Anatolian IE. /*HánHati*/.

Taking the orig. /*H₂énH₂mos*/ = [*H₂ánH₂mos*] to have developed into /*HánHamos*/ in pre-Greek (with -am- regularly from syllabic -m- in the position before a following vowel), we may further speculate whether /*HánHamos*/ may not now have been felt to be morphemically {*HánH-a-mos*} = thematic verb stem {*HánH-a-*} plus suffix {-mos}. The subsequent analogical restoration of /-e-/ as the thematic vowel in /*HánHati*/ could explain the transformation of /*HánHamos*/ into /*HánHemos*/, cf. the following analogical proportion: /*HánHati*/ : /*HánHamos*/ = /*HánHeti*/ : *x*; *x* = /*HánHemos*/, whence (with loss of the prevocalic 'laryngeal'), Gk. *ánemos*.

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Reflexes of IE. laryngeals in four Finnish words

The first attempts to relate Balto-Finnic (BF.) loan words to IE. prototypes with retained laryngeals can be traced back to work by Björn Collinder and above all to Tryggve Sköld (1960), and thanks to the work by Koivulehto (1991) we have now arrived at a sufficiently extensive set of equations to make it likely that we have here a coherent system of correspondences and not just isolated, and thus a priori questionable, instances. Although one cannot escape the feeling that some of the novel equations adduced by Koivulehto fail to convince, this is not true for his set of words with an IE. laryngeal in the anlaut, reflected in BF. loan words by an anlauting *k-* (op.cit., pp. 23–51). The cases are 1) Fi. *kasa* ‘spike, protruding object; corner’ ~ IE. **h₂akō-*, Gmc. *agjō*, e.g. in OHG. *ekka* ‘spike; cutting edge of sword’, 2) Fi. *kallis* ‘expensive; dear’ ~ IE. **h₂alye/o-s*, Gmc. **alja*, e.g. in OHG. *ella* ‘Nebenbuhler’, 3) Fi. *kaski* ‘Schwende, burn-beaten land’ ~ IE. **h₂azg-*, Gmc. **askōn*, e.g. in OHG. *aska* ‘ash’, 4) Fi. *kasva-* ‘to grow’ ~ IE. **h₂awg-s*, e.g. Lithuanian *áugti* ‘to grow’, Gothic *aukan* ‘to propagate, breed’, 5) Fi. *kesä* ‘summer’ ~ IE. **h₁es-en-/ *h₁os-en-* e.g. in Slavic **jesenb*, ‘autumn’, Gothic *asans* ‘harvest, crop; summer’, 6) Fi. *kesy* ‘tame; amenable, compliant’ ~ IE. **h₁esu-/ *h₁su-* e.g. in Sanskrit *su* ‘good’, Slavic *sb-* [a verbal prefix], 7) Fi. *koke-* ‘to look after nets and other hunting equipment devices’ ~ IE. *h₃ok^wye/o-* ‘to see’, Slavic *ačiti*, e.g. in Polish *zobaczyć* ‘to see’ [prefixed perfective verb], 8) Fi. *kuto-* ‘to weave’ ~ IE./Pre-Baltic **h₂ud^hah₂* as in Lith. *áusti/áudžiu* ‘to weave’. Six of these are immediately striking, at least to me, and even the less convincing Nr. 1 and Nr. 6 are not unthinkable. While the realistic possibility of IE. laryngeal reflexes in some BF. words can therefore no longer be denied, the proposed instances naturally still need to be refined, and the set may perhaps be further extended. Here I report on four new possible ancient IE. loan words in BF. in which I suggest

that anlauting BF. *k-* reflects the presence of anlauting laryngeals in the respective IE. proto-forms.

1. Fi. *konkelo*¹ ‘bugt på träd el. gren, lutande träd, vindfälle av tvenne träd i kors mot varandra; gröngöling, hackspett, vedknarr; ovig, tölpaktig, obäklig, plump, oskicklig’ (‘the curvature of a bent tree; a bentdown tree; lodged [hung-up] tree, hung tree [wind-felled]; woodpecker; awkward’). Further, there are the compounds: *konkkanenä* ‘kroknäsa; hook-nose, aquiline nose’, *konkkanokka* ‘kroknäbb; hook bill’, also *konkanenä* etc., involving the basic word of which *konkelo* is *elo*-suffixed form.

First, I review the earlier etymologies. In SKES.II (1958), p.215 *konkelo* is supposed to be a “descriptive word” [a favourite term of the SKES., which regularly uses it as a *deus ex machina*] “which reminds us of Lappish *gognel* and Votyak *kongilo*”. Thus no strong claim of cognateship is made here, but a reference to another entry, *konka* [in Lönnrot 1958 given as *konkka*], is made:

Fi. *konkka*, g. *konkan* ‘ngt uppstående el. uppböjt, ro, höft, skank’ (‘something which is bent upwards, protruding upwards’) ~ *konko* (*könkö*), g. *kongon* ‘ngt uppstående eller uppböjdt’ (‘something protruding upwards, or bent upwards’).

SKES. s.v. *konka* dubs this word too as a “descriptive” word, in this case “reminding us of Votyak *kungo*, *kunro*”. UEW. does not list these Fi.words at all, indicating a fundamental disagreement with the SKES. Thus, we have no really satisfying etymologies for either *konkelo* or *konkka* (*konka*), *konko*. There is room for viewing this problem from new angles. And actually, it is just this latter word which I believe gives the clue: in BF. *konko* etc. I see a loan word from the IE. root *ank-* ‘to bend’. We have it in Sanskrit *āṅkāḥ* ‘hook, curve’, *āṅcati* ‘he bends, he curves’, Greek ἄγκος ‘bend’, ἄγκύλος ‘bent, arched’, ἄγκων ‘elbow’, ἀγκίστρον ‘Widerhaken, Angelhaken’, ὄγκος ‘Krümmung, Haken’, ὄγκινος ‘Widerhaken’, Latin *uncus* (**onko-*) ‘hooked, bent’, *ancus*

¹ All meanings of Fi. words here and below are from Lönnrot 1958, which I have also translated into English.

‘gekrümmt’. In Gmc. we have the Icel. *ange* ~ OE. *anga* ‘a sting, goad’, OHG. *ango* ‘hinge’, MHG. *ange* ‘fish-hook, hinge’ < Gmc. **angōn*, and with an *l*-suffix, ON. *ongull*, MLG. *angel*, and OE. *angul* < **angula-*, masc. ‘hook’. All of the above words are from an IE. base **h₂ank-* (< **h₂enk-*), **h₂onk-* ‘to bend; a curve, a bent object’ (cf. Rix 1976, p.69). The Finnish *konko* and *konka* agree in form and meaning with this IE. proto-form. The *l*-suffix appearing in the virtually synonymous Fi. *konkelo* is matched by similar *l*-suffixed IE. words in Greek and in Gmc. The pairwise similarities of the BF. and IE. words both with and without this suffix, add some strength to the equation, although the BF. suffixed form probably arose later in BF., independently of this IE. proto-form.

2. Fi. *kangas*, g. *kankaan* ‘mo, hed, sandhed, sandbacke; Heide; [sandy] heath, moor’.

First, I review the previously proposed etymologies. In SKES. I (1955, p.155) two different *kangas* are posited, one s.v. *kangas* ‘a spider species’ (here I will leave this BF. *kangas* out of the discussion, since the SKES. already has a good explanation for this word, cf. OIcel. *kongurváfa* etc.), and a second *kangas*, being identical with the word in the rubric above, but in SKES. listed s.v. *kangar* ‘sandbacke, sandmo, mo, hed, sandhed; sandy heath, moor’, which further appears in the variants *kankare* and *kanger*. This second *kangas* etc. is a BF. word with only uncertain cognates according to SKES. l.c., in Mari (a word meaning ‘skinny; dried-out’) and Vogul (a word meaning ‘Landenge, eine Strecke zwischen zwei Flüssen’), but UEW.I, p.126–127 objects to these equations because of incompatibilities both in vocalism and meaning. According to Koivulehto (1984, p.223), *kangas* is a loan word < Gmc. **gangaz* (> German *Gang*, Sw. *gång*). Häkkinen (1990, p.252), following Koivulehto, accepts *kangas* as a Gmc. loan word, but in my view, considering e.g. the verbal cognates, such as the OSw. *ganga* ‘to walk’, Lithuanian *žengiù* ‘I walk’, Sanskrit *jāghā* ‘leg, foot’ (IE. **ghengh-*) the proposal appears unlikely, as it seems to do also to Hofstra (1985, p.314, 326). There is no mentioning of a possible association with the synonymous *kangar* in these texts.

As an alternative explanation, I here adduce the OHG. *angar*, MLG. *anger* 'gräsmark; grass-land', Modern German *Anger* 'Grasland' < **ang-ra*, masc. In Nordic, place-names preserve a particular meaning 'bay, Bucht' of this *r*-suffixed form: Sw. *ångar*, OSw. *anger* 'havsvik; sea bay', in e.g. Ul-långer, Selånger, Ångermanland, and also in Norwegian names such as Hardanger, Stavanger. A complete inventory is now available in the magnum opus by Holm (1991). Cognates of another declensional class, and lacking the *r*-suffix are e.g. the Sw. *äng* 'Wiese, meadow', OSw. *æng* < Gmc. **angiō*, fem. ~ Icel. and Danish *eng*, OE. *ing* (in placenames: *Ings*, *Broad Ing*) 'a meadow'. The Icelandic *engja-hei* 'hay of the *eng*, out-field hay' is opposed to *taðá* 'hay from the well-manured home-field', confirming that in the *eng*, we have a less fertile soil type, which is compatible with the meaning which is inherent in Fi. *kangas*. All these are ultimately from IE. **h₂enk-* > **h₂ank-* > Gmc. **ang-*. This is actually the same IE. root 'to bend' as I quoted in my treatment of *konkelo* above. It is true that Gösta Holm (1991) recently raised doubts that there ever was a Nordic *anger* meaning 'grass land', based on his survey of the mainly toponymical material of Nordic *anger* 'bay', in which this meaning could not be recovered. But this by no means precludes the possibility of its earlier existence on West Germanic territory, or indeed all over the Gmc. realm in prehistoric times.² And this claim can be strengthened by, first, a number of semantic parallels (Hellquist 1939, p. 1439) showing the same development 'bent, curved' > 'grass-land, meadow etc.' (**weng-* > Sw. *vång*, OE. *wang*; Latin *campus* ~ Greek *καμπή* 'Krümmung, Biegung'; Lithuanian *leñkti* 'to bend' ~ Polish *łąka* 'meadow, grass [pasture] land'), to which we may now add, secondly, the direct (and therefore more important) testimony of the BF. loan word *kangas*. The presence of a terrain- or soil-descriptive meaning 'Moor, Heide' in the Fi. *kangas* is a positive argu-

² Gamillscheg (1934, p. 94 and 356) shows that the word appears in the Franconian and the Gothic place-names of northern and southern France, respectively.

ment which is weightier than is the negative argument of its alleged absence in the more recent Nordic *anger*-names. One may add that Gösta Holm too (1991, p.17–22, 684–688) derives *anger* from the IE. root *ank-* ‘to bend’, quoting the above parallels from Hellquist, and adding the further examples Sw. *vik* and *bukt* which show the same semantic differentiation ‘bend’ > ‘bay’, thereby in fact reassuring us that we do have to count with a proto-form which meant ‘bend, bent’ also in the homophonic Gmc. ‘grass-land’ words. Moreover, the meaning ‘grass-land’ in German *Anger*, which is crucial for any attempt at explaining the BF. word, is of course present in the group of words represented by Sw. *äng* which differs only by lacking the *-ro*-suffix. The above explanation is also the one preferred by the EWA., p.247–251.

From the point of view of agriculture there is no contradiction here, for sandy or gravelly soil was the preferred soil in prehistoric times: this fact also helps explain why in south Sweden, the *äng* was sometimes termed *hed* ‘heath’ [= Fi. *kangas*!]. As time went by, due to the erosion with depletion of nutrients and the falling of the water table (Grundwasser), these areas became deserted, but the earlier settlements there can be documented by the numerous archaeological findings on this type of soil (Sjöbeck 1973, p.4, 6, 9).

The remaining problem is only that one would have predicted a BF. loan-word to take on a form like **kanko* if it were derived directly from an IE. proto-form of this latter Gmc. fem. *angiō-*. Instead, one has to posit a parallel form belonging to another declensional class, like **angaz*. A Gmc. masc. **anga-* is just as plausible a starting point for the *r*-suffixed base **h₂angaro* that we have in the Modern German *Anger* etc. as would be a word based on the feminine counterpart.

Note now that the existence of the alternative BF. form, *kankar*, virtually synonymous with *kangas*, does look like a reflex of this latter *r*-suffixed form after all! So, in summary, there is a good match both phonetically and semantically between the proposed IE. prototypes and the BF. words, applying to both the non-suffixed and the *r*-suffixed Pre-Gmc. forms, now represented by the Sw. *äng* and the German

Anger. This adds extra strength to the equation. Note the parallel with *konko/konkelo* above. Summarising these two etymologies, one notices that in the Fi. *konko* 'bent, curved upwards' and its Gmc. cognates such as the OHG. *ango* 'hinge', etc. we seem to have reflexes of the IE. *o*-grade, whereas in the Fi. *kangas*, German *Anger* 'grass-land', Sw. *äng* 'meadow' we apparently have the *e*-grade reflex (**h₂ank-*). They are to be classified as Pre-Germanic loan words.

3. The Finnish numeral *kahdeksan* 'eight' has cognates in BF., Lappish, Mordvin and Cheremis so the word belongs to the Finnic-Volgaic layer. The reconstructable form is **kakteksan* (UEW. II, p. 643–644). This is analysed by the authors of the UEW. (following Erkki Itkonen) as **kakta e-k-sä-n*, according to the formula **kakta* '2' + negative verb **e* + modal-reflexive conjugational suffix **k* + 3rd person possessive suffix **sä* + dual suffix **n*. The meaning would thus allegedly be 'two do not exist' or 'two are missing from ten'. Obviously, here we have to do with a so-called "arithmetical" etymology of rather low intrinsic credibility. A more plausible explanation is called for.

In IE., we have for the numeral 'eight' a dual form based on 'four', so that the word for 'eight' can be envisaged, quite concretely, as 'the fingers of both hands'. At least for a Germanic-speaker, it is perfectly natural still today to describe the hand as composed of 'four fingers and one thumb', and this would appear to be the concrete basis for the structure of the IE. numeral³ which we have in Greek ὀκτώ, according to Rix (1976, p. 172) < **(h)oktéh₃* and according to Beekes (1991, p. 255–257) < **h₃ekteh₃*. The Baltic *aštuoni* and Slavic *osmb* reflect separate later developments and contribute little to the understanding of the early IE. form. Rasmussen (1989, p. 123–130) also gives the proto-form **(h)oktéh₃* and confirms the traditional view that it represents a dual, just as e.g. Latin *vīgintī* '20', meaning 'zwei Zehnerkomplexe'. Interestingly,

³ If the Finno-Volgaic word were indeed a compound, then the semantically preferred protoform would be based on **kakta-käte-* (UEW., p. 140), rather than the ad hoc-creation quoted in the preceding paragraph.

Szemerényi (1989, p.237) interprets the meaning of the reconstructed IE. numeral '8' as 'zwei Doppelpaare'. The reconstruction of the IE. corresponding ordinal 'the eighth', as in Greek ὀγδοος appears to be rather controversial (Rasmussen, l.c.), but we have at any rate the same consonant skeleton in the two first syllables.

If the proto-forms given for Balto-Finnic and for IE. are juxtaposed:

IE. **h₃oktéh₃*

BF. **kakteksan*

it is seen that they will agree through a sequence CVCCVC, consisting of 6 sounds, provided that we can explain the *a* of the first syllable. In the IE. proto-form, we can arrive at this stage in the North-Western Block of Indo-European, namely in Germanic and in Baltic, where IE. **o* becomes coloured to *a* (but not in Slavic where it stays as *o*). Alternatively, the suggestion invites itself that the Proto-Finno-Volgaic speakers identified the first part of the word with their native **kakta* '2' so that we have something that amounts to a loan-translation or a loan-blend. A good phonetical agreement stretching through five phonemes, together with an exact semantical match, must be said to constitute a fairly strong etymology which should not be rejected out of hand. Typologically, it can be remarked that there is no Uralic (Finno-Ugric + Samoyed) etymology for any BF. numeral: for the numerals '2' to '6' there are Finno-Ugric etymologies, but for 'one', '7', '8' and '9', the BF. numerals have cognates only in Permic ('one' and '7') or in the Volgaic branch, comprising Mordvin and Cheremis ('8' and '9'). This western geographical limitation of the BF. **kakteksan* sets it apart within FU., and thus makes it a priori plausible that '8' is typologically similar to the IE. word for '8', and could actually be a loan word from IE. (Consequently, it might be worthwhile to also investigate the BF. words for '1', '7' and '9' anew.)⁴

⁴ I am not the only one to find the etymology of '8' problematic: Häkkinen (1993, p.13-14) acknowledges this, and outlines the quite different solu-

4. The Finnish *kansa* 'people', is conventionally explained as a loan-word from the Gmc. *χansō*, cf the MLG. *hanse*, *hense* 'avgift, förening; entrance fee, merchant guild', Gothic and OHG. *hansa*, OE. *hós* 'åtföljande skara, mängd; troop, company'. One notices at once the considerable difference in meaning, and the Fi. ending *-a* does not match the proposed prototype which has *-ō* which we expect to yield BF. *-o*. Another problem is that the Gmc. *χansō* itself lacks a proper etymology.

A semantical development from the non-sacral, concrete meaning 'man in general, a tribal community, people' to 'founding father; God' appears in this set: Gothic *man*, OHG. *man*, *mannisco*, Gmc.-Latin *Mannus* 'name of the founding father of the Gmc. tribe according to Tacitus' ~ Sanskrit *Manu(s)* 'Stammvater der Menschen', Vedic *mānuṣa-* 'Mensch' ~ Slavic *mъžb* 'man; husband'. In Nordic, we have the proper noun *Gautr*, from the same- sounding appellative noun *gautr* 'inhabitant of the Sw. province of Götaland' (already mentioned by Jordanes: *Gauti*, pl. and in Beowulf, *Geatas*), but also the Icelandic *Gautr*, a synonym for Odin (Woden) and also *Gautr* 'the founding father of the people of the Sw. province Götaland'. The modern Sw. proper names *Gösta* and *Gustav* are also related (**Gautstafr*).

I now propose that the Fi. *kansa* can be better explained from an IE. **h₂ans-* (< **h₂ens-*), being an *e*-grade variant of the IE. **h₂ns-u-* that we have in e.g. the Old Persian *Aura Mazdā*, Sanskrit *aśura-* 'powerful; lord'; later on 'evil spirit, demon', Gmc. **ansuz* 'sovereign god' > ON. *áss* ~ *óss*, pl. *æsir* 'Ase', OE. *ōs* 'God', Gothic-Latin (Jordanes) *anses* (acc.pl.) 'Halbgötter'. Also, *ans(e)-* is a common element in Gmc.names (Osborn, Oswald; Anselm). Mayrhofer (1963, p.65; 1986, p.147–148) seems to favour this equation, although in 1963 l.c. he regarded the Indo-Iranic root *asu-* 'life, existence' as the common denominator: the meanings 'man, lord, people' would thus have evolved from the concept of 'the

tions that been offered so far. Honti (1993) echoes Itkonen's proposal. Both these references were not available when I wrote this paper in 1992.

living being'. In his later work, he wants to keep *asu-* apart from **asura-*, and reminds of the borrowing of this latter word into some Eastern Finno-Ugric languages in Siberia (Mordvin *azoro* 'Herr', Vogul *ātār* 'Fürst'): related are the Avestan *ahu-* 'Herr, Oberherr', and probably the Hittite */hassu-/* 'king' (Hiersche 1984, p.88), and the association with the Gmc. **ansus* is still held to be possible in Mayrhofer (1986) l.c. The coexistence of sacral and non-sacral meanings in the words for 'man, people' is, as I showed above, quite in order, not to speak of the rule of thumb "Primat der Wirkwelt" when interpreting semantical developments. And from the Prose Edda, one does get the picture that the *æsir* are much like real humans, not supernatural beings. Thus, the Fi. *kansa* from a word related to IE. **h₂ns-u-* would represent a preservation of the early, concrete non-sacral meaning 'men, people' of this term, more faithfully than the attested Gmc. and other IE. words quoted. But this is not uncommon in the BF. loan word stock in general and does not constitute any weighty counter-argument. In addition, in the traditional model the semantic distance between the Fi. *kansa* and Gmc. *χansō* is even more profound, and we seem to lack parallels for the posited mysterious semantic glide 'fee, merchant guild' > 'people'. Those who have grown accustomed to the old explanation of *kansa* < Gmc. **χansō* may notice that no less than Karsten (1943/44, p.164), otherwise usually optimistically arguing for the Gmc. origin of Fi. words, has expressed his dissatisfaction with this etymology. He writes of a possible conflation of two originally different words, a native FU. word, meaning 'Kamerad, Genosse, Gattin, Gatte' and a Gmc. word denoting 'skara, mængd; troop, company', but leaves the details of his idea concealed. Also note that UEW. II, p.645 seems to consider both the Finno-Permic etymology (whereby *kansa* would be a native Finnic word, as in Karsten's admittedly vague text) and the Gmc. "traditional" loan word etymology (< **χansō*) as uncertain. This may be interpreted as a sign that Karsten's idea remains viable, at least in the thinking of the editors of the UEW. Briefly, as I see it Fi. *kanssa* 'with' is a form-word inherited from the Finno-Permic period, with cognates in Es-

tonian *kaasa* 'Gatte, Gattin', Votyak *kuz* 'pair', Zyryene *goz* 'pair, Ehepaar' [these facts alone suffice to preclude semantically the traditional etymology from Gmc. *hansa*]. This inherited item was not present in Proto-Lappish. Instead, Lp. later borrowed, together with Finnish, the new item *kansa* 'foreign man/lord (sg.); foreign men, tradesmen, guild, troop (pl./collective)' from IE. **h₂ans-* as I outlined above: in Lp. this word phonetically developed to *guosse* 'guest, stranger' according to regular sound laws, but in Fi. remained unchanged and thus homophonic with the inherited *kanssa* 'with'. This reconstruction allows us to bridge the gap in semantics between Fi. *kansa* 'people' and Lp. *guosse* 'guest, stranger', and explain the relation between the homophonic Fi. words *kansa* 'people' and *kanssa* 'with'.

One may further improve on my above proposal by adducing a morphological explanation accounting for the Fi. ending *-a* in the word *kansa* denoting 'people'. Instead of the singular *u*-stem *h₂ns-u-* involved in the Indo-Iranic designations of individuals (gods or persons, lords), a collective neuter in *-ā* would have given the right meaning 'people' as opposed to the sg. *u*-stem meaning 'man, lord' etc. and also be phonetically compatible with the actually attested Fi. *kansa*. On the whole, for this etymology I cannot claim the same strength as for the preceding ones, due to the somewhat bigger semantic differences in meaning between the loan word and the proposed prototype, such as the dominance of sacral words in the Gmc. attestations, which requires a starred, not an attested meaning '**man* (sg.); *men* (pl.); *people* (collectivum)' of the prototype word. But the shortcomings of the traditional explanation at least motivates a renewed look into other possibilities.

From the above set of Fi. words retaining an anlauting *k-* as the reflex of laryngeals in the IE. prototypes we can shed some light on the development of the multi-faceted group of words related to the IE. root **h₂enk-* 'to bend'. First, the Fi. *kan-gas/kangar* shows that somewhere in the North-West Block of IE., in dialects which were in contact with the Proto-Balto-Finns, there was a terrain-descriptive meaning 'moor, Heide'

already at an early time when the laryngeals had not yet disappeared. And secondly, the meaning of the Fi. *konko/konkelo* agrees well with meanings in ancient attestations from Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, whereas the later Gmc. attestations have already developed more specialised meanings such as 'hook, fish-hook' etc.: this should not be taken to mean that the early BF.-speakers were in actual contact with Proto-Greeks or Proto-Aryans (as e.g. Delamarre 1992 seems to suggest). It is much more plausible to assume that the BF. proto-people was present in the East Baltic area, and in contact with the IE.-speakers there, already at a time when the latter still retained reflexes of the IE. laryngeals in their language. To conclude: my laryngeal explanations of Fi. *kangas*, *kansa*, *kahdeksan*, and perhaps also of Fi. *konko*, further expand and confirm the system of correspondences between IE. anlauting laryngeals and BF. anlauting *k-* claimed by Koivulehto (1991). The above findings pertaining to the Gmc. *anger* also show again that, as T. E. Karsten used to repeat so often, Gmc. (and IE.) etymology can not afford to ignore the testimony offered by the BF. loan words.

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Kartvelian Evidence for the Indo-European Laryngeal?

The state of the art in the laryngeal theory is characterized by a continued search of its various versions for substantiation in the material of historically attested Indo-European languages. It seems, thought, natural to suggest that some prospects for a further elaboration of this theory may be linked to a certain extent with a search for vestiges of laryngeals in the borrowed lexical stock of other languages, historical contacts of which with Indo-European languages appear to be probable already for the early times (cf. such attempts in Sköld 1959; Koivulehto 1988). Among such objects of inquiry, in the light of the recent hypothesis of T.V.Gamkrelidze and Vjač. Vs. Ivanov on the earliest homeland of Proto-Indo-Europeans in Near East, localized in the region to the South of the Kartvelian linguistic area (Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1984, p.870–883), of unquestionable interest are data of Kartvelian languages – almost the only surviving entities of the ancient Near Eastern linguistic landscape.

One of the outcomes of an, in fact, initial stage of this search has been a discovery of about 50–70 early Indo-European borrowings, which as a rule, cannot be directly compared with their analogues in historically attested Indo-European languages (cf. Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1989, p.877–879; Klimov 1986, p.153–157). The view on the existence of only two common Kartvelian Indo-Europeanisms (cf. Shevoroshkin 1987, p.237) is due to the lack of minimal knowledge of Kartvelian data, peculiar to some of the authors tackling the subject.

It has been a purpose of this paper to explore a possibility of interpreting some Kartvelian Indo-Europeanisms as reflecting one – supposedly, the latest – of Indo-European laryngeals. The material used here is the phonological structure of several lexemes, disposing a more or less distinct cultural colouring and having the biphonemic sequence γw in the place of the Indo-European initial $*\underset{\sim}{u}$ ($H\underset{\sim}{u}$?) and, consequently, do

not subordinated to the scheme of phonological correspondences between Kartvelian and Indo-European, as it is outlined in the nostratic conceptions of V. M. Illich-Svitych and Allan Bomhard:

Kartv. * <i>γweb-</i>	‘weave’	IE. * <i>uebh-</i>	‘weave’
Kartv. * <i>γwed-</i>	‘belt’	IE. * <i>uedh-</i>	‘leather, belt’
Kartv. * <i>γwel-</i>	‘twist, wind’	IE. * <i>uel-</i>	‘twist’
Kartv. * <i>γwino-</i>	‘wine’	IE. * <i>ueino-</i>	‘wine’
Kartv. * <i>γwi-</i>	‘juniper’	IE. * <i>uei-</i>	designation of climber or patterned plant’
Kartv. <i>γwer-</i>	‘swear’	IE. * <i>uer-</i>	‘speak solemnly’
Kartv. <i>γwese-</i>	‘grease’	IE. (dial.) * <i>uese-</i>	‘grease’

It is easy to see, that the above-given Kartvelian series, reconstructed in all cases in accordance with interlingual phonological correspondences, displays a uniform reflection of their alleged Indo-European proto-types, which enables one to relate them hypothetically to the more or less same chronological layer (cf. also the narrowing of the original semantics characteristic of the borrowing counterpart). For most of its constituents one could cite a whole set of arguments in favour of the lexemes under consideration having functioned on the Kartvelian soil since early times – at any rate relating to the period not later than the time of Georgian-Zan unity. Exceptions here may constitute Georg. *γvia-* ‘juniper’ having a late word-forming element *-a* (cf. Old Georg. *γwi-*; probably as a Georgian loanword *γvia-*, *xvia-* is known in Megrelian), as well as the verbal stem **γwer-* (cf. a masdar form *li-γwer* // *li-γwr-e*) and noun stem *γwese-* ‘grease’, both attested only in Svan.

The verbal stem **γweb-* ‘weave’, fitting one of the standard models of the phonological structure of the Proto-Kartvelian root, is reconstructed on the basis of comparing Georg. *γob-va*, Meg. *γob-ua*, Laz. *o-γob-u* and its apparent counterpart in Svan (deverbal derivative?) *γweb-* ‘bee-hive’ (the difference in semantics can be accounted for by referring the practice of bee-hive weaving by the early Kartvelians). Since vocalism *o* in Georgian-Zan forms is historically characteristic only of

sound-symbolic and onomatopoetic stems, it appears to be secondary to the vocal *e* (cf. similar development of vocalism, suggested in the pertinent literature for Kartv. **čwēn*- ‘show (oneself)’ (Gamkrelidze–Mačavariani 1965, p.251–253). It is noteworthy, that the meaning of this stem repeats the oldest meaning of its Indo-European antecedent.

The second word recurring in all Kartvelian languages in an almost unchanged form, retains the historical sequence *we*, present in a number of other borrowed and indigenous nominal stems: cf. **gwel*- ‘snake’, **šwel*- ‘chamois’, **ʒwel*- ‘old’ etc. One does not have, therefore, to consider Megr. and Laz. *γved*- (> Megr. *γvend*-) as a late Georgian borrowing (even if it were so, it would not discard the validity of comparison). In Old Georgian the word had also the meaning of a yoke leather, which is known to be an early attribute of Kartvelian material culture.

The common Kartvelian character of the verbal stem **γwel*-: *γwl*- ‘to twist’ can be supported not only by the Ablaut alternation of the archaic model, but, primarily, by its ancient derivatives, among which there is Common Kartvelian **γwl-arč*- of the same semantics with regular continuations in all daughter languages, and by Georg.-Zan **γwl-ek*- : *γwl-k*- ‘to coil’. To be sure, it would be natural to question the attribution of this verbal stem to the stock of cultural terminology. If, however, one is to consider the historically changeable essence of cultural vocabulary, such doubts lose much of their strength (thus, for instance, the verb ‘to twist’ will turn out to be unquestionably a cultural word given the new technology of rope making).

The Kartvelian designation of wine is usually considered a variety of a migrating term of Indo-European origin, which is wide-spread in the languages of Eurasia. It must be stressed that wine making, let alone, the first experiences of wine in the Transcaucasian area date back to the period long before the early Kartvelian-Armenian contacts, usually dated the 6th century B.C. This can be supported by the ramified wine-making terminology, already elaborated by Kartvelians by the period of Georgian-Zan unity at the latest: cf. **č₁nex*- : *č₁nix*- ‘to

press (grapes)', **çkend-* : *çknd-* 'to precipitate' (this verbal stem in all probability is also a result of the ancient Indo-European-Kartvelian interaction: cf. I.-E. **skendh-* with the same meaning), **txle-* 'young wine sediment', **ɟ₁mar-* // *ɟ₁mal-* 'vinegar', as well as Common Kartvelian **ter-* : *tr-* 'to get drunk'. The designation of wine is most likely to be Common Kartvelian and the attempts to derive it from Armenian or Proto-Armenian meet with difficulties of phonetic nature also, as was repeatedly noted in the pertinent literature (for instance, the attribution of the Kartvelian sequence *ɣw* to an unattested Proto-Armenian form is at variance with the fact of absence of the spirant *ɣ* in Armenian right up to the 11th century A.C. (cf. Lafon 1934, p.42; Deeters 1938, p.139–140; Vogt 1938, p.334). On the other hand, Kartvelian designations of wine cannot be easily related to their analogues in the Anatolian languages either.

While the antiquity of the Old Georg. *ɣwi-* 'juniper' is evidenced by the uniform reflection of I.-E. *u* as compared with the above examples (according to V.N.Toporov's conclusion, "the name for juniper has spread across extensive and multilingual territories as a cultural word" (Toporov 1980, p.116) and seemingly by Georg.-Zan **ɣwi(w)-* 'to smoulder' (cf. the Old Caucasian ritual using the juniper smouldering for deliverance from evil spirits and diseases), the considerable antiquity of the exclusively Svan verbal stem *ɣwer-* : *ɣwr-* 'to swear' appears to be corroborated also by the Ablaut alternation of archaic type, characteristic of its vocalism (no less significant, in the latter connection, is that this stem has an apophonic nominal correlate *ɣwar-* 'oath').

Much more problematic seems to be the attribution to this series of Svan *ɣwese* 'grease, suet'. The matter is that this word displays a particular formal and semantical proximity to the Old Indian *uásā*, which in contrast to other continuations of the Proto-Indo-European stem **ues-* 'moist, damp' has the same meaning (cf. Pokorny 1959, p.1172; Mayrhofer 1968, p.168–169). The vocalic shape of its first syllable perhaps amounts to *ä* (cf. the Upper Bal from *ɣwäse*), what can point to the more recent borrowing of this word from Indo-Aryan of

Western Asia (on the specific Svan augmentation of γ see below).

It must be obvious, that to solve the problem under consideration, of key importance is to establish an adequate chronology of the appearance of the initial γ in the afore-cited Kartvelian series. If I judge the situation rightly, it is natural to see here two main possibilities. On the one hand, it can be assumed to have been developed on the Kartvelian soil proper in a fairly remote time due to the phonetic mechanism of a kind of *Verschärfung* of the Common Kartvelian glide w (this option is supported by its seemingly bilabial character, testified – as one believes – by the residual functioning of bilabial w both in Old Georgian and particularly in certain positions in various dialects of modern Kartvelian languages). On the other hand, γ of the Kartvelian series can be assumed to be a reflection of some segmental element, which was already available in its Indo-European antecedents.

The first assumption meets with serious difficulties, since judging by the material available to us, such development on the Kartvelian soil is a fairly late, and – more significantly – specifically Svan phenomenon, not affecting the aggregate of the Kartvelian facts under consideration. The chronology of this process, not realized consistently enough in Svan itself, is determined by the fact that it embraces here both some inherited words and apparently late (particularly – mediaeval) borrowings. Thus, alongside with Svan $\gamma was̃$ - ‘aurochs’ (< Common Kartv. $*wac_1$ - ‘ibex’) there is Svan $\gamma wāz$ - ‘vine’ with Georg. vaz - (< Arm. vaz), Svan $\gamma wačār$ - ‘trader’ with Georg. $vačar$ - (< Arm. $vačar$) etc. (Topuria 1979, p.57–59). At the same time, the only two examples cited in pertinent literature in favour of this development in Georgian and Megrelian (Georg. $(\gamma) oynašo$ - ‘sloe’ and $\gamma vrialā$ - – ‘a toy of a top kind’ with Megr. $oyurinaia$ - and Laz. $virvil$ - ‘a spinning needle-controlled toy’) are inconsistent: the first word is evidently non-Kartvelian by origin, and the secondary nature of its initial spirant is difficult to show (in Svan this lexeme is a recent Georgian borrowing and is devoid of initial γ), while in the second case, words with different roots are compared (in the

Megrelian lexeme the stem *γurin-* can be singled out, while the Laz. word is either a reduplicated formation, or can be compared, according to Yu. S. Stepanov's guess, with a known Indo-European stem, represented by particularly close Balto-Slavic forms like Old-Russ. *бѣрѣ* and Litv. *virvė* 'rope').

There is no evidence in support of assuming such phonetic process also for a more or less remote past in the history of Kartvelian languages. It is quite instructive in this respect that it is contradicted by Georgian and Zan continuations of such unquestionably Common Kartvelian lexemes as **wašl-* 'apple' (cf. Svan continuation of the latter *wisgw*) and **wac₁-* 'ibex', which do not acquire the initial *γ*. This process did not affect Kartvelian Indo-Europeanisms either, seemingly, relating to the subsequent period of Georgian-Zan unity, the initial Indo-European **u* in which being rendered by *υ*: cf. Georg.-Zan **we(l)-* 'meadow, field' with I.-E. **uel-* 'field, meadow', Georg.-Zan **wenaq-* 'vine' (Svan *wenäq-* 'vineyard' reflects the semantic shift characteristic of the corresponding late Georgian word, and, therefore, should be treated as a relatively late Georgian borrowing) with I.-E. **ueinag-* 'vineyard', Georg.-Zan **werz₁-* 'ram, male' with I.-E. **uers-* 'male, ram'.

While there are no serious grounds to question the antiquity of the initial sequence *γw* in the Kartvelian series under consideration, it is tempting to compare its elements with archetypes of Indo-European stem, as they are represented in various variants of laryngeal theory. Scholars essentially supporting the latter designate the corresponding Indo-European archetypes as **H₁ueb^(h)-* (Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1984, p.585, 704, 884), **H₂uebh-* (Schmitt-Brandt 1967, p.147) or **a₁uebh-* (Benveniste 1935, p.156) etc. for the first stem, **H₂ued^(h)-* (Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1984, p.756-757), **H₂uedh-* (Schmitt-Brandt 1967, p.84, 102) etc. for the second, **(H)₁uel-* (Adrados 1961, p.38, 291; Gamkrelidze 1960, p.36-37) for the third, **H₂u-* (Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1984, p.583) for the fifth, **H₂uer-* (Schmitt-Brandt 1967, p.36) or **(H)₁uerH₂-* (Adrados 1961; p.291) for the sixth, where *H* is a symbol of a particular laryngeal. As long as direct comparison of Kartvelian data with these archetypes is plausible, it gives a possi-

bility to confirm some statements, existing in the present-day laryngealistic studies. Thus, on the one hand, they turn out to be in agreement with the stability of Indo-European laryngeals in the position next to sonants, specifically with w , suggested by some authors (Lehmann 1952, p.27, 85). On the other hand, the uvular (in other classification – pharyngeal) γ , represented in Kartvelian material, may give some support to the viewpoint of those Indo-Europeanists who suggest, that the “late” Indo-European H was articulated as a voiced pharyngeal spirant (Gamkrelidze 1960, p.86). The Kartvelian facts adduced above could at best shed light on anthrophonic features of this Indo-European laryngeal, considered to be the result of merger of the triad H_1 , H_2 and H_3 , usually assumed for an earlier stage, into one phoneme.

At present, one should not, however, overestimate the prospects for conclusive demonstration of historical dependence of Kartvelian γ on Indo-European H in the material under consideration. It is to be stressed, that not all Indo-European stems being compared show sufficient grounds for reconstructing the original laryngeal, what is reflected in the archetypes suggested by different authors. These prospects are further complicated by the usual refusal of researchers to reconstruct the laryngeal in the Indo-European terms for wine. A.S.Mel’ničuk’s distinct viewpoint, which seems to overcome the latter difficulty, is not in complete agreement with Kartvelian data either. In his long-range reconstruction the author postulates the single Indo-European verbal root $*\underline{uej}$ - ($*\underline{uej}\partial$ -, $*\underline{ui}$ -), which had a range of meanings, among which the author cites ‘to weave, twist, bend’ and which were later distributed among several stems derived from that root (Mel’ničuk 1978, p.4–5). Recognizing the root’s element i as a historical extension, on the basis of formal and semantic considerations A.S.Mel’ničuk comes to a conclusion, that the roots in question $*\underline{uebh}$ -, $*\underline{uedh}$ -, $*\underline{uel}$ - and some others, originate ultimately, like $*\underline{uej}$ -, from an earlier, etymologically single root with an initial laryngeal (according to the author – a stop), differing from each other by their extensions (Mel’ničuk 1978, p.7–9). It is quite easy to see, that the above-

said raises a methodologically important question on the relative value of an archetype or conjecture, obtained in long-range reconstruction, and the form of its suggested antecedent, actually attested in an unrelated language as an early borrowing.

However, setting aside addressing this question, which remains outside the scope of this paper, one should mention another possible explanation of the initial γ in the Kartvelian series under consideration, suggested to me by Prof. E. Polomé. What is meant is a possibility of the development of this spirant merely in the borrowed material, like in a somewhat similar case attested in the history of the French language, where, in the wordinitial position before the historically bilabial w of early German loanwords, a velar g developed: cf. *guerre* < Franc. *wērra*, *guigner* < Franc. *wingjan*, *guise* < Franc. *wisa* etc. (cf. Fouché 1966, p.559–566). Thus, at present it appears quite realistic to go back to the scrutiny of the first possibility at some new level – with the restriction to the borrowed material exclusively. Although in my earlier writings I have already spoken out in favour of such development (Klimov 1985, p.174–175; cf. Palmaitis 1986, p.312), one can't but see that accepting this viewpoint puts in its turn other difficulties in the way of solving the problem. Thus, it is a commonly accepted view in Kartvelian studies, that the late development of the initial γ , specific to Svan, is due to the adaptation of foreign borrowings containing labio-dental ν to the Svan phonological system, where bilabial w dominates completely (cf. Topuria 1979, p.236). However, it is difficult to draw a similar analogy for the remote past: sonant w is assumed for the Proto-Kartvelian phonological system (with a non-syllabic allophone most likely very close to bilabial), which could hardly differ essentially from the corresponding Indo-European sonant, for which reason there appear to be no grounds for its *Verschärfung* in Indo-European borrowings of Kartvelian languages (as it was said above, in somewhat more recent Indo-Europeanisms, pertaining to the Georgian-Zan stage, the initial μ is reflected as w).

It is to be noted in conclusion, that our work needs to be supplemented by further studies. Nevertheless we can infer, that to whichever of the above-considered alternatives we give preference, the adaption of any of these alternatives contributes to a substantiation of the thesis on ancient areal contacts between Indo-European and Kartvelian languages.

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Kartvelian Evidence for the Indo-European Laryngeal?

71

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Il Protoindoeuropeo aveva un genitivo?

È cosa ben nota, penso, che in indoeuropeo esistono due strati diversissimi di parole: quelle – più antiche – che mostrano un'alternanza vocàlica dovuta all'accento espiratorio, col risultato che in una parola esiste una sola síllaba a *grado pieno* (é, ó, éi, ói, én, ón, ecc.), mentre tutte le altre discendono al *grado zero* (–, i, n, ecc.). Per es. in (*leípō*) abbiamo l'alternanza antica:

leip- : *loip-* : *lip-*

(l'aumento è più tardo, v. sotto) e così *ῥοῖδα* : *ῥιδμεν*, vèd. *véda* : *vidmáh*, ted. *ich weiss* : *wir wissen* dove (a parte l'accento conservato solo in vèdico) le parole mostrano il tipo antico in tutta la sua purezza.

Allo strato antico corrispóndono, in línea di mässima, salvo qualche adattamento recente, la declinazione consonantica (III e IV latine) e la coniugazione atemàtica. La sua data è circa il 5.000 a. C.

Cosí l'elemento *-ter-* di *pa-tr-ós*, *pa-tér-a*, *pa-tr-ôn* mostra chiaramente l'alternanza attesa. Cfr. anche *anus*, *anūs* (da **anous*, tràdito *senatous*). E lo stesso dícase per *tí-thē-mi*, *tí-thēs*, *tí-thē-si* (l'accento greco del verbo finito naturalmente è recessivo).

Abbiamo poi un altro strato linguístico – più tardo – che non conosce tale règeola: vi sono due o anche più gradi pieni: lat. *toga*, gr. *sphorá*, ecc. E cosí la II declinazione (tipo *lógos*) e i verbi temàtici (*légō*, *légeis*, *légei*, *légomen* ecc). Si noterà che di règeola l'accento cade sulla stessa síllaba di quella del periodo espiratorio (*leípōn*, *lipón*). In questo secondo periodo l'*accento espiratorio* è stato sostituito da un *accento musicale* (conservato ancora in greco antico e in vèdico): esso à cambiato natura ma non posizione. La cosa non deve sorprenderci giacché lo stesso è avvenuto in tempi stòrici in Grecia, p. es., dove l'antico *accento musicale* è diventato (o ridiventato) *espiratorio*,

ome è oggi: e lo stesso è avvenuto in tutte le lingue indoeuropee dal celtico all'indoario.

Questa premessa è fatta per chiarire l'epoca del genitivo in *-osyo (falisco, itàlico¹, greco, armeno, iranico, indoario)². Già ci rende sospettosi il fatto che tale genitivo appaia *solo* nell'area sud-orientale dell'indoeuropeo, area ricca di molte innovazioni. Ma una controprova emerge da quanto abbiamo detto di sopra: *-osyo presenta due gradi pieni (dal punto di vista dell'accento espiratorio), e deve quindi appartenere all'epoca più tarda, quella del-l'accento musicale (4.000 a.C. circa). Questo fatto ci pone davanti a un interrogativo gravissimo; come si esprimeva il genitivo in protoindoeuropeo? o addirittura: esisteva un genitivo in protoindoeuropeo?

È difficile attribuire al protoindoeuropeo il gen. in -ī, proprio del latino e del celtico. Io tendo piuttosto a negare all'indoeuropeo unito un genitivo. Lo slavo usa oggi l'ablativo al posto del genitivo (russo *bog*, *bóga*). L'ipotesi più probabile è

¹ Seguo l'acuta percezione del Devoto il quale à supposto che per connettere il falisco -osio con il gr. omèr. -oio, arm. -oy ecc. bisogna ammettere che un tempo anche l'itàlico avesse *-osyo. E infatti anche la norma delle aree laterali ci porta a questa conclusione:

falisco	itàlico	greco	arm.	iran.	indoario
-osyo	-eís	-osyo	-osyo	-osyo	-osyo

L'innovazione sudorientale *-osyo si è estesa stavolta più ad Occidente. Del resto ò già insistito, sempre seguendo il Devoto (Gli antichi Itàlici), sulla connessione stretta tra itàlico e greco (REI., 1 [1938], pp.353 sgg.), molto più strette che con il latino (cfr. p. es. πῦρ e ὕδωρ).

² Ancora una volta devo insistere nel mio totale dissenso dal Campanile, Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione, Udine 1981 [ma pubblicato a Pisa nel 1983], p.219. Primo perché (come è già scritto nei Rendiconti Lincei) non è credibile che l'indoeuropeo avesse la desinenza *-osyo, cioè che l'avessero un tempo tutte le lingue indoeuropee (è un'idea schleicheriana di 150 anni fa). Secondo, perché Roma non è Satricum; fra Roma e Satricum correva un'isoglossa precisa. Roma aveva -ī come il celtico, e trarre -ī da *-osyo come fa il Campanile, è impossibile. Su *-osyo a Satricum v. anche il mio scritto in Rendic. Lincei 1978, pp.111 sgg.

a mio avviso che in luogo del genitivo si usasse l'aggettivo in *-ios*. Il latino dice *Gnaei filius*, ma il greco dice *Telamónios Aías*, e il russo *Lev Nikolajevič (Tolstóĭ)*. Il latino à perfino *Turpilia uxor* (*Poublilia Turpilia Cn. uxor*, CIL., I², 42) 'Poublilia, la moglie di Turpilio'.

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Loss and retention of voiced velars in Luvian: another look

1. Introduction¹

Loss of voiced velar stops in the Luvian branch of Anatolian is well known.² It is one of the significant innovations distinguishing the Luvian branch from Hittite; cf. e.g. CLuv. *issari-*, “hand”, HLuv. *istri-* id., Lyc. *izr-* id. : Hitt. *kissar* “id.” (IE. **ǵhesr-*); CLuv. *tiyammi-* “earth” : Hitt. *tēkan, taknās* “id.” (IE. **dheǵhōm, *dhǵhm-*); CLuv. *parray-* “high” : Hitt. *parku-* “id.”, *park(iya-)* “rise, grow” (IE. **bherǵh-*). This sound change, however, is obviously not exceptionless, unconditioned loss, since the Luvian languages offer a few examples in which an inherited voiced velar has been retained, e.g. HLuv. *tak(a)mi* “earth” (dat. sg.) : CLuv. *tiyammi-* id. (IE.

¹ Bibliographic abbreviations are those of Hoffner-Güterbock, Chicago Hittite Dictionary, except: Chettskij Jazyk = V. V. Ivanov, Chettskij Jazyk. Moscow, Akademia Nauk 1963; Head and Horn = A. J. Nussbaum, Head and Horn in Indo-European. Berlin and New York, de Gruyter 1986; Lautgesch. u. Etym. = M. Mayrhofer, M. Peters and O. E. Pfeiffer eds., Lautgeschichte und Etymologie. Wiesbaden, Reichert 1980; Norw.-dän. et. Wb. = H. S. Falk and A. Torp, Norwegisches-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Heidelberg, Winter 1910; Studies ... Cowgill = C. Watkins ed., Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill (1929–1985). Berlin and New York, de Gruyter 1987; SHHP. = H. C. Melchert, Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht 1984; Symbolae Kuryłowicz = W. Taszycki et al. eds., Symbolae Linguisticae in Honorem Georgii Kuryłowicz. Wrocław, Polska Akademia Nauk 1965; CLuvLex. = H. C. Melchert, Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon. Chapel Hill, 1993; and JAC. = Journal of Ancient Civilizations.

² Loss of velars in some Luvian cognates of Hittite words was first pointed out by Laroche, BiOr. 11 (1954) p. 123, RHA. 60 (1957) p. 28 n. 34, BSL. 59 (1963) p. 77–79. That the best examples involved loss of voiced velars was first noted by Čop, Linguistica 2 (1956) p. 42–5 and Linguistica 5 (1964) p. 27–8, Ivanov, Chettskij Jazyk (1963), p. 85, Symbolae Kuryłowicz (1965), p. 131–5 and by Scheller, IF. 69 (1964) p. 39–41.

**dheghōm*, **dheghm*-); CLuv. *katmarsyi*- “defecate” : Hitt. *kammars*- “id.”, IE. **ghed*-).³

Loss and retention of voiced velars have been explained in various ways in recent treatments. Oettinger, MSS.34 (1976) p.101, posits loss of PLuv. **g* (< IE. **ĝ*, **g*, **ĝh* and **gh*) in initial and intervocalic position. Melchert, *Studies ... Cowgill*, p.186, noting that the conditioning for the change is not well understood, suggests that the retained velar in CLuv. *katmarsyi*- might be attributable to the affective value of the word. Tischler, IF.95 (1990) p.89–91, posits general loss in pre- and intervocalic position of PLuv. reflexes of **ĝ*, **g*, **ĝh* and **gh*), and Starke, KZ.100 (1987) p.249 and StBoT.31 (1990[1], p.344 n.1219, 359, 426, 509), posits a general loss with retention of **ĝh* as **g* before consonants,⁴ and a change of PLuv. **g* (IE. **ĝ(h)*, **g(h)*) to *z*-, *-zz*- before PLuv. **a*.⁵

³ Loss of the velar element of voiced and voiced aspirate labiovelars (e.g. HLuv. *wawa*- “cow”, Lyc. *uwa*-, *wawa*- id. < IE. **g^wou*-, CLuv. *wana(tti)*-, *unatti*- “woman” < **g^wen(eh₂)*-, CLuv. and HLuv. *u*- “drink” < **(h₁)eg^wh*-; see Melchert, *Studies ... Cowgill*, p.185 and Tischler, IF.99 (1990) p.63–8 w. refs.) can be an independent change. Weakening of voiceless velars to *h(h)* (Laroche, DLL. p.135) is highly dubious (Melchert, *op. cit.* p.187).

⁴ Cf. StBoT.31 (1990[1]), p.99, where HLuv. *tak(a)mi*- is derived from the oblique stem, PA. **dagm*- (e.g. in IE. gen. **dheghm-és*) while CLuv. *tiyammi*- is derived from acc. sg. *tiyammi*- < PLuv. acc. **tī(y)amman* < IE. **dhegh-om-m*).

⁵ Starke formulates this change as Pre-Luv. **ga* > Luv. /*za*/ (index, p.631 n.1 and p.679). The examples he cites, however, have other possible explanations. The CLuv. ethnic adj. suffix *-zza*-, *-i(z)za*- (e.g. *urazza*- “big”, URU *Taurisizza* “Taurisean”), which Starke derives from **-(i)-gho*- (p.462–3 n.1684) can, along with its Lyc. counterpart *-is(e)*- (e.g. in acc. sg. *Trmmisñ* “Lycian (country)”, *Ijānisñ* “Ionian”), be derived from **-ikō*- or **-iskō*- (see Melchert, *Studies ... Cowgill*, p.194–5 and KZ.102 (1989) p.29–31). The verb *wizzai* “move, lead, impell” (in Hitt. contexts KBo. V 4 Rs 41, KUB. IV 8 Vs 8; DLL. 112), which Starke derives from **wegh*- “convey”, can be from a stem /*wit^st*-/ from **wēdh-ti*, and athematic acrostatic present beside reduplicated **wiwidāi* in KBo. V 4 Rs 29 and KUB. IV 8 Vs 5 (see Melchert KZ.93 (1979) p.265–8). CLuv. *zārza*, which Melchert, *Studies ... Cowgill*, p.197 identifies as “heart” < IE. *k(e)rd*-, is attested in broken contexts but the identification is supported by HLuv. *Za+ra/i-za* “heart” (CLuvLex. p.280) and Starke’s identification as “liver” (p.631 w. refs.)

A reexamination of the most certain examples of Luvian words with reflexes of IE. voiced and voiced aspirate plain and palatalized velars, however, suggests that loss occurred only before front vowels and inherited */y/ and involved palatalization of the velars (or their voiced reflex) to a palatal glide */y/ that was later lost except after stops. By contrast, reflexes of voiced velars were retained as a sound represented by velar stops before non-front vowels and consonants.

2. Loss

2.1. CLuv. *issari-* “hand”, HLuv. *istri-*, Lyc. *izr-* as well as Hitt. *kissar*, Gk. χείρ and Arm. *jern* continue IE. **ghes-ōr*, **ghes-r-*. The Luvian and Hittite forms should reflect a PA. generalized stem **gessr-*.⁶

2.2. CLuv. *im(ma)ra-* “open field, steppe” (gen. adj. *im(ma)-ra-as-sa-* DLL.51), Lyc. PN. *Ipre-ziti* (= CLuv. *Immraziti* with *ipre* < **impre-* < **immra-*)⁷ and Hitt. *gim(ma)ra-* “id.” are from **ghem-ro-*, perhaps originally adjectival, “belonging to the earth”.⁸ These words are ultimately derivable from **dhghm-* (**dhghm-*) “earth” with simplification of the initial cluster already in IE. (cf. e.g. Lat. *humus* “soil”, Gk. χαμαί “on the ground”, Lith. *žmuõ* “man”, and Go. *guma* “id.”) and analogical reintroduction of the full-grade vowel **e* (cf. Lith. *žẽmẽ* “earth”, Lat *nēmō* “no one” (**ne hemō*)).⁹ The

will not work. Starke also (p.462–3 n.1684) derives the CLuv. and HLuv. dem. pron. *za-*, *zi-* and Hitt. and Pal. *kā-*, *kī-* from IE. **gho* (as in Lat. *ho-c*); for arguments for deriving it from IE. **kō-*, **kē-*, **kī-* (e.g. in Arm. *sa* “this”, Lith. *šis* id., Lat. *cis* etc.) see Melchert, *Studies ...* Cowgill, p.191–5.

⁶ For the original inflection, see Schindler, IF.72 (1967) p.243–9, and for PA. **gessr-* with gemination (also in Hitt. *ki-is-sa-ri-i*, *ki-is-ra-a* = [gissrī], [gisarāl] see Melchert, SHHP. p.90 n.24, and p.106 and Starke, KZ.100 (1987) p.264 w.n.76.

⁷ Melchert, KZ.102 (1989) p.24 n.4.

⁸ Nussbaum, *Head and Horn* p.198, 222.

⁹ For loss of the dental, see Schindler, *Sprache* 13 (1967) p.200 and *Sprache* 23 (1977) p.31–2.

occasional spellings with doubled *mm* and dead vowel in the cuneiform script (cf. Hitt. *gi-im-ma-ra-* KBo.VI 3 II 10) point to a PA. **gemmro-* with gemination **mr* > **[mmr]*.¹⁰

2.3. In CLuv. *tiyammi-* “earth” (*ti-ya-am-mi/e-*, *ti-ya-mi* DLL. p.97) the spellings with *-am-me/i*, which are by far the more frequent, should continue **ém* with doubling of the nasal via Čop’s Law.¹¹ The one place in the original paradigm where an accented *e*-grade suffix surely occurred was the locative **dhêghém-i* (cf. Ved. loc. *kṣámi*)¹² and the CLuv. word for “earth” probably comes from a generalized locative stem.¹³ For other examples of generalized locative stems in Anatolian cf. Hitt. *witēn-* obl. stem of *wātar* “water” < **wéd-en-* for **ud-én-* (cf. Ved. loc. *udán*) and *pahhuen-*, obl. stem of *pahhur* “fire” < **p(e)h₂-wén-*.

2.4. Two other words showing loss are derivable from PLuv. *i*-stem adjectives and may be treated together.¹⁴

¹⁰ For the gemination see Melchert, KZ. 101 (1988) p.219.

¹¹ IF. 75 (1970) p.85–96. Čop himself (p.90–1) explains *tiyammi-* as a derived *i*-stem **dheghóm-i-s* from **dheghōm*, **dheghom-* with accent shift and HLuv. *tak(a)mi* from **takkam* < nom. sg. **dhéghōm*.

¹² On the original inflection of the IE. word for “earth” see Schindler, Sprache 13 (1967) p.191–205.

¹³ Čop originally formulated the sound change as doubling of **l*, **r*, **n*, **m* and the voiced aspirates **bh*, **dh*, **gh* (**gh*) after short, accented **e*. There seem to be no clear-cut examples of the CLuv. reflex of **m* after **ó* or unaccented **o*, but the single *r* of CLuv. ^{GIŠ}*ta-a-ru* “tree, wood” (KBo.XXIX 6 Rs 12; Starke, StBoT.31 (1900[1]), p.428 n.1555) < **doru* (= Hitt. *ta-a-ru* id., Skt. *dāru* “wood”, Gk. *δόρυ* “spear”) beside *par-ra-an* “before, in front of” < **pérom* (= Hitt. *pe-e-ra-an*) and *sa-ar-ri* “above” < loc. **sér-i*, suggests that resonants were not doubled after **o* and that the acc. sg. **dhéghom-m* would have yielded a form with single *m*. A sequence **ōmV*, as in nom. sg. **dhéghōm*, would surely have given *amV* with single *m*; cf. *ādduwāi(i)* “evil” < PA. **(h₁)édwōl-*.

¹⁴ Since the gemination (or devoicing) of voiced stops before **h₂* seems to be Proto-Anatolian (cf. the CLuv.2 pl. midd. pres. ending *-dduwar* in *dā-dduwar* “come to stand” : Hitt. *-dduma* < **-dh₂uwe*; Melchert, SHHP. p.26), Melchert (Studies ... Cowgill, p.184 n.5) is probably right in rejecting the connection of CLuv. *māy-* “many, big”, gen. adj. *mayassi-*, HLuv. *man* “many”, *mia(n)t-* id. and Lyc. *miñtis* “council” with Hitt. *mekki-* “many”.

2.4.1. CLuv. *parray-* “high” (DLL. p.78) and Hitt. *parku-* “id.” ultimately continue the *u*-stem adj. **bhr̥gh-u-* seen also in Arm. *bargr* “high”. Although Starke (StBoT. 31, (1990 [1]), p.58) reconstructs an inherited **bhr̥gh-u-*, Luvian shows several other examples of inherited *u*-stem adjectives transferred to *i*-stem inflection early enough, as Weitenberg (U-Stämme, p.389–90) notes, for PLuv. *i*-stem paradigms to have retained an ablauting suffix (cf. e.g. CLuv. *ārray-* “long”: Hitt. *aru-* “high”, adv. *arumma* “very”). Accordingly, we can reconstruct a PLuv. **barg-i-*.

2.4.2. A CLuv. *harray(a)-* “silver” from an adj. **harray-* “white” is posited by Starke (KZ. 100 (1987) p.249–9 n.22 and StBoT. 31 (1990[1]), p.424 w.n.1532, 1533) on the basis of *ha-ra-an-za sa-ka-an-ta-ma-an-za* (nom.-acc. pl. n.) “appliquéd with *h*.”¹⁵ in KUB.II 1 III 30 (13th c. inventory text) and the HLuv. mountain name ^{DEUS}“MONS” *Haraharaisa* “The Snow-white Peak” (Mt. Argaeus/Ericiyas Dağl) with reduplication. The Luvian words and Hittite *harki-* “white, bright” would continue an *i*-stem **h₂r̥g̃-i-*, **h₂r̥g̃-oy-*.

2.4.4. Luvian *-i/-a[y]-* can continue IE. **-i/-ey-*, but the Hittite adjectival *i*-stem suffix *-a(y)-* (< PA. **-ay-V-* with analogical restoration of intervocalic /y/) surely continues *o*-grade **-oy-* parallel to the *u*-stem suffix *-aw-* < **ow-*. For the *o*-grade of the letter, cf. **-ew-V-* in Hitt. *nēwa-* “new” < **néwo*.¹⁶ It is possible that the *o*-grade was generalized in adjectival *i*- and *u*-stem inflection in PA. While a voiced velar would have been preserved before **-o[y]-* (i.e. PA. **br̥g-oy-* > CLuv. ***bargay-*) loss would have been regular before the suffix **-i-* in strong-case forms (e.g. nom. sg. c. **br̥g-i-s* > PLuv. **bary-is*) and the stem form with the palatal glide **bary-* (> **barr-*) could have been generalized to the oblique stem.

2.5. CLuv. *ipattar* “bend, bow” is identified and connected quite plausibly with Lat. *gibber* “hump-backed” and Lith.

¹⁵ For *sakantamanza* as “appliquéd” cf. Košak, THeth.10, p.202 on *sakantatar* “appliquéd”.

¹⁶ See Melchert, SHHP. p.22 for the *u*-stem suffix and ib. p.44–5 for the *i*-stem suffix.

geibùs “feeble, clumsy” (IE. **gei-* “bend” with various extensions, IEW. p.354–5) by Starke, StBoT.31 (1990[1]), p.504–9. A connection with CLuv. *ipala/i-* “left”, which Starke (ib. p.196) disavows, is possible in view of Dan. *keite*, dial. *kei* “left hand”, Norw. dial. *kjeve* “id.” beside Dan. *keikr* “bent back” and NNorw. *keika* “bend”, also from < **gei-*, **gei-d-*.¹⁷

2.6. HLuv. *hari-* “harvest” and Hitt. *halki-* “barley, grain” are derived by Melchert (KZ.101 (1988) p.220–4) from an *i*-stem, result noun **h₂o-lĝ-i-* with the prefix seen in Gl. ὀκέλλω “run around”, ὄζος “branch” and Hitt. *hasdwēr* “branches, brush” (which Melchert (ib. n.17) derives from **h₂o-*) and the root **leĝ-* “collect”. If this etymology is correct, it would provide one more case of palatalization of the voiced velar before a front vowel (**h₂olĝ-i-* > **halyi-* > *hari-* with rhotacism) or before **y* (in obl. stem **h₂olĝ-y-* > **harya-*; cf. Hitt. gen. *halkiyas*).

2.7. At first glance, CLuv. *duttarri-*, (*)*duwattri-* “daughter”, HLuv. *tuwat(a)ri-* id., Lyc. *kbatra* id. < IE. **dhugh₂-tér-*, **dhugh₂-tr-* (cf. Skt. *duhitar-*, Gk. θυγάτηρ etc.) seem to show loss of **g* before a non-front vowel¹⁸; but the vowel is the reflex of **h₂*. Apparently the laryngeal vocalized in PA. or PLuv. to a sound, perhaps **a* or a schwa-like vowel with front or central articulation, that could cause palatalization. The *kb* of Lyc. *kbatra* points to earlier **dw* (cf. *kbi* “other, another” < **kw-i-* vs. **du* in *tupm̃me* “two-fold”)¹⁹ and suggests the following series of developments: IE. *[*dhugh_{2e}-tér-*], *[*dhugh_{2e}-tr-*] > PA. or PLuv. **dugātér-*, **dugatr-*, > PLuv. **duyatarr-*, **duyatr-* > **duatarr-*, **duatr-* > *[*duwatarr-*], *[*duwatr-*] with glide insertion. The reflex of **h₂*, although written with *a* in the attested languages, did not merge with IE. **a* until after palatalization, if *kallar* “something un-

¹⁷ Falk-Torp, Norw.-dän. et. Wb. p.506, 514, 517.

¹⁸ See Starke, KZ.100 (1987) p.243–69 on the Luvian words for “daughter”. The stem *duwattri-* is attested indirectly in the spring name ^{TUL}*Duwattrina* (Starke, op. cit. p.249).

¹⁹ Starke, op. cit. p.248.

pleasant, unhealthy, or baneful” is truly Luvian and comes from **ghal(H)-ro-* (below 3.4).

3. Retention

3.1. *katmarsyi-* “defecate” (3 sg. pres. *kat-mar-si-it-ti* DLL. p.55) and Hitt. *kammars-* “id.” clearly belong with Skt. *hadati* “defecates” and Gk. *χέζει* id. and Toch. B *kenmer* “dung” (IE. **ghed-* IEW., p.423). Although the origin of the Anatolian **-s* is obscure, Luv. *katmar-* and Hitt. *kammar-* can continue a nom.-acc. sg. **ghód-mr̥*, while Toch. B *kenmer* “dung” is perhaps from a collective **ghod-mér* with analogical *o*-grade root from the singular.²⁰ Neither Tocharian nor Anatolian preserves the original inflection, but the very isolation of the word in both branches guarantees that the *o*-grade root is old.

3.2. In HLuv. dat. *tak(a)mi* (hap. leg) “earth” the preservation of the velar suggests that *tak(a)mi* continues the inherited oblique stem **dh_eŷghm-* > PA. **dagm-*.²¹ Since the word is found only in the dative singular, the full details of its inflection remain unknown, but the Luvian languages generally leveled out stem alternations in nominal paradigms, and it is likely that Hieroglyphic Luvian generalized the oblique-stem while Cuneiform Luvian generalized the locative stem.

3.3. *kallar* (neut.) “something evil or unpleasant” and Hitt. *kallar* id., adj. *kallara-* “evil, unpleasant, unfavorable, unhealthy” are problematical. There is some uncertainty as to whether the word is genuine Luvian or Luvicized Hittite (DLL. p.42, CLuvLex. p.98; see Starke, StBoT. p.31 (1990[1], p.355–9 for a full discussion). Two seemingly plausible etymologies have been offered.²² Pedersen (Hitt., p.46) compared

²⁰ For the etymology, see Schmidt, Lautgesch. u. Etym., p.409. A double *o*-grade, **ghod-mor-*, however, is unlikely. See Tischler, HEG.3, p.473–5 for various suggestions about the origin of the Anatolian **-s*.

²¹ Oettinger, MSS.34 (1976) p.101, Melchert, Studies ... Cowgill, p.186 and Starke, KZ.100 (1987) p.249 and StBoT.31 (1990[1]), p.99 also derive *tak(a)mi* from the oblique stem.

²² Tischler, HEG.2, p.464.

OIr. *galar* (neut.) “disease” < substantivized adj. **gal-aro-* : IE. **ǵhal(H)-* in e.g. ON. *galli* “fault, flaw” and Lith. *žalà* “damage, wound” (IEW., p.411). If this etymology is correct, and if *kallar* is genuine Luvian, then *kallar* would provide another example of retention of **ǵh* before a non-front vowel. Goetze, however, (Lg.30 (1954) p.403) compared Att. Gk. κηλέω “charm, deceive”, Lat. *calvārī* “deceive”, *calumnia* “calumny” and Go. *hōlōn* “deceive” (**keh₁l-*, **hoh₁l-*, **kh₁l-*, cf. IEW. p.551, **kēl-*). Given either etymology, the preform can be reconstructed with a non-front vowel following the velar: **ǵhal(H)-ro-* > [gallra-] or *koh₁l-ro-* > [kallra-].

3.4. CLuv. ^{NA4} *ku-ut-ta-as-sa-ri* (hap. leg. dat. sg.) a stone object worked or decorated in some way and HLuv. *kut-tass(a)ri-* “orthostat with inscription or relief work” (Starke, StBoT.31 (1990[1], p.425–30) are often connected with Hitt. *kūzza*, *kutt-* “wall”²³, which is commonly derived from **ǵheu-* “pour”.²⁴ If the semantic distance of the Luvian words can be explained²⁵, and if voiced velars were lost only before front vowels in Luvian, then there should be no obstacle to deriving PLuv. **gut-* from a PA. **gu-t-*.²⁶

²³ See Starke, loc. cit. for references.

²⁴ Tischler, HEG.4, p.676–8.

²⁵ Semantic objections to the derivation of Hitt. *kūzza* from **ǵheu-* can probably be resolved. Hittite interior walls were rubble-filled, and can conceivably be described as “poured”. Note that foundations are described as “poured” (e.g. KUB.XXIX 1 III 21 *mān-kan saman-us-ma ishuwanzi* “But when they pour the foundations”). It is also common for the word for an object to stay the same even though the technology for making it changes (cf. e.g. Eng. *wall* < OE. *weall*, borrowed from Lat. *vallum* “palisade of stakes” or Germ. *Wand*), originally made of woven branches (cf. Go. *wandus* “twig”, ON. *vǫndr* id.) < Gmc. **wandu* “twig, wickerwork” : **windan* “wind, weave”. The meaning of derivatives like the Luv. words might be even farther from the original. For the suffix *-ssar-* see Melchert, JAC. 8 (1993) p.107–8 w. note 7.

²⁶ A full-grade **ǵheú-t-* would have become PA. **g[h]úđ-* with monophthongization of the diphthong to **ū* and voicing of the stop after the long, accented vowel; cf. CLuv. *i-ti* “goes” = [ídi] < PA. **ídi* or **édi* < **h₁ei-ti*.

4. Apparent counter examples

4.1. CLuv. gen. adj. *hur-ki-la-as-si-* in acc. pl. *hurkilassinza* LÚ^{MEŠ}-*inza* “men of *hurkil*, criminals” KUB.XXXV 148 IV 18 = Hitt. LÚ^{MEŠ}*hu-ur-ki-la-as* in KUB.XII 63 I 21 with *hurkil* “perversion” < IE. **h₂werĝh-* “twist, strangle” (cf. e.g. OE. *wyrgan* “strangle” and Lith. *veržiù* “constrict”) or **h₂werĝ-* “turn, twist” (cf. Skt. *vṛjina-* “crooked, deceitful”) can be a loanword from Hittite (see Starke, StBoT.31 (1990[1]) p.343–5).

4.2. Melchert (Studies ... Cowgill p.185–6) suggests that HLuv. *a-sa-ta-ri-i* (hap. leg. = /astari-/) belongs with Hitt. *kāst-* “hunger” and that both can perhaps be derived from IE. **ĝes-* “be extinguished, be exhausted” (e.g. in Skt. *jasate* “id.”). But as Melchert himself notes, and etymology based on a single occurrence is far from certain (see also Starke, StBoT.31 (1990[1]) p.186 n.613).

5. Phonetic and phonological implications

The idea that loss of voiced velars in the Luvian languages involved palatalization before front vowels is not entirely new. As early as 1956, Čop (Linguistica 2, p.42–5) suggested that the loss of **ĝh* in CLuv. *tiyammi-* was the result of palatalization, reconstructing PLuv. **teyem* or **teyam*. Gusmani (Fs. Pagliaro, p.320–1) considered palatalization, but rejected it in favor of loss via weakening to a velar spirant */ɣ/, because loss seemed to occur before a non-front vowel in Lyc. *kbatra* “daughter”. It is important, however, to recognize that the *a* of *kbatra* and its CLuv. and HLuv. cognates is the reflex of a vocalized laryngeal and need not have been identical with PLuv. **a* at the time of palatalization. Laryngeals were inherently not very sonorant, and their vocalization is probably best understood as involving insertion of an epenthetic vowel with later deletion of the laryngeal.²⁷ While the reflex of this open-

²⁷ See Melchert, SHHP. p.14 w.n.26, p.159 and Starke, StBoT.31 (1990[1]), p.116 w.n.339 a.

thetic vowel is realized as **a* in most IE. languages, it was apparently realized as a front vowel that eventually merged with inherited **i* in Indo-Iranian (cf. Skt. *duhitar-* “daughter” < **/dhugh₂-tér-/* or *pitar-* “father” < **/ph₂-tér-/*). Given the poverty of distinct signs for vowel in the writing systems in which the Luvian languages are written, it is even possible that *a* in the word for “daughter” stands for a low front vowel /æ/ (cf. e.g. [k^hyæt], a possible pronunciation of *cat* in some dialects of American English).

The Proto-Luvian palatalization may have entailed an initial spirantization of all prevocalic voiced velar stops to a voiced velar spirant **/γ/*, which was realized as a palatal glide **[y]* before front vowels. When **[y]* was later lost in some contexts, the change was phonemicized. This series of developments would be well paralleled (cf. e.g. the development of Gmc. **g* in Old English). It cannot be entirely excluded that the “retained” prevocalic velar of *katmarsyi-* (and of *kallar* if from **ghal(H)-* and *kuttass(a)ri-* if from **ghu-t-*) was realized phonetically as [γ].

The product of palatalization, **/y/*, was retained after the stop in CLuv. *ti-ya-am-mi-* < **dhghem-*; elsewhere **/y/* was lost. Between vowels, it simply disappeared (e.g. CLuv. *duwatarr-* “daughter” < **duyatarr-* < **dugátér-*). Initial **ye* became /i/, perhaps via an intermediate stage **yi* in PLuv. **issri-* “hand” (< **yissr-*) < **yessr-* and PLuv. **immra-* “field” (< **yimmra-*) < **yemmra-*. The sequence **ry* seems to have become [rr] with gemination (e.g. CLuv. *parray-* “high” < PLuv. **bary-ay-*). It is clear, however, that PLuv. **y* < **ĝ(h)*, **g(h)* did not merge with IE. **y*. PA. initial **ye-* became **e-* well before the specifically Luvian palatalization (cf. CLuv. *aggati-* “catch net” = Hitt. *ēkt-id.* < **yékt-* : IE. **yeg-* “hunt” in OHG. *jagōn* “to hunt”).²⁸ Inherited **/y/* seems to have remained after resonants (cf. e.g. CLuv. *annyi-* “do, make”, or *tatariyamman-* “malediction”). Loss of inherited intervocalic **y* between unlike vowels was not Common Anatolian.²⁹ Had loss been this early, the PA. denomina-

²⁸ See Melchert, SHHP. p.45 and 164.

²⁹ As proposed e.g. by Oettinger, Stammbildung, p.535. In view of CLuv.

tive suffix **-āyē-* in CLuv. *-āi-*, HLuv. *-ai-* and Lyc. *-ei-* would have become PA. **-āē-* and PLuv. **-āa-* > **-ā-* with lowering of **e* to **a*. There should, therefore, be no obstacle to positing merger of intervocalic **y* < **ġ(h)*, **g(h)* with inherited **y*.

The palatalization of **ġh* in CLuv. *tiyammi-* as opposed to its retention in *katmarsyi-* implies that **/e/* and **/o/* were phonemically distinct in Proto-Luvian, but such a distinction has to be posited anyway. It is implied by the development of postconsonantal **ye* to */yi/* in e.g. CLuv. *du-ú-pi-i-ti* “strikes” [dubyidi] = HLuv. [dubyidi] = Lyc. *tubidi* < **(s)tup-yé-ti* or **(s)teúp-ye-ti* as opposed to the lowering of **e* to **a* elsewhere. Similarly, the different treatments of **órV* in CLuv. ^{GIŠ}*ta-a-ru* “tree, wood” < **dóru* and **érV* in *par-ra-an* “in front of” < **pérom* (n.13) imply a distinction between **e* and **o* at the time when Čop’s law took effect.

6. Conclusion

The widely held view that loss of voiced velars in the Luvian languages was independent of the quality of a following vowel leaves a stubborn residue of apparent exceptions that must be given ad hoc explanations. By viewing the loss as the final result of a PLuv. palatalization of voiced velars to **/y/* before front vowels and inherited **/y/*, we can explain the exceptions as having velars that remained unpalatalized before non-front vowels and consonants and reconstruct for Proto-Luvian a typologically common sound change.

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tiyammi- < **dhġhém-* his proposed raising of Pluv. **e* to **/i/* after velars and Melchert’s PA. raising of **e* to **i* after velars (Studies ... Cowgill, p.189 n.19) will not work, but the */ī/* of *kīsā(i)-* “comb” can be from **ē* (see Melchert, loc. cit. w. refs.).

Hittite 3rd Pl. Pret. *-er* and Its Indo-European Origins

A well-known anomaly of the Hittite verbal system is that in the plural of both the *mi*- and *hi*-conjugations “the preterite 3 pl. *-er* cannot be formally connected with the present counterpart *-anzi* by the well-known IE. rule that primary endings are formed by attaching the *hic et nunc* particle *-i* to corresponding secondary endings” (Yoshida 1991, p.359), cf. 1 pl. pret. *-wen*, 1 pl. pres. *-weni*; 2 pl. pret. *-ten*, 2 pl. pres. *-teni*. In a recent study, Yoshida (1991) attempts to explain the source of this anomaly within the context of some of his views about Proto-Anatolian conjugation. What I propose to do in this article is to present my own proposal about the origin of the third plural desinence in *-er* in light of recent theories of mine regarding Indo-European verbal inflection.

In short, Yoshida (1992, p.371) traces the ending *-er* to the *hi*-verbs of Early Proto-Anatolian. On the basis of relic forms like *ša-ú-ši-ia-ar* ‘they investigated’, which shows a third plural preterite in *-ar*, he argues that both **-ér* and **-r* (> *-ar*) are to be ascribed to the *hi*-conjugation of Early Proto-Anatolian (1991, p.363). In Late Proto-Anatolian, **-ér* “encroached on the thematic *mi*-verbs with suffixes, thus producing **-ier* and **-sker*” (1991, p.371). **-ér* thereby came into competition with the ancient *mi*-conjugation third plural preterite suffixes **-ánt* and **-nt*, the former showing “loss of final *-t* after *n*” in Late Proto-Anatolian (1991, p.371). He maintains that “the situation assumed for late Anatolian ... was not preserved intact in any daughter languages, which drastically simplified the earlier picture of 3 pl. preterite endings in their individual history” (1991, p.371). For example, “Hittite generalized the 3 pl. **-er* to both the [*hi*- and *mi*-]conjugations,¹ whereas minor Anatolian languages had different directions of

¹ At the same time, “in the present the *mi*-ending *-anzi* was generalized” (Yoshida 1991, p.360).

change before they completely separated from each other. Among the ... three 3 pl. preterite active endings [**-an/-nt*, **-er*, and **-r*], the poorly characterized **-an* was replaced by **-anta* of the preterite mediopassive so that its functional position as the 3 pl. preterite ending could be disambiguated. Thus, **-anta* and **-nta* were reinterpreted as the only unmistakable markers of the 3 pl. preterite. As a result, the endings **-er* and **-r* were completely ousted by the **-anta* and **-nta* of mediopassive origin, which synchronically also gained an active function (Cun. Luv. *-nta*, Hier. Luv. *-nta*, Lyc. *-nte*, *-ntē*)” (1991, p.369–370).²

Although this analysis has much to recommend it, I prefer to view the data in another way, emphasizing the Indo-European origins of the desinence. Of course, other scholars have similarly focused on the Indo-European antecedents of the Hittite third plural preterite in **-r*, although most have merely ascribed its appearance to the influence of a middle voice suffix in **-r*, generalized to the active by means of the association of the perfect and middle categories, cf. Kuryłowicz 1964, p.60–61. But if one rejects the notion that the perfect (and the traditionally associated *hi*-conjugation) and the middle share a common etymological source, cf. Cowgill 1979, p.25–30, Jasanoff 1979, p.79–85, Shields 1992, p.85–87,³ then alternative explanations must be explored.⁴ In what follows I

² Yoshida’s account takes into consideration “the rule of final *-r* loss after unaccented vowels” in Proto-Anatolian (1991, p.361). My own remarks here are also consistent with the operation of this sound change.

³ As Jasanoff (1979, p.79) explains, “A straightforward derivation of the *hi*-conjugation from the middle is not easily reconciled with the fact that the middle remains a living category in Hittite, with the endings (*-ha(ri)*, *-ta(ri)*, etc.) which contrast in both form and function with those of active *hi*-verbs.”

⁴ Among recent alternative analyses of the origin of the *r*-inflection are those of Watkins (1969, p.194–197), who supposes that it emerges from an appended particle (cf., e.g., “gr. *ára*, *ár*, *hra*, kypr. *ér* ‘also’, lit. *iĩ* ‘und auch’ ..., ai. *ar-am* ‘füglich, passend, zurecht, genug” [Hirt 1927, p.12]); Seebold (1971, p.202), who ascribes it to verbal nouns in **-r* with etymological connection to the *r/n*-stems; and Rosenkranz (1978, p.89), who posits verbal abstracts in **-r* as the source of the construction.

want to explore an idea which is sketched only briefly in Shields 1992, p. 107.

I believe that the existence in Hittite of highly productive suffixes in both *-anzi* and *-er* as third person plural markers indirectly serves to validate a scholarly opinion which has recently been growing in popularity. As Adrados (1985, p. 31) bluntly puts it: "Ohne Zweifel gab es im PIE keinen Plural." Lehmann (1974, p. 201–202), too, supports the idea that an inflectional non-singular (dual/plural) category emerged late in the development of Indo-European:⁵ "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 ..." The suffixes which came to serve as exponents of the non-singular probably had their origin as quantitative adverbs (Schmalstieg 1974) or deictic particles (Shields Forthcoming). Some of these elements have been ascribed to the proto-language in virtually all reconstructions, while the existence of others is more controversial. *-(e/o)s (e.g., pl. nom. Skt. *-as*, Gk. *-es*, OCS. *-e*) is a desinence of the first type, while *-(e/o)-N (= *n* or *m*) is a desinence of the latter type. I believe that *-(e/o)N is attested as a non-singular element in certain Tocharian nominative plural forms, e.g., AB *riñ* 'cities'; B *pyapyaiñ*, A *pyāpyañ* 'flowers'; AB *kāntwāñ* 'tongues'; A *yukañ* 'horses' (cf. Schmalstieg 1980, p. 75). Additionally, all Tocharian nominative-accusative dual (paral) nouns attest a final nasal (A *-(ä)ṃ*, B *-(a)ne*) (cf. Shields 1982, p. 64). Schmalstieg (1980, p. 75–76) points out that *-(e/o)N is also attested in contamination with the non-singular element *-t in the plural suffix *-Nt: Toch. A *-nt*, *-ntu*, Toch. B *-nta*, Luv. *-nzi* (nom.), *-nza* (acc.-dat.). Because the collective is a secondary function of the non-singular, cf. Kuryłowicz 1964, p. 204, it is important to note that "in Hittite,

⁵ The original unity of the dual and plural numbers is implied, for example, by the primitive development of the dual in Hittite. See Shields 1992, p. 13–14 in regard to this issue.

Indo-Iranian, Slavic, and perhaps in Greek, we find *-nt* more or less clearly as a collective suffix according to Erhart (1970, p.79). Sturtevant (1933, p.70) cites such forms as *an-tu-uh-ša-an-na-an-za* 'people' as opposed to *an-tu-uh-ša-aš* 'man' ...” Moreover, in Shields (1977, p.61), I propose that the nasal in certain Sanskrit nominative-accusative neuter plural substantives like *bhúvanāni* 'worlds', *śúcīni* 'bright ones', and *vásūni* 'possessions' is not analogically introduced from the *n-* and *nt-*stems but is this same non-singular affix. In addition, the *o-*, *i-*, and *u-*stem nominative-accusative dual endings **-ō* (Skt. *vṛk-ā*, Gk. *lúk-ō* 'two wolves'), **-ī* (Skt. *áv-ī* 'two sheep', Lith. *nak-t-ī* 'two nights') and **-ū* (Skt. *sūn-ū*, Lith. *sūn-u* 'two sons') are derivable from **-oN*, **-iN*, and **-uN*, according to Schmalstieg 1973, p.147–151), while in Shields (1982, p.67–68) I argue that the neuter nominative-accusative plural desinences **-ā* (Skt. *yug-ā*, OCS. *ig-a* 'yokes'), **-ī* (Skt. *śúc-ī* 'bright ones'), and **-ū* (Skt. *mádh-ū* 'honeys') likewise can be ascribed to the monophthongization of **-aN*, **-iN*, and **-uN* (Shields 1992, p.66).

In the conjugational system, this nasal non-singular marker is to be found in the third person plural suffix **(e/o)N*. In my opinion, **(e/o)N* was the original form of the third person plural desinence, with the specifically primary suffix **(e/o)Nti* (e.g., Hitt. *-anzi*, Skt. *-anti*, Dor. *-onti*, Lat. *-unt*) appearing at a later date through the hypercharacterization of **(e/o)N* by the third person singular primary ending **-ti* (e.g., Hitt. *-zi*, Skt. *-ti*, Gk. *-ti*, Lat. *-t*), cf. Shields 1992, p.68–69, 73–75. It was only at this time that **(e/o)N* was associated with secondary (non-present) function. Schmalstieg (1973, p.190) holds the same position: “The Greek 3rd pl. active imperfect *éphēron* is usually considered cognate with the Sanskrit form *ábharan*. It is usually assumed that in these forms a final **-t* has been lost both in Greek and Sanskrit, but the assumption is unnecessary. Both forms could reflect final **-oN*, i.e. the thematic vowel plus the plural marker **-N*. Likewise, it is usually thought that the OCS. 3rd pl. aorist ending encountered in *(id-)o* 'they went' reflects Indo-European **-ont*. Again the assumption of a final **-t* is unne-

essary. An Indo-European final **-oN* would have passed to Proto-Slavic **-uN* which could have developed either into **-u* > *-ǫ* or *-y* = *-ǫ*. In this case the latter variant was chosen. (See Schmalstieg 1971, p.139–140.) Similarly, the Gothic 3rd pl. secondary ending *-un* may reflect IE. **-N̥* without a final **-t*.⁶ Schmalstieg (1976, p.25) further maintains that “the older verbal ending **-oN* is preserved ... perhaps in the Lith. nom. pl. pres. act. participle in *-q*, if this is an etymological 3rd pl. as Cowgill (1970) suggests” and that “the same thing seems to be true for the Tocharian B 3rd pl. *palk-em* (*pälken-ne*) ... [T]he 3rd pl. ending *-en(-)* could be derived from Indo-European **-on(-)*” (1977, p.295). In Shields 1980, I argue that the third person plural secondary ending *-ns* of Oscan-Umbrian represents a hypercharacterization of the suffix **-(e/o)N* by the second-third person desinence **-is*; but it is quite reasonable to assume that *-ns* actually shows a contamination of the non-singular markers **-(e/o)N* and **-e/os*, since, according to Buck (1904, 59), in Oscan-Umbrian “a short *o*, *e*, or *i* is dropped before final *s*.” In any case, it seems that the Oscan-Umbrian ending lends support to the assertion that **-(e/o)N* had independent morphemic status from an early date.

In my opinion, there also existed in Indo-European a non-singular suffix in **-(e/o)r*.⁷ In regard to this morpheme, Erhart (1970, p.80) observes: “Einen andere Pluralendung ... liegt vielleicht in den armenischen Formen auf *-er*, *-ear*, und in den keltischen (mittelirischen, mittelkornischen) Formen auf *-ar* vor; alle dieser Formen gehen wohl auf ein i.e. *r*-Kollektivum zurück.” According to Beekes (1987, p.215–216), this same non-singular marker is to be seen in the Indo-European numeral ‘4’, **kʷetwor-*. It seems reasonable that this non-

⁶ In Shields 1992, p.75–76, I address the matter of the unexpected preservation of final **-n̥* in Germanic. I propose that the loss of final **-n̥* was not a fully regular sound change, with items like Go. *niun* ‘9’ (< IE. **newn̥*) constituting similar exceptions.

⁷ On the other non-singular markers of Indo-European, see Shields 1992, p.65–67.

singular suffix was added to verbal stems in the same way that $*(e/o)N$ was, ultimately producing the non-singular desinence which is found in Hitt. -er. The rare Hittite 3rd pl. pret. suffix -ar acknowledged by Yoshida, cf. also Neu 1989, is probably just the *o*-grade variant of this morpheme. I believe that $*(e/o)r$ is also the etymon of such third person plural active dialectal suffixes as Lat. 3rd pl. act. perf. -ēre (< $*-ē-r-i$, cf. Yoshida 1991, p.362 [*fuēre* 'they were', *dūxēre* 'they led']),⁸ Toch. 3rd pl. pret. A -är, B -ar (A *prakär*, B *prekar* 'they asked'), and Skt. 3rd pl. sec. -ur (3rd pl. imperf. *áyur* 'they went'). In regard to the latter desinence, Burrow (1973, p.310) says: "In Iranian this *r* may be enlarged by an additional element *s* (*čikōitārāš*, etc.). The form of the Sanskrit ending shows that it also originally contained this enlargement, since -ur has developed out of -r̥ś here in the same way as it has done in *pitúr* < $*pitṛś$." Thus, just as the non-singular suffix in $*(e/o)N$ seems to show a contamination with the non-singular suffix $*(e/o)s$, so the contamination of $*(e/o)r$ and $*(e/o)s$ seems to be reflected in Skt. -ur.⁹ Indeed, as Yoshida (1991, p.364, n.17) points out, "[T]he possibility that the Hitt. -er and -ar were followed by $*-s$ at its very early prehistoric stage like Sanskrit 3 pl. ... -ur ... ist quite conceivable." In any event, it seems that the two competing desinences $*(e/o)N$ and $*(e/o)r$ were ultimately distributed in very different ways in the historical dialects, with Hittite eventually generalizing -er at the expense of $*-an$ (< $*(e/o)N$) in the preterite function.

Of course, if the non-singular category was emerging only in late Indo-European and the period of early dialectal development, then one would expect to see substantial interdialectal

⁸ I thus reject the view that the Lat. perfect ending -ēre derives an old second person from in $*-so$, cf. Szemerényi 1980, p.225. See Yoshida 1991, p.362 for additional details.

⁹ Burrow (1973, p.310) describes the distributional restrictions of -ur in Sanskrit: "The alternative secondary ending -ur appears in the imperfect of the reduplicating class (*ádadur*), in the imperfect of root stems ending in -ā (*áyur* : *yāti* 'goes'), in non-thematic aorist stems and in the perfect."

and even intradialectal variation in its formal manifestations. The Anatolian data seem to verify this variation not only when they are compared to those of other major dialect groups but also when developments within Anatolian are scrutinized. The loss of the 3rd pl. pret. *r*-suffix in non-Hittite Anatolian represents the most significant manifestation of this latter phenomenon. I would maintain that third person plural preterite suffixes in **-anta* attested in the Luvian dialects result from the hypercharacterization of **-an* (< **-(e/o)N*) by the third person singular active preterite suffix **-ta* (e.g., Hitt. *-ta*, with distribution in both the *mi*- and *hi*-conjugations, cf. Friedrich 1974, p. 77; Luv. *-ta*, Hier. Luv. *-ta*), not from the replacement of **-an* by the mediopassive suffix **-anta*, cf. Yoshida 1991, p. 370–371. Such a development would parallel the widespread hypercharacterization of **-(e/o)N* by **-ti* as a means of emphasizing the third person present function. Moreover, in my view, it is not necessary to posit the loss of final **-t* from the Anatolian suffix **-an* or any other dialectal third person plural (secondary) desinence, cf. Yoshida 1991, p. 369, since the original Indo-European etymon was **-(e/o)N*.

I want to conclude by speculating about the relationship of the non-singular morpheme in **-r* to *r*-suffixes attested in the middle voice. Actually my position is similar to that of Jasanoff (1977, p. 167, n. 22), who conjectures that **-(e)r* was an original Indo-European active third person plural marker which was later generalized to the middle voice to create the third person plural middle marker **-ro* (< **-r* plus the third person singular middle suffix **-o*, cf. Lehmann 1974, p. 103, Adrados 1975, p. 605: e.g., Ved. *áduh-ra[n]* ‘they milked’). From there, it was subject to further extension, motivated by the tendency for the third person – both singular and plural, cf. Kuryłowicz 1964, p. 149–150 – to impose its form on the rest of its paradigm. The appearance of the desinence **-r* in the third person singular (e.g., Hitt. mid. *-ari*, OIr. dep. *-thir*) was perhaps motivated, too, by its frequent collective value, allowing it to be reinterpreted as a singular.

This analysis is not intended to be a definitive answer to the etymological questions raised by the Hittite third person plural

preterite suffix in -er. Instead, it represents a reasonable alternative to extant theories.

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The Mediopassive Endings in Hieroglyphic Luwian

There is a full set of mediopassive endings attested fully in Hittite, but there is only a partial set known in other Anatolian languages. In the case of Hieroglyphic Luwian, only one ending *-aru*, which is the third person singular imperative form, has so far been attested in the following instances:¹

(1) CARCHEMISH A 3,4:

wa/i-sa-' DEUS-*na-za* CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* *zì-na-na*
(DEUS) TONITRUS-*tá-ti-i* (LOQUI) *ta-tara/i-ia-mi-sa*
i-zi-ia-ru

“let him be made accursed by the god Tarhunt before gods and men.”

(2) KARATEPE LIII:

REL-*pa-wa/i* *za* (“CASTRUM”) *há+ra/i-ní-sà-za* *i-zi-ia-ru* (DEUS) BONUS-*sa* (DEUS) VINUM-*sá-há*

“and let this fortress be made as (one) of plenty and wine.”

(3) KARATEPE LIV-LV(Hu):²

(i) REL-*pa-wa/i-ta* REGIO-*ní-ia* REL-*ia* *à-ta*
SOLIUM + MI-*sá-i*

(ii) *wa/i-tà* *i-zi-ia-rú* “OVIS”-*wa/i-si* “BOS”-*wa/i-si*
(DEUS) BONUS-*si* (DEUS) VINUM-*ia-si-há*

(i) “and the nation that dwells in (it),

¹ In this paper I transliterate Hieroglyphic Luwian signs according to the revised system of HHL. (= J. D. Hawkins – A. Morpurgo Davies – G. Neumann, Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection, Göttingen 1974, pp. 143–197). Note also a series of supplementary tables or indications by J. D. Hawkins. The word division signs (see E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites I*, Paris 1960, no. 386) are not marked here, since they do not affect this study. I am indebted to Prof. F. Josephson, Göteborg, for valuable comments.

² In Karatepe text there are two parallel inscriptions: one is the upper inscription (Ho) and the other is the lower inscription (Hu).

- (ii) let it be made as (one) of sheep and oxen, plenty and wine.”³

The word *iziyaru* cited above is the third person singular mediopassive imperative of the verb *izi(ya)* - “to make”.⁴

However, I intend to show that we can point out three more mediopassive endings in this language.

1. *-a(n)ta*

In Hieroglyphic Luwian the third person singular preterite active ending is apparently *-ta* which matches Cuneiform Luwian *-ta* and Lycian *-te*. Similarly the third person plural preterite active ending is also written as *-ta*, since the preconsonantal *-n-* is never written in this language, though the original form is *-nta* corresponding to *-nta* in Cuneiform Luwian.⁵ Therefore the distinction between the singular form *-ta* and the plural form *-ta* from **-nta* must be determined through contextual analysis.

The ending *-ta* of the verbs (LITUUS +) *á-za-tá* and (SOLIUM) *á-sa-tá* in the following instance may be understood as *-(n)ta* of the third person plural preterite active form, but I propose that the latter verb (SOLIUM) *á-sa-tá* should be understood as a mediopassive verb, not an active verb.

(4) CARCHEMISH A 11 b, 4:

- (i) *mu-pa-wa/i-’ mi-i-sa-’ DOMINUS-na-ní-i-sa*
 (CAELUM.DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS) *kar-hu-*
ha-sá (DEUS) *ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa-ha mi-ia-ti-’* “IUSTI-
 TIA”-*wa/i-na-ti* (LITUUS +) *á-za-tá*

³ The word REGIO-*ní-ia* is a plural form, but it is a collective singular as the subject of SOLIUM + *MI-sá-i* and *i-zi-ia-rú* in the singular.

⁴ We can point out another example of this form in the archaic Emirgazi inscription:

EMIRGAZI A, 3:

*pa-sa-’ *460 sa-ti-sa i/ia-zi/a-i/ia-ru*

“Let him be made ...”

⁵ Refer to Lycian *-te* from **-nte*; the preconsonantal *-n-* is also not written in Lycian.

- (ii) *wa/i-ma-tá-'* ("MANUS")*hu-hú + ra/i-pa-li*
 (SOLIUM)*á-sa-tá*
 (i) "My lord, the celestial god Tarhunt, the god Karhuha
 and the god Kubaba loved me for my justice.
 (ii) They sat on my war-chariot."⁶

The verb (SOLIUM)*á-sa-tá* cited above is a hapax verb, the basic meaning of which is not clear,⁷ but recently Hawkins has pointed out that this form contains a variant of the root of the verb (SOLIUM)*isanu-* "sit".⁸ Melchert also indicates a similar opinion.⁹ My opinion, however, is that this verb is to be understood as a middle verb (SOLIUM)*as-* corresponding to the Hittite medium verb *eš-* "sit, occupy (transitive)".¹⁰ That is, the verb (SOLIUM)*á-sa-tá* is the "mediopassive" third person plural preterite form which could be assumed to be *asa(n)ta(t) < *asantat*, clearly parallel to *ešantat* in Hittite. Therefore, the ending of this form should be considered as **-antat*, i.e. the preconsonantal *-n-* of the cluster *-nt-* in **-antat* is never written in this language, and its final consonant *-t* is also lost in Pre-Luwian, or the ending *-a(n)ta* of this verb may be the inherited form from PIE. **-nto*.

2. -raru

To our knowledge, this form is attested only once in the following sentence of KARATEPE:

- (5) KARATEPE L(Hu):
 SUPER + *RA/I-li-há-wa/i-sá* FRONS-*lá/í-sá* *i-zi-*
ia + ra/i-ru

⁶ As to the meaning of *huhurpali*, refer to H.C. Melchert, Luvian Lexical Notes. HS.101, pp.229–236: "war-chariot".

⁷ See HHL., p.188 n.161.

⁸ See J.D. Hawkins, Kubaba at Karkamish and elsewhere. AnSt.31, p.151: **asai-* as a variant verb of the base **isai-* from **(SOLIUM)isanu-*.

⁹ See also H.C. Melchert, op.cit., pp.229–230.

¹⁰ Refer to J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch, p.42 and N. Oettinger, Der indogermanische Stativ. MSS.34, pp.121–122; J. Puhvel, Hittite Etymological Dictionary (1984), pp.291–300.

OMNIS-*MI-ma-za* REX-*ta-za*

(Ho)

SUPER + *RA/I-lì-ha-wa/i-sá* FRONS-*li-i-sá i-zi-ia-rú*

OMNIS-*MI-ní-i-sá-za₄* REX-*tá-za*

“and let him be made highly pre-eminent over all kings.”

The word *i-zi-ia* + *ra-ru* cited above is surely to be considered as the third person singular mediopassive imperative of the verb *izi(ya)*- “to make”, which functionally corresponds to the variant form *i-zi-ia-rú* of the upper parallel inscription. Therefore this form may be reconstructed as a form of geminated ending **iziyarru*,¹¹ but to my knowledge no substantial explanation of the geminated ending form in Anatolian has so far been given. Preferably the personal ending of this verb is to be considered as *-raru*, i.e. the rhotacised third person singular imperative form from **-taru*, which surely matches *- taru* in Hittite and in Cuneiform Luwian.¹²

3. *-a(n)raru*

This form also occurs only once in the following instance:

(6) CARCHEMISH A 11 c, 5:

(i) *za-pa-wa/i-tá* URBS + *MI-ni-i-na mu-’* REL + *ra/i-i*
'MAGNUS + *RA/I-TONITRUS-ta-sa-za* NEPOS-*sa-za* “*314” (-) *ha-sá-ti-i* ARHA CAPERE-*ha*

(ii) NEG₂-*wa/i-na* REL + *ra/i-i* (LOCUS) *pi-ta- ha-li-ia-ha*

(iii) *á-wa/i za-à-zi* DEUS-*ní-i-zi* AUDIRE-*MI-ta* + *ra/i- ru*

(i) “since I took away this city from the descendants of Ura-Tarhunt by force (?)”

¹¹ See J.D.Hawkins, The Negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian. AnSt.25, p. 149.

¹² We should note the variant forms often recognized in KARATEPE inscription, such as SOLIUM + *MI-sá-i* (LIV Hu) and (SOLIUM) *i-sa-nú-wa/i-ti* (LIV Ho); AEDIFICARE + *MI-i* (LXXI) and AEDIFICARE + *MI-ri* + *i-i* (LXXI, LXXII).

- (ii) and since I did not PITAHALIYA it.
(iii) let these gods hear (it)."¹³

The word AUDIRE-*MI-ta* + *ra/i-ru* cited above is clearly considered as the third person plural form of AUDIRE-*MI-ta*-(**tuma(n)ta*-) "to hear", since the subject of this sentence is the plural form *zāzi* DEUS-*ni(n)zi* "these gods".¹⁴ Therefore the form AUDIRE-*MI-ta* + *ra/i-ru* should surely be assumed as **tuma(n)ta(n)raru*, of which the personal ending is -*a(n)raru*.¹⁵ It seems legitimate to suggest, thus, that this ending is the rhotacized form from *-*a(n)taru* of the third person plural "mediopassive" imperative, which also matches -*antaru* in Hittite, though the rhotacism of the postconsonantal -*t*- (from *-*nt*-) is exceptional. Therefore -*a(n)raru* is probably a regressively assimilated form from *-*a(n)taru*.¹⁶

In conclusion, we can confirm three more mediopassive endings in Hieroglyphic Luwian: -*a(n)ta*, -*raru* (< *-*taru*) and

¹³ This can be explained as a middle verbal usage.

¹⁴ It is possible that we can assume this verbal stem as **tuma(n)ti*-; note also AUDIRE + *MI-ti-ti* "he hears" (CARCHEMISH A 31/32, 5), "AUDIRE"-*ti-i-tá* "he heard" (TELL AHMAR I, 7) and AUDIRE + *MI-ti-i-ta* "they heard" (CARCHEMISH A 6, 2 and 3).

¹⁵ A. Morpurgo Davies supposes this form as a middle form, but she does not make an exact analysis of this form: see The Personal Endings of the Hieroglyphic Luwian Verb. KZ.94, p.92, n.12). And A. Lehrman (Simple Thematic Imperfectives in Anatolian and Indo-European, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University 1985) exactly assumes this form as the third person plural mediopassive imperative, but his indication is not correct. Because he supposes that the writing -*ra/i* of AUDIRE-*MI-ta* + *ra/i-ru* is the rhotacised element of an intervocalic -*t*- segment of the verbal stem AUDIRE (**tumata*- or **tumati*-): "the oblique stroke -*ra/i* be read after AUDIRE" and not after -*ta* "(assuming that the stonecutter made a mistake)" (ibid., p.214); i.e. he considers this stem as **tumata*- or **tumati*-, not **tumanta*- or **tumanti*- (cf. J. D. Hawkins, AnSt.25, p.151 and Cun. Luw. *tummantai*- "hear").

¹⁶ Note that the rhotacised form of the -*t*- element of the ending is often attested, such as -*ri* (sg. 3.pres.) from *-*ti*, -*ra* (sg. 3.pret.) from *-(*a*)*ta*, -*ru* (sg. 3.imper.) from *-*tu*, -*ranu* (pl. 2.imper.) from *-*tanu* and -*raru* (sg. 3.mediopass.imper.) from *-*taru* already stated above: as to the rhotacism of this language, refer to A. Morpurgo Davies, Dental, Rhotacism and Verbal Endings in the Luwian Languages. KZ.96, pp.245-270.

100

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-a(n)raru (< **-a(n)taru*). At present, the table of the attested mediopassive endings in this language can be considered to be as follows:

	pres.	pret.	imper.
sg. 1.			
2.			
3.			<i>-aru/-raru</i>
pl. 1.			
2.			
3		<i>-a(n)ta</i>	<i>-a(n)raru</i>

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Phrygisch ἄκριστις

G. Neumann (1988, S.3) hat richtig bemerkt, daß sich ein neuer Blick auf die Sprache der Phryger heute aus mehreren Gründen empfiehlt. Der wichtigste Grund dafür ist das stetige Anwachsen des uns zur Verfügung stehenden epigraphischen Materials (Brixhe 1981, S.110). Jedoch bleibt die Rolle, die die Glossen zur Charakterisierung von Restsprachen spielen, unbestritten, und jeder Versuch zur Erhellung einer Glosse ist der Mühe wert.

Zu den phrygischen Glossen, die mehrmals die Aufmerksamkeit sowohl der Linguisten als auch der Philologen auf sich gezogen haben, gehört die Hesychglosse ἄκριστιν· κλέπτριαν· ἀλετρίδα. Φρύγες.

Fick (1873, S.411) ist der Meinung, daß ἄκριστις das Präfix α- zeigt. Seiner Ansicht nach ist „die Wurzel von κρισ-τι-ν κρις = krus „zerstampfen, zerstoßen“, vgl. lat. *crus-ta* „Rinde, Gebäck“.

Nach Johansson (1903, S.270) könnte man im Fall von ἄκριστις eher an einen Zusammenhang mit „g. *dis-skreitan* „zerreißen“ (intr. *dis-skritnan*), oberd.schweiz. *schrissen*, *schreissen*, bair. *schritzen*“ denken.

Nach Kretschmer (1934, S.205) wird das Appellativum ἄκριστις mit dem Suffix *-ist-* gebildet, das seiner Meinung nach ein illyrisches Element des Phrygischen oder eine Übereinstimmung der beiden Sprachen ist. Was die Bedeutung des Wortes betrifft, bemerkt er, daß das Interpretament κλέπτριαν· ἀλετρίδα nicht in Ordnung ist.

Gusmani (1958, S.851) akzeptiert die Lesung ἄκριστιν· πέπτριαν· ἀλετρίδα. Φρύγες und stellt fest „La glossa è poco chiara e c'è il sospetto che non sia completamente a posto, fatto che deve sconsigliare qualsiasi tentativo di interpretazione“.

Frisk (1954, S.59) bezeichnet das Wort als dunkel, und für das phrygische Suffix *-istis* verweist er auf Kretschmer, Glotta 22, S.205 f.

Haas (1966, S.132–133) betrachtet das Wort als eines der provinziellen griechischen Wörter, die von hellenisierten Phrygern in Kleinasien neu gebildet wurden. Zur Glosse ἄκριστιν· κλέπτριαν ἄλετρίδα. Φρύγες bemerkt er „was eine ἄλετρίς ist (genannt bei Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 643), sagt uns ebenfalls Hesych s.v.: γίγνονταί τινες (τῶν εὖ γεγονυιῶν) παρθένοι, αἵτινες τὰ εἰς τὰς θυσίας πόπανα ἄλοῦσι, καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο ἔντιμον. Die auserwählten Jungfrauen durften also im Tempel ehrenamtlich das für das Opfer bestimmte Mehl mahlen, vermutlich mit einer Göpelmühle, stahl eine solche Ehrenjungfrau das heilige Opfermehl, dann war sie eine ἄκριστις, eine „diebische Mahlfrau“, vgl. Hesych s.v. ἀκρίστιος· ἡ ἐπάνω τοῦ ἴστοῦ καθεζομένη. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἄτιμος. Dieses letzte Wort mit seinem Kontrast zu dem ἔντιμος der Glosse über die ἄλετρίς zeigt, daß alle drei hier genannten Glossen dieselbe Situation kommentieren; ἀκρίστιος oder ἄκριστις heißt „ehelos“, Hesychs Herleitung von ἀκρο- + ἰστός ist der „Versuch einer Etymologie“. Als Ergebnis dieser Analyse kommt er zu dem Schluß, daß man zwischen κλέπτριαν und ἄλετρίδα keinen Beistrich zu setzen braucht.

Diakonoff und Neroznak (1985, S.91) leiten ἄκριστις von *a-gʷ r(ə)-es-tī- (i. e. *gʷr(ə)- „to grind flour“ ab. Die Autoren vertreten, zusammen mit Haas (1966, S.209) u. a., die Ansicht, daß im Phrygischen eine Lautverschiebung stattgefunden hat.

Ich bin einverstanden mit Haas, daß man zwischen κλέπτριαν und ἄλετρίδα keinen Beistrich zu setzen braucht, und daß die Bedeutung von ἄκριστιν „diebische Mahlfrau“ wäre. Seinen Versuch aber, diese Bedeutung zu unterstützen, finde ich nicht richtig.

Meines Erachtens könnte die obengenannte Bedeutung von ἄκριστις sowie auch die Herkunft dieses Wortes durch die Zusammensetzung von folgenden Hesychglossen erklärt werden:

ἀκρίζων· ἄκροις ποσὶν ἐπιπορευόμενος
 ἄκριστιν· κλέπτριαν ἄλετρίδα. Φρύγες
 καλπάζει· ὁξυπόδης σακκάζει
 σακκίζειν· ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκκενῶσαι διὰ κλοπὴν τοὺς σάκκους †
 ὁποῖόν φασι τοῖς ἐργάταις.

Ἄκριστις ist eine regelmäßige Ableitung von ἀκρίζω· ἄκρις ποσὶν ἐπιπορεύομαι (vgl. ἄρυστις-ἀρύω, βούβρωστις-βιβρώσκω, κνήστις-κνήθω, Chantraine 1933, S.276). Zur Erhellung der semantischen Entwicklung des Wortes hilft uns das Verb καλπάζω – ein Synonym von ἀκρίζω – das, wie wir sehen werden, eine parallele Entwicklung aufweist. Καλπάζω bedeutet wie bekannt „galoppieren“. Seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung sollte aber, wie diese von ἀκρίζω, „auf den Zehenspitzen gehen“ sein. Hinweise auf diese Bedeutung sind in der Hesychglosse καλπάζει· ὀξυπόδης σακκάζει zu finden. Diese Glosse wurde zu καλπάζει· ὀξυπόδης ἀκρίζει emendiert. Die Emendierung ist m. E. falsch und überflüssig. Bei unserem Versuch, diese Glosse zu verstehen, kommt uns eine andere Hesychglosse, und zwar σακκίζειν· ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκκενῶσαι διὰ κλοπὴν τοὺς σάκκους † ὁποῖόν φασι τοῖς ἐργάταις zur Hilfe. Die vergleichende Betrachtung der obengenannten Glossen ermöglicht uns eine Erklärung aller drei semantisch problematischen Hesychglossen. Die Bedeutung von σακκίζειν sollte „die Säcke durch Stehlen entleeren, was den Mühlenarbeitern vorgeworfen wurde“ sein. Das Verb καλπάζειν sollte „auf den Zehenspitzen gehend die Säcke durch Stehlen entleeren“ bedeuten. Eine ähnliche Bedeutung sollte sein Synonym ἀκρίζω entwickelt haben, wie uns sein Derivat ἄκριστις annehmen läßt. Die Bedeutung des Letzteren sollte „Mühlenarbeiterin, die auf den Zehenspitzen gehend die Säcke durch Stehlen entleert“ sein.

Nachdem wir versucht haben, die Bedeutung und Herkunft von ἄκριστις darzustellen, kommen wir zur Betrachtung des Problems des „phrygischen“ Charakters des Wortes. Das Suffix *-ist-*, das bisher von den meisten Forschern als für die phrygische Herkunft des Wortes bezeichnend betrachtet wurde, ist der vorgeschlagenen Analyse nach nur scheinbar, da wir es hier mit einer regelmäßigen griechischen *-ti-*Ableitung zu tun haben. Nach Haas (1960, S.133) können wir auf die Frage, warum ἄκριστις „phrygisch“ ist, ohne Kenntnis der Stelle, auf die sich die Glossen beziehen, die er, wie wir oben gesehen haben, mit ἄκριστις verbindet, kaum erraten. Er fügt hinzu, „vielleicht spielte sie in Phrygien. Die Endung von ἄκριστιν (für -ιον) ist für das kleinasiatische Griechisch bezeichnend.“

Auf die Frage, ob ἄκριστις zum griechischen Phrygisch, d. h. zu denjenigen griechischen Wörtern, die von hellenisierten Phrygern neu gebildet wurden, wie Haas glaubt, gehört, oder ob es um ein griechisches Lehnwort im Phrygischen geht, ist schwer zu entscheiden. Genauso schwer ist es, falls wir das Wort als griechisches Lehnwort erklären, einen Schluß über die Zeit der Entlehnung zu ziehen.

Es soll bemerkt werden, daß die hier vorgeschlagene Etymologie, falls sie richtig ist, auch zur Bestätigung der Verbindung des Wortes ἀκρίς „Heuschrecke“ mit ἄκρος – „parce qu'elle marche sur la pointe des pattes“ (Boisacq 1916, S.32, Chantraine 1933, S.337) – beitragen würde.

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On Wackernagel's Law in the History of Persian*

Middle Persian texts which served as a basis for this paper are listed in the Appendix. They include specimens of religious Pahlavi texts belonging mostly to the 9th c. A. D.:

- (i) 'The Book of Ardā Wirāz', *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag*, reminiscent of Dante's Divine Comedy, with the theme of wonderings through the supernatural worlds of heaven, purgatory and hell.
- (ii) 'Documents of Religion', *Dēnkart*, a collection of various facts on doctrines, moral precepts, historical and literary traditions of Mazdaistic religion, compiled by Āturfarnbag at the time of Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813–33).
- (iii) 'Religious Decisions', *Dātastān ī Dēnīk*, by the head of the Zoroastrian priesthood in Fars and Kirmān, Manuščihr.
- (iv) A discussion on religious and disciplinary questions, entitled *Rivāyat*, accompanying *Dātastān*.
- (v) A discussion of 'What one may and may not do', *Šāyast-nē-šāyast* (in terms of sins, good deeds, ceremonies, customs and the meaning of the sacred texts).
- (vi) The Pahlavi translation of *Vidēvdāt* 'The Law against Evil Spirits', entitled *Vendidād*.

Early New Persian examples are taken from Lazard's (1963) study of the earliest New Persian prosaic documents of the 10th–11th c. Examples from poetry are taken from 'The

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Mathnavī devoted to the Intrinsic Meaning of All Things', *Mathnavī-ī maḡnavī*, by Jalālu'd-dīn Muḡammad Rūmī (+1273) of the later Mongolian period.

Generally speaking, Middle Persian texts display an *SOV* order continuing thus the Old Iranian state of affairs. A provision has to be made for an alternative (minor) *SVO* order, especially with verbs of motion where the goal may appear in postverbal position. Examples from Ardā Wirāz Nāmag are given in (1):

- (1) *ka sidigar gām frāz niham pad huwaršt* [AWN.13.6]
 when third step forward put + 1/Sg. in(to) *huwaršt*
 'when I took the third step to *huwaršt* (= the place where
 'good deeds' dwell)'
ud pas Srōš-ahlaw ... widārd (ham) ō ēn gāh ī wistarg
 [AWN.56.6–8]
 and then Srōš truthful pass + PP be + 1/Sg. to this place
 REL bedding
 'Then Srōš let me pass to this bedding place'

In the case of both objects being present the indirect object may be placed in postverbal position. This is shown in (2):

- (2) **k-am ān *saxwan ašnūd zoḡr namāz burd ō dādār*
Ōhrmazd [AWN.56.5–6]
 when = I + OBL. that word hear + PP. deep homage car-
 ry + PP. to Creator Ōhrmazd
 'And when I heard those *words I bowed profoundly to
 the Creator Ōhrmazd'
 lit. I payed deep homage to Ōhrmazd.

The following *VO* construction, 'and I saw X', occurs many times in AWN. and segments the whole narrative into a sequence of visions when Ardā Wīrāz progresses through the heaven, purgatory and hell:

- (3) *gyāg-ē frāz mād ham u-m dād rōd-ē ī wuzurg* [AWN.20.5–6]
 place one forth come + PP. be + 1/Sg. and = I see + PP. ri-
 ver one REL mighty
 'I came to a place and I saw a big mighty river'

I would like to emphasize that I do not view *SVO* structures in Indo-Iranian languages as anomalous.¹ Especially, if they involve verbs of motion followed by the goal they may be said to mirror the natural sequence of events of movement followed by the reached goal (in similar vein, Greenberg proposed his Universal 15 according to which in expressions of volition and purpose, a subordinate verb form always follows the main verb). The more or less rigid *SOV* order as known from Modern Persian is largely a matter of literary style; colloquial registers do not possess the strong verb-final rule. Thus in Modern Colloquial Persian the arguments expressing the goal with verbs of motion are typically placed in postverbal position; the same is true about Early New Persian prose which might place circumstantial complements, especially the datives of purpose in postverbal position. Examples from Modern Colloquial and the *muqaddima* to Šāhnāma by Abū Manšūr (10th c.) are given in (4):

- (4) *gorge yaksar raft be āsiyāb va dastaš-rā zad tū-ye kīse-ye ārd* (Boyle, 1966, p.56)
 wolf straight go + P. to mill and hand + his = ACC. strike + P. inside = GEN. sack = GEN. flour
 'The wolf went straight away to the mill and put its paw in a sack of flour'
hazār mard az Xusrau Parvēz bix'āst razm i Turkān-rā
 [Mq 50; Lazard 1963, p.471]
 thousand man from Xusrau Parvēz demand + P. war = GEN. Turks = DAT.
 'He demanded one thousand men from Xusrau Parvēz for the war with Turks'

¹ For Old (Cuneiform) Persian, Hale (1988, p.36-7) gives three examples of *SVO* structures; all of them involve verbs of motion followed by prepositional objects.

Some of my findings regarding the WO. in Middle Indo-Aryan languages are in Bubenik (1991), where I claim (p.28) that 'measured against the colloquial registers (such as Sanskrit/Prakrit drama), the strong verb-final rule of Classical Sanskrit prose texts – categorial in case of declarative sentences with infinitival and nominal objects – is a matter of literary style'.

Other deviations from the *SOV* order arise by front topicalization which may place accusative and oblique arguments, and prepositional phrases in S-1 position:

- (5) *ut tō sag ut vāy ut gurg ut rōpāh ēđar žōyēnd* [Rivāyat, Ch. 24]
 and you dog and bird and wolf and fox here devour + 3/Pl.
 'dogs, birds, wolves and foxes devour you here'

Example (5) shows the pronominal direct object *tō* 'you' topicalized. The same strategy of topicalizing the object in S-1 position is known from Early New and Modern Persian. Pragmatically speaking, it achieves the same effect as passivization (cf. Givón 1990, p.566), which is avoided in colloquial registers. The Early New Persian examples are given in (6):

- (6) *va xabarē dīgar rivāyat karda ast Muḥammad* [TB A 492; Lazard 1963, p.469]
 and tradition + one another report make + PP. = be + 3/Sg. Muhammad
 'There is another tradition which Muhammad reported to us (... has been reported by Muhammad to us)'
va namadhā gustarānīđa būđand farrāšān [TB A 654; Lazard 1963, p.469]
 and carpets spread + PP. be + P + 3/Pl. servants
 'And the servants have spread the carpets (... the carpets have been spread by the servants)'

The most typical deviations from the *SOV* order in Middle Persian arise by the operation of Wackernagel's Law which may place pronominal clitics expressing the complete range of semantico-syntactic functions of subject, direct and indirect object, and possessor in S-2 position. Typologically speaking, W'L. enhances the overall typology of Middle Persian as of a verb-final language: the subject and object pronominal clitics are lifted from their postverbal position and placed in S-2 position letting thus the verb to appear without any postverbal arguments. In the case of object clitics, the effect of the W'L. is

identical with that of front topicalization, in that both give rise to *OSV* structures. As far as phonological hosts are concerned, any sentence/clause-initial lexical item may qualify for it, including both major and minor lexical categories: noun, pronoun (rarely), verb, adjective, adverb; relative particle, connective genitival particle (rarely), negative particle (rarely), preposition, subordinating and coordinating conjunctions, and even a clause (cf. Brunner 1977, p.97–115).

The following are examples of less common phonological hosts, namely, the negative particle and the clause. The negative particle hosting pronominal clitics is documented in Ancient IE. languages (Vedic Sanskrit, Greek) above all in prohibitive sentences; less commonly, however, the negative particle may host the clitics in declarative sentences as in a MP. example in (7):

- (7) *Mā́* = *no vadhīh* [RV 1.104.8] (prohibitive)

not = us slay

'Don't slay us!'

Mé̃ = *moi thorubēsēte* [Ancient Greek] (prohibitive with the ethic dative)

not = me yell + Aor. + Subj. + 2/Pl.

'Don't yell!'

L'm 9ZLWNd 9L ws'ny [Ps.95,11; Brunner 1977, p.113]

nē = *m šawēnd ō wisay* [M *wys'y-*]

not = I + OBL. enter + 3/Pl. rest

'They will not enter into my rest'

MP. examples of the attachment to a preceding clause are given in (8):

- (8) *nm'c br'nd š gwynd* [M 475 I V 14; Brunner 1977, p.114]

worship offer + 3/Pl. he + OBL. say + 3/Pl.

'They will offer worship; they will say to him'

ku kār kērpā kūnom am pānayīh ke kūnēd [Vendidād VIII.20]

QUOT work pious-duties do + 1/Sg. I + OBL. who
do + 3/Sg.

‘I may perform duty and good deeds; who will protect me?’

In either case the clitics are attached to the verb of the preceding clause. As Brunner (1977, p.114) mentions, the enclitic must be written separately from the preceding verb to show clearly that it actually belongs to the following verb; otherwise, it would be taken for the pronominal suffix on the verb with which it is written together. These two variants are contrasted in (9):

- (9) *nm'c br'ndš gwynd*
namāz barēnd + aš gōwēnd
 ‘they will offer worship to him; they will say’
nm'c br'nd š gwynd
(namāz barēnd) = aš
 ‘they will offer worship; they will say to him’

Brunner (1977, p.115) gives two examples from Parthian where the clitic is attached to the nominal argument of the preceding clause:

- (10) *9zgwł'd pdwhn bgr'štygr š fryšwd fryštg'n* [M 5 47.49]
 hear + PP. prayer righteous-god he + OBL. send + PP. an-
 gels
 ‘The righteous god heard the prayer; he sent angels’

The attachment of a clitic to a noun of the preceding clause was undoubtedly rare; on the Indic side, there are rare instances such as the following one from Rāmāyaṇam, where the possessive pronoun has been cliticized to a preceding vocative:

- (11) *acirān mokṣyate sīte devi=te jaghanam gatām dhṛtām*
ekām [Rāmāyaṇam 6.33.31]
 ‘Ere long, divine Sītā, [Rāma] will loosen your [plait]
 that hangs down’

We may remind ourselves that Pāṇini [8.1.72] proscribed the attachment of pronominal clitics to the vocative.²

² *āmantritām pūrvam āvidyamānavat* [P.8.1.72] ‘A preceding vocative is considered as though non-existent’. Katre (1987, p.987) gives an example,

In the passive and gerundival constructions W'L. places the pronominal agent before the grammatical subject. In (12) the pronominal agent has been cliticized to the relative particle *kē* 'which':

- (12) *gōspand ... kē-š nasāk x'art ēstēt* [Šāyast 2.73]
 sheep REL = he + OBL. carcass eat + PP. stand + 3/Sg.
 'a sheep by which a carcass is eaten'

Similarly, in the gerundival construction the pronominal agent appears before the grammatical subject; in (13) it is cliticized to the adverb *ā* 'then':

- (13) *u [ka] daštān bē bavēt, ā-š vāč bē gōwišn* [Šāyast 3.7]
 and [when] menstruation occur + 3/Sg. then = she + OBL.
 prayer recite + GERUNDIVE
 'and [when] menstruation occurs, then the prayer is to be recited by her'

The pronominal agent in the ergative construction may be lifted from its postverbal position and placed in S-2 position by W'L., as shown in (14):

- (14) *ut tō pat man kē rōβān hom ut-at čiš-ič nēvakīh nē kart*
 [Rivāyat, Ch.24]
 and you for I + OBL. who soul be + 1/Sg. and = you
 thing = and good not do + PP.
 'and for me who am [your] soul you did not perform any goodness'

In this example the ergative subject (= the pronominal agent), whose antecedent is the 'dead body', is expressed twice: once by the full pronominal form *tō* (as in Modern Persian) in the active construction, and another time by the Wackernagel' Law clitic = *at* attached to the conjunction 'and' in the ergative construction. This construction is thus halfway between the Middle and New Iranian stages: Modern Persian would not allow the Wackernagel' Law clitic = *at* on the conjunction

devadatta! tava grāmaḥ svam 'Devadatta the village is your property', where the enclitic *te* cannot appear.

‘and’, and the PP. (past participle) *kard* would have to carry the suffix + *ī* (*va to nakard + ī* ‘and you did not perform’).³

W’L. may place both the pronominal direct and the indirect object in S-2 position, as shown in (15):

- (15) *k-šān x’ ānēnd, yazišn bā patīrēnd* [Šāyast 9.12]
 when = they + OBL. invoke + 3/Pl. *yazišn* accept + 3/Pl.
 ‘when they invoke them, they accept the *yazišn* [ceremony]’
ēg-im a-kāmagōmand mang ma dahēd [AWN.3.17]
 then = I + OBL. unwillingly hemp not give + IMP. + 2/Pl.
 ‘then don’t give me the [potion of] henbane against my will’

In the case of synenclisis of the agent/subject and object, there is some evidence that the clitics were attached in accordance with person hierarchy, whereby the 1st Pers. took precedence over the 2nd Pers. (or 3rd Pers.), and the 2nd Pers. over the 3rd Pers. (cf. Brunner 1977, p.99).

Example (16) shows the synenclisis of the agent/subject in the 2nd Pers. and the object in the 3rd Pers., with the subject preceding the object:

- (16) *’wtys’n qyrd ’z’d* [M 738 V 15; Brunner, 1977, p.99]
u = t = ēšān kird āzād

³ Similarly *ut ōyšān ...nē kart* [Rivāyat, Ch.24]
 and they not perform + PP.
 ‘and they did not perform’

is half-way between the Middle Persian ergative construction

ut = ašān nē kart

and = they + OBL. not do + PP.

and the incipient New Persian active construction

ut ōyšān nē kart hēnd

and they not do + PP. be + 3/Pl.

with the PP. *kart* finitized by the auxiliary ‘be’, which ends up as the suffix + *and* in Modern Persian:

o īšān na = kard + and

and they not = do + P + 3/Pl

‘and they did not perform’.

and = you + OBL. = they + OBL. make + PP. free
 'and you have made them free'

Example (17) shows the pronominal agent/subject in the 3rd Pers. cliticized after the indirect object in the 1st Pers.:

- (17) *Ke-am-aš dād Spenā-minūy, va-m-aš dād pa zamān a-kanāra* [Vendidād XIX.9]
 which = I + OBL. = he + OBL. give + PP.
 and = I + OBL. = he + OBL. in time unlimited
 'Which Spenā-minūy gave me, he gave me in infinite time'

The system expressing both the subject and the object by the same oblique pronominal form allowed for serious ambiguities. For instance, we may speculate that the same clitic unit *ke = am = aš* in a subordinate clause such as *ke = am = aš dād* could mean either 'which I gave him' or 'which he gave me'.

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|
| <i>S</i> | <i>O</i> | <i>O</i> | <i>S</i> |
| (18) <i>ke = am = aš dād</i> | | <i>ke = am = aš dād</i> | |
| REL. I + OBL. | | REL. I + OBL. he + OBL. | |
| he + OBL. give + PP. | | give + PP. | |
| 'which I gave him' | | 'which he gave me' | |

There were essentially two solutions offered to this serious homophonic clash in the history of Iranian languages: (i) the ergative construction was given up, i.e., the oblique pronominal form could not be used to express the function of subject any more. This was the route taken by Farsi (Modern Persian). (ii) the ergative construction was preserved, i.e., the oblique pronominal form continued expressing the function of subject. The remaining matters were sorted out in the fashion that the direct forms expressed the object. This was the option exploited by Pashto, Kurmanji and southern Tati dialects.⁴ The

⁴ Details for Pashto are in Bubenik 1989. Kurmanji data are in Bedir Khan et al. (1970, p.94, 176):

	<i>S</i>	<i>O</i>	
	OBL.	DIR.	
'I saw you (Pl.)'	<i>min</i>	<i>hon</i>	<i>dīt-in</i>
	I + OBL.	ye + DIR.	see + PP. = 2/Pl.

relationship of Pashto to its Middle Iranian ancestor (represented by Middle Persian) is shown in (19):

Middle Persian		Modern Pashto	
<i>S</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>O</i>
OBL.	OBL.	OBL.	DIR.
(19) 'when I saw him' <i>Wl = am = aš dīd mā day vúlíd</i>			
<i>O</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>S</i>
OBL.	OBL.	DIR.	OBL.
'when he saw me' <i>Wl = am = aš dīd zə ye vúlíd = əm</i>			

Other instances of synenclisis involve expressions such as 'and when he ...' with the coordinating conjunction 'and' cliticized to the subordinating conjunction, and the pronoun attached to this block of two clitics. An example of 'when = and = he + OBL.' is given in (20):

- (20) *ka-č-aš pa pahnāk i āp bē tuvān āwurtan ađak-ač-aš bē āwarišn* [Šāyast 2.84]
 when = and = he + OBL. through breadth GEN. water able bring + INF. then = and = he + OBL. bring-out + GERUNDIVE
 'And when he is able to bring it out through the breadth of the water, then indeed it is to be brought out [so]'

The connector 'and' appearing in the middle was not the best solution, and alternative sequences with the connector in

	OBL.	DIR.	
'you (Pl.) saw me'	<i>we</i>	<i>ez</i>	<i>dīt-im</i>
	ye + OBL.	I + DIR.	see + PP. = 1/Sg.
Similarly, in Eshtehārdi (Southern Tati), according to Yar-Shater (1969, p. 147 ff.), direct pronouns are used to express the object, whereas the clitics (or oblique/possessive forms) express the ergative subject:			
	<i>O</i>	<i>S</i>	
	DIR.	OBL.	
'I saw him'	<i>ay =</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>bind</i>
	he + DIR. =	I + OBL.	see + PP.
	DIR.	OBL.	
'he sent me'	<i>az =</i>	<i>eš</i>	<i>bērēstā = ym</i>
	I + DIR. =	he + OBL.	see + PP. = be + 1/Sg.

clause initial position, or attached at the end of the clitic unit are also documented:

- (21) *u ka ō bālīšn ētōn nišīnēt* [Šāyast 3.3]

and when in cushion so sit + 3/Sg.

‘And when she sits on the cushion so’

Va-amat-ič [West 1904, p.195]

u = ka = č

and = when = also

‘and also when’

Wackernagel's Law is responsible for another typological disruption of the overall *SOV* typology of Middle Persian, more specifically of the NA. pattern of the noun phrase. The possessive suffix may be lifted from its postnominal position and placed in S-2 position, in the same fashion as the pronominal agent or object above. An example from Pahlavi Rivāyat is given in (22):

- (22) *ut-at im rōč pus ut brāt ut x'ēšāvand ī tō pati-š patkārend*
[Rivāyat Ch.24]

and = you + OBL. this day son and brother and relative
GEN. you about = it + OBL. dispute + 3/Pl.

‘and today, your sons, brothers and relatives dispute about it’

In this example the pronominal possessor (whose antecedent is the body of a deceased wicked and sinful person) is actually expressed twice: once by the Wackernagel's Law clitic = *at*, attached to the conjunction ‘and’; and another time by the full pronominal form *tō* attached to the conjoined nouns by the connective particle *ī* (anticipating the Modern Persian *ezafet*-construction). Similarly, in (23) the pronominal possessor is expressed twice: by the clitic and by the *ezafet*-construction:

- (23) *u ka-š nērōk ī ōy, kē-š dast x'ēš* [Šāyast 2.70]

and when = he + OBL. strength GEN. he who = he + OBL.
hand own

‘and when the strength of his, to whom the hand belongs’
lit. and when his strength of him ...

It is of some interest to observe that the genitival construction may be interrupted by the coordinating conjunction which may be attached to a noun before the genitival particle:

- (24) *sak-i kōr* *sak-ič-i kōr* [Šāyast 2.4]
 dog = GEN. blind dog = and = GEN. blind
 ‘the blind dog’ ‘and/even the blind dog’
 i.e. not $*(sak = i\ kōr) = ič$
 (dog = GEN. blind) = and

A different type of the interruption of the genitival phrase consists of attaching the Wackernagel's Law clitic to the connective particle:

- (25) *nam barēm ō farrah vazarg ī-t brāzāy* [Bailey 1971, p.61]
 reverence bear + 1/Pl. to glory great GEN. = you + OBL.
 brilliant
 ‘We do reverence to thy great brilliant glory’
 i.e. not $*(farrah = ī\ vazarg\ brāzāy) = at$
 (glory = GEN. great brilliant) = your

The real break with this state of affairs came at the end of the Middle Persian period (7th c. A.D.) after the West Iranian dialects had gone through a series of morphosyntactic innovations (for details see Hoffmann et al. 1958, p.89 ff.) which resulted in the loss of the ergative construction and the modification of the scope of Wackernagel's Law. Morphologically speaking, the four pronominal sets of Middle Persian (direct, oblique, clitic, and pronominal suffixes) were reduced to three by merging direct and oblique sets into one set of free forms. It should be mentioned that already in MP. there was no contrast between direct and oblique forms in the plural subparadigm. Early New Persian disallowed the pronominal clitics in the function of subject in past tenses; from now on, the MP. verbal suffixes were used to express the function of subject in both present and past tenses. Pronominal clitics continued to express the function of object and possessor; they could be placed in appropriate postverbal and postnominal position, or, they could be placed in S-2 position by W'L. This state of affairs is continued by Modern Colloquial Persian

which allows for the postverbal placement of object clitics and postnominal placement of pronominal possessors. W'L., however, has been eliminated from the grammar of Modern Persian. The standard language allows only for the postnominal placement of the possessive suffixes. These matters are surveyed in Chart 1. Pronominal Systems of Middle and Early New Persian.

The only relic of ergativity in Modern Persian is the difference in suffixes for the 3rd Pers. subject in the past, + $\emptyset$, vs. present,

Chart 1. Pronominal Systems of Middle and Early New Persian.

	I	you	s/he	we	ye	they
MP. Direct	<i>az</i>	<i>tu/tō</i>	<i>ō(i)</i>	<i>emā</i>	<i>šumā</i>	<i>ōšān</i>
Oblique	<i>man</i>	<i>to/tō</i>	<i>ōy</i>	"	"	"
Clitic	= <i>am</i>	= <i>at</i>	= <i>aš</i>	= <i>amān</i>	= <i>atān</i>	= <i>ašān</i>
(Subj in Past)						
Verb suffix	+ <i>ēm</i>	+ <i>ēh</i>	+ <i>ēd</i>	+ <i>ēm</i>	+ <i>ēd</i>	+ <i>ēnd</i>
(Subj in Pres)						
ENP. Free	<i>man</i>	to	<i>ū</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>šomā</i>	<i>išān</i>
Clitic	= <i>am</i>	= <i>at</i>	= <i>aš</i>	= <i>amān</i>	= <i>atān</i>	= <i>ašān</i>
Verb suffix	+ <i>am</i>	+ <i>ī</i>	+ <i>ad</i>	+ <i>īm</i>	+ <i>īd</i>	+ <i>and</i>
(Subj in Past/Pres)			(Pres)			
			+ $\emptyset$			
			(Past)			

+ *ad*. Older relics are preserved in the 10th c. authors, where the 3rd Pers. subject in the past may still be realized by the Wackernagel's Law clitic:

(26) *qalam rā bifarmūd ki bar lauḥ nibištaš* [TB Bh 6b; Lazard 1963, p.257]

pen = ACC. command + P. that on tablet write + PP. = he + OBL.

'(God) commanded the pen to write on the tablet'

lit. that it wrote

However, in the 10th c. this clitic may also be used in nonergative contexts, i.e., with intransitive verbs or in the present

tense of both transitive and intransitive verbs. This phenomenon may be evaluated as evidence for the disintegration of the MP. ergative construction:

- (27) *xandīdaš va tabassum kard* [QA 105 a; Lazard 1963, p.257]
 smile + PP. = he + OBL. and smile make + P.
 'he smiled'
 (One would expect *xandīd va tabassum kard = aš* by the MP. rules).
 ... *ta bidānandišān* [Tafsir Mašhad no.34, 207 b; Lazard 1963, p.257]
 that know + 3/Pl. = they + OBL.
 'that they may know'

In ENP. pronominal direct and indirect objects may be placed in S-2 position by W'L. Examples are given in (28):

- (28) *x'āstand kiš bikušand* [TB Bh 45 a; Lazard 1963, p.252]
 want + P + 3/Pl. that = he + OBL. kill + 3/Pl.
 'they wanted to kill him'
darišān bāz nakard [IN 218 b; Lazard 1963, p.253]
 door = they + OBL. open not-make + P.
 'he didn't open the door for them'

Early New Persian reduced the number of possible phonological hosts for Wackernagel's Law clitics by disallowing the coordinating conjunction to host the object clitics. The subordinating conjunctions continued doing so as in MP. However, they could also be taken as 'null-position' elements in the clause, and the clitics would have to be attached to the next lexical item (usually the verb); the following example is from Rūmī's Mathnavī:

- (29) *ān jamā9at k(e) = at hamī dādand rīw/*
 that group who = you + OBL. IMPF. give + P.+3/Pl. deceit
čūn bebīnand + at begūyand + at ke dīw [Rūmī 1870]
 when see + 3/Pl. = you call + 3/Pl. = you devil
 'The set of people who used to flatter you deceitfully,
 when they behold you will call you a devil'

In (29) one would expect *čūn* = *at bebīnand* in the second half-verse, with the clitic attached to the subordinating conjunction *čūn* 'when', as in the first half-verse. In a sense this example shows nicely the intermediate state of affairs in Early New Persian when pronominal clitics could be distributed by both syntactic rules as sentential clitics (*ke* = *at ... dādand*) or by morphological rules as verbal suffixes (*bebīnand* + *at*). The latter option is the one found in Modern Colloquial Persian which disallows their placement in S-2 position by W'L. As mentioned above, Standard Persian does not possess object clitics; in their stead, the full pronominal forms with the accusative postposition have to be used.

These four stages are exemplified and surveyed in (30):

- (30) *agar* = *am* = *aš* *nārīg* *xwānde* = *am* MP. Conj = *am* = *aš* by W'L
if = I + OBL. = wife call + PP. = 1 + OBL.
gar *9arūs* = *aš* *xwānde* + *am* ENP. Conj in Ø-position
if bride = he + OBL. call + PP. + 1/Sg. [Rūmī 1972]
agar *9arūs* *xwānde* + *am* + *aš* Mn. Coll. V + *am* + *aš*
if bride call + PP. + 1/Sg. + 3/Sg. verb suffixes
agar ū = *rā* *9arūs* *xwānde* + *am* Mn. St. V + *am*
if he = ACC. bride call + PP. + 1/Sg. verb suffix
'If I have called Him (God) the Bride, ...'

Two types of ambiguity may arise as a consequence of (i) the homophony of the 1st Sg. suffix + *am* and the object clitic = *am* '(to) me', and (ii) the homophony of the pronominal objects and the possessive suffixes if attached to S-initial nouns by Wackernagel's Law.

The first ambiguity is a historical 'hangover' from the MP. ergative pattern: *dād* + *am* with the suffix + *am* meant 'I saw', whereas *dād* = *am* with the object clitic = *am* meant 'he saw me'. Consider the following verse from Rūmī's Mathnavī:

- (31) *goft ay yārān ḥaqam ilhām dād* [Rūmī 1008]
say + P. o friends god = me inspiration give + P.
'He said: 'O friends, God gave me an inspiration.'

Taken literally, the verse says 'My God gave an inspiration'. If the poet said *ḥaq ilhām dādam* it could mean either 'God gave me an inspiration' or, – heretically – 'I gave God an inspira-

tion'. In the first case, *dādam* would be taken as containing the object clitic = *am*, in the second case as containing the 1st Sg. suffix + *am*. To avoid this embarrassing ambiguity, the poet produced an 'archaic' construction by attaching the clitic to the clause initial 'God' by W'L.

The other type of ambiguity is present in instances such as *vazīraš guft* [TB Bh 271 b; Lazard 1963, p.253] or *pas ḥakīmaš goft* in another verse from Mathnavī:

- (32) *pas ḥakīmaš goft* [Rūmī 198]
 then physician = him/his say + P.
 'Then the physician said to him' ~ 'Then his physician said'

Presumably, this ambiguity could be avoided in Early Colloquial by keeping the postnominal and postverbal usage of clitics apart:

pas ḥakīm = aš goft 'then his physician said'
pas ḥakīm goft = aš 'then the physician said to him'
pas ḥakīm = aš goft = aš 'then his physician said to him'

Only the first construction (with the postnominal clitic) is available in Modern Standard Persian; Colloquial Persian allows for the second construction (with the postverbal object clitic); however, the ambiguity between 'his physician said' and 'the physician said to him' does not arise, because W'L. cannot lift the clitic from its postverbal position anymore. In Early New Persian W'L. still could do it, to a limited degree; we may notice that the adverb 'then' represents a 'null-position' element in (31).

We may conclude by presenting our findings in a synoptic chart showing the reduction in the number of phonological hosts, and the limitation of the scope of W'L. during the three stages in the history of Persian.

It is needless to say that my results are only very preliminary and much more remains to be done in the area of Middle and Early New Persian morphosyntax. The following two are the most pressing desiderata for further research:

Chart 2. Placement of Pronominal Clitics in the History of Persian.

	Hosts of W'L. clitics:		Subj.	Obj.	Possessor		
	Conjunctions		[+ erg.]	V = Cl.	Wl = Cl.	N = Cl.	Wl = Cl.
	Co-ord.	Subord.					
MP.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ENP.	-	+	Loss of	+	+	+	+
MnColl.	-	-	ergati-	+	-	+	-
MnSt.	-	-	vity	-	-	+	-
LOSS OF WACKERNAGEL'S LAW							

- (i) the overall picture of Middle Persian synenclisis is far from being clear; we need more data for the interaction of the three persons, and the sequencing of subordinating and co-ordinating conjunctions in the block of clitics.
- (ii) the loss and maintenance of ergativity has to be studied in the global Iranian context; specifically, more work has to be done on the morphosyntactic history of the ergative Iranian languages (Pashto, Kurmanji, Tati).

Appendix

AWN.	Ardā Wirāz Nāmag. Fereyduṇ Vahman. London, Curzon Press 1986.
Dāṭastān	Dāṭistān ī dēnīk, Pursišn XIV and XV: A critical study. F. Kanga in: W. B. Henning Memorial Volume. London, Lund Humphries 1970.
Dēnkart	The Dīnkard. Vol. XIII–XIV. Zarathushtra-nāmag. Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjānā. London, Kegan Paul 1912/15.
Rivāyat	Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dāṭistān ī Dēnīk. B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay 1913.
Rūmī	The Mathnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī. Reynold A. Nicholson. Leiden, Brill 1925/26.
Šāyast	Šāyast-nē-šāyast. A Pahlavi text on religious customs. Jehangir C. Tavadia. Hamburg, Friedrichsen 1930.
Vendidād	Pahlavi Vendidād. Behramgore T. Anklesaria. Bombay 1949.

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Vit Bubenik

Zur mittel- und neugriechischen Gruppe von Suffixen -ίτσι(ν), -ίτσα, -ούτσικος usw.

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1. Anlaß zum vorliegenden Aufsatz hat eine umfangreiche Studie von D. Georgakas (s. oben unter Georgakas) gegeben, in der Ansichten vertreten werden, die m. E. dem heutigen Forschungsstand des Griechischen überhaupt und vor allem der mittel- und neugriechischen Dialektologie nicht entsprechen. Wir werden im Folgenden unsere Meinung zur Deutung der betreffenden Suffixe aussagen, indem wir die Hauptthesen von Georgakas ausführlicher in Betracht nehmen, um festzustellen, ob und in welchem Grad er die Erforschung der vielumstrittenen Suffixe weitergebracht hat. So ist unser Aufsatz einerseits als eine detaillierte Kritik über die Ansichten Geor-

gakas' und andererseits als ein Beitrag aus einer neuen Perspektive zu diesem Problem zu verstehen.

2. In bezug auf die Herkunft des Suffixes -ίτσι wiederholt Georgakas in der Tat die bekannten Ansichten von A. Buturas¹ und Ph. Kukules², nach denen -ίτσι auf ein älteres Suffix -ίκιον zurückgeht, und zieht neues Beweismaterial heran. Georgakas bemerkt, daß der Zetazismus, die Entwicklung also $k > ts$ und $g > dz$ vor vorderen Vokalen, eine allgemeine Erscheinung des Griechischen seit Ende der Koine ist, die aber in der Schrift nicht zum Ausdruck kommt. Als Vorstufe des mittel- und neugriechischen Suffixes -ίτσιν betrachtet Georgakas das in den griechischen Papyri vorkommende Suffix -ίκιον, welches mit insgesamt 24 Wörtern in der Sammlung von E. Kissling belegt ist³: βασιλίκιον, δουλίκιον, ζευγαλατίκιον, ζωστίκιον (σπαθίον), λιτανίκιον, -ίκιν, μυρίκιον, περδίκιον, συγχάρικια, σχολαρίκιον, φοινίκιον, χαλίκιν, χοινίκιον, ἄρσενίκιον, βαρβαρίκιον, δελματίκιον (δερματίκιν), δικανίκιον, δωρίκιον, καπετανίκιον, κορδίσκιον, πατελλίκιον, περσίκιον, ταρσίκιον⁴. Die Kategorie dieser Namen lebt nach Georgakas während der byzantinischen Zeit fort, wie dies aus dem diesbezüglichen Kapitel der Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken von St. Psaltes evident wird. So geht nach Georgakas das byzantinische Suffix -ίτσι auf ein älteres -ίκιν zurück, das zwei Herleitungen hat: a) aus agr. Namen auf -ιξ, -ικος, z. B. σταλίξ, -ικος: σταλίκιν > σταλίτσι(ν), b) aus agr., hellenistischen oder byzant. Adjektiven auf -ικός, -ική, -ικόν: byz. (12. Jh.) ἄλετριτσιν < *ἄλετρίκιν < ἄλετρικόν (sc. ἐργαλεῖον), ngr. φορτίτσι 'Lasttier' < byz. φορτίκιν < φορτικόν (sc. κτήνος). In bezug auf diese These von Georgakas möchten wir die folgenden Bemerkungen machen: a) Die Herleitung -ίκι < -ιξ, -ικος kann nur auf das zyprische Griechisch mit sicheren Beispielen (z. B. πέρδιξ, -ικος, περδίκιον > περτίτζιν) Anwen-

¹ In *Laographia* 3 (1911), S. 612 ff.

² In *Hellenika* 4 (1931), S. 361 ff.

³ E. Kissling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden. Supplement 1* (1940–1966), Amsterdam 1971.

⁴ Georgakas, *The -its- Suffixes*, S. 52, 322–3.

dung finden. b) Bei der Herleitung $-\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota < \text{Adjekt. auf } -\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ ist die diminutive Bedeutung überhaupt nicht gesichert, z. B. ngr. φορτίκι (Ereikoussa) ist 'der Esel' (nicht 'das Eselchen'), all-gemeinngr. συχαρίκια bedeutet einfach 'das Gratulieren, die Gratulation'⁵, mgr. διαβατίκιον ist 'eine Art Steuer für Gütertransport', mgr. δεκανίκιν ist 'der Bischofsstab', mgr. ἀπολυτίκιν ist 'der Hymnus, der zu Ende der Messe gesungen wird, die einem Heiligen gewidmet ist' usw., so daß in den angeführten und mehreren älteren Namen auf $-\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota(\text{ov})$ keine diminutive Bedeutung spürbar ist; vgl. dazu auch S.-G. Henrich, der eine Herleitung $-\acute{\iota}\tau\sigma\iota < -\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota$ aus semantischen Gründen ablehnt⁶.

3. Eine besondere Stelle in der ganzen Argumentation von Georgakas nimmt der ON. Καλαμίτσι ein, der im heutigen griechischen Sprachraum einschließlich Unteritaliens insgesamt 22 mal vorkommt. Da die ON. zu den konservativsten Sprachelementen nach Georgakas gehören, hält er Καλαμίτσι für eines der archaischen Elemente seines Beweismaterials; trotzdem führt er Καλαμίτσι nicht, wie es zu erwarten wäre, auf eine nach unserem (und auch nach dem des Verf.?) Sprachgefühl ungrische Form *Καλαμίκιον zurück, sondern zieht er vor, Καλαμίτσι in die Kategorie der Namen einzuordnen, die $-\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota$ voraussetzen, und versucht uns davon zu überzeugen, indem er eine ähnliche Bildung, nämlich βυζίκι 'kleine Ziege' (Rhodos) anbringt, das sich zu βυζίτσι 'verweiste kleine Ziege, die bei anderen Ziegen säugt' (Rhodos) entwickelt hat⁷. Was das Appellativ καλαμίτσι anbelangt, so ist es nach Georgakas auf den Ionischen Inseln vielfach bezeugt; außerdem werden den Namen auf $-\acute{\iota}\tau\sigma\iota$ (ἀβγουλίτσι, ἀγαλατίτσι ἀγγουρίτσι, ἀγκαθίτσι usw.), die auf denselben Ioni-

⁵ Ein Adjektiv συχαρικός, das Georgakas als die Basis für die Ableitung von συχαρίκια, τα ansetzt, ist mir nicht bekannt; das bezeugte Adj. lautet συχαρητικός oder συχαριτικός. Συχαρίκια ist vielmehr vom Aoriststamm συχάρηκα + Suff. -ια abzuleiten, vgl. βρεθίκια, τα 'Finderlohn' < βρέθηκε, -αν + Suff. -ια. Die Orthographie συχαρίκια, βρεθίκια statt συχαρήκια, βρεθήκια ist mit Anlehnung an das Suffix $-\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota$ zu verstehen.

⁶ S.-G. Henrich, Κλητικές και γενικές σε -ο (Thessaloniki 1976), S. 122.

⁷ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 65 ff., 110, 191.

schen Inseln vorkommen, 21 zweiseitige Seiten des App. D vom Georgakas gewidmet⁸. Da nun nach dem Sprachmaterial, das Georgakas selbst angibt, aber auch nach einer kurzen Untersuchung von mir im Archiv des Historikon Lexikon der griechischen Sprache in Athen das Suffix -ίσι(ον) auf denselben Ionischen Inseln sporadisch (mit 10 Erscheinungen insgesamt, z. B. κομπίσι neben κομπίτσι 'kleiner Knoten', πλωρίσι/πλωρίτσι 'der kleine Vorderteil eines Schiffes' usw.) vorkommt, ist es verwunderlich, warum Georgakas -ίσι mit -ίτσι nicht verglichen hat oder einige, sei es negative, Überlegungen zu der nach unserer Ansicht sehr wahrscheinlichen Beziehung, wenigstens in konkreten Fällen, der beiden Suffixe nicht angestellt hat, zumal frühere Forscher die beiden Suffixe schon verbunden haben. Daß unterdessen καλαμίσκος sowohl als Appellativ als auch als ON. im Altgriechischen belegt ist, woraus sich eine Form *καλαμίσκιον durch Hinzufügung des Suff. -ιον nach den zahlreichen Beispielen z. B. καλαθίσκος – καλαθίσκιον, πινακίσκος – πινακίσκιον, βωμίσκος – βωμίσκιον, ἑλεφαντίσκος – ἑλεφαντίσκιον usw. entwickeln könnte, kann nicht bezweifelt werden⁹. In vielen Fällen jedoch bezeichnet meines Wissens καλαμίτσι als ON.-Terminus 'einen am Meer oder an der See liegenden sumpfigen Ort, der mit Schilf (: καλάμια) bedeckt ist'; in solchen Fällen ist καλαμίτσι auf eine ursprüngliche Form καλαμίδι(ον) zurückzuführen, wo -ίδι(ον) das ngr. Kollektiv-Suffix -ίδι ist, das das reichliche Vorkommen einer Pflanze bezeichnet, vgl. ngr. γαλατσίδι, τσουκνίδι, ἄσφοδελίδι, πλατανίδι 'Ort wo Gänsedistel, Brennessel, Asphodil, Platane wächst' usw.¹⁰.

4. Aber das Schwergewicht der Argumentation zur Herleitung -ίτσι < -ίσι scheint Georgakas auf die Paare ἄγριλίχι – ἄγριλίτσι, ἄστρίχι – ἄστρίτσι und ἄρνικιν – ἄρνίτσιν zu legen. Die Formen ἄγριελίτσι und ἄγριλίτσι 'kleiner Olivenbaum' (Kerkyra) sind nach Georgakas auf ἄγριλίχι 'wilder Oliven-

⁸ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 219–239.

⁹ Vgl. Petersen, Suffix -ίσκο, S. 164, 177, 180 (193: ON. Καλαμίσκος).

¹⁰ Vgl. St. Manassis, 'Η κατάληξις -ίδι ὡς περιληπτική ἐν τοπωνυμίοις, Lexicographikon Deltion 4 (1942–1948), S. 149 ff.

baum' (Euböa) zurückzuführen. Ich halte die Herleitung der kerkyräischen Formen ἄγριελίτσι, ἄγριλίτσι, die mit den allgemein-neugr. ἄγριελιά, ἄγριελίτσα semantisch und etymologisch verbunden sind, aus der isolierten und etymologisch nicht klaren Form ἄγριλίκι für sehr unwahrscheinlich; das euböische ἄγριλίκι 'wilder Olivenbaum' hat keine diminutive Bedeutung. Georgakas selbst scheint jedoch mit seiner Erklärung nicht zufrieden zu sein, wenn er schließlich bemerkt: „In any case, the co-existence of the forms ἄγριλίκι ~ ἄγριλίτσι bears witness to the Greek inner-linguistic situation as ἄρνικιν ~ ἄρνίτσι, ἀστρίκιν ~ ἀστρίτσι“¹¹. – Wir werden weiter sehen, ob diese Behauptung im Fall von ἀστρίκιν/ἀστρίτσι zutrifft. Aus Anlaß des Vorkommens von ἀστρίκιν/ἀστρίτσι 'Sternchen' in zwei Handschriften des Livistros¹² kommt Georgakas zu dem Ergebnis, daß die Suffixe -ίκιν und -ίτσι parallel laufen und dieselbe Bedeutung in demselben Text haben. Georgakas leitet ἀστρίκιν aus einem substantivierten ἀστρικόν + -ιον ab, demgegenüber E. Kriaras aus ἄστρον + -ίκιν¹³. Da die diminutive Bedeutung des ἀστρίκιν weder nach der Ableitung von Georgakas noch nach der von Kriaras gesichert ist, geht ἀστρίκιν viel eher auf das belegte ἀστερίσκιον, Dimin. zu ἀστερίσκος¹⁴ zurück; ἀστερίσκιον konnte sich nämlich durch dissimilatorischen Schwund des zweiten *s* und Ausfall des *e* vor *r* (vgl. agr. ἀστρικός < ἀστερικός, ngr. ἀστράκι < ἀστεράκι) zu ἀστρίκιν entwickeln. – Als ziemlich überraschend bezeichnet Georgakas das Vorkommen der beiden Suffixe -ίκι und -ίτσι in den kappadokischen Formen ἄρνικι/ἄρνίτσι 'Schäfchen'. Ich halte kappad. ἄρνικι für eine normale Entwicklung eines älteren *ἄρνίσκος, *ἄρνίκος (mit dissimilatorischem Schwund des ersten *s*, vgl. βατραχίσκος, δελφινίσκος, ἔχινίσκος, χοιρίσκος usw.), das zu *ἄρνίσκιον/*ἄρνίκιον diminuiert wurde (vgl. τραγίσκιον, χελίσκιον/χελύσκιον, κορίσκιον usw.). Mit ande-

¹¹ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 132.

¹² Esc. 2129: τῆς αὐγῆς τὸ ἀστρίκιν, P. 1755: τῆς αὐγῆς τὸ ἀστρίτσι(ν).

¹³ E. Kriaras, Lexikon der mittellgriechischen Vulgärliteratur, Bd. 3 (1973), S. 283.

¹⁴ Vgl. Petersen, Suffix -ίσκο, S. 29, 33, 38, 40, 42 ff., 57, 68 B.

ren Worten: meines Erachtens kann die diminutive Bedeutung des kappad. ἀρνίκι nur durch seine Derivation aus *ἀρνίσκος, *ἀρνίσκιον (vgl. unterital. gr. *arníska* 'junges Schaf'¹⁵) gesichert werden, zumal eine Form *ἄρνιξ, -ικος (vgl. ἄρναξ, -ακος, woraus ngr. Dimin. ἀρν-άκι) nicht überliefert ist. Sonst könnte man speziell für das kappad. ἀρνίκι eine Substitution des Suff. -άκι durch -ίκι (ἀρνάκι > ἀρνίκι, vgl. z. B. πυλωρύχι > πυλωρίκι, καλίγι > καλίκι usw.¹⁶) annehmen oder an eine Kontamination ἀρνί + ἀρνάκι > ἀρνίκι (vgl. γίδι + γιδάκι > kappad. *γιδίικ > tü. *gidik* 'kleine Ziege') denken.

5. Georgakas hält κορίτσιν 'Mädchen' für ein frühbyzantinisches Beispiel, dessen Datierung (4. Jh. n. Chr. nach dem Verf.) aus inneren Zeugnissen des Griechischen gefolgert wird, und versucht es aus einem unbelegten *κορίκιν (< Adj. κορικός 'of a girl' (4. Jh. n. Chr.) + Suff. -ιν) zu erklären. In Bezug auf die Ableitung κορίτσιν < *κορίκιν ist Folgendes zu bemerken: a) Die Bildung des mgr. θηλύκιον (und κομβοθηλύκιον) 'Knopfloch' aus dem Adj. θηλυκός + -ιν überzeugt uns von der Notwendigkeit der Bildung einer Form *κορίκιν < κορικός, -ή, -όν nicht, weil für die Vorstellung des weiblichen Kindes mehrere Wörter (z. B. κόρη, παῖς θήλεια, κορίσκη, κόριον, κορίδιον, κορίσκιον usw.) dem Griechischen zur Verfügung standen. Außerdem ist θηλίκιον/κομβοθηλίκιον 'Knopfloch' nicht von θηλυκός, sondern von mgr. θηλέα/κομβοθηλέα 'Knopfloch' + -ίκιον mit eventueller Volksetymologie an θηλυκός zu erklären. b) Das euböische κορικκάγι 'kleines Mädchen' (: κορικκάδι nach der richtigen Erklärung von St. Karatzas) setzt nach Georgakas eine Form *κορίκιν voraus, die im Fall, daß sie kein Depalatalisationsprodukt des κορίτσιν darstellt, das Fortleben einer Form *κορίκιν der späthellenistischen Koine ist. Abgesehen aber von der unmöglichen griechischen Form *κορίκιν fragt es sich mit Recht, warum die euböischen κορικκάγι und κορικκάτσι (: κοριτσάκι) in ihrer Aussprache zwei *kk* vor -άγι und -άτσι aufweisen. Mit dem Erscheinen des *kk* in diesen beiden Formen beschäf-

¹⁵ Rohlf's, EWUG., S. 93.

¹⁶ G. N. Hatzidakis, IF. 28 (1911), Heft 3, S. 19.

tigt sich Georgakas überhaupt nicht; eine Antwort zu dieser Frage könnte jedoch eventuell zur Erklärung der euböischen Formen führen. Die Formen κορικκάγι und κορικκάτσι könnten meiner Meinung nach auf entsprechenden Bildungen κορίσκι(ον) + άδι und κορίσκι(ον) + -άκι beruhen, wenn die Lautentwicklung *-sk-* > *-kk-* im Griechischen belegt wäre. Aufschlußreich ist hier das kappadokische Suffix -ίκκο für Adjektive: λεφτίκκο 'sehr dünn', μιτσίκκο 'sehr klein', στενίκκο 'sehr eng'¹⁷. Die Versuchung, die Adjektive dieser Art auf entsprechende ältere Formen auf -ίσκος zurückzuführen, ist groß: *λεπίσκος (> kappad. λεφτίκκο), *μικκίσκος (dor., böot., ionisch μικρός) (> kappad. μιτσίκκο), *στενίσκος (> kappad. στενίκκο). Daß das Suffix -ίσκος nicht nur Substantiven, sondern auch Adjektiven schon im Altgriechischen hinzugefügt werden kann, zeigt sich am Beispiel von ισχυρίσκος. Eine ähnliche Entwicklung, nämlich *sk* > *ss* (im Gegensatz zum kappad. *sk* > *kk*) hätten wir dann im unterital. gr. Flußnamen *Potamisso* < ποταμίσκος¹⁸.

6. In einer Liste mit Fischnamen auf -ίτσι, die Georgakas auf Kerkyra, Paxoi und den kleinen Inseln Ereikoussa, Mathraki und Othonoi gesammelt hat, bemerkt er, daß die Nomenklatur der Meerestiere gewöhnlich auf die älteste Zeit zurückführt; dies bedeutet nach Georgakas, daß das Suffix -ίτσι ursprünglich sehr archaisch sein soll. Im Rahmen also der Ansicht des Verf. zur Herkunft des -ίτσιν aus -ίκιον müßte man im Fall der Fischnamen auf -ίτσι erwarten, daß wenigstens einige Fischnamen ursprünglich auf -ίκιον auslauten sollten. Trotzdem ist Georgakas nicht imstande, einen einzigen Fischnamen auf -ίκιον (etwa *λαβρακίκιον) vorzulegen, der einem der über 70 Fischnamen auf -ίτσι seiner Liste entsprechen würde, jenem -ίτσι, welches nach Georgakas altgriechischen Wörtern hinzugefügt wird, die Fische bezeichnen, z.B. άστακίτσι (άστακός), γουβγίτσι (κωβιός), καραβιδίτσι (κάραβος), κεφα-

¹⁷ N. Andriotis, *Τό γλωσσικό ιδίωμα τών Φαράσων* (Athen 1948), S. 42 (ohne Etymologie des Suffixes).

¹⁸ G. Rohlfs, *Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis der unteritalienischen Gräzität* (München 1962), S. 73 und EWUG., S. 207.

λίτσι (κέφαλος), λαβρακίτσι (λάβραξ), λεθρινίτσι (έρυθρινος) usw.¹⁹. Es ist aber sehr plausibel anzunehmen, daß das Suffix -ίτσι im Fall der Fischnomenklatur auf dem agr. Suffix -ίσκιον (< -ίσκος + -ιον) beruht, vgl. die Fischnamen δελφινίσκος, βασιλίσκος, γλαυκίσκος, ἰωνίσκος, καπρίσκος, κεντρίσκος, λευκίσκος, λυχνίσκος, ὀνίσκος, ὀρφίσκος, τραγίσκος²⁰, γυλίσκος²¹. Für einige Fischnamen auf -ίτσι der Liste des Verf. lassen sich sogar entsprechende agr. Namen auf -ίσκιον (χελίτσι 'kleiner Aal': agr. χελίσκιον/χελύσκιον 'ds.') oder -ίσκος (ρουφχίτσι 'kleiner Goldfisch, Orphe': ὀρφίσκος 'ds.', usw.) belegen.

7. Aus dem bisher Angeführten wird evident, daß der Versuch von Georgakas, das ngr. Diminutivsuffix -ίτσι aus älterem -ίκιον abzuleiten, das nicht systematisch erscheint und vor allem selten diminutive Bedeutung haben kann, in seiner Argumentation nicht überzeugen kann. Jeder der bisherigen Forscher, die sich mit dem Erklärungsproblem des -ίτσι beschäftigt haben, hat seine eigene Ableitung des -ίτσι aus einem beliebigen früheren Suffix fanatisch verteidigt und durch mehr oder weniger überzeugende Argumente begründet. Man könnte jedoch daran denken, daß es innerhalb eines riesigen Dialektraums, wie es der griechische Sprachraum gewesen ist, einer Sprache, die durch eine tiefe Diachronie gekennzeichnet ist, keinen Grund gibt, auf einer monolithischen, d. h. nur von einem bestimmten Suffix ausgehenden Erklärung des -ίτσι zu bestehen, zumal die Vielfältigkeit der griechischen Sprache und ihre Besonderheiten bezüglich des -ίτσι mehreren gr. Suffixen erlauben, in -ίτσι zusammenzufallen. Im Folgenden werde ich versuchen, diese Meinung ein bißchen ausführlicher zu erläutern. Das Suffix -ίτσι kann meiner Meinung nach auf älteren -ίσκι(ον), -ίδι(ον), -ίτι(ον) und -ίκι(ον) (?) beruhen.

7.1. -ίτσι < -ίσκι(ον). Diese These hat eine ganze Gelehrtenreihe verteidigt, zu denen A. Koraes, F. Miklosich, A. Leskien, K. Foy, N. Dossios und S. Kapsomenos gehören. Im

¹⁹ Georgakas, *The -its- Suffixes*, S. 213 ff.

²⁰ Petersen, *Suffix -ίσκο*, S. 159, 175.

²¹ Kretschmer-Locker, *Rückl. Wb.*, S. 417 a.

Folgenden wollen wir kurz diese Ansicht der früheren Forscher mit zusätzlichen Funden oder ganz neuen Argumenten verstärken.

Daß das agr. Suffix -ίσκος durch zahlreiche Beispiele belegt ist, ist bekannt; in Kretschmer-Locker, Rückl. Wb., erscheint -ίσκος insgesamt in 193 Stichwörtern. Daß gewisse agr. Namen auf -ίσκος sich zu -ίσκιον durch Hinzufügung des -ιον umgebildet haben, ist ebenfalls gut bekannt: ἄσπιδίσκος – ἄσπιδίσκιον, βωμίσκος – βωμίσκιον, καδίσκος – καδίσκιον, μειρακίσκος – μειρακίσκιον, λιμενίσκος – λιμενίσκιον, πινακίσκος – πινακίσκιον usw.²².

Daß ein ähnlicher Vorgang auch bei den Feminina auf -ίσκη, das mit 23 Beispielen belegt ist (Kretschmer-Locker, S.87 a, b), stattgefunden hat, ist schon von W. Petersen und Ph. Kukules festgestellt worden: παιδίσκη- παιδίσκιον, κορίσκη- κορίσκιον, γυνή (*γυναικίσκη) γυναικίσκιον²³. Daß die Suffixe -ίσκος, -ίσκη, -ίσκιον in der mittel- und neugriechischen Vulgärliteratur so produktiv wie im Altgriechischen gewesen sind und daß infolgedessen das Suffix -ίσκι heute sporadisch in verschiedenen griechischen Gebieten erscheint, darauf hat schon Ph. Kukules hingewiesen: αὐλίσκι 'Röhrchen' (Epeiros), γουρνίσκι 'kleines Wasserbecken' (Paxoi), θαλαμίσκι 'Art kleiner Eidechse' (Megiste), κημίσκι/τσημίσκι (Paros), τσημίσκι (Naxos) 'Käsekörbchen', κλαδίσκι 'Art kleiner Hippe' (Naxos) usw.²⁴. Nach G. Salvanos ist das Suffix -ίσκι heute im Dorf Argyrades von Kerkyra lebendig, wo γουρνίσκι 'kleines Wasserbecken', λογγαρίσκι 'kleiner Wald', ποδίσκι 'kleine Schürze', προβίσκι 'kleines Schaffell', τραφουλίσκι 'kleiner Graben' usw. gesagt wird²⁵. In einer vorläufigen Untersuchung, die wir gemacht haben, um ältere Entsprechungen auf -ίσκος, -ίσκη, -ίσκιον für die ngr. Namen auf -ίτσι herauszufinden, die Georgakas in der Liste aus dem Ionischen Meer

²² W. Petersen, Greek diminutives in -ιον (Weimar 1910), S. 251 ff.

²³ Petersen, Suffix -ίσκη, S. 202 ff., Ph. Kukules in Athena 41 (1929), S. 191 ff.

²⁴ Ph. Kukules, a. a. O.

²⁵ G. Salvanos, Μελέτη περί τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ιδιώματος τῶν ἐν Κερκύρᾳ Ἀργυράδων (Athen 1918), S. 44.

anführt, stellten wir fest, daß diese Entsprechung für einige Namen auf -ίτσι tatsächlich existiert, die wir ohne Bedenken auf die entsprechenden älteren Formen auf -ίσκι(ον) zurückführen können, zumal es keine phonetischen, morphologischen und semantischen Hindernisse für einen solchen Zusammenhang gibt. Es folgen einige Entsprechungen²⁶: ἀστραγαλίτσι 'kleiner Knöchel' (220): ἀστραγαλίσκος; γερακίτσι 'kleiner Falke' (222): ἱερακίσκος; δαφνίτσι 'kleiner Lorbeerbaum' (223): *δαφνίσκος (vgl. λαφνίσκος); καδίτσι 'kleiner Eimer' (224): καδίσκος, καδίσκιον; καλαμίτσι 'Schilfchen' (224): καλαμίσκος; κορίτσι 'kleines Mädchen' (226): κορίσκιον; παιδίτσι 'kleines Kind' (231): παιδίσκη, παιδίσκιον; πηγαδίτσι 'kleiner Brunnen' (232): πηγαδίσκιον (vgl. den pontischen ON. Πηγαδίσκια in Urkunden des Vazelon-Klosters aus dem 13. Jh.)²⁷; ποδίτσι 'kleiner Fuß' (233): ποδίσκος; πυργίτσι 'kleine Burg' (234): πυργίσκος, πυργίσκιον; σεντονίτσι 'kleines Bettuch' (235): σινδονίσκος; χελίτσι 'kleiner Aal' (239): χελύσκιον, χελίσκιον; χηνίτσι 'kleine Gans' (239): χηνίσκος. Entsprechungen zwischen dem mittel- und neugr. -ίτσι einerseits und dem älteren -ίσκος, -ίσκιον andererseits kann man bei den zum ersten Mal massiv vorkommenden Beispielen auf -ίτσι feststellen, die uns die Gedichte in vulgärer Sprache des Th. Prodromos liefern; dies würde uns aber weit über den Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes hinausführen. Hier wollen wir nur erwähnen, daß für das im ganzen Griechenland heute verbreitete κανίσκι 'kleiner Korb, Geschenk', das mit zahlreichen Beispielen in mittel- und neugr. Texten vorkommt und von den belegten älteren Formen κανίσκος, κανίσκιν herrührt, die entsprechende Form im Tsakonischen κανίτσι ist²⁸. Was

²⁶ Die Zahlen verweisen auf die Seiten von Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes.

²⁷ Th. Ouspensky-V. Bénéchevitch, Actes de Vazélon. Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la propriété rurale et monastique à Byzance aux XIII-XV siècles (Leningrad 1927).

²⁸ Merkwürdigerweise wird die tsakonische Form κανίτσι vom sonst sehr gut bibliographisch informierten Georgakas nicht erwähnt, obwohl sie von Ph. Kukules (Hellenika 4, 1931, S. 362, Anm. 4) deutlich angeführt wird und im Λεξικόν τῆς τσακωνικῆς διαλέκτου von M. Deffner (Athen 1923, S. 163) natürlich zu finden ist. Statt dessen widmet Georgakas viel Platz den ngr.

die phonetische Entwicklung -ίσκι(ον) > -ίτσι betrifft, ist zu bemerken, daß der Schwund von *s* bei der palatalisierten Stufe -ίτσι (durch dissimilatorische Konsonantenvereinfachung -*sts*- > -*ts*-) erfolgt sein kann (vgl. hierzu pont. μεταξοκότσινο < μεταξοκόσκινο, παρατσοπάνω < παρασκεπάνω, ἀποκοτσινούδια < ἀποκοσκινούδια²⁹), obwohl sie auch bei der nicht palatalisierten Stufe nicht auszuschließen ist, wie uns die Form κανίκιν³⁰ zeigt, die heute auf Lesbos und Tenos nach Kukules³¹ weiterlebt. Das Suffix -ίκιν in κανίκιν ist selbstverständlich von -ίκιν in ἀπολυτίκιν, λιτανίκιν, δεκανίκιν, καπετανίκιν usw. zu trennen, weil das erstere seine diminutive Bedeutung wegen seiner Herkunft von -ίσκιν bewahrt hat.

7.2. -ίτσι < -ίδι(ον). Auf die Möglichkeit eines solchen Zusammenhangs hat schon S.-G. Henrich hingewiesen, indem er feststellt, daß von den vielen Diminutiven auf -ίτσι bei Th. Prodromos die folgenden 7 älteren gleichbedeutenden Substantiven entsprechen, die denselben Stamm und das Suffix -ίδιον aufweisen: γραμματίτσια : γραμματίδιον, ζουμίτσιν : ζωμίδιον, λαχανίτσιν : λαχανίδιον, πιττακίτσιν : πιττακίδιον, συκίτσια : συκίδιον, τυρίτσιν : τυρίδιον, χορδοκοιλίτσια : κοιλίδιον³². Henrichs Vorbehalt, daß wir im Fall einer solchen Entwicklung ein stimmhaftes *dz* (τζ) an Stelle des stimmlosen *ts* (τσ) in -ίτσι erwarten würden, ist richtig; leider steht uns noch keine Arbeit zur Verfügung, die klarmachen würde, welcher Laut sich in jedem Fall unter dem mittelgr. τζ versteckt. Ich nehme an, daß die Suffixe -*idzi* und -*itsi* in gewissen Fällen in -*itsi* zusammenfallen konnten, da die Opposition *dz/ts* in diesen Suffixen sehr selten eine diakritische Funktion haben würde. Hierzu gehören noch die zweifach hypokorisierten Dialektformen κοριτσίτσι (Stenemachos) und παιδιτσίτσι (Bithynien), die meiner Meinung nach auf den älteren Bildun-

Formen, die auf κανίσκιν beruhen (S. 127f.) und im übrigen das Problem der Herkunft von -ίτσι nicht weiterbringen.

²⁹ HLP., Bd. 2, S. 41, 156; Bd. 1, S. 109.

³⁰ Bei Ducange, Gloss. Graec., Sp. 575 für κανίσκιν.

³¹ In Hellenika 4, S. 363.

³² S.-G. Henrich, a. a. O., S. 124.

gen *κορισκίδιον (< κορίσκη + -ίδιον) und *παιδισκίδιον (< παιδίσκη, παιδίσκος + -ίδιον, vgl. z. B. χλανισκίδιον < χλανίσκος) beruhen. Wie ungriechisch die Erklärung ist, die Georgakas für κορίτσι vorschlägt, zeigt sich an der Form, die für κοριτσίτσι gemäß seiner Ansicht anzusetzen ist: *κορικίκιον (< *κορίκιον + -ίκιον), eine Form, die Georgakas jedoch an keiner Stelle seiner Arbeit zu schreiben gewagt hat.

7.3. ίτσι < -ίτι. In gewissen sehr beschränkten Fällen scheint es, daß auch -ίτι ein entsprechendes -ίτσι erzeugen kann: σπουργίτι > σπουργίτσι (Ionisches Meer³³), *Palizzi*, FN. und ON. in Kalabrien, *Palitio*, *Politium* vom 14. Jh.³⁴. Die Beispiele dieser Rubrik ließen sich durch eine systematischere Untersuchung vermehren.

7.4. -ίτσι < -ίκιον(?). Während eine Entwicklung -ίκι > -ίτσι phonetisch, wie gesagt, normal ist, ist eine solche Derivation auf der semantischen Ebene problematisch, weil die diminutive Bedeutung des -ίκι(ον) in Fällen, in denen -ίκι(ον) nicht von einem älteren Namen auf -ιξ, -ικος stammt (d. h. in den meisten Fällen) überhaupt nicht gesichert ist. So haben z. B. σταλίκι (< στάλιξ, -ικος), περδίκι (πέρδιξ, -ικος) eventuell eine diminutive Bedeutung gegenüber etwa δεκανίκι, βρεθίκι, die keine diminutive Bedeutung aufweisen.

8. Was das Suffix -ίτσα/-ιτσα angeht, so stellt Georgakas fest, daß dies in den mittel- und neugr. Ortsnamen dieser Art (z. B. Γλαβίτσα ή, Γρανίτσα ή, Σελίνιτσα ή) slavischen Ursprungs ist, wie es aus den Ergebnissen des klassischen Werkes über die slavischen Ortsnamen Griechenlands von M. Vasmer (Die Slaven in Griechenland, Berlin 1940) weiter bekannt wurde³⁵. Es muß hier notiert werden, daß ngr. -ίτσα/-ιτσα, das ON. bezeichnet, keine diminutive Bedeutung hat, so wie das entsprechende slavische ON.-Suffix *-itsa* nicht diminutiv ist; andererseits ist slav. *-itsa* in Appellativa teilweise diminutiv. Nun weist -ίτσα (mit der Betonung auf der vorletzten Silbe) in

³³ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 236.

³⁴ G. Rohlfs, Dizionario toponomastico e onomastico della Calabria (Ravenna 1974), S. 223.

³⁵ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 46 ff.

den entsprechenden mittel- und ngr. Appellativa eine diminutive Bedeutung auf und ist nach Georgakas als eine feminine Nachbildung des sächlichen -ίτσι zu verstehen: *μαννίκιν > *μαννίτσιν > pontisch μαννίτσα 'Mütterchen'³⁶. Um zu beweisen, daß die Umbildung der sächlichen Namen auf -ίτσι zu Feminina auf -ίτσα möglich ist, benutzt Georgakas die folgende Argumentation: a) Er richtet einen Katalog mit zwanzig Substantiven aus dem Gebiet Kerkyra und Paxoi ein, durch welche die Koexistenz der Formen auf -ίτσι und -ίτσα bestätigt wird: (ἄγγούρι) ἄγγουρίτσι – ἄγγουρίτσα, (γαρίδι) γαριδίτσι – γαριδίτσα, (κουκλί) κουκλίτσι – κουκλίτσα, (ντομάτα) ντοματίτσι – ντοματίτσα usw.³⁷, vgl. noch δαμαλίτσα- δαμαλίτσιν (Zypern), λαηνίτσα- λαηνίτσιν (Dodekanes) usw.³⁸. b) Er stellt fest, daß das Suffix -ίτσι auf Ereikussa als diminutives Suffix zum Bezeichnen von Frauennamen vorkommt, z. B. 'Αμαλίτσι ('Αμαλία), Μαριγουλίτσι (Μαριγούλα) usw., und führt einen Katalog mit 9 Frauennamen aus demselben Gebiet an, wo die Suffixe -ίτσι und -ίτσα parallel laufen: 'Αγλαίτσα – 'Αγλαίτσι, 'Αμαλίτσα – 'Αμαλίτσι, 'Ελενίτσα – 'Ελενίτσι, Νικολίτσα – Νικολίτσι usw.³⁹. Bei dieser Argumentation vergißt aber Georgakas offensichtlich, daß auch der umgekehrte Weg, d. h. die Nachbildung der Feminina auf -ίτσα zu Neutra auf -ίτσι möglich ist, wie dies leicht aus dem Sprachmaterial, das er selbst anführt, bewiesen werden kann, z. B. βαρκουλίτσα (βάρκα) – βαρκουλίτσι, βραγίτσα (βραγιά 'Gartenbett') – βραγίτσι, γατίτσα (γάτα) – γατίτσι, ἐλίτσα (ἐλιά) – ἐλίτσι, θαλασσίτσα (θάλασσα) – θαλασσίτσι, κατσαρολίτσα (κατσαρόλα) – κατσαρολίτσι, κωλοφωτίτσα (κωλοφωτιά 'Johanniswürmchen') – κωλοφωτίτσι, μεσίτσα (μέση 'Taille') – μεσίτσι u. a.⁴⁰, bei denen evident ist, daß die Bildungen auf -ίτσα älter als jene auf -ίτσι sind. Wenn wir also annehmen, daß gewisse

³⁶ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 136 ff. und sonst.

³⁷ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 246.

³⁸ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 145.

³⁹ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 144.

⁴⁰ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 240 ff. Die Beispiele stammen aus dem breiteren Raum Paxoi-Kerkyra.

südslavische Namen mit dem Suffix *-itsa* ins Griechische eingedrungen sind (z. B. βερβερίτσα, γουστερίτσα, δρεβενίτσα, κομπλίτσα usw.), wie Georgakas selbst bemerkt⁴¹, dann ist die Möglichkeit, das Suffix -ίτσι als eine Nachbildung eines ursprünglichen slavischen Suffixes *-itsa* zu betrachten, theoretisch nicht ausgeschlossen.

9. Es lohnt sich, die Gedanken von Georgakas in bezug auf die Möglichkeit, -ίτσα als slavisch zu betrachten, kurz zu verfolgen. Er bemerkt, daß von etwa 250 slavischen Lehnwörtern im Neugriechischen nur die folgenden vier eine gewisse Verbreitung haben: βερβερίτσα 'Eichhörnchen', γουστερίτσα 'Eidechse', κολιάνιτσα/κολιάντσα 'Gelenkkrankheit der Tiere', μουσίτσα 'Insekt der Hülsenfrüchte'. Von den übrigen slavischen Lehnwörtern, die in Nordgriechenland, Epeiros, Makedonien, Thrakien und Thessalien gebraucht werden, aber in anderen griechischen Gebieten nicht vorkommen, erwähnt Georgakas 11 Formen auf -ίτσα: γκασσιανίτσα 'Seidenraupe', γκουρλίτσα 'Krankheit des Kehlkopfs bei Tieren', γρουστουνίτσα 'Art Pflanze', δρεβενίτσα 'Feldflasche', κομπλίτσα 'Melkeimer', μόλιτσα 'Motte', νουζίτσα 'Riemen', πολίτσα 'Wandgewölbe, Versteck', πόνιτσα/μπόνιτσα 'tragbarer Backofen', τρινίτσα in κουλουτρινίτσα 'Kokkyx (Anatomie)', τσιουρίτσα 'harte Drüse'⁴². Von den zahlreichen ngr. Namen auf -ίτσα sind einige nach Georgakas in die südslavischen Sprachen eingedrungen: θρυμπίτσα (θρύμπα) > bulg. *drimbítsa*, καρφίτσα > bulg. *karfítsa*, μαννίτσα (μάννα) > bulg. *manítsa*, δασκαλίτσα (δασκάλα) > bulg. von Skopje *daskalítsa*, τηγανίτσα (τηγανίτα) > bulg. (und Skopje) *tiganítsa*, πατερίτσα (πατερική ράβδος) > bulg. *páteritsa*, serbokr. *pátarica*, νυφίτσα (νύφη) > bulg. (und Skopje) *nífitsa*, ζωνίτσα (ζώνη), ζουνίτσα > serbokr. *zúnica*⁴³. Die Argumentation von Georgakas, daß das ngr. Suffix -ίτσα nicht unbedingt slavischer Herkunft sein kann, besteht also darin: a) daß das Suffix -ίτσα in ngr. Dialektgebieten erscheint, wie Unteritalien,

⁴¹ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 45.

⁴² Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 45 ff.

⁴³ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 58 ff.

Kleinasien und Dodekanes, wo slavischer Einfluß undenkbar oder wenig wahrscheinlich ist, und b) daß das Suffix -ίτσα zwischen dem Neugriechischen und den südslavischen Sprachen in Lehnwörtern wechselt, die aus diesen Sprachen ins Neugriechische und umgekehrt eindringen.

10. In bezug auf die Ansicht von Georgakas zu -ίτσα ist Folgendes zu bemerken. Eine eventuelle Nachbildung sächlicher Namen auf -ίτσι zu entsprechenden Feminina auf -ίτσα kann nicht als die ausschließliche Quelle der letzteren betrachtet werden, wie Georgakas behauptet, zumal auch die umgekehrte Bildung, wie oben gezeigt, möglich ist. Ich bin der Meinung, daß auch im Fall von -ίτσα dasselbe gilt, was wir schon für -ίτσι festgestellt haben, daß also wahrscheinlich mehrere Suffixe im Griechischen zum mittel- und ngr. -ίτσα verschmolzen sind. Im Folgenden will ich auf ein solches Suffix ein bißchen ausführlicher hinweisen.

10.1. Das Suffix -ίτσα weist in ngr. Appellativa eine klare diminutive Funktion auf, was mit dem slav. *-itsa* nicht immer der Fall ist, weil slav. *-itsa* nur teilweise diminutiv ist⁴⁴. Nun kann man für fast alle von den etwa 240 in G. Kurmulis vorkommenden ngr. Namen auf -ίτσα⁴⁵ leicht die Wurzel feststellen, an die -ίτσα angefügt wird; dies ist aber nicht möglich im Fall von wenigen Namen, wie z. B. πατερίτσα 'Bischofsstab' (πατερό zu πατῶ?), μαγειρίτσα 'Art Suppe aus Innereien' (μάγειρας?, μαγειρείό?, μαγειριά?) usw. Die Frage ist hier nämlich, ob πατερίτσα und μαγειρίτσα auf älteren femininen Adj. *πατερίτισσα (sc. ῥάβδος) und *μαγειρίτισσα (sc. σούπα) beruhen, zumal sich mittel- und ngr. -ίτισσα in den Beinamen z. B. der Gottesmutter zu -ίτσα entwickeln konnte: Μακρινίτσα ON. < Παναγιά ἡ Μακρινίτισσα (s. unter 10.3).

10.2. Das agr. Suffix -ίτης ist sehr produktiv; damit werden EN. des Abstammungsortes ('Αβδηρίτης < 'Αβδηρα, Συβαρίτης < Σύβαρις) und vor allem Appellativa (πόλις – πολίτης,

⁴⁴ Vgl. T. I. Vendina, Schodstva i različija suffiksov *-ic(a)* i *-nic(a)* v slavjanskich jazikach, Obščeslavjanskij lingvističeskij atlas 1981 (Moskau 1984), S. 101 ff.

⁴⁵ Kurmulis, Rückl. Wb., S. 117 ff.

όδός – όδίτης, ζεῦγος – ζευγίτης, τράπεζα – τραπεζίτης, μάκαρ – μακαρίτης, άσπίς – άσπιδίτης) gebildet. Das Suffix ist u. a. zur Produktion von Namen, die verschiedene Brot- und Kuchensorten bezeichnen, spezialisiert worden: τηγανίτης (sc. ἄρτος) 'auf der Pfanne gebackenes Brot' < τήγανον, πλακίτας ἄρτος < πλάξ, ζυμίτης ἄρτος < ζύμη. Dasselbe Suffix produziert ebenso gebräuchliche Namen zur Bezeichnung von verschiedenen Weinsorten: φοινικίτης οἶνος 'Palmwein', ὀμφακίτης 'aus unreifen Weintrauben zubereiteter Wein', μηλίτης 'Apfelwein'. Mit oder ohne Angabe des λίθος werden ebenfalls Namen gebildet, die Gesteine oder Edelsteine bezeichnen: λίθος αίματίτης 'blutfarbig', πυρίτης (λίθος) 'Feuerstein', μαργαρίτης 'Perle' usw. Durch die Kombination des Suffixes -ίτης mit anderen Namen, z. B. πλακίτης ἄρτος oder φοινικίτης οἶνος ist eine adjektivische Bedeutung der Namen auf -ίτης entstanden⁴⁶; die adjektivische Bedeutung der Namen auf -ίτης hat während der nachklassischen Zeit nicht nur fortgelebt sondern zugenommen, wie dies besonders durch die zahlreichen ngr. Dialektbeispiele bestätigt wird.

10.3. Das Suffix -ίτης ist nach Palmer auch in der nachklassischen Zeit sehr produktiv. Die Derivate auf -ίτης bezeichnen Nomina agentis, die mit dem durch die Wurzel bezeichneten Objekt semantisch verbunden sind: καμηλίτης 'Kameltreiber', ποταμίτης 'Arbeiter in einem Fluß', κυαμωνίτης 'der einen Saubohnengarten pflegt', πωμαρίτης (< πωμάριον 'Obstgarten') 'Obsthändler', τεμαχίτης 'gesalzener Fisch', ὀλοπυρίτης 'Brot aus ungemahlenem Weizen', κελλαρίτης 'Lagerhalter, Lagerist', σταβλίτης 'der an einem Pferdestall einer Poststation dienende Mann' usw.⁴⁷. Das entsprechende zur Bildung von Feminina Suffix -ίτισσα (-ίτης + -ισσα) wird aus Gründen, die uns entgehen (vielleicht wegen der beschränkten Rolle der Frauen in der Gesellschaft des Orients) mit weniger Beispielen bezeugt: πωμαρίτισσα 'Obsthändlerin' (Papyri), πολίτισσα 'Bürgerin' (Malalas), στυλίτισσα (Stud. Pont. 3, 134), το-

⁴⁶ Buck-Petersen, Index, S. 545.

⁴⁷ L. R. Palmer, A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri II: The Suffixes (London 1946), S. 111 ff.

ποτηρήτισσα (Porphyrog.), κομήτισσα (Th. Stud.)⁴⁸. Da aber das Suffix -ισσα für Feminina eine ziemlich große Verbreitung in alt- und mittelhellenischer Zeit genoß und durch seine Hinzufügung zu irgendeiner Basis beliebige Feminina leicht bilden konnte, z. B. φυλάκ-ισσα, καπήλ-ισσα, πατρών-ισσα, ἀνακτόρ-ισσα, μισθάρν-ισσα, διακόν-ισσα usw.⁴⁹, ist es anzunehmen, daß das Suffix -ίτισσα viel mehr, als seine schriftlichen Belege attestieren, verbreitet war. Dies kann man aufgrund der zahlreichen Adjektive auf -ίτισσα der Gottesmutter behaupten, die sowohl mündlich als auch schriftlich überliefert sind. So heißt die Παναγία 'Gottesmutter' nach ihren Eigenschaften, dem Ort, wo sich ihre Kirche befindet, der Jahreszeit, in der sie gefeiert wird usw., Ἀποσπορίτισσα, Βλαχερνίτισσα, Λεμονίτισσα (= Ἐλεημονίτισσα, Ἐλεημονήτρια), Ἐννιαμερίτισσα, Παλαιοφορίτισσα, Χρυσοποδαρίτισσα, Πορταίτισσα usw. usf. Viele von diesen Adjektiven haben sich im Volksmunde zu -ίτσα entwickelt, werden aber vom Sprachwissenschaftler nur schwer entdeckt, weil die Sammler dieser Beinamen gewöhnlich zu gelehrten kirchlichen Kreisen gehören und sich dafür interessieren, die volle Form auf -ίτισσα anzugeben. Ich weise auf einige solche BN. der Gottesmutter hin; in Parenthese wird die gelehrte Form angeführt: Λουβιαρίτσα (Λουβιαρίτισσα) 'Kirche der Gottesmutter auf Rhodos, wohin die λουβιάρηδες, d. h. die Leprakranken zur Heilung gehen'⁵⁰. Παρηγορίτσα (Παρηγορίτισσα 'die konsolierende, tröstende'), Kirche der Gottesmutter in Arta⁵¹. Ξεσπορίτσα (Ξεσπορίτισσα) 'Festtag der Gottesmutter und die Jahreszeit, nach der nicht mehr gesät wird', Veroia und Velvendos. Παλιοκαστρίτσα (Παλιοκαστρίτισσα) 'auf der alten Burg gelegene Kirche und BN. der Gottesmutter', Kerkyra. Μακρινίτσα (Μακρινίτισσα) 'Kirche mit Kloster der Gottesmutter und gleichnamiges Dorf' [Volos, Pelion] von einem Stifter Μακρινίτης, d. h.

⁴⁸ Buck-Petersen, Index, S. 743.

⁴⁹ Buck-Petersen, Index, S. 741.

⁵⁰ Chr. Papachristodulu, Τοπωνυμικό τῆς Ρόδου (Rhodos 1951), S. 173.

⁵¹ Sp. Lambros in N. Hellenomnemon 2 (1905), S. 297.

Einwohner des Dorfes *Μακρινόν oder Μακρίνον (< slav. *mokrō* 'feucht, reich an Wasser') usw.⁵².

10.4. Von den vielen Namen auf -ίτης, die in alt- und nachklassischer Zeit bezeugt sind und die Art und Weise der Zubereitung des Brotes bezeichnen, nämlich ἄλευρίτης, ζυμίτης, κριβανίτης 'im Backofen gebacken', ὀβελίτης (= ὀβελίας ἄρτος 'im Spieß gebacken'), πιτυρίτης, πυρίτης 'von Weizen zubereitet', ὀλοπυρίτης, ξηροπυρίτης, ψηροπυρίτης, αὐτοπυρίτης, πλακίτας (dor.) 'flaches Brot', σεμιδαλίτης, σησαμίτης, τηγανίτης 'in der Pfanne gebraten', χονδρίτης 'aus grobem Mehl zubereitet' u. a., hat sich τηγανίτης in ngr. τηγανίτα 'Pfannkuchen' bewahrt. Das agr. τηγανίτης (ἄρτος) 'Art Speise, die mit Öl oder Fett in der Pfanne gebraten wird' wird durch Hipponax (Fragm. 36: οὐ τηγανίτας σηςάμοισι φαρμάσσων) überliefert und hat schon bei Hesych seine ngr. Bedeutung entwickelt: ἄρτος ἐπὶ τηγάνου γεγωνὼς καὶ μετὰ τυροῦ ὀπτώμενος. N. Andriotis betrachtet τηγανίτα als feminine Bildung des agr. Adj. τηγανίτης (ἄρτος) nach ngr. πῆτα 'Pastete, Brotkuchen'⁵³. Wir haben schon erwähnt, daß ngr. τηγανίτα als ngr. Lehnwort in anderen Balkansprachen vorkommt: bulg. *tiganítsa*, serbokr. *tigánitsa*, rum. *tiganîta*. Es fragt sich aber, ob die Endung -itsa des gr. Wortes in diesen Sprachen eine Anpassung des ngr. Suffixes -ίτα in τηγανίτα nach dem in ihnen vorkommenden slav. Suff. -itsa darstellt oder ob wir es hier mit einer griechischen Entwicklung -ίτα > -ίτσα zu tun haben. Zu dieser Frage scheint Georgakas die Ansicht von Andriotis zu teilen, wonach die Entwicklung -ίτα > -ίτσα im Ngr. volksetymologisch entstanden ist⁵⁴. Die Möglichkeit einer ngr. Bildung hier τηγανίτσα < *τηγανίτισσα (sc. ζύμη, πῆτα usw.) wird aus den pontischen Beispielen (s. unter 11 ff.) evident, wo die Suffixe -ίτα / -ίτσα parallel in demselben Wort vorkommen können. Von den ebenfalls zahlreichen agr. Namen auf -ίτης, die die Art und Weise der Weinzubereitung

⁵² M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* (Berlin 1940), S. 40, 193.

⁵³ Andriotis, EW., S. 367.

⁵⁴ N. Andriotis, *Τά ἑλληνικά στοιχεῖα τῆς βουλγαρικῆς γλώσσης*, *Archeion tou Thrakikou Laographikou kai Glossikou Thesaurou* 17 (1952), S. 51 ff.

bezeichnen und sich vor allem auf den Gebrauch aromatischer Pflanzen oder Bitterkräuter beziehen, d. h. ἀκορίτης οἶνος 'mit der aromatischen Pflanze ἄκορον gewürzt', ἀνηθίτης 'mit Anissamen zubereiteter Wein', ἀψινθίτης, ἔλλεβορίτης, θαλασσίτης, θυμβρίτης 'mit θύμβρον/θύμβρα, Art Bitterkraut, zubereitet', θυμίτης, καλαμινθίτης, κεδρίτης, κεστρίτης, μαραθίτης, μανδραγορίτης, μελιτίτης, μυρτίτης, πηγανίτης, πισσίτης, πρασίτης, ῥοδίτης, σπαθίτης, συκομορίτης, φοινικίτης u. a. lebt θυμβρίτης in ngr. θρυμπίτσα, θρουμπίτσα 'die aromatische Pflanze θύμβρον oder θύμβρα' fort, das unserer Meinung nach eine feminine Bildung *θυμβρίτισσα (sc. βοτάνη) zu Maskulinum θυμβρίτης ist; ngr. θρυμπίτσα ist mit derselben Bedeutung ins Bulgarische eingedrungen: *drimbítsa*. Das Suffix *-ítsa* in *drimbítsa* wird von Georgakas als griechisch, während von M. Filipova-Bajrova als bulgarisch angesehen⁵⁵.

11. Aufschlußreich für den breiteren Gebrauch, den die Suffixe -ίτης, -ίτισσα einst hatten, ist der pontische Dialekt, der sie in den vor allem pflanzenbezeichnenden Suffixen -ίτα f. (< -ίτης) und -ίτσα f. (< -ίτισσα) bewahrt hat. Wir unterscheiden hier drei Kategorien:

11.1. Namen auf -ίτα, die Pflanzen bezeichnen: (βελόνιν 'Nadel':) βελονίτα, ἡ 'Art Kraut mit nadelförmigen Blättern' HLP. 1, S.186. (βρεχῆ 'Regen':) βρεχίτα, ἡ 'Art Mohnblume, die nach dem Regen blüht' HLP. 1, S.202. (μανίν 'Feuerschwamm' < agr. ἀμανίτης μύκης:) μανίτα, ἡ 'Weizenunkraut, das eine schwarze Frucht wie der Ruß produziert' HLP. 2, S.13. (πικρός 'bitter':) πικρίτα, ἡ 'Art Lattich mit bitterem Geschmack' HLP. 2, S.192. (ραχίν 'Berg':) ραχίτα, ἡ 'Art Kraut, das in den Bergen wächst' HLP. 2, S.248. (σκόρδον 'Knoblauch':) σκορδίτα, ἡ 'Art wilder Knoblauch' HLP. 2, S.291. (σαπώνιν 'Seife':) σαπωνίτα, ἡ 'wildes Kraut, das wie eine Seife schäumt' HLP. 2, S.266. (χαῥχάσιν 'Mohn' < tü. *haṣhaṣ*;) χαῥχαῥίτα, ἡ 'Mohn' HLP. 2, S.503, usw.

11.2. Namen, die Pflanzen bezeichnen und neben -ίτα eine zweite Endung auf -ίτσα aufweisen, so daß die Formen auf

⁵⁵ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S.58, M. Filipova-Bajrova, Grũtski zaemki v sũvremenija bũlgarski ezik (Sofia 1969), S.87.

-ίτα und -ίτσα parallel vorkommen; -ίτσα kann hier ursprünglich nicht diminutiv sein: (ἀλεύριν 'Mehl', vgl. agr. ἀλευρίτης ἄρτος 'mit Mehl zubereitetes Brot':) ἀλευρίτα, ἡ/ἀλευρίτσα, ἡ 'Art Strauch, dessen Frucht Mehlbeschaffenheiten hat' HLP. 1, S.43. (ἀμπέλιν 'Weinrebe':) ἀμπελίτα, ἡ/ἀμπελίτσα, ἡ 'eine der Weinrebe ähnliche Pflanzenart' HLP. 1, S.53. (μῆλον 'Apfel', vgl. agr. μηλίτης οἶνος 'Apfelwein':) μηλίτα, ἡ/μηλίτσα, ἡ 'Art Strauch mit roten Früchten' HLP. 2, S.44. (σταυρός 'Kreuz':) σταυρίτα, ἡ/σταυρίτσα, ἡ 'Art eßbares Kraut, dessen Blätter ein Kreuz bilden' HLP. 2, S.315. (σταφύλιν 'Weintraube', vgl. agr. σταφυλίτης 'Benennung des Dionysos, der die Weinberge hütet':) σταφυλίτα, ἡ/σταφυλίτσα, ἡ 'Art Kraut mit traubenartiger Frucht' HLP. 2, S.317. (στράτα 'Straße':) στρατίτα, ἡ/στρατίτσα, ἡ 'eßbares Kraut, das seine Sprosse auf die Erde ausstreckt' HLP. 2, S.329, usw. Selten sind die Fälle, in denen -ίτα und -ίτσα dieselbe Wurzel semantisch differenzieren: (μαχάριν 'Messer':) μαχαιρίτα, ἡ 'Art Kraut mit messerartigen Blättern'/μαχαιρίτσα, ἡ 'die Lilie, offensichtlich wegen der messerartigen Blätter' HLP. 2, S.28.

11.3. Namen auf -ίτσα, die Pflanzen bezeichnen, bei denen jedoch eine parallele Form auf -ίτα nicht üblich ist: (ἀδράχτιν 'Spindel':) ἀδραχτίτσα 'Art eßbaren spindelförmigen Pilzes' HLP. 1, S.25. (ἀχάντιν 'Dorn':) ἀχαντίτσα, ἡ 'Art Pflanze mit dornartigen Blättern' HLP. 1, S.168. (βραχάλιν 'Armband':) βραχαλίτσα, ἡ 'Geißblatt, aus dessen Ästen Armbänder gemacht werden' HLP. 1, S.202. (πιπέριν 'Paprikaschote':) πιπερίτσα, ἡ 'Art Kraut mit Paprikageschmack' HLP. 2, S.194. (σαχτάριν 'Asche':) σαχταρίτσα '1. Art selbstwachsenden aschenfarbigen Kohls, 2. Aschenputtel' HLP. 2, S.269. (σεραντάριν 'Zeitraum von 40 Tagen':) σερανταρίτσα, ἡ 'Art Bohnenpflanze, die 40 Tage, nachdem sie gesät wird, Bohnen bringt' HLP. 2, S.274. (τρομαχτός, Adj. 'zitternd':) τρομαχτίτσα, ἡ 'die Pappel, deren Blätter bei dem ersten leichten Wind zittern' HLP. 2, S.423. (χοζάνιν 'unbebauter Acker':) χοζανίτσα, ἡ 'jedes Kraut, das in einem unbebauten Acker wächst' HLP. 2, S.516, usw.

12. Daß die pontischen pflanzenbezeichnenden Namen auf -ίτσα ursprünglich keine diminutive Bedeutung hatten, zeigt

sich an Fällen, wo das diminutive Suffix -ίτσα eine andere semantische Funktion als das entsprechende phytonymische aufweist, z. B.: (γλώσσα 'Zunge':) γλωσσίτα, ἡ 'Art Pflanze, deren Blätter einer Zunge ähneln', I. γλωσσίτσα, ἡ = γλωσσίτα, ἡ, II. γλωσσίτσα, ἡ (Dimin.) 'kleine Zunge' HLP. 1, S.233 oder (γάλα 'Milch':) γαλατίτα, ἡ/γαλαχτίτα, ἡ 'Art Kraut mit milchartigem Saft', I. γαλατίτσα, ἡ/γαλαχτίτσα, ἡ = γαλατίτα, ἡ/γαλαχτίτα, ἡ, II. γαλατίτσα, ἡ (Dimin.) 'wenig Milch, Milchlein' HLP. 1, S.211. In γαλατίτα, ἡ/γαλαχτίτα, ἡ 'Kraut mit milchartigem Saft' erkennen wir leicht eine feminine Nachbildung des agr. Adj. γαλακτίτης (z. B. λίθος in der Bedeutung: 1. 'Art Stein, der milchartige Flüssigkeit bringt, wenn er naß gerieben wird' Dioskur. 5, 132, 2. 'die Pflanze γαλακτίς, sonst τιθύμαλλος') nach dem f. βοτάνη (γαλακτίτης > *γαλακτίτα > γαλατίτα, ἡ) an; in γαλατίτσα/γαλαχτίτσα, ἡ (I) haben wir eine Entwicklung *γαλακτίτισσα (sc. βοτάνη) > γαλαχτίτσα/γαλατίτσα, ἡ. Der Schwund des unbetonten inlautenden *i* im Pontischen, wie sonst im Neugriechischen, ist wohl bekannt: pont. ξενοχωρίτες, f. ξενοχωρίτισσα > ξενοχωρίτ'σα > ξενοχωρίτσα HLP. 2, S.91, κλινοκαιρίτης, f. *κλινοκαιρίτισσα > κλινοκαιρίτσα HLP. 1, S.449, usw.

13. Nachdem uns das Pontische Aufschluß über die Erklärung des -ίτσα aus -ίτισσα gegeben hat, können wir nunmehr untersuchen, ob sich die aus dem Pontischen gewonnenen Resultate auch bei anderen ngr. Mundarten bestätigen lassen. Namen auf -ίτης kommen noch in Kephallenien vor⁵⁶: ἀκληρίτης/ἀκληρίτης, ὁ 'ohne Erbe verbliebene Person' (152), ἀστρίτης, ὁ (vgl. agr. ἀστερίτης) 'Schlange mit sternartigen Flecken' (172), δροσίτης, ὁ 'Gurke' (197), κλουδίτας/κλουδίτης, ὁ 'faules Ei' (224), ξωμερίτης, ὁ 'der außerhalb eines Dorfes Wohnende' (284), σαπίτης, ὁ 'faule Frucht' (307), usw. Von den entsprechenden femininen Bildungen auf -ίτισσα wird nur der BN. der Gottesmutter Μισοσπορίτισσα 'der Feiertag Mariä Opferung, wenn die halbe Saat zu Ende ist' (256) (offenbar eine gelehrte Form) überliefert, weil sich die

⁵⁶ Die Verweise hier auf E. Tsitselis, Γλωσσάριον Κεφαλληνίας, Neohellenika Analekta Parnassou 2 (1876), S.145-363.

übrigen aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zu -ίτσα entwickeln konnten. Ἀγιοβασιλίτσα, ἡ (148), auch βασιλίτσα, ἡ (177) ist 'eine wilde Pflanze mit dicker Zwiebel und fleischigen Blättern, die während des Feiertages des Ἅγιος Βασίλειος, also zum Neuen Jahr, auf die Terrassen und die Dächer der Häuser gesetzt wird'; dieselbe Benennung (d.h. ἁγιοβασιλίτσα, ἡ und βασιλίτσα, ἡ) hat auch 'der Brotkuchen, der am selben Tag zubereitet wird und ein besonderes Format hat'. Es ist offensichtlich, daß sich dasselbe Adj. ἁγιοβασιλίτισσα 'dem Tage des Ἅγιος Βασίλειος zugehörig' mit zwei verschiedenen Komplementen, βοτάνη 'Pflanze' und πῆτα 'Kuchen', zu derselben Form ἁγιοβασιλίτσα entwickelt hat. So ist auch φωτίτσα, ἡ 'Art Brotkuchen, der am Tag der Φῶτα (Dreikönigsfest) zubereitet wird' (345) auf ein Adj. Φωτίτισσα (d.h. πῆτα) zurückzuführen; φωτίτσα 'Art Brotkuchen' hat also mit allgemeingr. φωτίτσα, ἡ 'kleines Feuer' nichts zu tun. Ähnlich ist λαμπαδίτσα, ἡ 'warmer drückender Wind, der in der Sommerzeit gewöhnlich weht' (241) von allgemeingr. λαμπαδίτσα 'kleine Altarkerze' (λαμπάδα + -ίτσα) abzutrennen und auf die f. Form *λαμπαδίτισσα (sc. πνοή, αὔρα, vgl. νοτιά, ἡ) des belegten agr. Adj. λαμπαδίτης zurückzuführen, usw.

14. Zahlreiche Namen auf -ίτσα, die Pflanzen oder Bäume bezeichnen, befinden sich im Katalog der Namen auf -ίτσα, die Georgakas aus dem breiteren Gebiet Paxoi-Kerkyra zusammengestellt hat⁵⁷. Wir werden uns nur auf einige Namen dieses Katalogs beschränken. Was oben im § 12 für pont. γαλατίτα/γαλατίτσα gesagt worden ist, gilt auch für (ἄ)γαλατίτσα, ἡ 'Gänsedistel, Euphorbium', das nach Georgakas in wenigstens 10 Orten des Gebietes Paxoi-Kerkyra belegt ist und in ganz Griechenland verbreitet ist. Der Name σταφυλίτσα 'Weinrebe' in Verbindung zu der parallelen Form σταφυλίτας, ὁ, die Georgakas für Ereikussa anführt⁵⁸, führt uns zum agr. Adj. σταφυλίτης (sc. θάμνος), dessen dorische Form (vgl. dor. κραμβίτας, ὁ, σκοτίτας, ὁ) sich in Ereikussa bewahrt hat, während sich die f. Bildung *σταφυλίτισσα zu σταφυλίτσα

⁵⁷ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 240 ff.

⁵⁸ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 244.

(vgl. oben § 11.2 pont. σταφυλίτα, ή/σταφυλίτσα, ή) entwickelt hat. Charakteristisch für die Denkweise, wie wir uns gegenüber einigen Derivaten auf -ίτσα verhalten, ist καλλιπίτσα 'Ginsterbesen zum Kehren des Hofes'⁵⁹, vgl. auch καλλιπίτσι 'Ginsterbesen für den Hof'⁶⁰. Georgakas vermutet richtig, daß sich in καλλιπίτσα und καλλιπίτσι ein Derivat von καλλωπίζω 'verschönen, fegen' versteckt (für καλλιπίτσι z. B. fragt sich Georgakas, ob es aus einem *καλλωπίτσα herzuleiten ist), vermag aber diese Derivation nicht näher zu bestimmen, weil eine Form *καλλιπιά, ή, zu der das Suffix -ίτσα hinzugefügt werden könnte, nicht belegt ist. Eine Form *καλλιπιά, *καλλωπιά wird offensichtlich deswegen nicht attestiert, weil καλλιπίτσα auf einer älteren Form *καλλωπίτισσα (d. h. βοτάνη), f. Bildung zu Adj. *καλλωπίτης zu καλλωπίζω, beruht; man vergleiche hierzu pont. φροκαλίτα, ή 'Strauch, aus dem Besen gemacht werden', HLP. 2, S. 464, in Verbindung mit mgr. ngr. φροκαλίτσα, φροκαλίτσα 'Besen aus Strauch'. Da pont. φροκαλίτα mit pont. und ngr. φροκαλίτσα, φροκαλίτσα nach dieser Art und Weise verbunden zu sein scheint, die für die oben § 11.2 angeführten Paare, z. B. άμπελίτα, ή/άμπελίτσα, ή gilt, wird die nachverbale Ableitung des mgr. φιλοκάλιν 'Strauchbesen, Besen' aus φιλοκαλῶ 'verschönen, fegen' nach Ph. Kukules sehr zweifelhaft⁶¹. Wir würden viel eher ngr. φροκαλίτσα, φροκαλίτσα auf ein älteres *φιλοκαλίτισσα (sc. βοτάνη) (zu Adj. *φιλοκαλίτης < φιλοκαλῶ) zurückführen, das sich zu *φιλοκαλίτσα, φροκαλίτσα, φροκαλίτσα (mit Schwund des unbetonten i, Dissimilation l-l > r-l, r-Metathese) entwickeln konnte; von *φιλοκαλίτσα ist dann nach dem Schema z. B. *καρφίν + -ίτσα > καρφίτσα ein φιλοκάλιν entstanden, auf dem die ngr. mundartlichen Formen φροκάλι, φροκάλι 'Strauchbesen' beruhen.

15. In manchen Gegenden Griechenlands wird -ίτσα zur Bezeichnung der Verwandtschaft gebraucht, weist also eine

⁵⁹ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 241.

⁶⁰ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 224.

⁶¹ Ph. Kukules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καί πολιτισμός, Bd. 2 II (Athen 1949), S. 109.

patronymische, gynäkonymische und andronymische Funktion auf. Als patronymisch kommt das Suffix nach Georgakas auf der Insel Chalke von Dodekanes vor: ἡ Λαζαρίτσα = ἡ κόρη τοῦ Λάζαρου, ἡ Μαρτίτσα = ἡ κόρη τοῦ Μάρτη, ἡ Μπαστουνίτσα = ἡ κόρη τοῦ Μπαστούνα, ἡ Σκοινίτσα = ἡ κόρη τοῦ Σκοινάκη usw.⁶²; derselbe Gebrauch des -ίτσα ist mir bekannt aus Euböa: ἡ Μπιναρίτσα = ἡ κόρη τοῦ Μπίναρου, ἡ Σκιανίτσα = ἡ κόρη τοῦ Σκιάνη, ἡ Ψηλαντίτσα = ἡ κόρη τοῦ Ὑψηλάντη⁶³. Die metronymische Funktion des -ίτσα wird auf Rhodos bestätigt: ἡ Ἐλενίτσα 'die Tochter von Ἐλένα', z. B. τό Πποινιόν ἡ Ἐλενίτσα, ἡ Κατινίτσα 'die Tochter von Κατίνα', z. B. τό Μαργιόν ἡ Κατινίτσα⁶⁴. Als andronymisch wird meines Wissens -ίτσα auf Euböa bezeugt: ἡ Μπουσκίτσα, ἡ Μυλωνίτσα, ἡ Νταβελίτσα 'die Frau des Μποῦσκος, Μυλωνάς, Νταβέλας'⁶⁵. Georgakas glaubt, daß das Suffix -ίτσα im Fall von ἡ Ἐλενίτσα 'die Tochter von Ἐλένα' semantisch mit 'die kleine Tochter von Ἐλένα' identisch ist; dies ist aber nicht der Fall, weil Ἐλενίτσα hier einfach 'die Tochter von Ἐλένα' bedeutet, wie auch Ψηλαντίτσα 'die Tochter von (Ὑ)ψηλάντης', Μυλωνίτσα 'die Frau von Μυλωνάς' (also nicht 'die kleine Tochter, die kleine Frau usw.') ist. Mit anderen Worten funktioniert -ίτσα in allen diesen patronymischen, metronymischen und andronymischen Namen adjektivisch und kommt von dem älteren -ίτισσα her; eine Form Μυλωνίτσα, ἡ (< Μυλωνίτισσα) kann nämlich bezeichnen: a) die Frau eines Μυλωνάς 'Mühler', b) die Tochter von Μυλωνάς, c) die Tochter einer μυλωνού/Μυλωνά unabhängig davon, ob die betreffende Frau oder Tochter jung, alt usw. ist.

16. Charakteristisch für die Verwirrung, in die Georgakas mit Recht gerät, wenn zwei Wörter für zwei verschiedene Begriffe zusammenfallen können, wie wir dies oben § 12 am Bei-

⁶² Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 112 mit Verweis auf Chr. Papachristodulu, Festschrift f. M. Triandaphyllidis (Athen 1969), S. 335.

⁶³ Nach St. Karatzas, Byz.-Neugr. Jahrbücher 27 (Athen 1943), S. 130.

⁶⁴ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 112 mit Verweis auf Chr. Papachristodulu, Dodekanesiakon Archeion 3 (1957), S. 162, 170, 171.

⁶⁵ St. Karatzas, a. a. O.

spiel von γλωσσίτσα I und γλωσσίτσα II usw. gezeigt haben, ist, daß er denselben Namen μουσκαρίτσα, ἥ, den er mit der Bedeutung 'Kraut, das von Kühen und Kälbern (: μουσκάρια) gefressen wird' für Axos (Kappadokien) anführt⁶⁶, ein bißchen weiter unten⁶⁷ als feminine Bildung zu μουσκαρίτσιν < μουσκάρι 'Kalb' erklärt, sowie λαγηνίτσα nach ihm eine f. Bildung zu *λαγηνίτσι 'kleiner Krug' darstellt. Es ist aber evident, daß μουσκαρίτσα als 'weibliches Kalb' mit μουσκαρίτσα 'Kraut für Kälber' nicht identifiziert werden kann⁶⁸.

17. Was die Entwicklung des ursprünglich adjektivischen Suffixes -ίτσα/-ίτσα zum diminutiven anbelangt, so gibt es dafür mehrere Gründe, von denen der stärkste die Korrelation des -ίτσα mit dem entsprechenden diminutiven -ίτσι zu sein scheint. Von den übrigen innersprachlichen Gründen, auf die wir hier nicht eingehen wollen, könnte man die pontischen Fälle in Betracht ziehen, wo -ίτσα sowohl einen Strauch als auch seine kleinen Früchte bezeichnet (z. B. ἀχαντίτσα 'Brombeerstrauch und seine Frucht'), wodurch eine diminutive Bedeutung des -ίτσα entstehen könnte.

18. Was die Herkunft des mittel- und ngr. Diminutivsuffixes -ούτσικος angeht, folgt die Mehrheit der Forscher N. Dossios, der schon 1879 -ούτσικος aus dem italienischen Suffix *-uccio* + ngr. *-ικος* erklärt hat⁶⁹. Diese Erklärung von Dossios haben unmittelbar G. Hatzidakis, G. Meyer, K. Dieterich, N. Andriotis und neulich D. Tombaidis, G.-S. Henrich und R. Browning und mittelbar A. Jannaris und G. Rohlfs angenommen, die -ούτσικος aus einer Vorstufe -ούκιος/-ούκιον (< lat. *-uceus*, z. B. *pannuceus*) ableiten wollen. Verschieden ist die Meinung von A. Papadopulos, der das Suffix als slavisch, jedoch ohne klare Begründung, betrachtet, S. Kapsomenos, nach dem

⁶⁶ Georgacas, *The -its- Suffixes*, S. 100.

⁶⁷ Georgacas, *The -its- Suffixes*, S. 145

⁶⁸ Es sei noch notiert, daß in der Arbeit von G. Mavrohalyvidis-I. Kesisoglu, *Τό γλωσσικό ιδίωμα της 'Αξοῦ* (Athen 1960), S. 111, wovon der Beleg für μουσκαρίτσα 'Kraut für Kälber' von Georgacas entnommen wird, keine Erwähnung einer Bedeutung 'weibliches Kalb' zu finden ist.

⁶⁹ N. Dossios, *Beiträge zur neugriechischen Wortbildungslehre* (Zürich 1879), S. 41.

-ούτσικος auf agr. Adj. auf -ός + τις (καλός τις > καλούτσικος, vgl. agr. άλλοιόν τι > ngr. αλλοιώτικο) beruht, und J. Schröpfer, nach dessen Ansicht das ngr. Suffix aromunischer Herkunft ist⁷⁰.

19. Zum Problem der Herkunft des -ούτσικος folgt Georgakas Rohlfs, nach dem unterital. ngr. -*úci* (Bova) und -*úzzi* (Otranto) aus älterem -ούκιον < lat. *-uceum*, Akk. der adjektivischen Endung *-uceus*, z. B. *pannuceus*, herkommt. Die Erklärung von Rohlfs ist Georgakas umso lieber, als sie auf seine allgemeine These zum -ίτσι < -ίκιον usw. zu passen scheint⁷¹. Sieben von den insgesamt 8 Beispielen (mit einer Ausnahme für παλούτσι, zyprisch παλούκι/παλούτσιν, unterital. (Bova) *palúci* < lat. *paluceus* < *pālus*), die Georgakas zur Bekräftigung und zum Beleg für die Geltung der Ansicht Rohlfs' auch für den übrigen griechischen Sprachraum anbringt⁷², scheinen jedoch keine sichere diminutive Bedeutung zu haben und verlieren jede Beweiskraft, wenn man bedenkt, daß sie ausschließlich in den kleinasiatischen ngr. Dialekten vorkommen, die, wie bekannt, vom Türkischen stark beeinflußt sind. So sind die pontischen τᾶβλούκ und κουλούκιν die türkischen Wörter *çavlık* 'Gebüsch' und *kuluk* 'neugeborenes Tier'; κουλούκιν (unterital. gr. *kulúci* 'ds.') hat keine sichere Etymologie, während Rohlfs es als lautmachend betrachtet⁷³. Weiter werden pont. γουργούκι 'auf der Haut des Kopfes befindliche Beule' und μουθούκι 'Delphinartiger Walfisch' in HLP., wo sie entnommen sind, als unbekannten Ursprungs bezeichnet und weisen keine diminutive Bedeutung auf. Pont. νιουνιούκιν 'Muschelschale, die zu Musikinstrument gewandelt wird' wird in HLP. als lautmachend bezeichnet, wie ebenfalls lautmachend βουρβούκι/βουρβούτσι 'Menge, Fülle' zu sein scheint. Schließlich ist pont. σκυλλούχ 'Gewohnheit eines

⁷⁰ Gegen eine aromunische oder balkanische Herkunft des -ούτσικος s. Ch. Symeonidis in *Proceedings of the 9th Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, University of Thessaloniki* (Thessal. 1989), S. 71 f.

⁷¹ Georgakas, *The -its- Suffixes*, S. 265.

⁷² Georgakas, *The -its- Suffixes*, S. 257 ff.

⁷³ G. Rohlfs, *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae Inferioris* (Tübingen 1964), S. 267.

Hundes' aus σκύλλος durch das tü. Suffix *-luk* gebildet. Der Versuch von Georgakas -ούτσικος aus -ούκι, das sporadisch und asystematisch vorkommt, abzuleiten, ist m. E. mißlungen.

19.1. Selbst für die unterital. ngr. Namen auf *-úci* und *-úzzi* trifft meiner Meinung nach die Erklärung von Rohlf's (<-ούκιον) aus folgenden Gründen nicht zu.

19.1.1 Die Gesamtheit der unterital. gr. Namen auf *-úci/-úzzi* weist, mit einer einzigen Ausnahme für *palúci/παλούκι*, eine rein griechische Wurzel auf, an die *-úci/-úzzi* hinzugefügt wird; im Fall einer lateinischen Herkunft des Suffixes würden wir normalerweise einige lateinische Musterwörter auf *-úci/-úzzi* erwarten, nach deren Vorbild das Suffix auch in Wörtern griechischen Ursprungs erscheinen könnte.

19.1.2. Für die Gesamtheit der unteritalienischen gr. Namen auf *-úci/-úzzi*, die Georgakas aus verschiedenen Arbeiten von Rohlf's nimmt⁷⁴, lassen sich entsprechende ngr. Formen auf -ούδι dem ungrischen -ούκι gegenüber belegen (hier werden natürlich *palúci* : παλούκι, *kulúci* : κουλούκι ausgenommen). Die meisten Beispiele stammen aus Bova: *alogúci* : ἄλογούδι, *aftúci* : ἄφτούδι, *andruúci* : ἀνδρούδι, *argalúci* (ἄργαλιός): *ἄργαλιούδι, *arnúci* : ἄρνουδι, *avlakúci* : ἀβλακούδι, *gadarúci* : γαδαρούδι, *kliđúci* : κλειδούδι, *korakúci* : κορακούδι, *krearúci* : κριαρούδι, *krevattúci* : κρεβατούδι, *kunakúci* 'Schweinchen': *κουνακούδι, *lagúci* : λαγούδι < λαγώδιον, *pontikúci* : ποντικούδι, *provatúci* : προβατούδι, *riakúci* : ρυακούδι, *scolarúci* : σκολειαρούδι, *stohúci/otr. ftohúddi*, *aftehud-di* : φτωχούδι, *vrastarúci* 'kleiner Kessel': *βρασταρούδι, *hartúci* : χαρτούδι, *herúci* : χερούδι, *hortúci* : χορτούδι. Weniger Beispiele kommen in Otranto vor: *kriúzzi* : κριαρούδι, *κριούδι, *šiddúzzi* : σκυλλούδι.

19.2. Von den etwa 30 mittelgriechischen und über 80 ngr. Adjektiven auf -ούτσικος, die Georgakas einer zuverlässigen Quelle, dem Archiv des Historikon Lexikon des Neugriechischen, entnommen hat und in seiner Arbeit anführt⁷⁵, läßt sich keine adjektivische Wurzel als lateinischen Ursprungs beweisen.

⁷⁴ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S.263 f.

⁷⁵ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S.266-269.

sen; sämtliche Adj. auf -ούτσικος mit einer Ausnahme für *μπιρμπιλούτσικος* < *μπιρμπιλός* 'vielfältig', das Andriotis mit tü. *bir-biri* verbindet⁷⁶, weisen eine agr. Wurzel auf. Von den in Kurmulis vorkommenden Adj. auf -ούτσικος⁷⁷, von denen einige (z. B. *ἀργούτσικος*, *τοσοδούτσικος*, *ντροπαλούτσικος* usw.) mit dem von Georgakas angebrachten Material nicht zusammenfallen, ist nur *ἄσπρούτσικος* (*ἄσπρος* 'weiß' < lat. *asper* 'scharf, spitzig') lateinischer Abstammung; eine Form aber **ἄσπρούκιν* (< lat. **asp(e)ruceus*) ist im Griechischen nicht belegt. Es ist charakteristisch, daß weder Rohlf's noch Georgakas, der ihm folgt, auf ein einziges Suffix -ούκιον oder -uceum hinweisen konnten, das mit einem Adj. verbunden ist. In den Resultaten des betreffenden Kapitels bemerkt Georgakas, daß das Suffix -ούτζης in mgr. *γλυκούτζης* 'ein bißchen süß' und in pont. *κλαιμούτζης* 'wer die Tendenz zum Weinen hat' nichts anderes ist als die palatalisierte Form des Suffixes -ούκης in pont. *ἄλαλούκης* 'stumm' und *ἄφαγούκης* 'wer wenig ißt'⁷⁸; es ist aber den Forschern der kleinasiatischen ngr. Dialekte gut bekannt, daß die pontischen Adjektive auf -ούκης (*ἄλαλούκης*, *ἄφαγούκης*, *τζίλτούκης* usw.) nach dem Vorbild der türkischen Verbaladjektive auf -ik (*kalık* < *kalmak*, *dayanık* < *dayanmak*, *barışık* < *barışmak*, *kırık* < *kırmak*) + ngr. adjekt. Suffix -ης gebildet sind.

20. Auch im Fall des -ούτσικος kann man mit einer Polygenese des Suffixes rechnen, zumal uns das Griechische mehrere Möglichkeiten zu dieser Entwicklung bietet; wir werden hier auf einige dieser Möglichkeiten hinweisen.

20.1. -ώδης + -ικος. Die ältesten Beispiele von Adj. auf -ούτσικος werden im 12. Jhd. bei Theodoros Prodromos belegt: *λιγούτσικον ψωμίν*, *μικρούτσικον κεφάλιν κρομμυδίτσιν* usw. Vielen mittel- und ngr. Adjektiven auf -ούτσικος entsprechen aber altgriechische Adj. auf -ώδης. Mittellgriechisch: *γαληνούτσικος* : *γαληνώδης*, *γλυκούτσικος* : *γλυκώδης*, *θερμούτσικος* : *θερμώδης*, *στρογγυλούτσικος* : *στρογγυλώδης*.

⁷⁶ Andriotis, EW., S. 219.

⁷⁷ Kurmulis, Rückl. Wb., S. 432.

⁷⁸ Georgakas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 271.

Neugriechisch: ἀγριούτσικος : ἀγριώδης, ἀργούτσικος : ἀργώδης, ἀχνούτσικος : ἀχνώδης, βλακούτσικος : βλακώδης, καθαρούτσικος : καθαρώδης, μαλακούτσικος : μαλακώδης, ξερούτσικος : ξηρώδης, πρασινούτσικος : πρασινώδης, σκληρούτσικος : σκληρώδης, στενούτσικος : στενώδης, στυφούτσικος : στυφώδης, τρυφερούτσικος : τρυφερώδης, φρονιμούτσικος : φρονιμώδης. Es ist leicht zu bemerken, daß die Adjektive auf -ώδης und -ούτσικος semantisch völlig zusammenfallen.

20.1.1. Aufschlußreich ist hier das Zeugnis der griechischen Mundarten Unteritaliens. Das Suffix -ούδι wird nach Rohlfs zur Abschwächung von Adjektiven gebraucht⁷⁹. So haben wir in Bova *mavrúdi* 'bißchen schwarz', *prasinúdi* 'bißchen grün', *megalúdi* 'grandetto', *asprúdi* 'bißchen weiß', in Otranto *leftúdi* (< λεπτός), f. *leftedda*; seltener bezeichnet -ούδι nach Rohlfs Eigenschaften, z. B. *céfalúdi* 'dickköpfig' (Bova), *ḡastarúdi* (σκιασταρούδι) 'furchtsam' usw. Es ist evident, daß das Adjektive bezeichnende Suffix -ούδι von dem entsprechenden gleichklingenden -ούδι, das Substantive bildet (*pertenúdi* 'Art Pflanze', ngr. παρθενούδι, *sindaflúdi* [< συνδαυλίζω] 'Feuerzange'), abzutrennen ist. Da den Anlaß zur Bildung des ngr. diminutiven Suff. -ούδι agr. Diminutiva wie λαγώδιον (> λαγούδι), βώδιον (> βούδι, vgl. Hesych βώδιον· βοΐδιον), ζώδιον (> ζούδι), *τραγώδιον (> τραγούδι) gegeben haben, ist es anzunehmen, daß das unterital. adjektivische Suff. -ούδι auf dem agr. -ώδης beruht, mit dem es semantisch und morphologisch zusammenfällt. So wird *prasinúdi* 'bißchen grün, grünartig' mit πρασινώδης der Scholien zu Theokritos, *céfalúdi* 'dickköpfig' mit κεφαλώδης 'einem Kopf ähnlich' des Theophrastos (dann aber mit weiterer semantischen Entwicklung 'Dickkopf') usw. identifiziert. Außerdem stößt die Entwicklung des agr. -ώδης zum unterital. ngr. -ούδι/-ύδι auf keine phonetischen oder morphologischen Hindernisse; zur Entsprechung des agr. ω mit unterital. *u* (χῶμα : *xuma*) und des agr. η mit dem unterital. *i* (στάκτη : *stafiti*) vgl. Rohlfs⁸⁰, zum Aus-

⁷⁹ Rohlfs, Hist. Gramm., S. 190.

⁸⁰ Hist. Gram., S. 38, 30.

fall des auslautenden *-s* (z. B. μαῦρος > *mávro*, φουρνάρης > *furnári*) s. Rohlf's⁸¹.

20.1.2. Ich mehme an, daß sich einige von den ausdrucks-vollen, aber vom einfachen Volke schwer zu gebrauchenden Adjektiven auf -ώδης durch Hinzufügung des -ικος an die normale Form des ngr. Adjektivs (z. B. ὁμορφος, -η, -ο) angepaßt haben, wo deutliche Morpheme für die drei Genera des Adj. funktionieren. Diese Hinzufügung des -ικος auf gr. Adjektive zur Vermeidung von morphologischen Unregelmäßigkeiten hat im Griechischen sehr oft stattgefunden (vgl. γουρλής < tü. *oğurlu*, f. γουρλού, s. γουρλίδικο, woraus schon besser χουρλίδικος, -η, -ο). Diese Annahme bestätigen u. a. φθινωδικός (φθινώδης + -ικός) bei Galenus und μυθωδικός (μυθώδης + -ικός) bei Eustathius. So könnte z. B. τρυφερώδης ein *τρυφερωδικός/*τρυφερώδικος erzeugen. Es ist zu bemerken, daß bei den gelehrten überzweisilbigen Adjektiven auf -ικός die Volkssprache die Betonung auf der drittletzten Silbe kennt, z. B. νησιωτικός - νησιώτικος, ἐπαρχιωτικός - ἐπαρχιώτικος, βλαχικός - βλάχικος, τουρκικός-τούρκικος usw. Ein *τρυφερώδικος könnte normalerweise zu dem mgr. τρυφερούτζικος führen, wo τζ [dz, dʒ] das Produkt des palatalisierten δ vor *i* ist. Andererseits könnte ngr. τρυφερούτσικος aus dem entsprechenden mgr. τρυφερούτζικος mit Anpassung des stimmhaften [dz] an das entsprechende stimmlose [ts] wegen des folgenden *k* entstehen⁸². Stufen dieser Entwicklung des δ hat das Pontische bewahrt (κοντούτζικος, ποσούτζικος, ποσούτςικος, μικκούτσικος usw., soweit die Angaben des HLP. richtig sind). In diesem Sinne sind auch mgr. ἀδελφούτσικος⁸³ und χωρικούτσικος⁸⁴ nicht von ἀδελφός und χωρικός durch Hinzufügung des -ούτσικος, sondern von entsprechenden Formen *ἀδελφώδικος und *χωρικόδικος abzuleiten.

⁸¹ Hist. Gram., S. 104, 179.

⁸² Vgl. κουλουρ-τζής, aber ΠΑΟΚ-τσής, ferner [δικόμου > θkom] im Nordgriechischen usw.

⁸³ Chronik von Morea, V. 2741 und 4385.

⁸⁴ Th. Prodomos I, V. 194.

20.2. Pontisches -ούτζικος/-ίτζικος < -ίσκιον + -ικος. Während -ούτσικος in ganz Griechenland erscheint, weisen von den kleinasiatischen Dialekten besonders das Pontische und teilweise das Kappadokische⁸⁵ zusätzlich das Suffix -ίτζικος auf, das semantisch mit -ούτζικος zusammenfällt; beide Suffixe können sogar in derselben Wurzel vorkommen: pont. κοντίτζικος/κοντούτζικος, μικρίτζικος/μικρούτζικος, ξενίτζικος/ξενούτζικος, ὀλιγίτζικος/ὀλιγούτζικος usw., HLP. Man könnte behaupten, daß -ίτζικος aus -ούτζικος durch Assimilation des betonten *u* an das folgende *i* (*u-i* > *i-i*), besonders wenn das palatalisierte mittlere τζ die Verengung des *u* zu *ü* und *i* erleichtert, kommt oder -ίτζικος aus -ούτζικος mit Anlehnung an die übrigen verwandten Suffixe -ίτζης, -ίτζος (z. B. δᾶσκαλίτζης, -ίτζος) entstanden ist. Aber schon die Korrelation des -ίτζικος mit -ίτζης, -ίτζος eröffnet einen normaleren Weg zur Deutung sowohl des -ίτζης, -ίτζος als auch des -ίτζικος.

20.2.1. Es ist bekannt, daß die pontischen Diminutivsuffixe -ίτζης -ίτζος unabhängig voneinander (z. B. ἀγγελίτζης 'kleiner Engel', κλεφτίτζης 'kleiner Dieb', δᾶβολίτζος 'kleiner Teufel', ὄκυλλίτζος 'kleiner Hund') oder parallel (z. B. γαῖδᾶρίτζης, -ίτζος 'kleiner Esel', γεροντίτζης, -ίτζος 'kleiner alter Mann') erscheinen. Es ist aber evident, daß pont. -ίτζος eine Nachbildung des pont. diminut. -ίτζης, -ίτζιν nach dem Maskulinum darstellt. Pont. -ίτζιν beruht größtenteils (vgl. oben 7.1.) auf älteren Diminutiven auf -ίσκος, -ίσκιον. So erscheint agr. παιδίσκιον (vgl. auch παιδίσκη) im Pontischen als παιδίτζιν, auf dem pont. παιδίτζης, παιδίτζος beruhen. Ähnlicherweise beruhen ἀνθρωπίτζης, -ίτζος auf ἀνθρωπίσκιον < ἀνθρωπίσκος, βροθακίτζης, -ίτζος auf *βατραχίσκιον < βατραχίσκος, γεροντίτζης, -ίτζος auf *γεροντίσκιον < *γεροντίσκος (vgl. μειρακίσκος), καλογερίτζος auf καλογερίσκιον < καλογερίσκος/καλογερίσκος usw.

20.3. -ούτσικον < Adj. -όν τι + -ικος (-ίτζικον < Adj. -ύν τι + -ικος). Das älteste Beispiel auf -ίτζικος kommt in der Παιδιόφραστος διήγησις των τετραπόδων ζώων vor: δαμίτζι-

⁸⁵ Vgl. z. B. Th. Kostakis, *Le parler grec d'Anakou* (Athen 1964), S. 67.

κον⁸⁶; δαμίτζικον 'ein bißchen' wird richtig als ein Derivat des mgr. δαμίτζιν 'ein bißchen' betrachtet, welches auf δαμίν 'bißchen' zurückgeht, das G. Hatzidakis aus *δαγμίον, Diminut. zu δᾱγμα/δῆγμα 'Biß' < δάκνω 'beißen' erklärt hat. Die Versuchung, δαμίτζιν auf δαγμίν τι, dann δαμίτζικον auf δαγμίν τι + -ικος zurückzuführen, ist groß; diese Ableitung kann natürlich durch neuere Forschungsergebnisse unterstützt werden. Auf derselben Ebene steht auch die Erklärung des -ούτσικος aus καλός τις + -ικος > *καλότικος, die S. Kapsomenos vorschlägt und mit der Entwicklung agr. ἄλλοῖος τις > ngr. ἄλλοιώτικος vergleicht⁸⁷. N. Andriotis nimmt für ἄλλιώτικος die Erklärung von St. Psaltes aus ἄλλέως nach den ngr. Ethnika ἡπειρώτικος, ρουμελιώτικος usw. an⁸⁸. Unserer Meinung nach ist ἄλλιώτικος aus ἄλλέως τι (> ἄλλιώτικα, dann ἄλλιώτικος) entstanden. Da die Ausdrücke ἀγαθόν τι, καλόν τι, μικρόν τι παχύν τι usw. sehr üblich im Alt- und Mittelgriechischen sind, ist anzunehmen, daß solche Syntagmen gewissen mittel- und neugriechischen Adjektiven auf -ούτσικος (-ίτσικος) unter einigen Voraussetzungen zurunde liegen können: a) μικρόν τι > *μικρότικον > μικρούτσικον (-ος, -η), b) ἀψύν τι > *ἀψύτικον > (pont. kappad.) ἀψύτσικον/ἀψύτζικον (-ος, -η). Die Entwicklung *o* > *u* bei der Umbildung von *μικρότικον zu μικρούτσικον könnte in diesem Fall unter dem Einfluß von Labialkonsonanten und des *r* entstehen: ἀκριβ-ούτσικος, φρονιμ-ούτσικος, νωπ-ούτσικος, λαμπρ-ούτσικος, vgl. ngr. βοτάνη – βουτάνη, λαιμοδέτης – λαιμουδέτης, πῶμα – ποῦμα, ψαλμωδία – ψαλμουδία, ὀρφός – ρορφός, ρόπαλο – ρούμπαλο, στρόφιγγας – στρούφιγγας usw.⁸⁹.

20.4. -ούτσικος < -ούτζης + -ικος. Das mgr. Suffix -ούτζης z. B. γλυκούτζης, -ούτζα, -ούτζιν⁹⁰ kann in gewissen Fällen mit -ούτσικος verbunden werden. Die älteren Beispiele kom-

⁸⁶ V. 604, 729.

⁸⁷ St. Kapsomenos, Die griechische Sprache zwischen Koine und Neugriechisch, Berichte zum 11. Intern. Byzantinistenkongreß (München 1958), S. 37.

⁸⁸ Andriotis, EW., S. 113.

⁸⁹ Siehe Ch. Symeonidis, Byzantina 4 (Thessaloniki 1972), S. 240 ff.

⁹⁰ Georgacas, The -its- Suffixes, S. 255.

men in den ngr. Mundarten Unteritaliens vor: λαγούτζης < λαγός (11. Jhd.⁹¹), στραβούτζης < στραβός (14. Jhd.⁹²) u.a. Die Kategorie der mgr. Adjektive auf -ούτζης hat sich teilweise im Pontischen bewahrt: κλαιμούτζης, -ούτζα, -ούτζικον 'der die Tendenz zum Weinen hat, Flenner', HLP. 1, S.445, μαντατούτζης, -ούτζα 'wer ein Geheimnis verrät', HLP. 2, S.14, λυκουτζής 'der kleine Wolf', HLP. 1, S.535 (vgl. Μιχαήλ ὁ Λυκούτζης, 14. Jhd.⁹³) usw. Die wenigen mittel- und ngr. Adjektive auf -ούτζης können auf älteren auf -ώδης beruhen: γλυκούτζης < γλυκώδης, λαγούτζης < λαγώδης usw. Eine weitere Möglichkeit zu ihrer Deutung wäre die folgende.

20.4.1. Das feminine Suffix -ούτζα dieser Adjektive fällt mit dem pont. Suffix -ούτζα zusammen, das vor allem Pflanzen aber auch andere Namen bezeichnet: αίματούτζα, ἡ 'Brombeere', HLP. 1, S.168, γαλατούτζα 'Art wildes Kraut mit milchartigem Saft', HLP. 1, S.212, μελιτούτζα 'Wildkraut mit süßem Geschmack', HLP. 2, S.33, φαρμακούτζα 'jede giftige Pflanze und besonders die Nieswurz', HLP. 2, S.452, πλακούτζα '1. kleine Tafel, 2. flaches Brot, Art Blätterteigkuchen', HLP. 2, S.199, πλατούτζα 'Art kleinen breiten Fisches', HLP. 2, S.201 usw. Da diese pontischen Substantive auf -ούτζα ursprünglich eine adjektivische Bedeutung hatten, können sie auf älteren Adjektiven beruhen. So ist m.E. αίματούτζα mit agr. αίματόεις, μελιτούτζα mit μελιτόεις (Pindar)/μελιτοῦς (Hesych), μελιτόεσσα (Herodot)/μελιτοῦττα (Arian), φαρμακούτζα mit φαρμακόεις (Moschus), πλακούτζα mit πλακόεις/πλακοῦς zu verbinden. Wenn wir also die Aussprache [ts] des σσ/ττ in der kontrahierten Form der Feminina dieser Adjektive μελιτόεσσα/μελιτοῦττα, οἰνόεσσα/οἰνοῦττα '1. mit Wein zubereiteter Pfannkuchen, Aristoph., 2. Art Pflanze, Aristot. Fr. 107', *προσωπόεσσα/προσωποῦττα 'Art Gefäß mit Löwengesicht, Pollux' annehmen würden, wie schon viele

⁹¹ F. Trinchera, Syllabus graecarum membranarum (Neapel 1865), S.551.

⁹² A. Guilleu, Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina (Palermo 1963), S.195.

⁹³ Miklosich-Muller, Acta 2, S.257 u. 434.

Forscher glauben⁹⁴, dann fällt pont. μελιτούτζα morphologisch und semantisch mit agr. μελιτοῦττα, pont. φαρμακούτζα mit agr. φαρμακόεσσα/*φαρμακοῦττα, pont. πλακούτζα mit agr. πλακόεσσα/*πλακοῦττα zusammen. Auf eine [ts]-Aussprache des σσ/ττ deuten höchstwahrscheinlich Schreibungen der Papyri wie z. B. μελιστουργῶ (= μελισσουργῶ) hin⁹⁵. In diesem Sinne könnte agr. γλυκόεις (Nikander), f. γλυκόεσσα/γλυκοῦσσα/*γλυκοῦττα [ɣlikútsa] dem f. γλυκούτζα des mgr. γλυκούτζης zugrundeliegen; γλυκούτζης und γλυκούτζιν könnten auf γλυκούτζα beruhen. Aus γλυκούτζης, -ούτζα, -ούτζιν könnte ein γλυκούτζικος durch Hinzufügung des -ικος entstehen⁹⁶.

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⁹⁴ Vgl. beispielsweise S. Sidney Allen, *Vox graeca. A guide to the pronunciation of classical Greek* (Cambridge 1974), S. 57.

⁹⁵ Vgl. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Bd. 1 (Mailand 1976), S. 149.

⁹⁶ Auf eine Art von Polygenese dieser Suffixe, jedenfalls nicht im Sinne der oben angeführten Überlegungen, hat neulich Brian D. Joseph (On the use of iconic elements in etymological investigation. Some case studies from Greek, *Diachronica* 5 (1987)) hingewiesen. Joseph erklärt -ts- als ein laut-symbolisches Element, das entweder in allen Stellungen von gewissen ngr. Wörtern erscheinen kann, die „bildlicher, expressiver und affektiver“ Natur sind, oder als Element von Suffixen, die Diminutivität ausdrücken. Ich bin der Meinung, daß eine eventuelle affektivische Abfärbung des -ts-, die m. E. weder hier noch in einem früheren Aufsatz von Joseph (Για την ιδιαίτερη θέση του [ts]/[tz] στην ελληνική φωνολογία, *Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, University of Thessaloniki* (Thess. 1985), S. 227 ff.) ausreichend nachgewiesen ist, nichts mit der diminutiven Funktion des -ts- in den gr. Suffixen dieser Gruppe zu tun hat.

Dacian Reduplications

I.1. In a study published in 1981 (p.17–18), I discussed the Dacian origin of a group of Daco-Romanian words with the basic structure *chichir-*, like *chichiríc* “tiny thing”, “small child” (in Transylvania and Moldavia); *chichiréz* 1. “(dainty) tiny thing”; 2. “small boy”; 3. (= *titiréz*¹); 4. “charm, attraction”; *chichirís* “small, useless wood” (in Banat, where the form *chirchilíg* “small shrub; a bush with its top grazed off by calves and which cannot grow up any more” is met as well, possibly realized through metathesis from **chichirlíg*); *chichirnéț* “small child, undersized person”, a Moldavian older variant of *chichinéț* m., *chichineăță* f. l. “something very small” (of “a cake”, etc.); 2. “hovel, shanty, very small room”; 3. “small rustic rushlight”. See the village-names of *Chichinéțu-Brăila* and *Chichinéțele de Sus*, – *de Jos* in Oltenia; see also the family-name *Chichérnea*.¹

I.2. The Lithuanian cognates are quite clear: *kikirėza(s)*,

¹ The successive process of Romanization of the Dacians explains why some of the words borrowed from them did not suffer the phonetic shifts which characterize the rise of Daco-Romanian. The affricization of the velars before *e*, *i* is one of these phonetic changes, which ceased to be active a certain time before the epoch of the first loans from Slavic (that is after 550 A. D.). This phonetic “law” ceased in fact to operate a long time before, so that on the territories of the *Daci Liberi* (today Crișana, Maramureș, the Sălaj, Bistrița-Năsăud, Harghita, Covasna counties), in the entire Moldavia and in Wallachia, a lot of Dacian lexical elements with initial or non-initial velars in pre-palatal position remained un-affricized up to the present. There were enclaves of non-Romanized Dacians in *Dacia Romana* (i.e. in Oltenia, Banat, S. and central Transylvania) at 271 A. D. as well, when the province was abandoned by the Empire under Aurelianus and this Dacian population also adopted Latin and with it the Christian religion, before the arrival of the Slavs.

The *chichiréz* series of words (etymologically and morphologically discussed in this paper) clearly confirms the relatively late taking over of Dacian lexical elements into Proto-Daco-Romanian, mainly in the territories of the Free Dacians, of the Carpians (*Carpo-Daci*) and of the Getae.

kik̃rza 1. “niedriger Baum mit ausladendem Astwerk; schwächer, mißgestalteter Mensch”; 2. (*kikirė́žas*) “die Spitze (der Gipfel) einer Tanne” (also *kik̃rka*, *-ýrka*, *-irpa*). (See note 1).

I.3. Fraenkel (I, p.252) erroneously referred this Lithuanian group to *kỹkti* “kümmertlich leben”, *kykutelỹs* “klein von Wuchs, verkümmert”, since it has a clear cognate in Old Indian (Ṛg-Veda) *kikirā́-*. Although Grassmann (v.col.325) had given for the compounds of *kikirā́-* with *kṛ-* I the meaning “zerreißen”, Mayrhofer translated *kikirā́-kṛṇoti* by “slackens (the hearts of the Pāṇis)” in 1956 (p.207), considering (with Grassmann) the first element as a “probable onomatopoea” and denying its belonging to the paradigm of *kṛṇā́ti* “injures, kills” (p.257, where the ppp. *kīrṇa-* “injured, killed”, and as a very close cognate OCS. *krъnъ* “mutilated” are also mentioned, the Slavic word having been borrowed as Daco-Romanian *cîrn* “stubnosed; noseless”).

However, in 1989 (p.349) Mayrhofer gave for the *kikirā́-* compounds with KAR- I the meaning “zerreißen, zerfetzen” and we cannot think any more of an “onomatopoetic” origin, as KAR- I means “tun, machen, handeln, bewirken”, so that *kikirā́-* may signify only “bits, fragments, crumbs, etc.”.

If the ppp. *kīrṇa-* raised no problems as regards its belonging to KAR- II, the origin of Ṛg-V. *kīrī́h* “small, humble, poor” has been much discussed. In my opinion, Neisser (v. Mayrhofer 1956, 215), like in the case of *kikirā́-*, correctly linked it to *kṛṇā́ti* (KAR- II), *kīrī́h* being also formally close to the aor. I *kīryat*, or the deriv. *-kīrya* of the roots *kṛ-*, *kir-* (in Whitney, 22; “to scatter”).

I.4. The close formal and semantic relationship between Lith. *kikir-* and OInd. (Ṛg.-V.) *kikirā́-* (clearly linked to *kīrṇa-*, and also to *kīrī́h*), allows us to refer Lith. *kikirė́ža(s)*, *kik̃rza*, *-ka* (etc.)² to *sk̃irti* (*skiriù*; *skýriau*), Latv. *šķīrt*, both “trennen,

² The Daco-Romanian diminutival suffix m. *-éz*, f. *-eáză* of *chichiréz*, *titiréz*, common to Lith. *-ėža(s)*, *-ėžis*, *‘ză* and to Albanian m. *‘ëz*, f. *‘zë* (see Xhuvanj & Çabej, p.108–110), also with Armenian reflexes, is from the substratum. In Lithuanian other vowels were found before *ž* as well, like in *-ža(s)*, *-aža(s)* (v. Endzelīns 1971, p.120; Senn 1966, p.332).

teilen, schneiden; unterscheiden”; Lith. *at-skirti* “abtrennen, absondern”, *pa-skirti* also “beschneiden”; Latv. *šķira*, *-ra* “die Abteilung, die Klasse”, also with *ī šķīra* “die Ritze, die Spalte”; in Lith. besides *skýriau*, the freq. *skýrioti* (also with *iš-*); *skyrius* (*-ris*) “Abschnitt, Abteil(ung), etc.”; *skýrium* (etc.) adv. “einzeln, besonders”; *āt-skiras* “getrennt, gesondert”; adj. *skýras* “besonders, unterschieden”; *skýris* also as sb. “Teil”, etc.; Lith. *kirna* 1. “spitzes Stammesende”; 2. “niedriges Gestrüpp; Strauchband” (v. also OPr. *kirno* “Strauch”);³

with *ẽ*: Lith. *kérna* IV (also *kernà*) “kleiner, gedrungener

The same Dacian origin is also to be assumed for DR.m. *-íg*, f. *-ígã* with their variants *-úg*, *-úgã* (like in *buturígã* : *buturúgã*); *i* : *u* variants may be found in Daco-Romanian and Albanian cognates (like in *cîrlíg* : *kêrlúg*, both “hook”), or in Daco-Romanian and Baltic cognates (like in DR. *úfuț*, *uțuț*, from a Dac. **uțuti-* : Latv. *ucītis*, both “cradle” and “swing”).

The Daco-Romanian diminutive suffix m. *-íc*, f. *-ícã* may also have originated in the substratum in the case of *chichiríc*, *titiríc*, *pipiríc*. To Lithuanian *‘ka* (in *kikírka*) *‘cã* corresponds in Daco-Romanian (v. *bírã* : *bírcã*, both “sheep”; *șopírcã* : *șopírlã*, both “lizard”, etc.). There are also Albanian parallels.

- ³ Lith. *ir* (of *skirti*, *kirna*), with its special accentuation, is the Baltic reflex of the IE. reduced root-form **C_{er}ǵ-*, as is *ir* in OInd. (see Meillet, p.123–124; Szemerényi, p.73). Similarly, Lith. *skirti*, Alb. *shqyrák*, *-e*; *túrrë*; DR.adv. *túra*; sb. *tuturígã*, very probably reflect a reduced form **C_{or}ǵ-*, or **C_{or}ǵ-* in OInd. *ap-túr*. The greater frequency of the *ir* reduced grades in Baltic (and in Slavic), as compared to that of the *ur* ones, may reflect the indubitably greater incidence of reduced grades from the **ẽ* grades, as compared to those from **õ* grades. As for the Daco-Romanian substratum elements, I have identified *ur* forms in: Daco-Romanian (also Aromanian) *murg* I, *amúrg* “twilight (in the evening, but also in the dawn)”; the Gmc. cognates derived from **murǵ-* “morning”; Latvian has *mùrgs* “Phantasiegebilde”, *mùrgt* “schlaflos die Nacht verbringen, sich quälen”, *murguôt* “phantasieren” (v. also Lith. *smùrgtĩ*); the accentuation in both Baltic dialects allows a reconstruction **C_{or}ǵ-* (in OInd. *ūr*); the **õ* grade is found in Latv. *margs*, *-a* “Flitter, Schimmer”, but there are also Lith. forms from **m_{er}ǵ-*, like *mirgėti* “glitzern, funkeln, etc.”, which means that in Baltic both reduced grades in *ir* and in *ur* coexist; from IE. 2. **mer-*, **m_{er}ǵ^h-* “to glitter, etc.” (v. M.-M. Rădulescu 1981, p.15–16);

= Daco-Romanian (also Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian) *murg* II adj. “(of horses) dark, dark-red, -brown”; Albanian *murk*, def. *-gu* “(of animals) grey, dark” are comparable to Gmc. **murk-* (v. ON. *myrkkr* “dark, darkness”; > Lap. *murkko* “mist, fog”; Fris. [Hydr.] *Murki*) and **mirk-* (v. OS.

Mensch; Zwerg”; *kernēzas*, *kernēžis* 1. “Zwerg; zwerghaftes Wesen; von einem Kinde, das nicht wachsen will”; 2. “verkrüppelter Baum”; *kerēža(s)* 1. “niedriger Baum mit ausladendem Astwerk” (v. *kikirēzas*, *kikīrza*, *kīrna*!); 2. also “von einem Mensch, der nicht gehen kann”; *kerēžis* 1. “kleiner verkrüppelter Baum; verästelter Baum mit abgebrochener Spitze”; 2. “abgeschnittener Wipfel eines Baumes” (v. *kikirēžas*²!); 3. “immature” (see also the vbs. *kērežiotis*, *kerēžytis* “krumm wachsen” and the dim. *kerēžiokas* 1. “immature”; 2. “verhutzelter Alter”); here also Latv. *šķeriēns* “ein wenig, eine Fitze, etc.”;

with *ē*: *kērti* “sich trennen, etc.”; *kēras* I (Žem. *kērē*) “Baumstumpf, blattloser Stengel, Stoppel” (v. Latv. *čers*, *čera* “Staupe, Strauch, knorrige Baumwurzel”); *skērā-medīs* “Spindel-, Zwickbaum; Euonymus europaeus”;

with *a* (< **ō*): *skārti* “in Stücke, in Fetzen gehen, zerlumpt werden, ausfransen”; *skarļys* “der Lappen”, etc.; short *ā* also went to *ā* in *skāras* (= *skarius*, *-rys*) “Lumpen, Lappen, Fetzen”;

with *u*: *skūrti* (*skūrū*, *skunrū*, dial. *skurstū*; *skūrau*) “verkümmern, zerlumpt werden; verfallen, etc.”; sb. *skuļlis* (*skurlys*). (For the Baltic forms see Fraenkel I, pp.221; 241; 242; 243; II, pp.796; 801; 802; 808; 823; Kurschat II, pp. 1087; 1088; 1089; 1250–1251; III, pp.2172; 2173; 2183; 2200; for Latvian also Mühlenbach & Endzelin IV, p.28; 33; 35; 37; 43; 45; 46; 48; 49).

I.5. The basic significances of the above mentioned verbal

mirki “dark, darkness”); from 3. **mer-*, **mrg-* (-*gʰ-*); (v. IEW., p.733–744; M.-M. Rădulescu 1981, p.16–18);

= DR. *pīrt!* corresponds to Alb. *pīrth!* (imper.sg. of *pjerdh* : *pórdha*, of the same “strong” conj. type as *čier(r)*, *čjerr*, etc.), to Lith. *pirst!*, Latv. *piřst* and to OHG. *fīrz* “fart”; in Banat also *purť!* is heard (v. also the var. *purťotínă* for *piřťotínă* “light woman, etc.”) and Alb. also has *u* forms in *pērpūrth* “defile with excrements”, *tē pērpūrdhem* “diarrhoea”, *shpurthiq*, *čpurthiq* “of eggs to addle” (v. Mann, p.377; 494); the *u* variant looks like the most usual in Gmc., see OHG. *furz*, NHG. *Furz*, Norw. *furt*; there are also **ō* grade forms (like in E. *fart*) and also from the **ē* grade (v. OHG. *ferzan*); thus Gmc., Alb., Dac. (in DR.) have forms from both reduced grades, Balt. only from the *ir* variant.

forms and deverbatives of OInd. *kār-* II, *kīr-* II; Lith. *(s)kẽr-*, *(s)kĩr-* (in Latv. with *šķ-*, *c-*); Dac. (in Daco-Romanian) *-cher-*, *-chir-*, may be grouped in: 1. “small part cut, broken, etc., out of a whole”, “tiny thing”, “the tip of a tree”, etc. and 2. “mutilated whole thing, body”, “diminished whole body, tree, etc.”, “dwarf, midget”, “mutilated or undevelopped bush, shrub, small tree”.

The reference roots are IE. 4. **(s)ker-*, **(s)kerə-*, etc. “to cut, cut off, etc.” (v. IEW., pp. 938–947), from which derived Ir. *scar(a)im*; OGk. *kérō*, *keírō*; ON. *skera*, etc.; OHG. *scar*, *-a*, *-o* “Pflugschar”; ON. *skōr*, E. *shore*, etc. There may have been cases of “crossed etymology” with. 1. **(s)ker-* (etc.) “einschrumpfen; verkümmern, etc.” (v. IEW., p. 933: LG. *schräkelt* “verkrüppeltes Wesen”; Norw. *skråna*, from **skrahan* “verschrumpfen”; NIce. *skrælna* “schrumpfen”; Bav. *Schrätz* “im Wachstum gebliebener Mensch” and also a series of appellatives signifying “Kobold”, in fact “a dwarf”).

I.6. Albanian inherited from 4. **(s)ker-* the verbs *çier(r)* and (in Italy) *shqier(r)* (also *gjerr* and *shqjerr*) “to rend, lacerate, break, etc.”, “strong” verbs with *ie* > *je* (from **ē*) for the pres.ind.sg., inf. and past part., etc.; with *o* for the simple past tense, the so-called “aorist” (3 sg. with *úa*); with *i* for the pres.ind.pl., impf., imper., mp., a conjugation type met in ca. 40 very usual verbs.⁴

⁴ Pokorny (IEW., p. 654) compared Swiss *Loobe*, *Lioba* “cow” to Alb. *löpë* “cow” and to Latv. *luōps*, literary *lops* “cattle”, “(any) domestic or field animal” (with many derivatives in the latter two). But his IE. reconstruction **lāp-* “cow”, though valid for the Gmc. and Alb. forms (as in both dialects IE. **ā* shifted to *ō*), is not acceptable in the case of Latv., in which *uō* is from **ō* (**ā* remained unchanged). Consequently the IE. theme must have been **lōp-*!

On the other hand, DR. *gog* m., *goágă* f.; *gogón* (etc.); *a gogolí* (also *guogolí*, *gogolói* (etc.); *gogós* m., *gogoášă* f. (etc.), all of them signifying “small spherical thing”; Alb. *gógë*; *gógël(ë)*; *gogósh* (etc.), with identical or similar meanings; Lith. *guogė*, *gógė* “Knopf”; *gōgas* “Widerrist des Pferdes; Buckel, etc.”, descend from the IE. root **gōg-* (v. IEW., p. 349; M.M. Rădulescu 1981, p. 41–43).

In the above mentioned simple past tense forms of the Albanian “strong verbs” (see also in Buchholz & Fiedler, p. 91–93, the conjugation types “II 1

From the **ō*-grade descended *çar* “to split, crack, break; separate” (not from the **t* development inherited as *çars*, -*t* “id.”, since there are primary deverbatives from *çar*, like *e çårë* “split, crack, interstice; separation”; *çarje* “id.” and also “surgical operation”, etc.).

As an *o* cognate there is *korr* (in Buzuku, 1555 A.D.: *kuorr*) “to harvest, reap, mow”, whence *të kórra* “harvest(ing)”; *Kor-rić* “July”, etc.

From the reduced grade in *i* there is *shqírrë* 1. “ulcer”; 2. “barren animal” (though *i* may be also from **u* > **y* = *ü*). On the other hand, *shqyrák*, -*e* adj. “scratching, rending” has an *yr* from a reduced grade in **ur*.

b-g and p-r”, three of these verbs: *çier(r)*, *shqier(r)* *tierr* and *pjerdh*, being dealt with in this article), *ō* can be but from IE. **ā* or **ō*. An **ē* (in the pres.ind.sg., etc.): **ā* (in the simple past tense) conjugation could be theoretically posited for the intermediate “Northern” Group, of the ancestors of Baltic, Illyrio-Daco-Thracian (thus of Albanian and of the Dacian substratum of Daco-Romanian) and Germanic, and it has even been affirmed in the case of Baltic (and Slavic), as in that of Germanic, but there are still good arguments in favour of an **ō* for Albanian (to be more largely discussed in a future study). Some examples of the **ē* : **ō* Ablaut have been given for Baltic, like in:

Lith. *plėšti*, Latv. *plēst* : Latv. *pluosīt*;

Lith. *rėpti* : Lith. *ruōpti* (Alb. *rriep*, *rrjep* : *rrópa* is the same verb!);

Lith. *vėžinti* : Lith. *vōgti*.

It is true that Lith. *vėžti*, iter. *vėžinti*, means “to carry”, while *vōgti* (*vagiū*, *vogiaū*, with **ō* : **ō* Ablaut) is “to steal”, but Alb. *vjedh* : *vódha* (with **ē* : **ō* Ablaut) also signifies “to steal” and I think we have to refer to the same IE. root **ueǵʰ*- the Lith. forms with “satəm” *ž* (in Albanian *dh*) and those with non-“satəm” *g* as well, the **ō* forms having been apparently exempted from this shift. Both Albanian and Lithuanian simplified their paradigms, though now we can reconstruct for the last idiom an older one, with **ě*, **ō* and reduced grades (v. *pavyžėti*, in Fraenkel I, p.559).

If we have to admit that Albanian created a special type of “strong” conjugation with the Ablaut alternances of above, it is not less true the fact that this innovation, which marks different persons, tenses, modes, etc., is based on very old verbal forms, since the C.IE. or the “Northern” Group epoch. This is also proved by the fact that besides forms strictly belonging to this type of “strong” conjugation, Albanian has cognates from other IE. Ablaut grades (with **ě*, **ā*, or **ō*) as well.

The same *ur* grade must be posited also for *kurm*, pl. *-ër* “body-, tree-trunk; corpse; slice”, *kurmój* “to cut, slice up”, adv. *kúrma kúrma* “in slices, in pieces”, *kurmóre* “mortuary”, quite closely related to Daco-Romanian *a curmá* “to cut a trunk into pieces; to interrupt, end up (also a life); (refl.) to bend the body”, the entopic *curmătúra* for “a depression on a mountain crest”, *curméi*, *curméte* “piece of rope”. Romanian *a scurmá* “to scrape, burrow, excavate” and its iter. *a scormoní* “to rummage in, about” are clear cognates of Albanian *shkërmój* “to scrape, burrow, rummage”. These *s-* (respectively *sh-*) initialled DR. and Alb. *m-* developments of IE. **(s)ker-*, etc., should be considered inherited (in the case of DR. *a scurmá*, *scormoní* from its substratum), either from the **_or* grade (in the case of DR.), or from the **ě* grade (in that of Alb.). As for Alb. *kurm* sb., *kurmój* vb., etc.; DR. *a curmá*, etc., a loan from OGk. *kormós* “abgehauenes Stück, Klotz, Rumpf”, *kormázō* “in Klötze zersägen” (here also *kérma*) cannot be ignored (though it must have been mediated by Lat. in the case of DR.). (For the Alb. forms see Mann, pp.55–56; 59; 210; 227; 479; 481; 495; 496; 497; *Fjalor*, p.1918).

II.1. In another study, of 1976 (p.121–123), I discussed the substratum origin of Daco-Romanian *titiréz* 1. “the lower, heavier, coneshaped part of the spindle, making it spin faster and more uniformly”; 2. “spinning-top, humming-top, whirl-igig” (the *titiréz* – of wood, bone, metal, etc. – is being made to spin with the tips of the fingers, the *sfîrleáză*, also “whirl-igig”, with a whip); (fig.) “small and fidgety”; 3. “a special piece of the mill mechanism; clack”. Variants; *titirîșcă* “whirl-igig”; *titiríg*; *titirícî*, *-écî*; *titireáză*; *tintiréz*; *+teterez*.

II.2. Since no direct comparison to words from other languages could offer a reliable etymology, I resorted to a morphological analysis of *titiréz*. After separating the dim. suffix *-éz*, obviously from the substratum, as well as the *-íg* in the var. *titiríg* (see note 3), I interpreted the remaining basic structure *ti-tir-* as a reduplication of *tir*, present in Albanian.⁵

⁵ Daco-Romanian has preserved from Dacian other IE. reduplications too, like:

grade zero / zero $*t_0r(\partial)$: Alb. *túrrë*; Dac. (in DR.) *túra*
adv.; *tuturígă* sb.; OInd. *ap-túr*
(v. Grassmann, p.520)

The basic meaning of 3. $*ter-$ (etc.) was “reiben” > “drehend reiben” > “drehend durchbohren”, “spinnen” (v. IEW., p. 1071). The special signification “to spin, twist, throw” is met in forms developping the lengthened $*ē$ and $*ō$ grades only in Albanian, and the reduced $*e_r$ $*o_r$ grades (with *i*, *u*) only in Albanian and Dacian (in DR.). In Gmc. it is present in derivatives of $*trē-$. Lat., OGk., OInd. and also other dialects used words descending from the $*k$ developments $*terk-$ etc. (v. IEW., p. 1077) when rendering such notions as “to spin”, “thread”, “spindle”. (DR. *titiréz*, etc. show that Alb. *tíer(r)*, etc. are not from $*terk-$, as asserted by some authors).

III.1. Daco-Romanian *pipiríg* 1., with its variants $+peperig$; *piperíg* (in Wallachia), *pipirígă* (in Vâlcele-Turda); *pipiríc*; *pipirigút*, *-ă*, is the name of a long series of plants, like: a) “*Schoenoplectus lacustris*”; b) “*Scirpus silvaticus*”; c) “*Equisetum hiemale*” (*pipiríg de munte*), “e. fluviale”; d) “*Heleocharis palustris*; *H. acicularis*” (*pipirigút*); e) “*Holoschoenus vulgaris*”; f) “*Juncus effusus*; *J. conglomeratus*; *J. filiformis*; *J. maritimus*”; g) “*Blysmus compressus*”; h) “*Bolboschoenus maritimus*”; i) “*Ereophorum angustifolium*”; j) “*Phragmites communis*”; k) “*Butomes ombellatus*” (*pipiríg înflorít*); l) “*Deschampsia* s. *Aira caespitosa*” (*pipirigútă*); m) “*Fimbristylis annua*” (*pipiríg mărúnt*) (v. Borza, p.271–273).

Out of these 13 plants, “*Bolboschoenus*”, “*Heleocharis*” and “*Schoenoplectus*” are also called *rogóz* (*răgóz*), which is in fact the most usual name for “*Carex*” (only 5 of the 13 species of “*Carex*” met in Romania are not called *rogóz*, *răgóz*).

On the other hand, Russ. *rogóz*, *ragóz* means “*Carex*; sedge” as well, but its main significance is “*Typha*; mace reed”, called in Romania *pápură* and *šovár* (the last is a name for “*Carex silvatica*” too).

Daco-Romanian also took from Slavic the derivate *rogojínă* “(door)-mat”, usually woven of stalks of “mace reed; *Typha*

angustifolia” and sometimes of those of some of the *rogóz* plants too, like of “*Schoenoplectus lacustris*”, named in Romania *păpurică*, *păpură rotundă* and *pipirig* (*păpură* is from Lat., which took it from OGk. *pápūros*).

Regionally *pipirig* is a name for: 2. “a thin trunk stuck into the ground near the house, on whose short boughs washed pots are hung out to dry” (in DR. *prepeleác*); 3. “guinea fowl; *Numida meleagris*”; 4. “lady bird; *Coccinella septempunctata*”, though these meanings have seemingly nothing to do with that under (1.), except perhaps (2.) (see below).

III.2. Here we have to do again with the reduplication type of *chichiréz*, *chichiríc*; *titiréz*, *titiríg*. As “stuff for woven mats”, *pipirig* should most likely be linked to the roots 3. **sper-*, etc. “drehen, winden” (v. IEW., p.991–992). It is true that all descendants of these roots, which bear the sense “to knit, weave” have initial *s-*. If we think of the fact that all these plants have “thin, straight and high stalks”, the affiliation to 1. **(s)per-*, etc. “Sparren; Stange; Speer” (v. IEW., pp. 990–991) could also be considered (see the sense (2.) of above too).

IV. These *chi-chir-*, *ti-tir-*, *tu-tur-*, *pi-pir-* reduplications of Daco-Romanian have similar structures, as they were probably created in the same way, from such reduced IE. grades like **C_er-*, **C_erə-* and **C_or-*, **C_orə-* of the verbal roots **ker-* (etc.), **ter-* (etc.), **per-* (etc.) (see note 4). The existence of the *kikir-* and *titir-* forms shows that they were still in use in OInd. (Vedic). Lithuanian preserved only *ki-kir-*, while Albanian has none of these reduplications (see also note 5). Any direct contacts between Dacian and Albanian can be posited only for a very old epoch, when the ancestors of the Pannono-Dalmato-Illyrians still inhabited Dacia. The direct contacts between the ancestor of Dacian (together with that of Albanian) and Common Baltic lasted only up to the end of the Cucuteni-Tripolie Culture (i.e. up to cca. 2700 B.Chr. radioiodine, or even 3500 “recalibrated”, v. my articles of 1987). A cohabitation with the ancestors of Indo-Aryan could be supposed only one or two millennia (or even more) before this epoch, which shows how old some of the Dacian relics can be.

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De l'*oratio obliqua* comme papier de tournesol; une analyse pragmatique d'un phénomène du discours indirect en latin: le changement des modes

0. La thèse que nous allons soutenir ici est qu'en latin l'*oratio obliqua* peut jouer le rôle d'un véritable révélateur pour démasquer le vrai statut de certains énoncés.

D'abord par le choix des modes (en particulier par l'alternance entre l'infinitif et le subjonctif), l'*oratio obliqua* met à jour la nature illocutoire basique: déclarative, jussive ou interrogative (DECL., IMP., INTERR.) de différents "types of sentences" (cf. Palmer 1986).

De la même façon, les rapports syntaxiques (de coordination ou de subordination) sont aussi révélés par l'emploi des modes différents.

Troisièmement, le choix de l'infinitif ou du subjonctif dans l'*oratio obliqua* paraît être encore crucial pour l'individuation des énoncés qui se placent au niveau des entités du deuxième ordre (les "prédications"), et de ceux qui se placent au niveau des entités du troisième ordre (les "propositions").¹

Nous appliquerons aux énoncés en *oratio obliqua* l'analyse sémantique de Hare (1970) qui prévoit trois composants: le "neustic", le "tropic", et le "phrastic"².

¹ Les récentes analyses de la Functional Grammar (cf. Dik 1989, Hengeveld 1988 et 1989 et surtout pour les applications au latin Bolkestein 1989 et 1991) distinguent entre "prédication" et "proposition". Une "prédication" est constituée par un prédicat, ses arguments obligatoires, ses satellites locaux et temporels, et concerne le "representational level" (le niveau du "State of Affairs" (SoA)). Une "proposition" est constituée par un certain contenu propositionnel, concerne le "interpersonal level", est douée d'une certaine force illocutoire transmise entre un locuteur et son allocutaire.

² Dans son étude sur les propositions déclaratives, jussives et interrogatives Hare (1970) définit le "neustic": "un signe de souscription du locuteur à l'acte illocutoire réalisé". A ce niveau le locuteur se porte garant de la factualité du contenu propositionnel du "phrastic". Le "tropic" est "un signe de modalité" en relation avec le type d'acte de langage réalisé: décl-

Pour ce qui concerne les énoncés indépendants en *oratio recta*, nous voudrions soutenir que, lorsqu'il s'agit d'une "prédication", le subjonctif est en *oratio obliqua*, en général, le mode privilégié pour les énoncés qui qualifient le "tropic" par IMP. ou INTERR., lorsqu'il s'agit d'une "proposition", le subjonctif est le mode des énoncés (potentiels et dubitatifs) qui qualifient le "neustic", en exprimant la modalité épistémique ou déontique subjective. En revanche, les énoncés indépendants en *oratio recta*, à nature illocutoire basique DECL., qui ne qualifient ni le "tropic" ni le "neustic", reçoivent l'infinitif en *oratio obliqua*.

1. *La nature illocutoire basique de différents énoncés révélée par le choix des modes en oratio obliqua*

1.1. Le mode infinitif, même en dehors des contextes en *oratio obliqua*, semble représenter le moyen privilégié par lequel le latin réalise les subordonnées à nature illocutoire basique DECL.³.

En outre, même des énoncés indépendants, à nature déclarative, sont parfois réalisés par ce mode, comme le témoignent l'infinitif historique:

- (1) Sall. *Iug.* 101, 11 *Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi, fugere, occidi, capi*

et l'infinitif exclamatif:

- (2) Ter. *Ad.* 562 *Non puidisse verberare hominem senem!*
(3) Hor. *serm.* 1, 9, 72 *Huncine solem tam nigrum surrexe mihi!*

Ces deux types d'énoncés (l'historique et l'exclamatif) partagent la propriété de ne pas qualifier le "tropic", c'est-à-dire

ratif, jussif ou interrogatif, tandis que le "phrastic" représente le contenu propositionnel commun aux propositions déclaratives, jussives et interrogatives.

³ Les exceptions sont représentées par les verbes introduisant des subordonnées à modalités jussives (p. ex. *iubeo, cogo*) qui demandent un infinitif.

tous les deux présentent une nature illocutoire basique qui ne peut être ni jussive, ni interrogative. L'identité de la nature illocutoire basique (DECL.) est, à notre avis, le lien qui justifie les échanges sémantiques entre les interrogatives rhétoriques énonciatives et les exclamatives et le fait qu'elles reçoivent le même traitement en *oratio obliqua*. Morphologiquement cette parenté est attestée par l'emploi dans les deux énoncés de la même particule enclitique: *-ne* (cf. Traina-Bertotti 1977, 2, p. 126 n. 1):

- (4) Cic. *Cluent.* 84 *Tene hoc dicere?*
(5) Liv. 4, 50, 1 *praedane interceptorem fraudatorem-
que etiam malum minari militibus?*

1.2. Il est nécessaire à ce point de revenir à un sujet qui nous a attirée il y a plus de dix ans (cf. Orlandini 1980) et qui représente un noyau syntaxique crucial, à propos duquel plusieurs savants, tels que Riemann (1883), Traina (1955, 1959), Pasoli (1956, 1957, 1960) ont disserté: l'emploi des interrogatives rhétoriques en *oratio obliqua*.

Nous espérons pouvoir vérifier notre ancienne hypothèse sémantique, qui se basait sur l'emploi des opérateurs épistémiques de connaissance (K) et de croyance (B), par les nouveaux instruments de l'analyse par composants sémantiques que nous allons développer.

A notre avis, les interrogatives qui ne présentent pas de potentiels ou de dubitatifs, se placent au niveau que la Functional Grammar appelle le niveau des "prédications". Nous allons soutenir que, à ce niveau en *oratio obliqua*, les énoncés qui qualifient le "tropic" par la forme basique interrogative (INTERR.), ou jussive (IMP.) ("so-be-it") sont réalisés en latin par le mode subjonctif, alors que les énoncés qui ne qualifient pas le "tropic" (c'est-à-dire ceux qui ont une nature illocutoire basique déclarative) sont, la plupart, réalisés par le mode infinitif⁴.

⁴ Dans notre analyse précédente des interrogatives en *oratio obliqua* (cf. Orlandini 1980) nous assignions aux préconditions pragmatiques des énoncés qui en *oratio obliqua* reçoivent le subjonctif, un opérateur épistémique de

1.2.1. *Les interrogatives au mode subjonctif en oratio obliqua*

Nous allons analyser les interrogatives qui ne qualifient pas le “neustic”. Nous n’analyserons donc pas ici les interrogatives présentant des potentiels ou des dubitatifs, qui reçoivent aussi le mode subjonctif et qui seront rangées au niveau des “propositions”, selon la classification de la Functional Grammar. Ces énoncés seront analysés au point 3.

La question, longuement débattue⁵, de savoir s’il existe ou non des interrogatives réelles en *oratio obliqua*, ou bien si toute interrogative en *oratio obliqua* doit être analysée comme dépendante d’un *verbum rogandi* (explicite ou déduisible du contexte), n’a, selon notre analyse par composants sémantiques, plus raison d’être. Qu’elles soient des interrogatives indépendantes (interrogatives réelles) ou bien dépendantes d’un *verbum rogandi* ou *sentiendi*, elles qualifient toutes le “tropic” par la forme basique interrogative et cela justifie le choix du subjonctif:

- (6) Liv. 37, 39, 1 *consul ... in consilium advocavit, quid sibi faciendum esset, si Antiochus pugnandi copiam non faceret*
- (7) Liv. 10, 13, 10 *in recusando perstabat: quid ergo attineret leges ferri, quibus per eosdem qui tulissent fraus fieret*
- (8) Liv. 5, 20, 3 *(dictator) litteras ad senatum misit: Veios iam fore in potestate populi Romani; quid de praeda faciendum censerent?*

De la même façon encore un “tropic” qualifié par la forme illocutoire basique interrogative (INTERR.) est envisageable pour les interrogatives “pseudo-réelles” que Traina (1955,

croyance (B), et aux énoncés qui reçoivent l’infinitif, l’opérateur épistémique de connaissance (K); nous verrons au point 3 que cette distinction demeure encore fondée pour ce qui concerne le choix entre le potentiel et l’irréel.

⁵ Pour une bibliographie de ce débat entre les grammairiens cf. Orlandini 1980, p. 107.

p.81) définit "interrogative psicologicamente retoriche e formalmente reali". Par de telles interrogatives le locuteur pose de véritables questions, raison pour laquelle à niveau sémantique leur "tropic" est qualifié par INTERR., ce qui explique le mode subjonctif. Au niveau pragmatique elles apportent un autre élément: la conscience, de la part du locuteur, qu'une véritable information nouvelle ne pourra jamais être obtenue (ce qui les rapproche, mais, comme on le verra, seulement de loin, aux interrogatives rhétoriques). Ainsi la demande d'Arioviste à César:

(9) Caes. *Gall.* 1, 44, 8 *quid sibi vellet?*

est destinée à demeurer sans réponse, puisque, comme l'observe Traina (1955, p.81) "i veri scopi del Romano sono inconfessabili". Cela n'empêche qu'Arioviste est dans son plein droit de poser la question, qui n'est pas du tout rhétorique (au sens qu'elle ne présuppose pas une vérité générale, p. ex. la connaissance que: *Caesar nihil vult*).

D'autres interrogatives qui reçoivent le mode subjonctif en *oratio obliqua*, sont les interrogatives rhétoriques à nature illocutoire basique jussive, qui qualifient elles aussi le "tropic", non pas par INTERR. (comme les interrogatives véritables), mais par IMP. ("so-be-it"). Rappelons que, en conséquence de l'inversion de la polarité (cf. Muller 1978), à une interrogative rhétorique syntaxiquement négative (p. ex. introduite par le complémenteur *quin*)⁶, au niveau sémantique on fait correspondre un "tropic" qualifié par la forme jussive affirmative "so-be-it":

(10) Liv. 4, 43, 11 ss. *quin illi ... copularent concordiam?*
(= *copulate concordiam!*)

De la même façon, à une interrogative rhétorique syntaxiquement positive, on fait correspondre au niveau sémantique un "tropic" qualifié par la "prohibition" ("let-it-not-be-so"):

⁶ Sur la polarité négative entraînée par *quin* cf. Orlandini 1985.

- (11) Liv. 10, 35, 8 *(consul) cunctantes arma capere increpabat: quid cessarent tergiversarenturque? (= ne cessaveritis!)*

Un "tropic" qualifié par la "prohibition" (*cur*), ainsi qu'un "tropic" sans négation sémantique (*quin*) apparaissent à la fois dans un même texte:

- (12) Tac. ann. 13, 49 *cur enim, ... tam levia consecraretur? quin de bello aut pace, de vectigalibus et legibus, ... suaderet dissuaderetve?*

1.2.2. Les interrogatives au mode infinitif en oratio obliqua

Toutes les interrogatives qui reçoivent le mode infinitif en *oratio obliqua* sont rhétoriques. Elles sont énonciatives, c'est-à-dire que leur nature illocutoire basique est assertive, en ce sens elles ne peuvent pas qualifier le "tropic" (par IMP. ou INTERR.). Ces interrogatives rhétoriques sont équivalentes à des assertions générales valables pour tous les locuteurs, en relation au monde actuel. La réponse à ces interrogatives est connue au préalable par le locuteur et elle ne peut être formalisée que par un quantifieur universel (*nihil/omnia*), si elle porte sur des entités. Ces deux éléments les spécifient: l'opérateur de connaissance (dans les préconditions pragmatiques du locuteur) et la quantification universelle (car elles sont des assertions catégorielles). De cette façon, à l'interrogative rhétorique:

- (13) Caes. Gall. 5, 28, 6 *quid esse levius aut turpius quam auctore hoste de summis rebus capere consilium?*

correspond, pour ce qui concerne la force illocutoire, une déclarative à sujet *nihil*: *nihil est levius aut turpius quam ...*

Remarquons que la même inversion de la polarité signalée à propos des interrogatives rhétoriques volitives, est à l'œuvre ici. Dans ce cas, une négation du "tropic" non qualifié ("de-

nial", cf. Lyons 1977, p.750ss.) correspond à la formulation positive de l'interrogative rhétorique; alors que dans:

- (14) Liv. 1, 50, 4 *cui enim non apparere, adfectare eum imperium in Latinos?*

la déclarative correspondante est positive: *omnibus apparet*.

Pourtant, dans le cas des ainsi-nommées "yes-no questions" rhétoriques, introduites en latin par *nonne*, *num*, *an*, cette inversion de la polarité ne semble pas se vérifier (à la différence de ce qui arrive dans les langues romanes).

De cette façon une interrogative rhétorique énonciative introduite par *nonne* a la force illocutoire d'une déclarative positive (réponse "yes"):

- (15) Liv. 4, 2, 14 *Nonne Canuleio duce se speraturos Capitolium atque arcem scandere posse?*

tandis qu'une interrogative rhétorique introduite par *num* ou *an* (c'est-à-dire par des complémenteur possédant en général une valeur négative)⁷ a la force illocutoire d'une déclarative négative (réponse "no"):

- (16) Liv. 7, 6, 11 *num etiam in deos immortales inauspicatam legem valuisse?*
(17) Liv. 4, 43, 10 *an bello intestino bellum externum propulsaturos?*

La force illocutoire déclarative est aussi cruciale pour l'assignation du mode infinitif aux énoncés introduits par *cur*, lorsqu'il s'agit non pas d'une exhortation (ce qui serait le cas d'une interrogative rhétorique volitive à "tropic" qualifié IMP.), mais d'une constatation (cf. Traina-Bertotti 1977, 3, p.255 n.3).

De cette façon un énoncé tel que:

- (18) Tac. *ann.* 14, 1 *cur enim differri nuptias suas?*

a la force illocutoire d'une déclarative: *nihil est cur ...*

⁷ A propos de la question de savoir si *an* entraîne ou pas une polarité négative cf. Serbat 1981 et 1988 et Bodelot 1987.

On peut enfin essayer d'expliquer pourquoi les interrogatives rhétoriques qui formulent des prévisions catastrophiques reçoivent dans l'*oratio obliqua* le mode infinitif (futur), comme c'est le cas de :

- (19) Liv. 2, 32, 6 *quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum existat?*
 (20) Liv. 26, 29, 4 *nullo suo merito eum ante implacabilem in se fuisse: quid iratum ... facturum?*

A ces questions on n'est pas à-même de donner une réponse. Ces énoncés rhétoriques n'ont pas de force illocutoire basique interrogative (au contraire des interrogatives réelles), parce qu'aucune réponse spécifique qui apporte une véritable information n'est envisageable. Ces énoncés ne correspondent pas non plus aux rhétoriques énonciatives classiques que nous venons d'analyser, qui ont la force illocutoire d'un énoncé générique. Pourtant, comme elles ne peuvent pas qualifier le "tropic" ni pour INTERR., ni pour IMP., le choix du mode infinitif s'impose, à confirmation de la régularité que nous avons supposée pour l'*oratio obliqua*.

2. La nature syntaxique de différents énoncés révélée par le choix des modes en *oratio obliqua*

Nous allons soutenir qu'en présence de certains énoncés complexes le choix du mode infinitif en *oratio obliqua* dépend de la véritable nature syntaxique de ces énoncés. L'infinitif démasque un rapport de coordination dans le cas d'énoncés apparemment subordonnés (selon leur structure de surface), mais dépendants sans être subordonnés, au niveau sémantico-logique (cf. Palmer 1986, p. 182). La nature illocutoire basique de ces énoncés est toujours déclarative, la seule qui permet, dans le cas des énoncés complexes, un rapport moins strict entre leurs constituants. Tous les énoncés que nous allons analyser et qui en *oratio obliqua* reçoivent le mode infinitif, présentent un élément pragmatique commun: ils sont réalisés après une pause, plus ou moins forte, qui suit l'énoncé dit

“principal”, ils introduisent un changement de perspective, plus ou moins marqué, en présentant un événement sur un autre plan, qualifié comme une option possible et parfois même alternative (comme le prouve parfois l’emploi de certaines EEA (“expressions of exclusive absoluteness” (cf. Schmidt-Radefeldt 1977, p.381 s.) tels que: *nisi forte, potius quam*, etc.). Parmi les énoncés que Traina-Bertotti (1977, 3, p.252 n.2) appellent “pseudo-dépendants” (“(proposizioni) apparentemente subordinate, ma sostanzialmente coordinate”) nous rappelons:

a) le relatif de liaison⁸

Cette construction qui reçoit l’infinitif en *oratio obliqua*, met en évidence qu’il y a détachement par rapport à l’énoncé principal, ainsi dans:

(21) Cic. *Brut.* 12, 46s. *scriptas fuisse et paratas a Protagora rerum inlustrum disputationes; quod idem fecisse Gorgiam*

les deux énoncés sont tout à fait coordonnés, présentés sur le même plan descriptif: “on disait que ... et que Gorgias avait fait la même chose”.

Parfois une nouvelle perspective peut être envisagée et refusée en même temps:

(22) Liv. 23, 44, 1 *Herennius Bassus respondit multos annos iam inter Romanum Nolanumque populum amicitiam esse, cuius neutros ad eam diem paenitere*

L’hypothèse que l’un de deux peuples pouvait se repentir de cette amitié demeurerait – *ad eam diem* – vraiment inimaginable.

⁸ Que la spécificité pragmatique du relatif de liaison soit de présenter, après une pause, une reprise qui modifie, d’une certaine façon, la perspective de l’énoncé principal, nous a été signalé par J.-P. Maurel (communication personnelle). Nous essayerons d’étendre cette intuition à l’interprétation d’autres cas d’énoncés “pseudo-dépendants” à l’infinitif en *oratio obliqua*. Rappelons au passage que justement les énoncés présentant un changement de point de vue semblent aussi se soustraire, en raison de leur nature sémantique coordonnée, au mécanisme de la *consecutio temporum* (cf. Lebreton 1901, p.251).

Elle est donc présentée par Herennius comme une perspective niée, qui s'ajoutait, comme renforcement, sur un plan coordonné, à la donnée principale: *inter Romanum Nolanumque populum amicitia erat*.

b) De la même façon on rencontre à l'infinitif en *oratio obliqua* les énoncés comparatifs introduits par *quemadmodum, ut*:

(23) Liv. 2, 13, 8 (*Porsina*) *prae se ferre quemadmodum, si (Cloelia) non dedatur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam {intactam} inviolatamaue ad suos remissurum*

Même dans ce cas, la comparaison est faite entre deux énoncés qui sont au même niveau et donc coordonnés. En outre, l'énoncé introduit par *quemadmodum* présente une perspective alternative, dans le cas où *Cloelia non dedatur obses*, à celle où Clœlia est consignée au roi étrusque.

c) L'infinitif peut être employé aussi en *oratio obliqua* après *quia* ou *quod* ayant la valeur de *nam*.

Les exemples sont quand-même très rares, pour *quia* + l'infinitif:

(24) Liv. 26, 27, 12 *nullam enim in terris gentem esse, nullum infestiores populum nomini Romano: ideo se moenibus inclusos tenere eos, quia, si qui evasissent aliqua, velut feras bestias per agros vagari et laniare et trucidare quodcumque obvium detur*

ainsi que Sen. *Epist.* 97, 13; pour *quod* + l'infinitif: *Bell. Hisp.* 22 et pour *quoniam* + l'infinitif: *Colum.* 1, 3.

A ces exemples on peut ajouter, selon Lebreton (1901, p.375) une leçon probable⁹ d'un passage cicéronien:

⁹ Cette leçon, reçue par Friedrich, apparaît dans le *codex Heribipolitanus* ainsi que dans le *codex Sangallensis*.

- (25) Cic. inv. 2, 8, 27 *et id, quod falsum fuerit, sine ulla dubitatione pro vero probasse; quia, si dubitarit, summae fuisse amentiae dubia spe impulsus certum in periculum se committere.*

La forte punctuation, ainsi que la reprise nuancée de façon adversative, nous invitent à classer ce passage parmi les exemples d'énoncés coordonnés à l'infinitif que nous sommes en train d'analyser.

d) Plus explicitement contrastifs sont les énoncés introduits par *quamquam*.

Par ce moyen le locuteur formule une hypothèse qui sert à modifier la perspective de l'énoncé principal:

- (26) Liv. 4, 15, 5 *Quamquam nullam nobilitatem, nullos honores, nulla merita cuiquam ad dominationem pandere viam, ...*

e) Une valeur adversative est aussi facilement envisageable dans l'emploi à l'infinitif en *oratio obliqua* des énoncés introduits par *cum interea, cum interim*.

Ces compléments introduisent un énoncé simultané et adversatif par rapport à l'énoncé principal:

- (27) Liv. 4, 51, 4 *nequiuiere tamen consequi ut non aegerrime id plebs ferret: iacere tam diu irritas actiones, quae de suis commodis ferrentur, cum interim de sanguine ac supplicio suo latam legem confestim exerceri et tantam vim habere*

Parmi les nombreux emplois de *cum*, ce sont *cum interea* et *cum interim* qui, selon nous, représentent le cas limite le plus proche de la coordination, même s'il est vrai que plusieurs phrases au subjonctif introduites par *cum* peuvent être transformées en propositions indépendantes.

Peut-être, et c'est bien notre avis, que la valeur sémantique adversative et le rapport de simultanéité ont plaidé à la fois pour le choix du mode infinitif en *oratio obliqua*.

L'infinitif en *oratio obliqua* se recontre encore avec les hypothèses présentées comme exclues. C'est le cas de:

f) les énoncés introduits par *nisi forte, nisi vero*:

- (28) Tac. ann. 2, 33 *Nisi forte clarissimo cuique plures curas, maiora pericula subeunda, delenimentis et periculorum curarum carentum esse*

Très souvent, après une forte pause, l'énoncé coordonné introduit par *nisi forte, nisi vero* est marqué par une connotation ironique, qui sert à classer l'option qui va être présentée comme non choissable, exclue au préalable.

g) les énoncés introduits par *potius quam* ou bien par *antequam, priusquam* avec le même sens que *potius quam*:

- (29) Cic. fam. 2, 16, 3 *Nonne tibi adfirmavi quidvis me potius perpessurum quam ad bellum civile me exiturum ?*
- (30) Liv. 21, 16, 2 *Tantusque simul maeror patres ... metusque de summa re cepit, ... ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent: Sardos Corsosque ... lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma*
- (31) Cic. Att. 2, 20, 2 *Pompeius addit se prius occisum iri ab eo quam me violatum iri*

Plusieurs grammairiens expliquent ces cas comme une attraction de l'infinitif de la principale. Pourtant Riemann (1884, p.289, n.1) remarque qu'il faut bien distinguer les cas où *antequam* et *priusquam* sont employés au sens de *potiusquam*, des cas où une infinitive est intercalée. Toutefois, compte tenu de la remarque de Riemann, on pourra aisément vérifier, même pour ce qui concerne les énoncés que nous venons

de proposer qu'il ne s'agit pas d'attraction automatique du mode infinitif, mais que ces cas aussi répondent aux conditions pragmatiques que nous croyons reconnaître dans les autres énoncés "pseudo-dépendants" à l'infinitif en *oratio obliqua*: la nature illocutoire basique de l'énoncé étant déclarative, ils instaurent un rapport de coordination, nuancé d'une connotation contrastive. En effet il n'est pas sans signification que les seuls emplois de *ante ... quam / prius ... quam* au mode infinitif en *oratio obliqua* sont ceux sémantiquement équivalents à *potius ... quam*, l'indicateur explicite d'un choix qui en exclut un autre. Toutes les expressions groupées ici semblent échapper à la portée de la "main clause" et appartenir à un niveau qui, aux termes de la FG n'est ni celui des "prédications", ni celui des "propositions", mais un niveau plus élevé.

3. La modalité épistémique subjective vs. la modalité épistémique objective

Au point 1 nous avons analysé les "prédications", c'est-à-dire les énoncés simples et complexes qui ont à faire avec les entités du deuxième ordre, tels que les opérateurs de la quantification, de la négation, les indicateurs déictiques du temps et de l'espace. A ce point-ci nous traiterons les énoncés où la présence du locuteur¹⁰ devient significative et joue un rôle important dans l'assignation des conditions de vérité de l'énoncé même. C'est donc le niveau que la Functional Grammar appelle le niveau des "propositions".

A ce niveau c'est la modalité épistémique subjective (cf. Lyons 1977, p.803ss. et Palmer 1986, p.146ss.) qui opère, alors que la modalité épistémique objective agit sur le "prédications".

Nous essayerons de montrer que justement en *oratio obliqua* le choix du mode: subjonctif vs. infinitif, peut-être considéré

¹⁰ Nous ne distinguons pas encore ici entre locuteur originaire (loc₁) et l'émetteur de l'énonciation (loc₂); cette distinction deviendra fonctionnelle dans les cas de "polyphonie" que nous analyserons au point 4.

comme décisif pour distinguer entre les deux types de modalité.

Pour expliquer la différence entre la modalité épistémique objective et la modalité épistémique subjective, Lyons (1977, p.801) cite l'exemple célèbre de l'énoncé: "It may be raining in London" prononcé par un météorologue ou bien par un locuteur quelconque. Dans le premier cas, l'énoncé est construit à partir des données scientifiques qui apportent un certain degré de probabilité à la vérité de son contenu propositionnel: il s'agit là de la modalité épistémique objective. Dans l'autre cas, le locuteur exprime son avis, non supporté par des évidences scientifiques, un avis donc tout à fait subjectif, dont il se rend personnellement garant et qu'il peut nuancer de façon différente selon une échelle d'engagement ("commitment" cf. Palmer 1986) plus ou moins fort dans la vérité du contenu propositionnel de l'énoncé. Selon Lyons, la modalité, basique par laquelle on peut exprimer la modalité épistémique est la possibilité. Il propose donc de distinguer entre la modalité épistémique objective et la subjective suivant que "poss" opère à niveau du "tropic" ou bien du "neustic". De cette façon:

. poss p

représente formellement la modalité épistémique objective, alors que:

poss . p

représente formellement la modalité épistémique subjective.

Nous soutenons qu'en latin en *oratio obliqua* les énoncés qui qualifient le "neustic" par l'expression de la modalité épistémique ou déontique subjective, se placent au niveau des "propositions" et ils reçoivent en général le mode subjonctif. Au niveau des "prédications" c'est la modalité épistémique ou déontique objective qui opère (cf. Hengeveldt 1988).

Les énoncés qui qualifient le "tropic" par l'expression de la modalité épistémique ou déontique objective se placent au niveau des "prédications" et ils reçoivent en *oratio obliqua* le mode infinitif.

Parmi les “proposition” (les énoncés qui qualifient le “neustic”) nous signalons les potentiels, qui demeurent au subjonctif en *oratio obliqua* (exprimant la modalité épistémique subjective).

(32) Caes. *Gall.* 5, 29, 5 *Quis hoc sibi persuaderet, sine certa spe Amborigem ad eiusmodi consilium descendisse?*

(33) Liv. 7, 20, 5 *eane meritos crederet quisquam hostes repente sine causa factos?*

et les subjonctifs dubitatifs ou délibératifs (exprimant la modalité déontique subjective):

(34) Caes. *civ.* 1, 72, 2 *cur vulnerari pateretur optime meritos de se milites? Cur fortunam periclitaretur?*

En effet, suivant Lyons (1977, p. 813) nous interprétons le subjonctif délibératif comme une “deliberative question”, qu’on représente sémantiquement par un “neustic” qualifié (“I wonder”) et par un “tropic” qualifié lui aussi (“so-be-it”) qu’on formalise de la façon suivante:

? ! p
 (“I-wonder so-be-it (that) p”)

Au ce point de notre analyse nous croyons pouvoir répondre à la question épineuse de savoir s’il existe en *oratio obliqua* un potentiel du passé. Certains grammairiens (parmi lesquels Gandiglio (1921–1966) et Tescari (1935)) soutiennent que les potentiels du passé sont réalisés en *oratio obliqua* par *potuisse*. Nous refusons cette solution; à notre avis, l’infinitif *potuisse* est le moyen formel par lequel en *oratio obliqua* le latin réalise la modalité épistémique objective, fondée sur des évidences par rapport au monde actuel. La modalité objective est “inférencielle”, comme le prouve Bolkestein (1980) à propos de l’une des valeurs de *necesse est*. De cette façon nous dirons qu’une modalité épistémique objective est présente dans:

(35) Liv. 26, 30, 8 *Quid ultra quam quod fecerit ... facere hostiliter Marcellum potuisse?*

D'après le contexte il est bien clair que: *Marcellus nihil hostiliter potuit facere* et l'énoncé doit être interprété comme une interrogative rhétorique énonciative à force illocutoire basique déclarative, une "prédication".

Toutefois, les potentiels ainsi que les dubitatifs du passé, seraient, à notre avis, virtuellement possibles en *oratio obliqua*, où ils garderaient le mode subjonctif. Ce débat nous rapproche de la question controversée de l'existence, même en dehors de l'*oratio obliqua*, d'un potentiel distingué de l'irréel. Déjà ailleurs, en affrontant ce problème (cf. Orlandini 1993) nous avons souligné l'importance de la distinction entre la possibilité ouverte, donnant sur le passé, sans vérification si cette possibilité s'est réalisée ou pas (qui représente le statut pragmatique du potentiel du passé) ou bien de la possibilité niée dans le présent comme dans le passé (qui représente le statut pragmatique de l'irréel). A notre avis, deux opérateurs épistémiques différents en découlent: dans le premier cas l'opérateur de croyance (B), dans l'autre cas, l'opérateur de connaissance (K) (cf. Orlandini 1980).

Une fois de plus, l'*oratio obliqua* semble fonctionner comme un véritable révélateur pour distinguer entre ces modalités. L'irréel reçoit en *oratio obliqua* le mode infinitif:

(36) Liv. 2, 2, 5 *Invitum se dicere ... nec dicturum
fuisse ni caritas rei publicae vinceret*

En tant qu'hypothèse contraire aux données du monde actuel, et donc, comme le dit Sechehaye (1934, p.75): "en fonction inverse de la réalité"¹¹, l'irréel présuppose une connaissance du monde actuel (un rapport de quelque façon objectif), qui n'est pas nécessaire pour l'hypothèse subjective (celle-ci représentant le statut pragmatique du potentiel du présent/passé).

Soulignons au passage que la plupart des cas d'irréels que nous avons rencontrés en *oratio obliqua* appartiennent aux in-

¹¹ A ce propos, peut-être est-il intéressant de rappeler que les énoncés coordonnés introduisant une hypothèse exclue (cf. 2 f: *nisi forte, nisi vero* et 2 g: *potius quam*), qui partagent le statut pragmatique de l'irréel, reçoivent aussi le mode infinitif en *oratio obliqua*.

terrogatives rhétoriques énonciatives, à force illocutoire basique déclarative, donc à des “prédications”, ce qui peut être une explication pour appuyer le choix du mode infinitif.

4. *Polyphonie en oratio obliqua*

L'*oratio obliqua*, représentant une situation classique de “double énonciation” (cf. Ducrot 1984, p.171 ss.), présuppose deux locuteurs: le locuteur originaire auquel on attribue l'énoncé prononcé ou seulement pensé¹², que nous appelons loc₁, et un autre locuteur, le plus souvent différent de loc₁¹³, le locuteur-rapporteur, l'émetteur actuel de l'énonciation, que nous appelons loc₂.

Jusqu'ici notre attention a été concentrée sur loc₁: les changements de perspective, les énoncés négatifs ironiques (cf. au point 2)¹⁴, le “commitment” différemment nuancé dans la vérité du contenu propositionnel de l'énoncé, concernaient le locuteur originaire (loc₁). Loc₂ se bornait à attribuer toute responsabilité du discours au locuteur originaire, sans pour autant se dissocier de lui. Nous interprétons en ce sens l'affirmation de Authier (1978, p.63 ss.) que L (= notre loc₂) “prend en charge” ce qu'il rapporte. Nous allons maintenant analyser le cas où loc₂ intervient avec un rôle spécifié.

Il faut dire au préalable qu'aucune partie du discours n'échappe au contrôle de loc₂, alors que quelque chose peut ne pas être contrôlée par loc₁. Une fois encore, c'est par le choix des modes que le latin nous permet en *oratio obliqua*

¹² Il n'est pas nécessaire que l'énoncé ait été physiquement prononcé, il peut avoir été écrit (cf. Liv.5, 20, 3; Curt.4, 5, 1) où même pensé (Caes. civ. 1, 72, 2; Tac. hist. 2, 74).

¹³ En effet il n'est pas strictement nécessaire que loc₂ soit distingué de loc₁, au sens que l'on peut rapporter en *oratio obliqua* un énoncé comme relevant de son propre discours.

¹⁴ Pour ce qui concerne ces cas, nous renvoyons à l'analyse qu'en donne Ducrot (1984, p. 210 ss.), qui postule plusieurs énonciateurs, subordonnés entre eux, mais distingués du locuteur.

de nous renseigner même sur les attitudes du locuteur de l'énonciation (loc₂).

Est-ce qu'il existe donc une subordination entre loc₁ et loc₂ en *oratio obliqua*? Nous croyons pouvoir répondre de façon affirmative. Il faut pourtant avouer que nous n'avons pas pu vérifier en *oratio obliqua* un phénomène qui, en revanche, caractérise le style indirect, où un espace plus grand est donné à la polyphonie: la dissociation énonciative. L'*oratio obliqua* par sa structure constitutive (construction relevant de la langue juridique et de celle de la chancellerie, très développée par la suite, en particulier dans le style des historiens) attribue explicitement le discours à loc₁. Ce statut empêche ou rend théoriquement très difficile, de marquer un décalage, une prise de distance de la part de l'émetteur de l'énonciation à l'égard de ce qui est dit dans le discours rapporté. En revanche, le style indirect, qui ne partage pas les mêmes présupposés pragmatiques, peut témoigner, ou par la tournure entre parenthèse: *auctore aliquo*, ou plus fréquemment par le "subjonctif oblique", d'une dissociation énonciative entre loc₂ et loc₁:

(37) Cic. ac. 2, 32 (*philosophi*) *queruntur quod eos in simulemus omnia incerta dicere*

où loc₂ = Cicéron ≠ loc₁ = les philosophes¹⁵.

Pourtant, même en *oratio obliqua*, il est possible au loc₂ de signaler ce qu'on ne doit pas attribuer au discours de loc₁. Le mode indicatif est, à notre avis, le moyen grammatical par lequel loc₂ peut découper des îlots textuels dans le discours de loc₁. Ces îlots relèvent en *oratio obliqua* d'une vérité ayant une vie autonome, à l'extérieur donc du discours rapporté, auquel elle n'est pas intimement liée¹⁶. Il s'agit en effet de relatives telles que:

¹⁵ La dissociation énonciative peut-être mise à jour même par d'autres marqueurs tels que, comme dans ce texte, les pronoms anaphoriques (cf. Bertocchi 1994, ainsi que Fruyt 1987, p. 213).

¹⁶ Que l'indicatif soit le mode privilégié pour mettre en évidence le locuteur, même en dehors de l'*oratio obliqua*, peut-être démontré par le fait que, comme le souligne Bolkestein (à paraître), lorsque le verbe matrice d'une subordonnée interrogative présente une "illocutionary modulation" (qui

- (38) Caes. *Gall.* 3, 2, 1 *per exploratores certior factus est ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis concesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque qui impenderent a maxima multitudine teneri*
- (39) Caes. *Gall.* 6, 10, 5 *Suebos omnes ... cum omnibus copiis ... penitus ad extremos fines se recepisse; silvam ibi esse infinita magnitudine, quae appellatur Bacenis; ... ad eius initium silvae Suebos adventum Romanorum exspectare constituisse*

ou bien du *dum* achronique:

- (40) Liv. 24, 19, 3 *(Fabius) ad collegam mittit: altero exercitu dum Casilium oppugnatur opus esse qui Campanis opponatur*

5. Conclusions

Par cette étude nous avons essayé de prouver, contre ce que soutiennent les analyses traditionnelles, que l'*oratio obliqua* n'est pas simplement une opération morpho-syntaxique visant à transformer le statut d'énoncés indépendants en énoncés dépendants, en les subordonnant à un *verbum dicendi*. Il ne s'agit pas seulement de modifications morpho-syntaxiques entraînant un changement de temps, de modes, de personnes grammaticales et d'adverbes déictiques. En appliquant à l'*oratio obliqua* ce que soutient Authier (1978) à propos du cas plus général du discours indirect, c'est-à-dire qu'il s'agit d'une véri-

signale la présence du locuteur) la subordonnée est réalisée au mode indicatif. Pour ce qui concerne le discours indirect, Szantyr (1965, p. 548) observe que le subjonctif est moins fréquent dans les subordonnées du deuxième degré, lorsque le prédicat principal, à sujet de première ou de deuxième personne, est au temps présent. D'où Bolkestein (à paraître) argumente que: "syntactically 'second degree' clauses are pragmatically actually 'first degree' clauses, in having the actual speech situation as their orientation point".

table opération de "traduction", nous dirons que l'*oratio obliqua* présuppose un décodage et un réencodage du discours rapporté, ce qui est fait par le locuteur-rapporteur (loc₂).

A notre avis, cette opération qui se déroule au niveau pragmatique, tenant compte des circonstances dans lesquelles le discours a été réalisé, signale le point de vue de loc₁ et nécessairement aussi celui de loc₂. Il est même possible que certains de ces éléments ne peuvent pas être mis à jour de façon si nette en *oratio recta*.

Si le discours indirect est un acte de parole qui consiste dans "l'analyse sémantique d'un autre acte de parole" (Authier 1978, p.66), nous croyons pouvoir soutenir que le latin, langue sémantiquement non ambiguë, met à jour par l'*oratio obliqua* un mécanisme on ne peut plus clair, pour disséquer cet acte de parole rapporté. Toute ambiguïté y est effacée: par le choix des modes, la vraie force illocutoire basique des énoncés est révélée, ainsi que les rapports (de coordination ou bien de subordination) entre les différents énoncés. Le jugement de loc₁, son "commitment", sa vision du monde, y sont aussi démasqués. Une dernière remarque: nous avons choisi de nous intéresser ici en particulier au changement des modes, mais nous ne nous cachons pas qu'une analyse du changement des pronoms, des temps, des adverbes déictiques, pourrait aussi être fructueuse et révélatrice, dans une perspective pragmatique, du mécanisme très simple et très net mis en œuvre par l'*oratio obliqua*.

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Categorie e strutture naturali. I metaplasmi di diatesi nel latino tardo

I. L'ipotesi prototipica e la linguistica diacronica

Nell'ormai celebre studio sulla metafora e la sua capillare presenza nel processo di comprensione e classificazione della realtà, Lakoff e Johnson (1980) esponevano, dieci anni or sono, una concreta alternativa epistemologica al cosiddetto 'mito dell'oggettivismo', che avrebbe dominato, nell'opinione degli AA., la cultura occidentale dalla filosofia presocratica ai giorni nostri.¹ Il neorazionalismo chomskyano è qui interpretato come l'ultimo atto di una tradizione di pensiero, che ha imposto il modello categoriale a fondamento della filosofia della scienza. Nell'ambito della psicolinguistica e della teoria della percezione, la 'fede' positivista nell'oggettività della conoscenza ha prodotto e perpetuato la convinzione che la mente selezioni proprietà intrinsecamente presenti negli oggetti e le organizzi in categorie dai confini discreti, in base a cui gli oggetti stessi sono poi classificati. Il carattere fisso delle categorie garantirebbe il rigore scientifico delle operazioni logiche compiute sul sistema concettuale, ma si dimostra nel contempo impotente di fronte alla spiegazione dei meccanismi linguistici che assolvono a funzioni più complesse, rispetto allo scopo comunicativo neutro. Metafora e metonimia sono forse le vittime più illustri di tale tradizione: relegate, per lo più, nel territorio talvolta incerto della stilistica, hanno tenuto lo status di 'figure del

¹ Il concetto di metafora proposta in questo studio intende superare i limiti della dicotomia *truth = reason*, incarnatasi nei contrapposti miti dell'oggettivismo e del soggettivismo; questa la definizione (1980, p.199) "Metaphor is thus imaginative rationality [...] Metaphor is one of our most important tools for trying to comprehend partially what cannot be comprehended totally: our feelings, aesthetic experiences, moral practises, and spiritual awareness."

discorso' fino agli importanti contributi dello stesso Lakoff, che per primo assegna loro il ruolo di principi cognitivi.²

La via indicata in Lakoff e Johnson (1980) propone una definizione del processo di categorizzazione in termini prototipici: le categorie attraverso cui la mente organizza i concetti si configurano come l'intersezione di un fascio di proprietà, che i singoli membri della categoria condividono in forma scalare ($>$ o $<$). Il centro coincide, in tale modo, con il prototipo: in relazione ad esso - ossia al possesso di un numero maggiore o minore di proprietà - gli elementi potranno essere classificati come più o meno prototipici e, conseguentemente, collocati nel centro o nelle zone periferiche della categoria. Su tali presupposti teorici si fonda il modello promosso dalla *Cognitive Grammar*, che, mettendo a frutto i risultati delle ricerche di E. Rosch e recuperando la preziosa nozione di *family resemblance* dall'ultimo Wittgenstein, ha prodotto in tempi recenti contributi notevoli per l'avanzamento della teoria linguistica.³ La visione continua dei membri che costituiscono una 'categoria naturale' (ossia la struttura radiale in cui le proprietà prototipiche si distribuiscono fra i diversi elementi, senza che ciascuno debba necessariamente dividerle tutte)⁴ è in prima istanza responsabile dell'apertura di nuove prospettive per lo

² Recupereremo in seguito l'importanza di questo aspetto che, tutto sommato, non è stato finora indagato in maniera adeguata. Lakoff ha sviluppato autonomamente la propria teoria della percezione delle categorie di pensiero e del loro trasferimento in strutture linguistiche nei seguenti lavori (1986, 1987).

³ Per una valutazione del contributo di Wittgenstein (1953) alla teoria prototipica si veda soprattutto Givón (1986). In *Linguistics* (1989), volume interamente dedicato alla discussione della teoria prototipica e delle sue applicazioni nei diversi settori della linguistica, è particolarmente utile come rassegna critica l'introduzione ad opera di Geeraerts, con ampia e aggiornata bibliografia.

⁴ Una chiara definizione dei concetti di *natural category* e *family resemblance* è contenuta in Givón (1986, p.78): "A *family resemblance* relation may often hold between the various members of the same category [...] so that while member *a* may resemble ('share properties with') *b*, *b* may resemble *c*, *c* resemble *d* etc. A family resemblance [...] represents a possible natural category within which *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* are equally members."

studio dello sviluppo diacronico. La soppressione di confini precisi e immutabili fra i diversi settori della categoria rende, infatti, inattuale un principio di classificazione binario: schematizzando, potremmo dire che al criterio $+/-$ si è sostituito un criterio $>/<$; d'altro lato, essa offre strumenti adeguati per la comprensione di certe evoluzioni interne alla grammatica, difficilmente spiegabili nell'ambito di una visione discreta. È indubbio che il modello PT. (= *Prototype Theory*) sia nato in ambito semantico, dove la nozione di *fuzzy boundary* risulta immediatamente evidente, ma è altrettanto certo che si sta estendendo con ottimi risultati anche nel dominio morfologico e sintattico. Non pochi casi di mutamento linguistico su questi livelli della grammatica ben si prestano, come vedremo, ad una lettura in termini di espansione o contrazione del prototipo (oscillazione di tratti dal centro alla periferia o viceversa).

Un breve commento è pertanto dovuto ai risultati recentemente acquisiti nello studio del cambiamento linguistico, in tale prospettiva. I lievi interventi qui suggeriti su singoli aspetti della teoria si riveleranno, infatti, necessari alla comprensione dell'ipotesi avanzata nella seconda parte dell'articolo.

Per quanto riguarda il mutamento fonetico, si è soprattutto cercato di rispondere a due quesiti fondamentali: a) Come progredisce? b) Perché assume una determinata forma e, superata la fase transitoria in cui le varianti coesistono sincronicamente, si trasforma in regola, integrandosi nel sistema?

Le indagini di M.V.Chen (1972; e, in collaborazione con W.S.Y.Wang, 1975) hanno trovato una soluzione per il primo interrogativo, grazie al concetto di *lexical diffusion*⁵: l'evoluzione fonologica si propaga gradualmente attraverso il lessico, in un arco temporale che ne costituisce il tempo interno. L'idea

⁵ Sulla possibilità di rispondere in maniera soddisfacente anche al secondo quesito, l'A. si mostra più dubbioso; una soluzione parziale al problema dell'attuazione del mutamento fonetico è indicata, comunque, nell'insieme degli *inherent constraints* dell'apparato fisiologico-percettivo del parlante, a cui il mutamento sembrerebbe doversi adeguare (1975). Queste conclusioni coincidono, peraltro, con quanto si sostiene nella fonologia naturale (cfr. Donegan e Stamper 1979; Dressler 1985).

non è assolutamente nuova, lo sono piuttosto i presupposti teorici, a partire dai quali viene 'rilanciata' nella linguistica diacronica. Se il lessico è il veicolo di trasmissione del cambiamento, è evidente che quest'ultimo si diffonderà in maniera progressiva, coinvolgendo un numero crescente di unità fino al completamento del suo corso e cioè alla sua regolare estensione a tutti i lessemi.

Delle modalità di avanzamento del processo si è occupato R. Lazzeroni, in un recente contributo sull'evoluzione del sistema verbale sanscrito. Nell'esame di tre specifiche questioni (la diffusione del perfetto del tipo *sedur*, del morfema *-ur* di 3 pers. pl. e dell'aoristo in *-sa-*), l'A. trova non solo sicura conferma della validità del concetto di 'diffusione lessicale' nella morfologia storica, ma riesce anche a ricostruire i meccanismi di espansione dei fenomeni osservati, proiettando sull'asse diacronico i principi della *Cognitive Grammar*. Queste, in sintesi, le conclusioni della sua ricerca: il perfetto in *-e-* e il morfema *-ur* non si propagano casualmente nel sanscrito vedico (come a prima vista potrebbe sembrare), ma seguono piuttosto un andamento ordinato; le basi coinvolte nel processo costituiscono, infatti, delle vere e proprie 'categorie naturali'. Nel primo caso i tratti condivisi dalle radici sono di natura fonetica (identità dei fonemi iniziali e/o finali della radice stessa: cfr. *sed-*, *sec-*, *sep-*, *seh-*; *sec-*, *pec-*, *pet-*, *yet* etc.); nel caso della diffusione del morfema *-ur* nelle diverse categorie grammaticali (perfetto → imperfetto → aoristo radicale) i tratti selezionanti sono rappresentati sia dal valore semantico (preterito) che dalla struttura formale (radici in *-a*, con raddoppiamento: cfr. *adadur*, *adadhur*).⁶

Confrontando le catene ricomposte da Lazzeroni per il sistema verbale indiano con quelle che guidano l'apprendimento dei verbi forti in inglese L₁ (studiato da J. Bybee e D. S. Slobin,

⁶ Il terzo caso discusso (la diffusione dell'aoristo in *-sa-*) testimonia ugualmente l'espansione di una categoria naturale, pur discostandosi dai primi due processi, in qualità di 'mutamento orientato verso il prodotto' (così nell'interpretazione dell'A., cfr. Lazzeroni 1990, a cui rimando per la dettagliata raccolta dei dati e il loro commento).

1982), si possono ricavare ulteriori generalizzazioni. È intanto gioco-forza notare la perfetta coincidenza dei dati: la classe dei verbi forti inglesi e quella dei verbi vedici con perfetto in *-e-* mostrano il comune attributo di *family resemblance* rispetto ad un prototipo. Per il tipo *spring-sprung* è altrettanto immediato ricavare i tratti selezionanti: gruppo consonantico iniziale, vocale radicale, consonante finale (cfr. Bybee e Slobin 1982). Una prima constatazione: la dinamica interna alla categoria sembra regolata dai medesimi principi nel processo di acquisizione linguistica e in quello di trasformazione diacronica. Il meccanismo operante nell'apprendimento viene ricondotto da Bybee e Slobin alla nozione di 'schema': esso si costituisce nella mente del parlante come insieme di associazioni fra le unità lessicali ed è attivo sui diversi livelli della grammatica (fonologico-sintattico-semantico: cfr. 1982, p.286).

Per la spiegazione dei mutamenti che colpiscono il prototipo nella successione temporale, il concetto di categoria naturale può essere impiegato con maggior profitto, qualora si cerchi di modificarlo mettendone meglio in evidenza il carattere dinamico di classe aperta. La dimensione originaria del concetto è, infatti, sostanzialmente sincronica. In altre parole, se volessimo descrivere il concetto prototipico di 'uccello', p.es., sarebbe sufficiente individuare la scala dei tratti che lo delimitano e in base ad essa stabilire l'appartenenza dei singoli membri alla categoria.⁷ Ma se l'obiettivo dell'analisi consiste nel seguire il processo di ristrutturazione interna al prototipo, il modello acquista necessariamente una dimensione diacronica, di cui si dovrà dar conto nella rappresentazione formale e nella valutazione teorica del fenomeno. A fianco dei diagrammi di Givón (1986, p.78-79), dovremo aggiungere, pertanto, una terza figura che metta in risalto tale aspetto:

⁷ Si deve naturalmente ricordare, con Geeraerts (1989, pp.596sgg.), che i membri della categoria risulteranno comunque entità discrete ("something is or is not a bird"). Ciò nonostante, gli esperimenti di E. Rosch non lasciano dubbi sull'esistenza di una scala di prototipicità, su cui il parlante distribuisce le unità stesse ("But some birds may be birdier than others"), cfr. Rosch 1975.

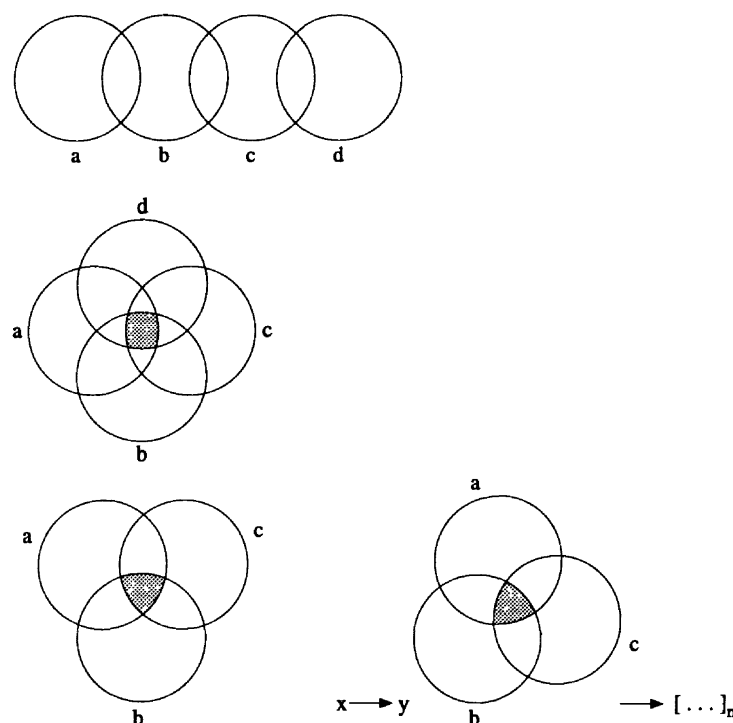


Fig. 1

Con la transizione sopra raffigurata (da 3 a $\rightarrow$ 3 b), intendiamo illustrare la dinamica del mutamento che interessa la categoria: pur restando immutato l'insieme dei membri che la compongono (a, b, c), varia nei diversi stadi il nucleo dei tratti prototipici che i membri stessi condividono. Il processo, ovviamente, potrà ripetersi n volte ($[...]_n$), ogni qualvolta si verifichino slittamenti nella selezione dei tratti appartenenti comunque al prototipo.

Ridefinendo così la progressiva alternanza dei tratti nel nucleo prototipico della categoria, attraverso le successive fasi ($x, y, \dots n$), si può descrivere più opportunamente il processo parlando di *catalisi paradigmatica*. Con questo termine, intendiamo indicare l'insieme delle trasformazioni che possono coinvolgere una categoria naturale, nel passaggio da un livello X ad un livello Y. I dati raccolti in ambito morfologico e sintattico (cfr. anche Taylor 1989; Winters 1989) consentono di formulare alcuni principi che regolano l'evoluzione della struttura:

- a) Le classi morfologiche (o sintattiche) si compongono attorno ad un tratto, che funziona come forza centripeta-accentratrice del nucleo prototipico. Chiameremo questo elemento: *tratto catalizzatore*.
- b) I catalizzatori si alternano nelle successive tappe del processo; la zona d'ombra rappresentata nel diagramma n.3 dovrà slittare da una intersezione all'altra della figura nei successivi stadi x, y, ... n.

L'introduzione di questo modello produce due vantaggi immediati. Esso rende innanzitutto trasparente il carattere strutturato-dinamico, necessariamente insito in ciascuna espansione e/o contrazione di una categoria, etichetta che di per sé rischia di evocare quella visione statica ed assolutistica che la *Cognitive Grammar* intende appunto superare.⁸ Ma, quel che è forse ancor più significativo osservare, con questa rappresentazione possiamo cogliere i meccanismi selettivi, che sembrano porsi realmente alla base di tutti i movimenti interni al prototipo.

Lo specifico problema dell'espansione è affrontato, sia pur cursoriamente, in Givón (1986, pp.90-92); l'A. parla di *induzione* ed *estensione metaforica* del prototipo, per indicare rispettivamente la selezione di un nuovo insieme di tratti e l'inserimento di nuovi membri nella categoria. In entrambi i processi, il principio soggiacente è la 'metafora o analogia' (i due termini sono, infatti, qui usati come sinonimi, cfr. 1986, p.90), inteso come il processo associativo responsabile dell'estrapolazione dei tratti simili/affini e della loro classificazione in una nozione astratta di somiglianza/affinità (la *family resemblance*).⁹ La metafora è, inoltre, per Givón "the

⁸ Givón (1986, pp.77-79) sintetizza l'opposizione fra prospettiva categoriale e prospettiva prototipica nella formula Platone vs. Wittgenstein/Rosch. Ma è forse più corretta la riformulazione proposta da Posner, che suggerisce di schematizzare il conflitto di tendenze nello slogan Aristotele vs. Rosch (cfr. Posner 1986).

⁹ Come esempio di 'induzione metaforica', Givón porta il caso dell'espressione "build a wall around somebody", che, in senso metaforico, ha comunemente il significato di 'costruirsi una difesa verso l'esterno, attraverso l'isolamento dal contesto'. Essa potrebbe modificarsi in direzione di una lettura meno ovvia e immediata, del tipo 'tentare di salire, di emergere nella scala

essence of grammaticalization”, il motore di quel particolare tipo di trasformazione morfologica che produce lessemi grammaticali (cfr. 1986, p.92).

La centralità del principio analogico nei meccanismi percettivi e cognitivi (fra cui la percezione e la produzione linguistica) è un dato ormai acquisito; già Anttila (1977) mostrava come l'idea di similarità (insita, peraltro, nel concetto classico di *analogia-proportio*) costituisca la ragion d'essere dell'invarianza e di tutte le operazioni 'emiche' che la mente elabora sulla variabilità 'etica'. In questa fondamentale funzione associativa, l'analogia forma senza dubbio una coppia sinergica con la metafora e, in questo senso, l'uso sinonimico di Givón risulta accettabile: entrambe funzionano, infatti, come processi di attrazione delle idee, basati sulle relazioni di *continuità*, *somiglianza*, *contiguità*. È stato dimostrato anche che la relazione di somiglianza guida i processi semantici (cfr. Lakoff e Johnson 1980). Nell'ambito morfosintattico l'evoluzione delle categorie sembra procedere, invece, secondo un rapporto di contiguità: in questo caso, la selezione è regolata da un principio metonimico e la nozione di 'catalisi' sovraesposta mira proprio a dar risalto a questo specifico aspetto. Naturalmente è scienza comune che metafora e metonimia costituiscono le due fasi cruciali dello stesso meccanismo percettivo.¹⁰ Si dovrà, però, chiarirne l'interazione nell'apprendimento delle strutture linguistiche e, soprattutto, nell'organizzazione in classi che il parlante elabora su di esse.

Se la teoria prototipica si regge sull'assunto che la mente umana è dotata di una naturale tendenza a formare categorie in base alla somiglianza percettiva degli elementi, nel caso in cui lo scopo cognitivo sia raggiunto attraverso un modello me-

sociale', purché si modifichino i presupposti della metafora più usuale (le mura sono costruite a scopo difensivo / la conseguenza della loro costruzione è l'isolamento), supponendo, p.es., che le mura possano essere costruite anche per raggiungere luoghi più elevati.

¹⁰ Anttila sostiene, a tale riguardo, che la *Gestalt psychology* ha dimostrato come affinità e contiguità siano fattori soggiacenti all'unificazione spontanea nel campo percettivo. La percezione è vista, in definitiva, come un processo dinamico (cfr. 1977).

tonimico, il nucleo prototipico sarà delimitato dalla selezione di una parte dei tratti categoriali. In una parola, la struttura si modifica secondo il ben noto modulo: 'la parte per il tutto'.¹¹ L'ipotesi deve essere meglio verificata su un campione più rappresentativo di dati; tuttavia non mancano elementi che possano fin d'ora renderla verosimile.

A fianco dei risultati ottenuti dalle ricerche di Bybee e Slobin e di Lazzeroni, discussi sopra, ricordiamo fra i contributi più recenti e interessanti il lavoro di C. Winters (1989) sull'evoluzione del congiuntivo in francese. L'A., applicando con coerenza il modello teorico della grammatica cognitiva, giunge alle seguenti conclusioni: nelle trasformazioni che il congiuntivo ha subito nel passaggio dal francese antico al francese moderno si sono realizzate le due tipiche fasi del mutamento categoriale (modifica nella configurazione dei tratti e nell'insieme dei membri). Alla nozione di 'indeterminatezza', che costituiva in un primo tempo il centro del prototipo, si è andato sostituendo il tratto più specifico di 'soggettività', attuale nucleo prototipico della categoria nel francese moderno. La ristrutturazione ha, inoltre, prodotto l'inserimento di nuovi membri; questa fase coincide con l'estensione del congiuntivo a costrutti del tipo *après que* etc. (cfr. 1989, p. 724-726). L'idea di indeterminatezza, originariamente posta al centro della struttura semantica conteneva già il tratto di soggettività a livello periferico, secondario: l'avanzamento del tratto dalla periferia verso il centro può rientrare legittimamente nel fenomeno di estensione metaforica illustrato da Givón, ma costituisce anche un chiaro esempio di selezione metonimica (o catalisi), secondo la nostra proposta.¹²

¹¹ Questa definizione corrisponde, a ben vedere, alla figura della *sineddoche*, distinta dalla metonimia, in base al rapporto di dipendenza interna (parte-tutto; *genus-species* etc.) che lega gli elementi coinvolti, di contro alla dipendenza esterna caratteristica della relazione metonimica (questa, p. es., l'autorevole opinione di Fontanier 1827-30 [= 1968], p. 85). Al di fuori dei confini della retorica, ci sembra lecito annullare lo scarto che separa metonimia e sineddoche, mantenendo, invece, ben netta la separazione fra metafora e metonimia.

¹² L'A. stessa sembra avallare, sia pur implicitamente, la nostra visione dei

Indizi di pari valore ci inducono a riprendere in esame il problema della soppressione del deponente nella tarda latinità; le soluzioni finora adottate hanno senz'altro risolto alcuni punti cruciali, lasciando, comunque, ancora aperte al dibattito questioni tutt'altro che marginali. La teoria prototipica si rivela come lo strumento più adeguato per trovare una risposta anche agli interrogativi rimasti in sospeso. La diatesi, come si cercherà di dimostrare nelle pagine seguenti, rappresenta una categoria naturale: gli slittamenti intervenuti in diacronia nella relazione dei tratti che la compongono spiegano in larga misura fenomeni quali la creazione e la soppressione di una nuova classe verbale (il *verbum dēpōnens*). Anche in questo caso, è il tratto di soggettività a funzionare come fattore scatenante le trasformazioni che coinvolgono la storia del sistema diatesico del latino, diventando il polo centripeto della categoria.

II. *I metaplasmi di diatesi nel latino tardo*

II.1 *I dati e lo stato della questione*

I metaplasmi di diatesi sono solitamente indicati come uno dei fenomeni caratterizzanti l'evoluzione della morfologia verbale nel latino tardo. Nel ripercorrere le tappe del progressivo declino del deponente, protagonista indiscusso del fenomeno, si afferma in genere che esso tende ad un'inesorabile scomparsa, poiché si tratta di una classe poco produttiva, in cui la dissociazione tra funzione semantica e struttura formale doveva produrre una reazione riequilibrante nel sistema. La via più battuta per l'acquisizione della corrispondenza isomorfica forma/senso passa soprattutto attraverso l'assorbimento del deponente nel paradigma dell'attivo; assistiamo, in sostanza, ad un'ennesima conferma empirica del principio teorico efficace-

fatti: "New items can also appear in the radial set of subjunctive use, not because they are attracted by others at the periphery of the set, but because they develop outward from the center as extensions" (Winters 1989, pp. 724-725).

mente fissato da Anttila (1977) nel motto “one meaning – one form”. Questo tipo di spiegazione ha come corollario l’idea che i membri della diatesi mista altro non siano se non antiche forme attive con valore mediale: casi come il plautino *potire* (*Amph.* 178) testimonierebbero senza equivoci che dietro ogni deponente si cela un originario verbo attivo. Nella maggioranza dei casi sarebbe però sopravvissuta solo la forma media, diffusasi a partire dall’età repubblicana (così *potīre-potīri*, ma *miorior*, *sequor* etc.).¹³ Ma ben sappiamo che la compresenza delle due forme fin dall’età arcaica è più l’eccezione che la regola; l’allotropo attivo compare di solito in epoca tarda (*l’Itala*, p. es., è ricca di questo genere di esempi: cfr. Vineis 1974): i vari *revertor*, *demolio* etc., che si affiancano nel latino imperiale ai deponenti (*revertor*, *demolior* etc.) comunemente in uso nel latino classico, saranno pertanto neoformazioni metaplastiche, oppure, secondo un’altra possibile interpretazione, forme-base che riaffiorano in superficie ricongiungendosi alla variante mediale (cfr. Ronconi 1968, p.28–29; Vineis 1974, p.94–112). I fatti si complicano quando gli autori cristiani attestano neoformazioni deponenti, sconosciute fino a quel momento (cfr. *abstinēri*, *commemorari* in Tert.). In tali casi, i pareri tradizionalmente reperibili nella grammatiche oscillano fra la considerazione di questi verbi come tracce dell’antico uso mediale (‘criptoforme’, potremmo dire), o come coniazioni dovute al singolo autore, che sfrutterebbe, creandole, il potenziale valore medio della diatesi.¹⁴

La complessità oggettiva degli eventi che hanno segnato la storia del deponente ha indubbiamente ostacolato una ricostruzione organica dello sviluppo della categoria, dalla sua genesi alla sua scomparsa. I pochi punti fermi sintetizzati sopra,

¹³ Si veda, p. es., la definizione di deponente che dà Ronconi (1968, p. 27): “Il verbo, che si suole chiamare DEPONENTE, è un antico attivo che, da un’età or più or meno remota nella storia del latino, ha conservato soltanto il medio; e questo, al solito, può essere transitivo o intransitivo”.

¹⁴ Per una succinta ricapitolazione delle possibili interpretazioni della deponentizzazione tardo-latina, si veda il citato studio di Vineis (1974, pp. 94–96), oltre, naturalmente, ai tradizionali testi di riferimento per il latino imperiale e cristiano (Norberg: 1943, 1968; Mohrmann: 1958–1965).

su cui gli studiosi di linguistica latina concordano, lasciano in ombra altrettante questioni di rilievo. Fra le domande che ancora attendono una risposta, le più urgenti ci sembrano:

- Quali sono i rapporti fra il deponente (diatesi 'mista') e le due diatesi primarie, attiva e passiva?
- Come si combina l'opposizione di diatesi (distinzione morfologica, che oppone desinenze attive e desinenze passive), con quella di valenza (distinzione sintattica, che oppone verbi a struttura binaria, i transitivi, e verbi monoargomentali, gli intransitivi)?
- Che ruolo possiamo assegnare all'espressione della funzione mediale nella nascita di un paradigma misto, come quello del deponente latino?
- Genesi e soppressione del deponente sono realmente frutto di fattori indipendenti, o possono piuttosto essere viste come fasi distinte del medesimo processo?

Risposte parziali a questi interrogativi sono reperibili nell'imponente studio di Flobert (1975), interamente dedicato alla trattazione del deponente latino. L'accurata indagine condotta nella monografia (su un ricco corpus che copre l'arco cronologico compreso fra Plauto e i glossari alto-medioevali) ha ribaltato, per molti aspetti, i termini del problema, a cominciare dal significato attribuibile alla definizione scelta dai grammatici: nella classificazione dei *genera verbi*, comunemente presente nelle *artes grammaticae*, il *dēpōnens* sarebbe una sottospecie dei *verba communia*, verbi formalmente passivi e semanticamente bivalenti.¹⁵ I deponenti avrebbero perso ('deposto') la funzione passiva, mantenendo unicamente il valore

¹⁵ La classificazione trādita nel filone ortodosso della *grammatica* distingueva, infatti, cinque classi verbali: *activum*, *passivum*, *communis*, *dēpōnens*, *neutrum*, mescolando criteri formali (opposizione desinenziale -r = -o) e criteri semantici (*actio-passio*). Si veda, p. es., il seguente passo del grammatico Pompeo (V 228, 32sgg. K.): "Ergo verbum deponens non ideo dicitur, quod non deponat r litteram, sed quod unum participium deponat de duobus futuris; deponit autem illud quod in dus exit. Commune autem verbum est quod et agentis et patientis significationem similiter profert, ut est illud, criminator".

attivo. Sul fatto che i *communia* siano un'invenzione dell'*ars grammatica* non vi sono dubbi; ciò nonostante, il grosso vantaggio della fantasiosa classificazione degli antichi risiede, per Flobert, nell'esplicita messa in rilievo del legame deponente-passivo, ampiamente trascurato nelle moderne interpretazioni.¹⁶

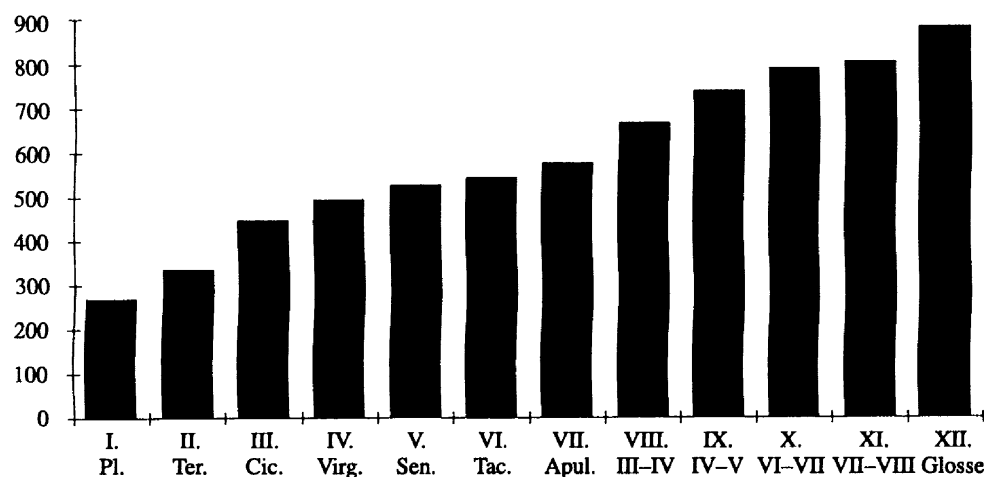
Il superamento dello iato deponente-passivo è, infatti, cruciale nella proposta delineata nello studio citato: le due categorie sono funzionalmente contigue, in quanto esprimono entrambe l'azione come processo autonomo, con la diretta implicazione del soggetto e l'esclusione dell'agente. Il passivo sarebbe, in altri termini, lo strumento sintattico che produce economicamente – eliminando cioè il ricorso al lessico – l'intransitività della costruzione. Il 'vero' passivo non è, pertanto, quello a struttura ternaria (il tipo: *mater amatur a Paulo*, con esplicita citazione dell'agente), bensì il cosiddetto 'passivo intrinseco' (secondo la proposta terminologica dello stesso Flobert), ossia il costrutto privo del complemento d'agente (*movēri*). A sostegno dell'ipotesi, l'A. dimostra che la costruzione passiva e la corrispondente transitiva attiva non sono equivalenti: il passivo elimina, innanzitutto, il soggetto del verbo transitivo, trasforma l'oggetto della frase attiva in soggetto e, introducendo una variazione sul piano stilistico, sopprime l'espressione dell'agente (cfr. 1975, p.535–544). La seguente affermazione scatta quasi automaticamente, a conclusione del ragionamento: “En somme le passif est un *intransitivant*: le procès se referme sur le sujet et se répercute en lui” (cfr. 1975, p.591) [corsivo mio]. Deponente, impersonale e riflessivo condividerebbero la stessa funzione del passivo intrinseco; quest'ultimo è comunque la categoria da cui si sarebbero originate le altre.¹⁷

¹⁶ Di fatto, l'A. finisce per rovesciare la relazione *communia/deponentia*, considerando gli uni come una sottospecie di questi ultimi (cfr. Flobert 1975, p. 588).

¹⁷ Il tradizionale schema evolutivo (medio → riflessivo → intransitivo → passivo) viene rimesso in discussione, per dimostrare la veridicità storica del percorso inverso: passivo → intransitivo → medio → riflessivo → deponente (cfr. 1975, p. 563).

Le innovazioni introdotte da Flobert non si limitano alla definizione del deponente e alla descrizione dei suoi rapporti con le diatesi primarie; nell'analisi dell'evoluzione diacronica, lo spoglio dei dati produce conclusioni altrettanto originali rispetto alla versione vulgata. Per quanto concerne la produttività, l'A. non ha esitazioni: la classe del deponente appare tutt'altro che agonizzante. Dall'epoca plautina alla fine del VI sec. si assiste, infatti, ad un progressivo aumento delle unità che la compongono (270 → 884): la curva è ascendente e questo sembra sufficiente all'A. per dimostrare la vitalità della categoria (cfr. tab. 1). Si può parlare di regressione, nonché dei primi sintomi della scomparsa definitiva, a partire dalla metà dell'VIII sec., quando pressoché tutti i deponenti presentano una variante attiva usuale (le glosse confondono sistematicamente deponenti e attivi). È interessante notare, a tale riguardo, come il perfetto si riveli più solido e ostinato di fronte al generale fenomeno di contrazione.

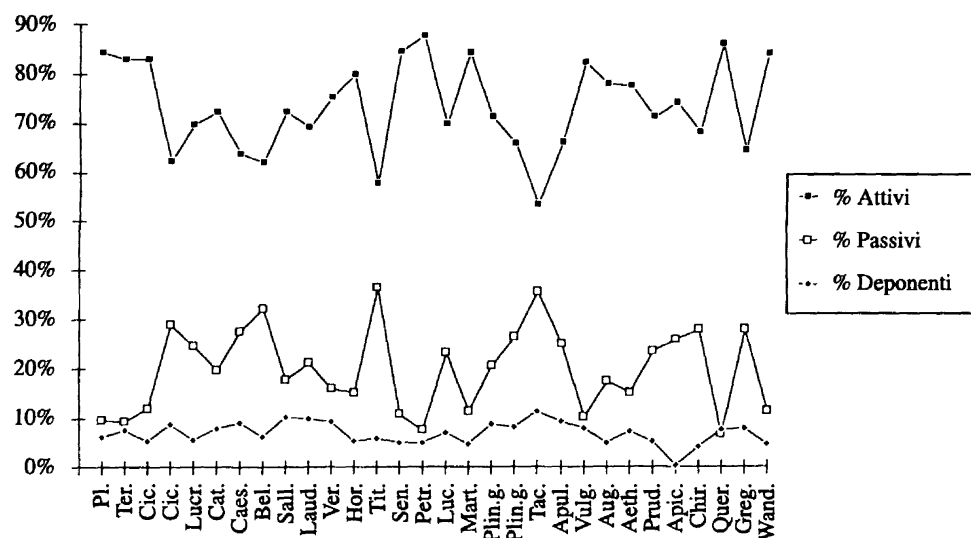
Tab. 1



A quindici anni dalla data di pubblicazione, questo studio mantiene, a mio parere, grossi meriti. Il ribaltamento del rapporto che unisce la diatesi mista ad attivo e passivo rappresenta, come vedremo, l'ineliminabile punto di partenza per ulte-

riori tentativi di indagine. Tuttavia alcune inferenze non sembrano dedotte correttamente. Prendiamo in esame, p. es., la curva disegnata nella tab.2: è evidente che non possiamo rica-

Tab.2



varne un valore progressivo, ma soltanto il valore totale, che, preso isolatamente senza confronti diretti con le sorti subite da attivi e passivi, non è di per sé indice certo di produttività, come L'A. sembra intendere.¹⁸

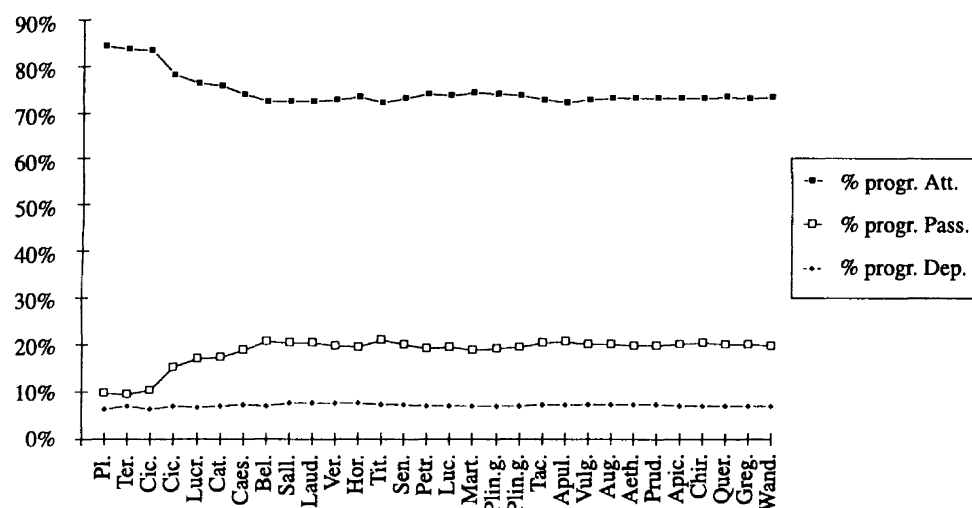
Dall'ingente mole di dati contenuti nella monografia sono desumibili due fatti decisamente rilevanti:

- la frequenza d'uso dei deponenti da Plauto all'epoca tarda (VII sec.) sembra mantenersi relativamente costante (cfr. tab.6);

¹⁸ Le tabelle che compaiono in appendice sono state ricavate dai dati di Flobert, nel tentativo di fornirne una rappresentazione grafica che consenta di cogliere visivamente le informazioni più significative (cfr. tab.3: l'andamento delle tre curve segnala a colpo d'occhio il bipolarismo attivo vs. passivo-deponente, su cui è costruita la morfologia verbale del latino).

- le vicende evolutive del sistema verbale latino nella sua globalità paiono centrate su due poli: attivi vs. passivi/deponenti (cfr. tab.3).

Tab.3



Quest'ultimo punto, che rappresenta la vera novità dello studio di Flobert, è forse rimasto in ombra nell'interpretazione globale del fenomeno. Cerchiamo, pertanto, di trarne le dovute conclusioni.

II.2. *L'ipotesi prototipica*

Nel presentare le categorie morfologiche inerenti al verbo, J. Bybee (1985) dà le seguenti definizioni per la *valence* e la *voice* rispettivamente: la 'valenza' esprime il numero e il ruolo degli argomenti che il verbo può reggere; la 'voce' coincide, invece, con la prospettiva in cui la situazione viene descritta. In base all'una si distinguono verbi transitivi, intransitivi, causativi etc.; in base all'altra si specificano i diversi rapporti fra le unità argomentali e il verbo (soggetto come 'attore' → attivo; soggetto come 'paziente' → passivo). Dall'indagine condotta su un campione di 50 lingue, si evince che la categoria della valenza ha una bassa frequenza di realizzazione in termini mor-

fologico-flessivi: essa tende, piuttosto, ad essere intrinsecamente presente nella radice verbale. Per quanto concerne la voce (o diatesi), la stessa fonte di dati dimostra una tendenza più spiccata alla grammaticalizzazione in sistemi desinenziali, pur fermo restando che le lingue adottano spesso anche strumenti sintattici (p.es., l'ordine delle parole) per assolvere alla stessa funzione.

Il sistema verbale del latino classico sembra rispettare pienamente tali tendenze di carattere generale: ci appare, infatti, articolato sui due poli contrapposti (attivo e passivo) espressi da categorie morfologico-flessive sul piano della diatesi, mentre la valenza è inerente alla radice. Il deponente, nella sua veste abituale, si colloca nel punto di intersezione degli assi su cui è costruito il sistema, poiché condivide con l'attivo la funzione semantica, con il passivo i tratti formali e presenta le due possibili strutture argomentali (cfr. *proficiscor-hortor*).

Assumendo come punto di partenza i risultati ottenuti da Flobert, possiamo porre al centro della categoria del passivo la funzione 'intransitivizzante' e ridefinire tale proprietà del passivo come 'l'espressione del processo nella prospettiva del soggetto, con un solo argomento'.¹⁹ In altre parole i mezzi desinenziali che servono in prima istanza ad assegnare i differenti ruoli tematici assolvono anche al compito di mutare la descrizione del processo. Nelle tre elementari frasi latine:

- a) *Paulus matrem amat*;
- b) *Mater amatur (a Paulo)*;
- c) *Paulus venit*;

a) e c) condividono un elemento: il soggetto tiene in entrambe una posizione di assoluta centralità; il processo è descritto in forma autonoma rispetto all'intervento di fattori esterni. Al caso b), ben si adatta la seguente considerazione di Klein: "agent

¹⁹ Flobert dichiara esplicitamente a tale riguardo: "Nous mettons donc au centre du passif le passif intrinsèque qui, indiquant un procès autonome non provoqué de l'extérieur, exclut un complément d'agent et laisse un rôle important au «sujet» qui pas plus au passif qu'ailleurs ne se confond pas avec l'«objet»" (1975, p. 563).

is removed from the core argument structure and the result is detransitivization [...] A reduction in the number of arguments from underlying {AGENT, PATIENT} to surface subject = theme (without a second participant) is an instance of detransitivization" (Klein, 1990, p.286).

Quale configurazione interna possiamo, pertanto, ipotizzare per la categoria della diatesi in latino? I tratti che la compongono sono strutturati nel modo seguente:

A)

Attivo

Passivo

Rappr. Esterna

Rappr. Interna

Soggettività-

Autoreferenzialità

S + O + V

S + V + [Agente]./S + V

La rappresentazione esterna dell'azione implica la presenza dell'agente nella struttura argomentale del predicato: essa soggiace alla costruzione attiva (il tipo *Paulus matrem amat*) ed a quella passiva in cui è espresso l'agente (il tipo *mater amatur a Paulo*). Stretti sono i punti di contatto con la nozione di transitività nell'elaborazione datane da Hopper e Thompson (1980).

Alla rappresentazione interna corrisponde, d'altro lato, una struttura sintattica da cui è rimossa la partecipazione dell'agente: il processo in questo caso è visto nella prospettiva del soggetto. Il passivo latino dimostra di possedere anche questa possibilità sintattica: essa è attualizzata nel costrutto da cui manca la specificazione dell'agente (cfr. *supra* ex. b). *Paulus venit* e *mater amatur* condividono una struttura argomentale intransitivizzante.

Poiché l'opposizione attivo ~ passivo si polarizza in latino attorno alla funzione esterna (ma il processo è comune al greco e al sanscrito: cfr. Lazzeroni 1990b), che è infatti grammaticalizzata nelle due classi morfologico-flessive formalmente distinte da contrapposti sistemi desinenziali (*amo* vs. *amor*), il tratto di soggettività si candida allo status di catalizzatore della categoria della diatesi. Si creano, in altri termini, le premesse per la costituzione di una nuova classe, destinata ad esprimere

il processo nella prospettiva del soggetto. In questa fase, siamo di fronte ad un caso di categorizzazione dell'allomorfismo: il deponente è la nuova categoria verbale che seleziona ed include il tratto di soggettività. Una verifica della plausibilità dell'ipotesi ci deriva dal semplice spoglio lessicale del nucleo più antico dei verbi deponenti latini. Ne citiamo le forme richiamando, là dove è possibile, le voci corrispondenti che, nel dominio indoeuropeo, costituiscono significativamente la classe dei *media tantum*: *fungor* (sscr. *bhunkte*), *loquor*, *medeor* (gr. μήδομαι), *morior* (sscr. *mriyate*), *nascor* (gr. γίγνομαι), *patior* (gr. πένομαι), *potior* (gr. κτάομαι), *sequor* (gr. ἔπομαι, sscr. *sacate*). Se, come è stato or ora dimostrato (cfr. Lazzeroni, 1990b), tale nucleo è composto prevalentemente da verbi stativi ed eventivi, cioè da verbi che esprimono una condizione del soggetto (stativi) ed un'azione – o, più precisamente, un accadimento – di cui il soggetto è sede senza che ne abbia il diretto controllo (eventivi), ci spieghiamo come la soggettività, tratto comune alle due sottoclassi, abbia potuto funzionare come tratto accentratore della categoria.

Il processo si giustifica, del resto, pensando al parallelo incremento del costrutto estrinseco nel passivo, che costituisce la forma direttamente concorrenziale rispetto all'attivo transitivo.²⁰ E non è certo casuale che il nucleo più antico dei deponenti sia costituito da verbi intransitivi: cfr. *conor*, *labor*, *morior*, *queror*, *orior*, *sequor* etc. La creazione dei transitivi all'interno della diatesi è fenomeno secondario e trova, di volta in volta, diverse giustificazioni: così lo stesso Flobert invoca la sfera semantica per verbi come *apiscor* e *nanciscor* (verbi che designano l'acquisizione), l'attrazione analogica per i vari *mereor*, *adsentior* (varianti sincroniche delle rispettive forme attive) etc. (cfr. 1975, p.590).

²⁰ Lo stesso Flobert ammette la cospicua presenza del complemento d'agente nei passivi del latino classico, attribuendola ad una non meglio precisata 'esigenza stilistica'. La nostra ricostruzione dei fatti permette di render conto del fenomeno: allorché la funzione soggettiva-mediale del passivo viene categorizzata nella nuova classe del deponente, la rappresentazione esterna dell'azione si identifica sempre più con il passivo *tout court*.

Il tratto di autoreferenzialità (cfr. *supra* A), volendo intendere il coinvolgimento del soggetto sul duplice livello sintattico di attore e paziente) si concentra, infine, sul riflessivo: per un verbo come *proicio*, p. es., esistono le seguenti alternative in sincronia (cfr. Ronconi 1968, p.34):

- a) rappresentazione esterna: *proicior ab aliquo ad pedes aliquius*;
- b) rappresentazione interna: *proicior ad pedes*;
- c) rappresentazione autoreferenziale: *me proicio ad pedes*;

Ed è ancor più interessante notare come il tipo b) abbia spesso un allotropo intransitivo:

- d) *procido ad pedes*.

Al di là del caso specifico, il discorso può essere esteso a tutto questo gruppo di verbi: così, p. es., *revertor/revertor, mereo/mereor, laeto/laetor* etc.²¹ Ciò sembra confermare che l'azione in b) e d) è descritta nella medesima prospettiva: la prospettiva del soggetto. In questa lunga fase, che va da Plauto al latino imperiale, il sistema verbale mantiene la nota tripartizione diatesetica:

B)

Attivo ~ Passivo

Rappr. Esterna →

Deponente

Rappr. Interna

Soggettività

In questa struttura, il deponente accentra e combina tratti che appartengono sia alla categoria della *voice* (funzione mediale-soggettiva), che a quella della *valence* (funzione intransitivizzante). Ma tale concentrazione di proprietà rappresenta anche il punto debole della nuova classe che, avvertita evidentemente nella sua estraneità e marcatezza all'interno di un sistema bipolare, subisce a poco a poco la concorrenza di altre

²¹ Pur nei limiti di un'interpretazione molto tradizionale, Ronconi aveva intuito la specifica funzione dei verbi formalmente passivi, all'interno della coppia: "Questi doppioni confermano che *revertor, moveor* etc., come è ormai comune dottrina, non sono passivi; essi non indicano infatti azioni subite dall'esterno, ma che si esauriscono nel soggetto".

forme. Non si può senz'altro sostenere che non vi fosse alcuna differenza percepibile fra gli esempi b) e d) citati ora. È, però, certo che il riflessivo (c)) e l'intransitivo (d)) rappresentassero dei veri e propri doppioni, rispetto al medio-deponente (b)), alternative disponibili nel sistema e nella norma linguistica per esprimere l'azione sotto la stessa angolazione. La dicotomia che ben presto si viene ad instaurare sarà pertanto:

b)-c)-d) vs. a)

Con l'attenuarsi delle sfumature semantiche che discriminano le forme concorrenti, l'intransitivo e il riflessivo diventano di fatto le soluzioni privilegiate. Il tipo *me proicio* è quello che veramente si afferma nel latino tardo (si veda l'alta frequenza in testi come la *Peregr. Aeth.* o la *Mulom. Chiron.*) e che avrà la meglio negli esiti romanzi (francese, italiano). L'adozione del verbo intransitivo attivo, imponendo il ricorso al lessico, poteva rappresentare, infatti, una soluzione meno economica. Ciò nonostante, a significativa conferma della complementarità tenuta dai tre costrutti, anche l'intransitivo subisce una impena nel latino tardo. Un recentissimo articolo di García Hernández (1990) dimostra come il considerevole aumento dei verbi intransitivi nel basso impero dipenda, in primo luogo, dalla priorità che l'intransitivo assegna al soggetto nella descrizione dell'azione. Non restano, naturalmente, estranei al processo, gli altri radicali mutamenti che segnano ormai le tappe del cambiamento tipologico cui è sottoposto il latino nella fase protoromanza: inversione dell'ordine della parole, crisi del sistema desinenziale e conseguente difficoltà nel tenere separati nominativo ed accusativo.²²

A questo punto, cominciano a delinearsi le condizioni per il riassorbimento del tratto mediale-soggettivo all'interno della categoria morfologica del passivo, da cui si era originariamente staccato. La coesistenza di costrutti paralleli come *se minue-*

²² Cfr. García Hernández (1990, pp. 139 sgg.), che, inspiegabilmente, esclude dalla propria considerazione dei fatti il deponente.

re/minuitur (dove quest'ultimo non è certo un passivo, bensì un medio-deponente), *se vocare/vocari* etc. produce la rianalisi del membro formalmente marcato con desinenze passive come passivo a tutti gli effetti. La rianalisi, in questo caso, determina l'eliminazione dell'allomorfismo (centro → periferia) e la contrazione della classe dei deponenti, a cui tali verbi appartenevano. Le possibili strategie di attuazione della seconda ed ultima fase del mutamento sono due: la passivizzazione del deponente e la concomitante creazione di allotropi attivi. I due processi, non dimentichiamolo, avanzano di pari passo (cfr. *supra* tab.2-3); non c'è ragione, mi sembra, di ritenere che il cospicuo fenomeno di passivizzazione del deponente segua cronologicamente e, di conseguenza, dipenda dalla proliferazione delle varianti attive: quando *fabricor*, *populor*, *osculor* (per citare alcune tra le forme negli attestati: cfr. Flobert 1975, p.568-569) cominciano a ricorrere con la costruzione sintattica e il valore semantico del passivo (talvolta compare anche il complemento d'agente, a fugare ogni dubbio), l'allotropo attivo si affianca ad essi meccanicamente (cfr. *fabrico*, *populo*, *osculo*: fra le varianti attive meglio attestate). La ristrutturazione interna al sistema verbale latino segue uno sviluppo naturale; l'esito definitivo, a tutti noto, è la ridistribuzione dei tratti nelle categorie polari di attivo e passivo.

Riassumendo: l'evoluzione della diatesi mista in latino passa attraverso due tappe cruciali, che si lasciano ricondurre alle fasi del mutamento note come categorizzazione ed eliminazione dell'allomorfismo. Il tratto catalizzatore che ha funzionato come centro prototipico della nuova classe è il tratto di soggettività: ad esso è affidata l'espressione del processo in forma autonoma rispetto ad agenti esterni. Tale proprietà, originariamente inclusa nel passivo, se ne stacca non appena comincia ad essere avvertita come eccezionale ed estranea a questa stessa diatesi. Ciò si affianca allo sviluppo della seconda possibilità sintattica del passivo: la rappresentazione esterna del processo, con esplicita citazione dell'agente (costrutto alternativo, anche se non del tutto equivalente alla diatesi attiva). La concorrenza con altri mezzi morfologici e sintattici disponibili in latino, a livello del sistema e della norma linguistica (intransi-

tivo e riflessivo), e la sostanziale asimmetria, che caratterizza la struttura verbale a tre membri (attivo-passivo-deponente) sul piano della *voice*, scatenano la reazione equilibrante, tendente ad instaurare una relazione isomorfica. Il tratto di soggettività è riassorbito all'interno delle due diatesi primarie (intransitivo-riflessivo-impersonale) e la categoria 'mista' regredisce fino alla definitiva scomparsa.

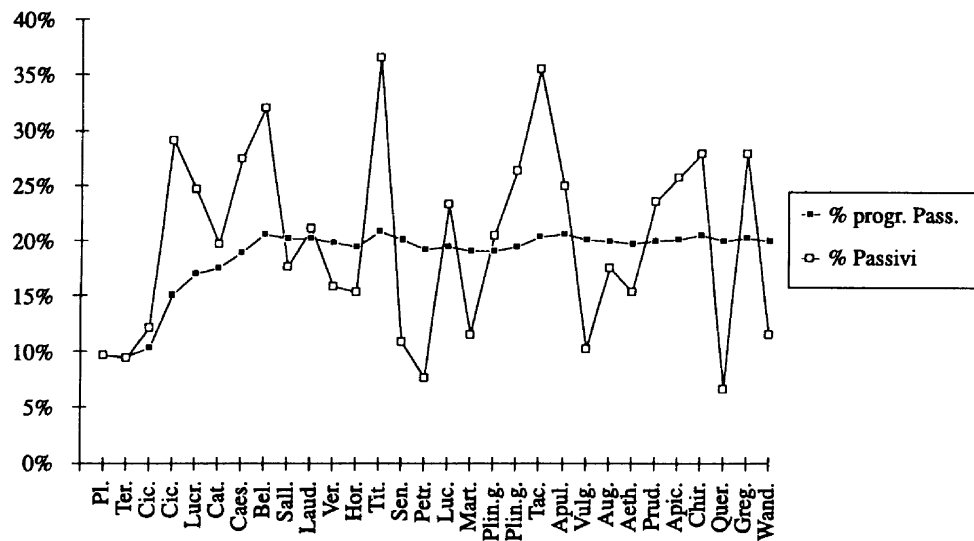
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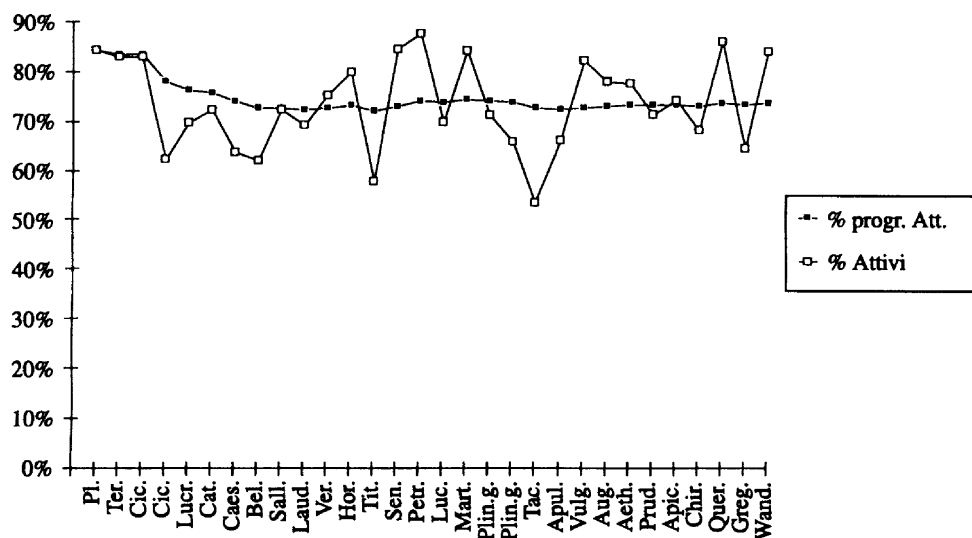
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[I dati riportati nei seguenti grafici sono tratti dal campione di 500 verbi esaminato in Flobert (1975, pp.505 sgg.), a cui si rimanda per la giustificazione delle scelte selettive operate sul campione stesso]:

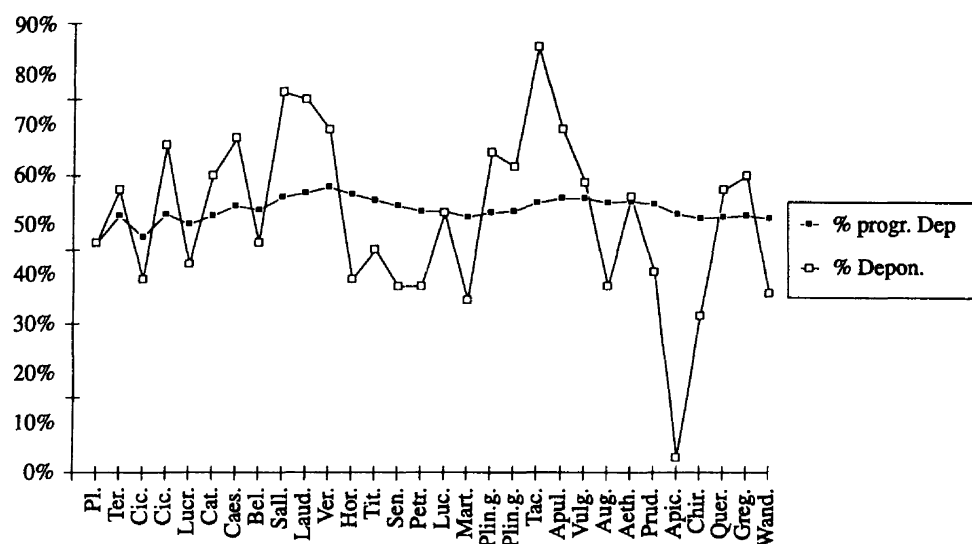
Tab.4



Tab.5



Tab. 6



Legenda:

- Pl. = Plauto, *Most.* 1-268
- Ter. = Terenzio, *Phorm.* 348-559
- Cic. = Cicerone, *Att.* 13, 1-15
- Cic. = Cicerone, *De orat.* 1-43
- Lucr. = Lucrezio, 3, 1-342
- Cat. = Catullo, 64, 1-376
- Caes. = Cesare, *Gall.* 4, 1-17
- Bel. = *Bell. Hisp.* 1-18
- Sall. = Sallustio, *Iug.* 1-14, 8
- Laud. = *Laud. Turiae* 1-2, 56 (200 verbi)
- Verg. = Virgilio, *Aen.* 9, 1-331
- Hor. = Orazio, *Sat.* 1, 9; 2, 4; 2, 5; 1-25; 2, 8, 34-75
- Tit. = Tito Livio, 27, 1-8, 5
- Sen. = Seneca, *Lucil.* 42-46, 2
- Petr. = Petronio, 33-46, 1 (dialogo)
- Luc. = Lucano, 1, 1-343
- Mart. = Marziale, 8, 1-48, 3
- Plin.g. = Plinio il Giovane, *Ep.* 10, 1-39
- Plin.g. = Plinio il Giovane, *Paneg.* 1-13
- Tac. = Tacito, *Ann.* 11, 1-21, 3
- Apul. = Apuleio, *Met.* 4, 28-5, 10, 2
- Vulg. = *Vulgata, Sir. Prol.* 1-6, 26
- Aug. = Agostino, *Serm.* 14 e 104, 1-2

216

Stefania Giannini

Aeth. = *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* 1-7, 1
Prud. = Prudenzio, *C. Symm.* 1-366
Apic. = Apicio, 252-352 (ed. J. André)
Chir. = *Mulomedicina Chironis*, 3-35
Quer. = *Querolus*, p. 7, 7-17, 24 R.
Greg. = Gregorio di Tour, *Hist.* 9, 1-9
Wand. = *Vita Wandregiseli* 3-15

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Final Devoicing and Elimination of the Effects of Verner's Law in Gothic*

1. Introduction

As is well known, Gothic seems to have been affected by Verner's law to a far lesser extent than other Germanic languages. Actually, the effects of Verner's law are observed only in a handful of isolated word forms as follows (cf. Wood 1895, p. 19 ff.):

- (1) *aih* 'have' (1, 3 sg. pres.) / *aigum* (1 pl. pres.)
alpeis 'old' / **alds* 'generation'
**gafahrjan* 'prepare' / **fagrs* 'fitting'
faheþs 'gladness' / *faginon* 'be glad'
**usfarþo* 'departure' / *gafaurds* 'council'
filhan 'hide' / **fulgins* 'hidden'
frapi 'understanding', *frapjan* 'think' / *froþs* 'wise', *fro-
dai* (nom. pl.), **frodei* 'wisdom'
huhrus 'hunger' / **huggrjan* 'be hungry'
juhiza 'younger' / **juggs* 'young'
**bileifan* 'remain', **aflifnan* 'be left' / **bilaibjan* 'leave',
**laiba* 'remainder'¹
gaminþi 'remembrance' / **gamunds* 'memorial'
nauþs 'need', *nauþai* (dat.), **nauþjan* 'exert compulsion
upon' / *naudi-(þaurfts)* 'necessary; necessity'
saihan 'see' / *siuns* 'sight'

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¹ For details on the derivational relation among **bileifan*, **aflifnan*, and **bilaibjan*, see S. Suzuki 1993.

**sinþs* 'time', **gasiþja* 'traveling companion' / *sandjan*
'send', *ussindo* 'especially'
gasopþjan 'satisfy', *soþa* (dat. sg.) 'satisfaction' / **saþs*
'satisfied', *sadai* (nom. pl.)
stopun 'stand' (3 pl. pret.) / *standan*
taihun 'ten' / **tigus* 'decade'
þarf 'need' (1, 3 sg. pres.) / *þaurbum* (1 pl. pres.)
**frawairþan* 'perish' / **frawardjan* 'destroy'
**diswinþjan* 'crush', **winþi-skauro* 'winnowing shovel' /
winds 'wind'
wisan 'make merry' / **wizon* 'be self-indulgent'

Of paramount interest is the consistency with which the effects of Verner's law are absent in Gothic. This is most clearly observed in the strong verb conjugation and the derivation of weak verbs. With the exception of *standan/stopun*,² strong verbs exhibit no trace of alternation in Gothic, in marked contrast to the other dialects, in which they are subject to the intraparadigmatic alternation or 'grammatical change'. The following examples illustrate the morphophonological alternation, *s/r* (< **z*), induced by Verner's law:

- (2) Go. **kiosan* 'choose' / **kaus* / **kusun* / **kusans*
OIce. *kiosa* / *kaus* / *kuro* / *korenn*
OE. *cēosan* / *cēas* / *curon* / *coren*
OS. *kiosan* / *kos* / *kurun* / *koran*
OHG. *kiosan* / *kos* / *kurun* / *gikoran*

Although in the other Germanic languages, too, grammatical change was leveled out to various degrees, the systematic absence of the effects of Verner's law in Gothic is elsewhere unparalleled.³

Likewise, with a handful of exceptions (e.g. *sandjan*, **frawardjan*; for further examples and an explanation, see note 9), weak verbs are apparently unaffected by Verner's law

² For an explanation of this exception, see note 23 in section 4 below.

³ For statistic data, see Prokosch 1939, p. 182 ff.

in Gothic, while their cognates in other dialects show the effects of voicing due to Verner's law:

- (3) Go. **daupþjan* 'kill': OIce. *deyða*, OE. *dīedan*, OFris. *dēda*, OHG. *tōten*
Go. *nasjan* 'save': OE. *nerian*, OFris. *nera*, OHG. *nerren*⁴

2. Absence of the Effects of Verner's Law: Two Competing Accounts

To account for the unique state of affairs in Gothic summarized in the previous section, two conflicting views have been presented to date.⁵ According to the first hypothesis,

⁴ Other examples are (data based on Lehmann 1986 and Wood 1895, p. 18):
Go. *afdrausjan* 'throw down' (cf. **driusan* 'fall'); OIce. *dreyra* 'drop blood', OHG. *trōran* 'drip';
Go. **balþjan* 'dare' (cf. *balþaba* 'boldly'); OIce. *bella*, OE. *byldan*, OS. *beldian*, OHG. *balden*;
Go. *hausjan* 'hear'; OIce. *heyra*, OE. *hīeran*, OS. *hōrian*, OHG. *hōren*;
Go. **ufhlohjan* 'cause to laugh' (cf. **hlahjan* 'laugh'); OIce. *hlægja*;
Go. *laisjan* 'teach' (cf. *lais* 'I know'); OE. *lāeran*, OFris. *lēra*, OS. *lērian*, OHG. *lēren*;
Go. **naupþjan* 'need' (cf. *naups* 'need', dat. sg. *naupai*); OIce. *neyða*, OE. *nīedan*, OFris. *nēda*, OS. *nōdian*, OHG. *nōten*;
Go. **ganohjan* 'satisfy' (cf. **ganohts* 'enough'); OIce. *(g)nægja*, OFris. *nō-gia*, OHG. *ginuogan*;
Go. **þiupþjan* 'bless' (cf. *þiup* 'the good', gen. pl. *þiupē*); OIce. *þýða* 're-joice', OE. *geþīedan*, OHG. *untarhiuten* 'subject to';
Go. **wasjan* 'dress'; OIce. *verja*, OE. *werian*, OS. *werian*, OHG. *werien*;
Go. **diswinþjan* 'crush' (cf. **winþi-skauro* 'winnowing shovel'); OE. *wind-wian* 'winnow', OHG. *winton*;
Go. *wrohjan* 'accuse' (cf. **wrohts* 'accusation'); OIce. *rægja*, OE. *wrēgan*, OFris. *wrōgia*, OS. *wrōgian*.

The above list does not include those Gothic words whose cognates attest a voiceless fricative at least in one of the other dialects (e.g. Go. *laþon* 'invite' [cf. *laþa-leiko* 'gladly']; OIce. *laða*, OE. *ladian*, OFris. *lathia*, *ladia*, OS. *laðian*), because the variation involved may be attributed to the coexistence of different accentuation in Proto-Germanic.

⁵ For an overview of research history, see Collinge 1985, p. 209 ff. and Rooth 1974, p. 127 ff.

which has dominated the field almost to the point of being orthodox (cf. Braune and Ebbinghaus 1981, §50a; Guxman 1958, §58; Hempel 1966, §33; Krahe 1967, p.58; Krause 1968, §106; Streitberg 1920, §131; Wright 1954, §137, etc.) and which I basically follow (for proposed elaborations, see section 4 below), Gothic equally underwent Verner's law, but subsequently removed its effects by analogical leveling except for a few isolated examples for which analogy failed to work (cf. [1]). In other words, the nearly complete absence of voice alternation based on Verner's law in Gothic is due to a later innovation, not to particular circumstances under which Verner's law operated.

Now and then, however, objections have been leveled at the 'orthodox' view (cf. Hirt 1931, §91. Anm.2, §93; Prokosch 1939, p.62f., 67; Bennet 1968; Roberge 1983; Voyles 1989, etc.). According to the alternative hypothesis, Gothic had already been considerably exposed to accent shift at the time when Verner's law came into operation, so that the majority of words including strong and weak verbs were simply immune to the voicing process, which crucially depended on the absence of stress on the immediately preceding vowel. Only a small group of words, which for some reason had retained archaic (i.e. Proto-Indo-European) accent on noninitial position long enough to meet the condition for Verner's law, underwent the process (cf. [1]). Thus, according to the second view, what was responsible for the unique Gothic situation is not a subsequent independent change that canceled out the effects of Verner's law, but the failure of Verner's law itself to apply by virtue of the prior occurrence of accent shift, which obliterated much of the condition for Verner's law.

The most recent proponent of the second view is Voyles, who offers the following arguments against the hypothesis based on analogical leveling (Voyles 1988, p.71f.; 1989, p.25f.). First, curiously enough, the alleged analogical process is absolutely unidirectional in that the original voiceless fricative is consistently extended throughout the paradigm; not a single instance is observed in which the contrary solution was worked out. Nowhere (except for inflectional endings, dis-

cussed below) was the voiced fricative established by replacing the voiceless alternant. Inasmuch as analogy may be viewed as an individual lexical process implemented on an item-by-item basis, the lack of heterogeneity in the result may speak against the assumption of analogy in this case. Second, weak verbs, which unlike strong counterparts were not subject to the intra-paradigmatic alternation based on Verner's law, also had eliminated the effects of Verner's law. In the absence of the alternation within the paradigm to be leveled out, it is hardly intelligible why weak verbs were equally involved in analogy (on this point, see also Bennett 1968). Third, in contrast to root forms for which voiceless fricatives were established at the expense of voiced counterparts, inflectional endings followed the contrary pattern, whereby voiced fricatives prevailed over voiceless alternants. For example, the 2 pl. pres. ending: PIE. **-ete* > (by Grimm's law) PGmc. **-iþ* > (by Verner's law) Go. *-ið-*, cf. *qīþid-uh* 'and you say' (Mk. 16, 7); the gen. sg. ending for *a*-stem nouns: PIE. **-eso* > PGmc. **-iza* > Go. *-iz-* cf. *anþariz-uh* 'and of another' (M.11,3). Why did this differential treatment arise? The assumption of analogical leveling with two opposite directions differentiated morphologically the way it was along the root vs. ending dichotomy seems hardly plausible.

Thus, Voyles' arguments are designed to emphasize the incompatibility of assuming analogical leveling with the systematic nature of apparent exceptions to Verner's law; only an equally systematic, i.e. nonanalogical and hence phonological, interpretation would seem consonant with the observed state of affairs. According to Voyles (1988, p.68 ff.; 1989, p.26f.), an appeal to the relative chronology, whereby accent shift began to operate in Gothic well before Verner's law, successfully accounts for the above-mentioned properties. Specifically, according to Voyles' proposal, the accent shift took a long time to complete by spreading gradually through the lexicon, and prior to the completion of the change throughout the entire lexicon, Verner's law was introduced and managed to voice whichever word forms had been left unaffected by accent shift by that time.

Of crucial importance in this view is that all strong verbs and most weak verbs had been subject to accent shift before Verner's law began to operate. With the fixation of stress on root initial position, then, root final fricatives failed to be voiced by virtue of stress on the immediately preceding root vowel, while fricatives in the inflectional endings satisfied the condition for Verner's law by virtue of the presence of the thematic vowel which by that time had become unstressed, and consequently the fricatives received voicing. In this way, the complementary distribution, whereby voiceless and voiced fricatives correlate with roots and endings, respectively, finds a principled explanation.

Voyles' arguments against analogy, however, are less than convincing. First, the uniformity in the result does not necessarily exclude the working of a subsequent process of elimination, although it cannot be identified as an instance of classical analogy which Voyles apparently has in mind. As some generativists ingeniously have shown (ignoring differences in technical details; cf. King 1969, p.49 ff., 139 ff., 168 ff.; Vennemann 1972a; van Bakel 1973; Hogg 1979, etc.), what should be held responsible for the absence of Verner's law is not a lexically conditioned analogy operating individually on a word-by-word basis; rather it is the loss of a synchronic rule corresponding to Verner's law on the diachronic axis. The loss had a phonological motivation. With accent shifted onto initial position, the alternation based on variable accent placement as originally induced by Verner's law was no longer amenable to a phonologically based generalization; the original distinguishing condition had been neutralized. Upon loss of the Gothic correlate of Verner's law, the underlying segments, i.e. voiceless fricatives, surfaced throughout the paradigm (for revision of this rather simplistic view, see section 4 below). Thus, if the analogical leveling may be characterized as a rule-governed phenomenon, the uniformity in output forms does not invalidate the postulation of a subsequent leveling of Verner's law.

Voyles' second counterargument is seemingly more serious. Why were weak verbs, which were insensitive to the paradigmatic alternation conditioned by Verner's law, subject to level-

ing? Model forms, i.e. voiceless fricatives, were simply unavailable within the paradigm.⁶ Traditional adherents to analogy, however, claim that the model was at hand, offered as it was by derivationally related words (cf. Krahe 1967, p.59; Krahe and Meid 1969, p.120; Wood 1895, p.16f.; Wright 1954, p.81 f., etc.). For example, pre-Go. **nazjan* 'save' underlying Go. *nasjan* (cf. [3]) was reshaped as *nasjan* by analogy to pre-Go. **nisan* 'be saved'. By the same token, *daups* 'dead' (e.g. *daupaim* [dat. pl.]; cf. OIce. *dauðr*, OE. *dēad*, OFris. *dād*, OS. *dōd*) and *-daupjan* 'kill' (cf. [3]) were due to *daupus* 'death' (cf. OE. *dēap*, OFris. *dāth*, OS. *dōð*).⁷ Within the traditional conception of analogy, of course, Voyles' first argument applies here as well. The uniform process, whereby only the underlying voiceless fricatives were established, appears incompatible with the traditional notion of analogy. With the characterization of the phenomenon as a rule-based generalization, however, Voyles' first argument loses applicability in this case as well.

Returning to Voyles' second argument, of particular importance is whether the formation of weak verbs was rule-governed and crucially referred to the corresponding strong verb root forms (or other base words, i.e. nouns and adjectives) at the time when the effects of Verner's law were removed from the synchronic grammar. Since in morphosyntactic terms most weak verbs are of derived status as against strong verbs and nominals, and can be associated with their base forms by general rules of verb formation,⁸ it is plausible

⁶ Stang 1969 assumed intraparadigmatic accent alternation for weak verbs, in a way parallel to what is observed in Balto-Slavic. Following this analysis, the leveling of weak verbs would constitute a case of intraparadigmatic analogy, a phenomenon comparable to that of strong verbs.

⁷ For further examples, see note 4 above.

⁸ The first class verbs are causative/factitive, derived by means of the suffix *-j-/-i-* (e.g. *lagjan* 'lay' / **ligan* 'lie'; *hailjan* 'heal' / *hails* 'healthy'). The verbs of the second class are denominative, derived by means of *-ō-* (e.g. **idreigon* 'repent' / *idreiga* 'repentance'). The third class, which is marked by *-a-/-ai-*, contains deverbatives and denominatives (e.g. *saurgan* 'care' / *saurga* 'care'). The fourth class, built by *-na-/-nō-*, constitutes the so-called

to postulate a rule-governed relation for interparadigmatically related forms as in the case of intraparadigmatically related forms.⁹

If weak verbs in principle stood in a rule-governed derivational relationship with strong counterparts and substantives, the complementary distribution pointed out by Voyles receives an automatic explanation without assuming Voyles' relative chronology. In the case of regular strong verbs, when Verner's law applied, the fricative endings that attached to the primary stem forms in the full grade (i.e. the present) exhibited a voiced alternant (-iz, -id̥, -and̥): e.g. pre-Go. **nisiz* < PIE. **nés-esi*. Since inflectional endings are bound morphemes, incapable of appearing in isolation, the choice of particular variant forms was made dependent on corresponding stem forms. When the effects of Verner's law came to be eliminated in favor of the derivationally primary forms of stem allomorphy, correspondingly to be selected were those alternate endings that were bound up with the primary stem forms in question by virtue of the morphological dependence involved. Thus, in the case of endings, the voiced variants replaced the voiceless counterparts.

inchoative verbs (but more properly to be characterized as detransitive; cf. S. Suzuki 1989, Ch. 3; e.g. **fullnan* 'become full' / *fulls* 'full' / **fulljan* 'fill'). In this way, the derivation of weak verbs is normally transparent on morphological and semantic dimensions, and it can readily lend itself to a systematic rule-based generalization.

- ⁹ Unlike most of the examples given in note 4 above, in the absence of the derivationally primary form to be associated with or on account of remote relatedness if at all, the newly introduced voiced fricative was established: e.g. Go. *hazjan* 'praise': OE. *herian*, OHG. *haren*; Go. **maidjan* 'falsify': cf. *maipms* 'gift'; OE. *mīpan*, OS. *mīthan*, OHG. *mīdan* 'hide'; Go. **marzjan* 'offend': OE. *mierran*, OS. *merrian*, OHG. *merren*; Go. *sandjan* 'send': OIce. *senda*, OE. *sendan*, OS. *sendian*, OHG. *senten*; Go. **tandjan* 'kindle': OIce. *tenda*, OHG. *zuntan*. For exceptions to this treatment, see note 20. Furthermore, when a derivationally primary word contains a voiced fricative as a root final consonant, the corresponding derivative retains it: e.g. **airzeis* 'in error'/**airzjan* 'mislead' (cf. OS. *irrean*, OHG. *irran*; OE. *eorsian*).

The point is that just as root forms were related with one another based on shared form and meaning, so were endings. And since strong verbs were of derivationally basic status as noted above, in addition to root forms, the ending forms originally characteristic of strong verbs (and a group of weak verbs as well; e.g. causatives, PGmc. **naz-iz* < PIE. **nas-éj-es*) were carried over to a subset of weak verbs to which voiceless endings had been attached (e.g. denominative verbs, *þiuþ-iz* 'bless' < PGmc. **þiud-is*). Since the endings of strong verbs had voiced alternants as exponents of person marking (**-iz* [2 sg. pres.], **-id* [3 sg. pres.], **-id* [2 pl. pres.]), they were established at the expense of voiceless counterparts which were originally characteristic of a subgroup of weak verbs. Of importance here is the variant that is realized as constituent of the derivationally basic word form, rather than the allegedly underlying, etymologically older shape of the endings taken in isolation. Thus, the differentiated treatment in terms of voice relative to the root vs. ending dichotomy is explained as an automatic consequence of a rule-governed process which eliminated the effects of Verner's law in conjunction with morphological dependence of the endings on stems.

The foregoing discussion shows that none of Voyles' arguments against the subsequent removal of the effects of Verner's law are convincing. In what follows, then, I argue against the application of accent shift prior to Verner's law. It remains totally unexplained why accent shift was implemented in a manner sensitive to lexical categories as Voyles claims it to have been. More specifically, it is not clear why a handful of words as listed in (1), rather than preterite plural and past participle forms of strong verbs, for example, were resistant to the application of accent shift. The converse situation would have arisen with equal plausibility, in which case strong verbs eventually should have exhibited grammatical change in Gothic. In this way, the appeal to relative chronology will have to leave the historically attested unique state of affairs in Gothic as a matter of contingency.

By contrast, the assumption of analogical leveling as a rule-governed process can provide a principled account for the

problem. A cursory look at (1) indicates that the words involved are opaque in morphological (derivational or inflectional) terms.¹⁰ Many of the suffixations involved in (1) can hardly be characterized as anything approaching productive: e.g. the adjective formative *-ja* (*alþeis*), the verbal adjective formative *-ina* (< PIE. **-e-na*; cf. the normal past participle formative *-ana* [< PIE. **-o-na*], e.g. **anafulhs*), the abstract noun formatives, *-epi* (*faheþs*), *-ni* (*siuns*). No less significantly, some of the inflectional processes involved are additionally characterized by irregular marking: e.g. lengthening of *u* (< **-unh-*; *juhiza*; cf. **manags* 'many' / **managiza*), the *n*-infix (*standan*). As Wood (1895, p.17) correctly suggested, the morphological/morphophonological opacity thus characterized in turn must have contributed to the dissociation of originally derived words from corresponding base counterparts, thereby depriving the etymological derivatives in question of susceptibility to analogy, which crucially depends on close association between relevant forms in formal and semantic terms. As a result, in the absence of readily recognizable morphological dependencies that may subject derived words to analogical effects by corresponding base words, the morphologically less transparent words behaved in a manner equal to morphologically basic or underived words (e.g. *fadar* 'father' < Gmc. **fabár* < PIE. **pátér*; Go. *sibun* 'seven' < PIE. **septm̥*); the morphologically underivable words continued to retain the effects of Verner's law, just as did simplex words.

Furthermore, since, derivation, concerned as it is with formation of lexemes, is more susceptible to idiosyncratic treatment contingent on lexicalization as recurrently observed in cross-linguistic terms, it is subject to rule-based generalization to a lesser extent than inflection. Hence, it may follow that a morphophonological alternation involving derivational items

¹⁰ With the exception of **frawairþan* 'perish' / **frawardjan* 'destroy', which, despite Wood's remark to the contrary (1895, p.16), seems no less transparent than the pair **nisan/nasjan*, for example. Furthermore, if the analysis proposed in S. Suzuki 1993 is correct, the pair **bileifan* 'remain' / **bilaibjan* 'leave' constitutes another exceptional case.

exhibits lack of uniformity or greater degree of exceptionality in the way of subsequent development than that of inflectional counterparts. Thus, it is understandable that most of the words retaining the effects of Verner's law are derivational in origin (and nonproductive).

The foregoing consideration may lead us to choose the assumption that Gothic underwent Verner's law in the same way as other dialects and that subsequently Gothic alone systematically removed its effects by a subsequent change.¹¹

Now we are left with an important question: why did Gothic alone eliminate the effects of Verner's law from its synchronic grammar, while the other Germanic dialects more or less retained the effects in the form of 'grammatical change'? Unless we provide a satisfactory answer to this question, we cannot claim a more explanatory account than the alternative view, which we have criticized earlier for its inability to account for the lexically differentiated manner in which accent shift is alleged to have applied. Before treating this issue, we will briefly consider final devoicing, which in our view was ultimately responsible for the elimination of the effects of Verner's law.

3. Final Devoicing

As is generally held, in Gothic voiced fricatives became devoiced word finally, either in absolute final position or be-

¹¹ Milroy 1982 proposes another chronology-based explanation, according to which Verner's law took place BEFORE accent shift affected strong and weak verbs but AFTER it had already involved a portion of the lexicon including preterite-present verbs. In other words, Milroy's chronology is the reverse of Voyles'. Although Milroy's chronology seems to be free from the difficulty mentioned with respect to the treatment of isolated words, it is implausible in another respect. Contrary to the generally held view, the hypothesis claims that accent shift constituted a favorable condition for Verner's law. That is, the involvement in accent shift entails the operation of Verner's law. Unless supported by positive evidence, Milroy's hypothesis, complicated as it is in conceptual terms, remains but a highly improbable logical possibility (cf. Collinge 1985, p.211).

fore /s/¹² ("Auslautsverhärtung"; cf. Bennett 1980, p.75; Braune and Ebbinghaus 1981, §79; Guxman 1958, §56; Hempel 1966, §32; Krahe 1967, p.61; Krause 1968, §107; Mossé 1956, §49; Wright 1954, §161, 169, 173, 175, etc.). Examples are given below:

- (4) *gaf* (1, 3 sg. pret.) 'give' / *giban* (inf.)
gops (nom. sg.) 'good' / *godis* (gen. sg.)
riqis (nom. sg.) 'darkness' / *riqizis* (gen. sg.)
dag (acc. sg.) 'day' / *dagis* (gen. sg.)

When immediately followed by enclitics *-uh* 'and' and *-u* (question marker), or a second member of a compound, devoicing failed to apply:

- (5) *qipip* 'he says' / *qipid-uh* 'and he says'
wileis 'thou wilt' / *wileiz-u* 'wilt thou?'
twalif 'twelve' / *twalib-wintrus* 'twelve years'

In Gothic, devoicing came into operation when the voiceless and voiced fricatives still stood in opposition on the surface in postvocalic position and the privative opposition in question was kept intact in medial position (for details, see section 4 below). Thus, the distribution of fricative phonemes in Gothic may be represented as follows (cf. Moulton 1972, p.145; for the peculiarity of the velar order, see section 4 below):

- (6) Distribution of PGmc. Fricatives in Postvocalic Position in Gothic

	#__	V__V	V__#
PGmc. *f	f	f	f
PGmc. *þ	b	v	–
PGmc. *p	þ	þ	þ
PGmc. *ð	d	ð	–
PGmc. *s	s	s	s

¹² On the basis of phonological naturalness (cf. Vennemann 1972b, p.878 note), I follow the traditional assumption that velar fricative /ɣ/ also was subject to devoicing despite the continued use of ⟨g⟩. For details, see section 4 below.

PGmc. *z	–	z	–
PGmc. *x	h	h	h
PGmc. *g	g	γ	x

By contrast, in other dialects that underwent final devoicing, i.e. Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon, and North Germanic (Runic Norse), the process did not occur, until additional changes operated on voiced fricatives, thereby restructuring the original opposition between the voiced and voiceless fricatives. These intervening changes include: (i) rhotacism ($z > r$; [7 a]), (ii) $\acute{d} > d$ (7 b), and (iii) medial voicing ($f > \acute{b}$, $\acute{p} > \acute{d}$, $s > z$; [7 c]):

(7) a. $z > r$: cf. (2) above.

b. $\acute{d} > d$:

Go. *qīþan* 'say' / *qaþ* / *qeþun* / **qīþans*

OE. *cweðan* / *cwæð* / *cwædon* / *cweden*

OS. *quethan* / *quath* / *quadun* / *-quedan*

c. medial voicing:

Go. **hafjan* 'lift' / **hof* / **hofun* / **hafans*

OE. *hebban* / *hōf* / *hōfon* / *hafen*

OS. *hebbian* / *hōf* / *hōbun* / *-haban*

Furthermore, North Germanic, whose consonant system was minimally distinct from that of Gothic because of rhotacism, was, after final devoicing, further subject to change, whereby voiceless fricatives /f/ and /þ/ became voiced in postvocalic position. Thus, prior to or immediately following the introduction of final devoicing, all the dialects in question lost much of the original primary opposition between the voiced and voiceless fricatives. The resultant obstruent systems may be represented as follows (cf. Moulton 1972, p.150, 153, 156, 159):¹³

¹³ It should be noted that the velar order followed a unique line of development, whereby the voiced and voiceless fricatives were kept as allophones of distinct phonemes, rather than integrated as allophones of a single phoneme. For the peculiarity of the velar order, see Y.Suzuki 1990.

(8) Distribution of PGmc. Fricatives in Initial and Postvocalic Position

	In OE., OFrig., and OS.			In NGmc.		
	#__	V__V	V__#	#__	V__V	V__#
PGmc. *f	f	v	f	f	v	v
PGmc. *þ	b	–	b	b	–	–
PGmc. *þ	þ	ð	þ	þ	ð	ð
PGmc. *d	d	d	d	d	–	–
PGmc. *s	s	z	s	s	s	s
PGmc. *x	h	–/h	x	h	–	–
PGmc. *g	g/γ	γ	–/g	g	γ	γ

Thus, in Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon, and North Germanic by virtue of the additional changes, the original voiced fricatives were no longer involved in a privative opposition of voice to the voiceless counterparts.

4. *Final Devoicing and Elimination of the Effects of Verner's Law*

Kuryłowicz (1968, p.24) pointed out a close relation between final devoicing and the leveling of Verner's law and held the former process to be responsible for the latter.¹⁴ Kuryłowicz' explanation goes as follows. Pre-Gothic (Stage 1) inherited the paradigmatic alternation based on Verner's law:

(9) Stage 1:

sneipan* 'cut'/snaip*/**snidum*/**snidans*

beidan* 'wait'/baid*/**bidum*/**bidans*

That is, at this stage in the preterite plural and the past participle the opposition between the voiced and voiceless frica-

¹⁴ Bennett 1970, p.464 also notes the shared characteristic of final devoicing and the near absence of the effects of Verner's law in Gothic: "The trend toward voiceless articulation in both instances is a characteristic feature of the language."

tives was neutralized. At the following stage, in which final devoicing took place, the paradigm was modified as follows:

(10) Stage 2:

**sneiþan/*snaip/*snidum/*snidans*

**beidan/*baip/*bidum/*bidans*

Here, neutralization further advanced and affected the preterite singular form, the opposition now being limited to the present. Correspondingly, the voice distinction of the stem final fricative was motivated only medially in the present form. By contrast, at the earlier stage, the preterite singular form, in which the fricative in question appeared word finally, also had justified the postulation of the voiced fricative as against the voiceless counterpart. In other words, the phonological form of the present, which remained unneutralized, provided the only basis for the voice distinction that was otherwise lost, and consequently by analogy the present form came to determine the voice value of the intervocalic stem final fricative for the preterite plural and the past participle counterparts. Hence, the following proportional relation emerged: *beidan* : *bidum* : *bidans* = *sneiþan* : *snipum* : *snipans*. In this way, final devoicing paved the way to the replacement of the voiced fricative by the voiceless counterpart.

Kurylowicz' account, insightful though it is, seems somewhat cryptic and needs to be elaborated. I propose the following elaboration. Stage 1 is essentially what obtained in early Germanic. With the establishment of initial stress, Verner's law was no longer phonologically motivated. Instead, the alternation originally induced by the phonological process was reanalyzed as a morphologically conditioned one, namely a 'grammatical change'; in morphologically delimited contexts, voiceless fricatives received voicing (cf. van Coetsem 1972, p.185).¹⁵ Put another way, the alternation between the voiced and voiceless frica-

¹⁵ The morphologized version of Verner's law may be formulated as follows (van Coetsem 1972, p.185):

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{sonorant} \\ \text{+ continuant} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{voice}] / [+ \text{segment}] \text{ ___ in spec. morph. env.}$$

tives assumed the function of morphological marking. Thus, the distribution of the voiceless fricatives and the voiced counterparts may be roughly represented as follows (**P** and **Ḑ** are used as cover symbols for voiceless and voiced fricatives, respectively):

(11)	a.	b.	c.	d.
	#__	VC _o __C _o V	VC _o __C _o V	V__#
/P/:	P	P	–	P
/Ḑ/: ¹⁶	D	Ḑ	Ḑ	Ḑ

(11 b) and (11 c) are morphologically differentiated. Examples: (11 a) **þiuþ* ‘the good’ vs. **diups* ‘deep’; (11 b) *sneiþan* vs. **beidan*; (11 c) **snidum* vs. **bidum*; (11 d) *snaiþ* vs. **baid*.

Thereafter, the introduction of final devoicing resulted in Stage 2, where fricatives were subject to neutralization in favor of the voiceless ones. In contrast to the medial alternation, the neutralization in question was a phonologically motivated natural process,¹⁷ which was immune to morphological restriction. The result was that voice lost much of the original distinctive function with respect to fricatives as surface phonetic forms. Only in medial position (under morphological conditioning) did voice continue to be a primary distinctive feature: [**P**] ≠ [**Ḑ**]. In initial position the feature [continuant], in conjunction with [voice], functioned as a distinctive property: [**P**] ≠ [**D**]. The resulting distributional pattern for /P/ and /Ḑ/ may be schematically represented as follows:

(12)	a.	b.	c.	d.
	#__	VC _o __C _o V	VC _o __C _o V	V__# ¹⁸
/P/:	P	P	–	P
/Ḑ/:	D	Ḑ	Ḑ	–

¹⁶ Or /D/. The precise identification of the phoneme is irrelevant to our concern.

¹⁷ Final devoicing may be characterized as an assimilation to the following pause, which necessarily lacks voice (cf. Hock 1991, p. 80; Shannon 1987).

¹⁸ For the sake of exposition, devoicing before word final /s/ is treated together with devoicing in absolute final position.

(12b) and (12c) are morphologically differentiated. Examples: (12b) **sneiþan* vs. **beidan*; (12c) **snidum* vs. **bidum*; (12d) **snaip* vs. **baip*.

The introduction of absolute neutralization in final position at Stage 2¹⁹ considerably narrowed the range of opposition between /P/ and /Ð/ by limiting it to the medial position in the morphologically underived context (12b), besides the initial position (12a), which is doubly distinctive on the basis of [cont] and [voice]. The reduced distinguishability due to the limited range of opposition had serious consequences for phonological identification of word final [P]. Given [P] in final position, it would not be possible to determine its corresponding nonneutralized form until one correctly identified the crucial context where /P/ and /Ð/ received distinct realization, namely (12b) as opposed to (12c). The appearance of the phonological shape [Ð] in morphologically related medial position was in principle indeterminate by virtue of the morphologically conditioned neutralization, i.e. (12b) vs. (12c). In this way, Verner's law lowered the recoverability of /Ð/ in opposition to /P/ in medial position by partially neutralizing /P/ and /Ð/ in favor of the latter. Thus, medial [Ð] as such could not serve as an immediate clue for phonological identification just as final [P] could not. Therefore, the morphophonological alternation due to Verner's law made the operation of final devoicing less transparent. It should be noted in parenthesis that for purposes of phonological identification initial position lacks relevance; the initial fricatives were not involved in morphophonological alternation with each other.

On the other side, final devoicing deprived much of phonological identifiability of fricatives that had been available before the introduction of the process in question. Upon application of devoicing, there remained the morphologically restricted medial position (cf. [12b]) as the only disambiguating context. In this way, final devoicing made the morphophonological alternation opaque to a greater extent and accordingly less susceptible to generalization. Furthermore, in

¹⁹ For chronological implications, see section 5 below.

word final position under specific morphological environments (e.g. neut. nom.-acc. sg.), final devoicing and the synchronic reflex of Verner's law stood diametrically opposed to each other in terms of directionality of process: devoicing (final devoicing) vs. voicing (Verner's law): e.g. nom.-acc. sg. **dauð* (Stage 1) > **dauþ* (Stage 2) vs. gen. sg. **dauðis* (Stages 1 and 2). In other words, final devoicing obliterated the effect of Verner's law in the context in question. Thus, at Stage 2 language learners were confronted with the problem of indeterminacy or opacity that was caused by the conflicting operation of neutralization at two different levels, morphophonological (reflex of Verner's law) and phonological (final devoicing).

Of the two conflicting postvocalic neutralizing processes, the one based on Verner's law posed greater difficulty in learning inasmuch as it lacked phonological motivation and admitted of exception in phonological terms. Furthermore, the morphophonological alternation in question constituted nothing more than auxiliary morphological marking, primary marking being provided by vowel alternation (ablaut) and suffixation. By contrast, final neutralization, which was phonologically motivated and operated without exception, constituted a process which was easily generalizable. Accordingly, it was the medial morphological alternation or the effects of Verner's law with apparent irregularity and redundant marking function that were exposed to a greater chance of change for improvement. Since, as noted above, the retention of the effects of Verner's law was responsible for the reduced identifiability of the voiced and voiceless fricatives in medial position, it would be of greater advantage in terms of learnability and processability if the phonological form in the context $VC_0_C_0V$ alone without further information were enough to fully determine the identity of the neutralized form. Thus, the morphophonological alternation in question was finally to be eliminated. Considered this way, what was induced to take place was the system-motivated elimination of the rule-governed morphophonological process out of the grammar of pre-Gothic at Stage 2, rather than analogical leveling that involved lexical items on an individual basis.

The loss of the morphophonological alternation brought consequences to word forms on the surface. Whatever word forms that were associated by the rule of medial morphophonological voice alternation (for formulation of the rule, see note 15 in this paper) at that time were to be affected by its removal. This accounts for the uniformity of the process, as generativists have successfully explained by characterizing it as loss of Verner's law. Thus, in the process of elimination wherever evidence was demonstrably available for postulating voiced fricatives as alternants of voiceless counterparts by virtue of the morphophonological rule of voice alternation, they were re-analyzed as voiceless. On the other hand, in cases where the association of voiced fricatives with voiceless ones was not well motivated on morphophonological grounds, the identification of voiced fricatives as basic or underived presented itself as a probable solution.²⁰ This is the lexical dimension of the process

²⁰ In some cases, however, the voiceless fricative replaced the voiced counterpart apparently in the absence of (intraparadigmatically or interparadigmatically) related primary stem forms containing a voiceless fricative: e.g. *ahana* 'chaff' (OIce. *qgn*, OE. *egenu*, OHG. *agana*), *auso* 'ear' (cf. OIce. *eyra*, OE. *ēare*, OFris. *āre*, OS. *ōra*, OHG. *ōra*), *hausjan* 'hear' (cf. OIce. *heyra*, OE. *hīeran*, OS. *hōrian*, OHG. *hōren*), **þahan* 'be silent' (cf. OIce. *þegja*, OS. *thagian*, OHG. *thagēn*), *þaursus* 'dried up' (cf. OIce. *þurr*, E. *pyrre*, OHG. *thurri*). By contrast, examples like *bloþ*, gen. *bloþis* 'blood' (cf. OIce. *blóð*, OE. *blōd*, OS. *blōd*, OHG. *bluot*), *kas* 'vessel', dat. *kasa* (cf. OIce. *ker*, OE. *ceren*, OS. *bī-kar*, OHG. *char*), *raus* 'reed', dat. *rausa* (OIce. *reyrr*, OHG. *rōr*) might be ascribed to analogical leveling.

Both of these phenomena, however, turn out to be understandable when placed in a broader perspective; they duplicate the process underlying the elimination of the effects of Verner's law, namely the replacement of voiced fricatives with related voiceless counterparts. Interpreted in this way, the introduction of voiceless fricatives in the above instances may be characterized as hypercorrection or overgeneralization of the reestablishment of morphologically recoverable voiceless fricatives.

There remains a small group of words with (quasi-)suffix elements that were involved in the voice alternation originally due to Verner's law. These alternating forms, however, were not in productive use and therefore defied a straightforward generalization comparable to that involving inflectional endings and productive suffixes, for which identification of invariant primary forms posed little difficulty. Rather, they required a special treatment,

that may be brought to bear on the lexical variation in terms of the implementation of the process of replacing the voiced fricatives with the voiceless counterparts.

The velar fricatives deserve a special comment. Unlike the other fricatives, for which final devoicing led to neutralization between the voiceless and voiced fricatives, the devoicing of [g] resulted in [x], a form distinct from the voiceless fricative already in existence, i.e. a glottal fricative [h], or a uvular fricative [χ] or a sound of whatever phonetically detailed shape.²¹ This state of affairs is indicated by the use of different graphemes, ⟨g⟩ for the supposedly devoiced /g/ (e.g. *mag/magun* 'can') and ⟨h⟩ for the original voiceless velar /h/ (e.g. *sloh/slohun* 'hit'). Thus, the distributional pattern of the velar fricatives is different from the one represented in (12) above:

(13)	a.	b.	c.	d.
	#__	VC__C ₀ V	VC__C ₀ V	V__#
/h/	h	h	–	h
/g/	g	γ	γ	x

(13b) and (13c) are morphologically differentiated. Examples: (13a) **hardus* 'hard' vs. **gards* 'house'; (13b) **tiuhan* 'lead' vs. **biugan* 'bend'; (13c) **tugum* vs. **bugum*; (13d) **tauḥ* vs. **baug*.

Given the distinguishability in final position, it may be reasonably assumed that the precondition for the elimination of the morphophonological alternation did not arise for the case of /h/ and /g/, as it did for the rest of the fricatives. This does not mean, however, that the velar order was under no pressure for eliminating the morphophonological alternation. In fact, it equally was involved in opacity, which no less strongly motivated the removal of the alternation. Opacity here concerns the operation of the phonological process (final devoicing) of [γ] → [x] itself, rather than the indeterminacy in terms of phono-

which ultimately established itself as a process that has been referred to as Thurneysen's law. For details, see S. Suzuki 1992.

²¹ For a reassessment of phonetic interpretations of ⟨h⟩ and ⟨g⟩, see Roberge 1984.

logical identification. The otherwise exceptionless final devoicing is subject to exception in the face of the morphophonologically based alternation between the medial [ɣ] and the final [h]. More specifically, final devoicing [ɣ] → [x] is made opaque to the extent that in the same phonological context (e.g. V__#) [ɣ] alternated with [h] as well as [x] (e.g. pre-Go. **taih*/**tigum* 'show' vs. **staig*/**stigum* 'rise'). Thus, the concurrence of [ɣ] → [x] and [ɣ] → [h] constitutes an instance of rule opacity as characterized by Kiparsky 1978.²² In this way, the velar order, which suffered from opacity as has just been characterized, also was susceptible to change for improvement, although details of opacity involved were different in formal terms.

As noted in section 3, in the other Germanic languages that were affected by final devoicing, the process did not involve the original opposition between voiced and voiceless fricatives as a whole (cf. [8] above). Final devoicing in these languages, therefore, did not seriously affect the distinguishability of fricatives based on voice opposition and consequently the precondition for eliminating the effects of Verner's law did not arise.

Of further interest are the word pairs *aih*/*aigum* and *þarf*/*þaurbum*. In contrast to such word pairs as *frapjan*/**frodei*, **sinþs*/*sandjan*, *siuns*/*saihan*, the relatedness of the word forms belonging to the same paradigm would seem beyond question. Unlike ordinary strong verbs, for which basic present forms with voiceless fricatives in medial position are available, these preterite-present verbs lack comparable forms. In view of the distinctiveness of [h] (≠ [x]) in V__# (coupled with the effect of breaking; e.g. **waíg* vs. *wig* 'way') and [f] (≠ [b]) in *r*__# (e.g. *þarf* vs. *biswarb* 'wipe off') and the use of enclitics (-*uh*, -*u*), however, correct identification of medial

²² According to Kiparsky 1978, p. 50, rule opacity is defined as follows:

A rule $A \rightarrow B / C _ D$ is opaque to the extent that there are surface representations of the form

(i) A in environment $C _ D$

or (ii) B in environment other than $C _ D$.

sounds in morphophonological terms may have been readily worked out. The identifiability of the underlying voiceless fricatives therefore would have motivated the leveling of the paradigm by generalizing the voiceless fricatives, in parallel to ordinary strong verbs and an instance of preterite-present verb *gadars/gadaursum* 'dare'. This, however, did not completely come true. For *aih/aigum*, /h/ was only partially reintroduced, *aihum*, *aihuþ*, *aihandans*, with /g/ still dominant (out of the eighteen attested examples in which /g/ is etymologically expected, there are four in which /h/ replaces /g/), while *þarf/þaurbum* remained unchanged and continued to retain the effect of Verner's law.

This resistance against the reanalysis may be ascribed to the irregularity of the paradigm involved, namely the preterite-present class of conjugation. Generally speaking, irregular forms favor rote processing, rather than rule processing (cf. Bybee 1985, Ch. 5); they are entered in the lexicon as separate items. If irregular word forms have to be thus individually memorized and the preterite-present verbs constituted an irregular paradigm, it seems probable that the independently required rote processing would have involved the effects of Verner's law at the same time, thereby contributing to the fixation of the morphophonological alternation.²³

Since in the above elaborated analysis the restructuring was ultimately motivated on phonological grounds (i.e. to enhance the identifiability of voiced and voiceless fricatives) for the

²³ The exceptional behavior of *standan* (< PIE. *stā-n-t-) / *stoþ* (< PIE. *stā-t-) / *stoþun* may be understood along the same line. By virtue of the *n*-infix in the present, which made the paradigm irregular within the sixth class strong verbs, the paradigm in question required a unique processing and consequently was resistant to analogical leveling in general. Moreover, analogical extension of the voiceless fricative would proceed from the derived (preterite) to the primary stem form (present), which is just the opposite direction in which the elimination of voiced alternate forms was implemented. Conversely, the leveling in favor of the primary stem allomorph would not follow the general pattern of extending the voiceless fricatives at the expense of the voiced counterparts. Thus, the paradigm of *standan* remained consistently archaic.

purposes of facilitating learnability, the systematicity with which Verner's law was eliminated finds a natural explanation. At the same time, the crucial dependence of the successful restoring of voiceless fricatives on the availability of related word forms with comparable segments accounts for the existence of a few relics which failed to be corrected (cf. [1]). Furthermore, on the proposed view the direct involvement of the original fricatives in final devoicing constituted a precondition for the elimination of the effects of Verner's law by reducing the postvocalic distinguishability between the voiced and voiceless fricatives. Interpreted this way, it now becomes understandable why only Gothic made its way to removing the effects of Verner's law. Elsewhere the necessary condition did not materialize; either final devoicing did not take place, or even where it occurred, several changes prevented the process from crucially affecting the distinguishability in question.

5. Some Implications

With respect to the operation of Verner's law and the chronology of final devoicing, in particular, the foregoing discussion rests on the traditional assumptions: (i) Verner's law operated on both medial and final positions; (ii) final devoicing was introduced in the pre-Gothic period. Both of these fundamental hypotheses, however, have been challenged recently, and it is therefore appropriate at this point to examine the alternative views to test the empirical basis of the traditional conception on which the present paper is grounded. To the extent that the traditional assumptions at issue are shown to be tenable, the present proposal may receive added support by having part of its implications empirically confirmed.

5.1. Verner's Law in Final Position

Mańczak (1990) claims that Verner's law involved only medial position and, in particular, that Gmc. *s* in final position, even when the immediately preceding vowel did not bear ac-

cent of Indo-European inheritance, remained unaffected by Verner's law; subsequently, this PGmc. **-s* appeared as *s* in Gothic, *r* via *z* in North Germanic, and zero in West Germanic. In other words, Proto-Indo-European **s* in final position directly led to the historically attested divergent reflexes without undergoing the common intermediate stage **z* in Proto-Germanic due to Verner's law. Mańczak's recharacterization of Verner's law is based on five arguments. Of the five arguments he has adduced, however, only the first, the third, and the last one seem substantively relevant; the remaining two are simply irrelevant in that they concern singular phenomena in Modern English that are causally unrelated to Verner's law. Accordingly, I disregard these two, concentrating instead on the remaining three arguments.

First, according to Mańczak, the sonorization of final *s* before an enclitic, e.g. *wileiz-u*, does not provide a compelling reason for postulating the voiced counterpart as original, **wiliz*, since forms like *abu* (cf. *af* 'off'), *ubuh-* (cf. *uf* 'under'), which are likewise involved in the process (cf. Braune and Ebbinghaus 1981, §56 Anm.3), cannot be treated in a parallel fashion, because they may have originated from PIE. **ápo*, **úpo* according to one account (cf. Roberge 1983, p.136 ff.). Second, since the original home of the Goths should be located in what is now South Germany, it is implausible that Gothic would have had final *s* voiced as *z* in parallel to North Germanic and in opposition to its immediate neighbor, West (or in Mańczak's terms, Central) Germanic and in particular Old High German. Third, the alternative hypothesis should be conceptually simpler and more economical than the traditional one in that the number of changes assumed is fewer (two vs. five). More specifically, Mańczak's theory needs only two changes: (i) *s* > $\emptyset$ in West Germanic, (ii) *s* > *z* in North Germanic. By contrast, Mańczak contends, the traditional counterpart requires five: (i) *s* > *z* in Proto-Germanic, (ii) analogical extension of *z*, (iii) *z* > *s* in Gothic, (iv) *z* > $\emptyset$ in West Germanic, (v) *z* > *r* in North Germanic.

None of these arguments, however, are cogent. Of the three relevant arguments, the second and the third are negative in

nature in that they take issues with the traditional conception of Verner's law. First, the sonorization of final fricatives before enclitics, which apparently applied beyond those words which had been involved in Verner's law, does not necessarily speak against the traditional version of the law as Mańczak claims. On the contrary, with the assumption that the law operated in final position as well, the way the sonorization actually applied may be made more understandable.

Before the introduction of final devoicing, in word final position, too, the morphologically (or lexically) conditioned voice alternation involving an array of endings, e.g. 2 sg. pres. ind. *-is*, was in operation: *-is* vs. *-iz*. These alternate forms remained constant when followed by enclitics: e.g. *-is/-is-uh* vs. *-iz/-iz-uh*. Upon application of final devoicing, however, the morphologically conditioned alternation lacking phonological basis (e.g. *-is/-iz*) was subject to phonological alternation in such a way that the presence of enclitics acquired a determining role: *-is/-is-uh* vs. *-is/-iz-uh*. That is, the voiced alternant was now allowed to appear only before enclitics. The alternation between the voiced and voiceless variants naturally followed the pattern induced by final devoicing elsewhere. Since, as observed in sections 2 and 4 above, the voiced variant came to be established at the cost of the voiceless counterpart in the case of inflectional endings, the voiced alternant ousted the voiceless counterpart before enclitics, a context in which final devoicing was inapplicable: *-is/-iz-uh*.

Although the process was originally one of final devoicing, whereby the original voiced fricative became devoiced word finally, the process in question received reanalysis so that it was extended to those final fricatives that were originally voiceless, as paralleled in loan words such as *Moses/Mosezis* (S. Suzuki 1992). In other words, the presence of enclitics was reanalyzed positively as voice-inducing context, rather than voice-retaining context it originally had been. Thus, the final segment of *af*, for example, received voicing when followed by an enclitic. In this way, on the basis of the operation of Verner's law in final position and its interaction with final devoicing, we may account for the secondarily emerged voice

alternation. Mańczak's first argument therefore actually speaks in favor of the traditional position.

In full fairness, Mańczak's second argument would necessitate assessment of his thesis on the homeland of the Goths and the methodological basis underlying his theory, which would go far beyond the scope of this paper.²⁴ For our immediate purposes here, however, we may assume just for the sake of argument the correctness of Mańczak's new theory, according to which the Gothic speaking people originally inhabited South Germany. This view, despite Mańczak's claim to the contrary, provides nothing contradictory to the traditional version of Verner's law. The picture then emerging would be as follows. Subsequent to the voicing of final *s* due to Verner's law in Germanic as a whole, it received devoicing only in Gothic, a process unknown to North Germanic as well as to Central (West) Germanic. Nothing contradictory would arise if one assumed that the Goths originated from South Germany and that Verner's law produced final *z* in Proto-Germanic which in turn reverted to *s* exclusively in Gothic, while $z > r$ in North Germanic and $z > r > \emptyset$ in West Germanic. In this way, Mańczak's second argument proves to be inconclusive.

Finally, the alleged conceptual economy of Mańczak's thesis should be addressed. On closer consideration, we may find that the conceptual economy is not so striking as he claims it to be. First, Mańczak's theory involves three changes, rather than two, by virtue of PGmc. $*-s > -z > -r$ in North Germanic. Second, the second of the changes allegedly required in the traditional conception, namely, analogical extension of *-z* in contexts immediately preceded by accent in original form, has to do with the historically attested distribution of fricative endings in individual dialects, and, as shown below, in order to deal with this issue, Mańczak's theory needs additional process(es). Thus, on this point, too, Mańczak's account is not superior in terms of simplicity. Third, given that final devoicing in Gothic is independently motivated (final devoicing, see section 3 above), to account for $*-z > -s$ does

²⁴ Cf. Penzl 1985, p. 156 ff., Salmons 1985.

not require a separate change; the process may be analyzed as part of the devoicing of fricatives in final position. Taken altogether, then, the traditional version and Mańczak's counterpart of Verner's law require the same number of independently necessitated changes: (i) $-s > -z$, (ii) $-z > -r$, (iii) $-z > \emptyset$ for the traditional view, and (i) $-s > -z$, (ii) $-z > -r$, (iii) $-s > \emptyset$ for Mańczak's. Thus, the criterion of simplicity cannot distinguish between the two competing accounts.

The foregoing discussion has shown that none of Mańczak's arguments are compelling enough to favor his view against the traditional one. In what follows, I adduce evidence against Mańczak's analysis. First, on Mańczak's view, PGmc. $*-s$ was lost in West Germanic, while it became r via z in North Germanic. It follows then that endings in $*-s$ would have resulted in $-\emptyset$ in West Germanic and $-r$ in North Germanic. In actuality, however, apart from the distributional pattern fully in accordance with the prediction (e.g. nom. sg. a -stem ending: OE., OS., OHG., $-\emptyset$, OIce. $-r$), there are also ending forms whose distribution in the daughter languages is at variance with the predicted pattern. Specifically, the existence of alternate forms illustrated below cannot be plausibly explained without assuming the application of Verner's law, which gave rise to the variation involving $-s/-z$ (cf. Bammesberger 1986; Krahe and Meid 1969):

- (14) nom. pl. a -stem: PGmc. $*-os > \text{OE. } -as, \text{ OS. } -os; \text{ PGmc. } *-oz > \text{OHG. } -a, \text{ OIce. } -r$.
- 2 sg. pres. ind.: PGmc. $*-es > \text{OE. } -es, \text{ OS. } -is, \text{ OHG. } -is; \text{ PGmc. } *-ez > \text{OIce. } -r$.
- 2 sg. pres. opt.: PGmc. $*-ais > \text{OS. } -es, \text{ OHG. } -es; \text{ PGmc. } *-aiz > \text{OE. } -e, \text{ OIce. } -er$.

Second, apart from $-s > -z$, there are independent grounds to assume that Verner's law operated in final position, namely $-þ > -ð$. Analogous to the $-s/-z$ variation, endings in PGmc. $*-þ$ are involved in $-þ/-ð$ variation. The 3 sg. pres. ind. ending is: OS. $-id$, OHG. $-it$; OE. $-eð$, OS. $-ið$. The Old Saxon and Old High German forms point to PGmc. $-ið$, a voiced variant due to Verner's law. Furthermore, the 2 pl. opt. ending in Old

High German *-et* may be a continuation of PGmc. *-aid*, rather than *-aiþ*. At this point, it will be recalled that in connection with simplicity Mańczak referred to analogical leveling of the *-z* ending at the expense of the *-s* alternant which the traditional conception of Verner's law must invoke in accounting for the resultant generalization in individual daughter languages. Mańczak's theory, however, runs into a more serious difficulty; namely, it is incapable of accounting for the existence per se of variant endings involved in PGmc. **-s* (and **-þ*) in a principled way without postulating some ad hoc phonological process (frequency-based irregular sound change?). Thus, in the presence of alternate ending forms illustrated above, it would be Mańczak's theory that suffers from greater conceptual complication.

5.2. *Relative Chronology of Final Devoicing*

In the proposed view, final devoicing was introduced relatively early in pre-Gothic, clearly predating loss of the effects of Verner's law (and the development of Thurneysen's law; see S. Suzuki 1992), for both of which final devoicing served as a necessary condition; hence the relative chronology: final devoicing – loss of Verner's law. The elimination of the effects of Verner's law, in turn, took place prior to breaking (*i* > *aí*, *u* > *aú* before *r*, *h*, *hw*), as testified by paradigms as follows: **gateihan/gatáih/gataíhun/gataíhans* 'announce'; *tiuhan/*táuh/taúhun/taúhans* 'lead'. Thus, we may assume the chronological ordering: final devoicing – loss of Verner's law – breaking.

The assumed chronology, however, runs counter to what Roberge (1983; also 1984) claims in his reexamination of the dating of final devoicing. Roberge contends that final devoicing was still an on-going change in the Wulfilian period, in opposition to the traditional view, whereby the process had been completed in pre-Gothic. Roberge's claim is essentially based on the following evidence: (i) the graphemic variation in final position ⟨f⟩/⟨b⟩, ⟨þ⟩/⟨d⟩, ⟨s⟩/⟨z⟩; (ii) the relative chronology, breaking – rhotacism – final devoicing.

According to Roberge, the graphemic variation in question cannot be properly ascribed to morphophonemic writing, as is generally believed to be the case. Without entering into details here, what Roberge has successfully shown on the basis of graphemic variation is that the use of voiced graphemes ⟨-b⟩, ⟨-d⟩, ⟨-z⟩ cannot be plausibly viewed as innovation introduced by scribes in the post-Wulfilian period, and, accordingly, that those signs must have been already at hand in the text(s) (*Vorlage*) which the scribes copied. His further reasoning, however, seems inconclusive: namely, there is no independently motivated phonological process which may be held responsible for the use of voiced signs for the voiceless fricatives that arose by virtue of final devoicing; therefore these signs should be interpreted as indicative of the original state of affairs, in which they represent voiced fricatives that were not yet affected by final devoicing.

Specifically, Roberge's refutation against the dominant view, namely that morphophonemic writing is responsible for the graphemic variation at issue, fails to be convincing.²⁵ He adduces the following word forms which he claimed to be hard to ascribe to morphophonemic writing: *gabod* 'fitting', *minz* 'less', *twalib* 'twelve'. The point is that for none of these words the voiced fricative in medial position is likely to motivate the use of morphophonemic writing. Further, Roberge points out that the representation of inflectional endings by means of voiced characters (e.g. *habaid/habaiþ* 'he has') defies explanation based on morphophonemic writing, since inflectional endings should have no paradigm at their disposal that may serve as a source for representation of voiced alternants. The formation of paradigm, however, does not constitute the only basis necessary for introducing morphophonemic spelling by means of paradigmatic leveling. Rather, the existence of alternate forms of the same morpheme, irrespective of whether it forms an inflectional paradigm or not, may in principle lead to the use of a common grapheme for the alternate forms. Viewed in this way, the 'counterexamples' which

²⁵ Roberge himself anticipates such an objection (Roberge 1983, p. 122f.).

Roberge presented above cease to be fully conclusive. The motivation for morphophonemic spelling is the same; the spelling for voiced allomorphs, which remained unaffected by final devoicing²⁶ and thus continued to be distinctive, was carried over to voiceless variants that resulted from neutralization, thereby expressing the morphological identity at the cost of phonological precision.

Even if one followed Roberge in ascribing the graphemic vacillation to the noncategorical status of final devoicing,²⁷ this conclusion would not necessarily refute the thesis developed in this paper. All that the graphemic evidence suggests is that final devoicing was an on-going change yet to be completed at the time when Wulfila translated the Bible, thereby entailing that the process had already been available in pre-Gothic. What my theory presupposes is that final devoicing was introduced in the pre-Gothic period. As to the time of its completion, the theory is open. In this way, as far as the graphemic argument is concerned, Roberge's dating of final devoicing and the theory proposed in this paper are not mutually incompatible.

Of more serious concern here is the specific chronology Roberge postulates: breaking – rhotacism – final devoicing. The proposed ordering is based on the derivation of *ur-* as in *ur-runs* 'rising; exit'. As shown by *uz-uh*, OIce. *ur-/or-/ør-*, OE. *or-*, OFris. *ur-/or-*, OS. *ur-/or-*, OHG. *ur-* (cf. Bammesberger 1979, p.30), the original form would be *uz-*, rather than *us-*. Thus, *us-* as in *usdaudei* 'endurance' should be a consequence of final devoicing. Accounting for *ur-* before stems beginning with *r-* requires us to posit rhotacism. Considerations of phonetic naturalness, however, lead us to assume *uz-*, rather than *us-*, as an input to the rhotacizing process. Therefore, at

²⁶ Following Streitberg 1905–06, p.393 f., Roberge apparently dismisses the role of enclisis in motivating the representation of voiced fricatives for inflectional endings on the basis of the relative infrequency of relevant configurations in the corpus. In view of the syntactically well-motivated rule of cliticization involving *-uh* and *-u*, however, it would seem inappropriate to underestimate the role of enclisis.

²⁷ A similar interpretation has been suggested earlier by Voyles 1981, p.71.

the time rhotacism came into operation, *uz-* had not been involved in final devoicing. Hence, final devoicing postdated rhotacism. After the operation of rhotacism, *uz-* > *ur-*, however, the preceding vowel remained unbroken (*ur-*, rather than **aúr-*), although *r* elsewhere induced breaking (e.g. *faúr-* 'for'). It follows then that breaking preceded rhotacism, as generally held (cf. Krause 1968, §62 Anm.1). By transitivity, therefore, the following relative chronology obtains: breaking – rhotacism – final devoicing.

This chronology involving breaking and final devoicing is just the converse of what my thesis implies, and thus deserves close examination. Problematic about Roberge's reasoning is the characterization of the process, *uz* > *ur* before *r-*. Although I readily agree that rhotacism in the normal sense most naturally involves *z* rather than *s* as an initial stage, I am not convinced that the case at issue is one of rhotacism in the usual sense of the term. Unlike apparently comparable processes that took place in North and West Germanic (PGmc. **kuzun*: OIce. *kuro* 'they chose', OE. *curon*, OS. *kurun*, OHG. *kurun*), the one in Gothic is bound with a particular segment; only immediately before *r-* was it realized. I propose then that the process in question be viewed as one of syllable contact based total regressive assimilation. Put another way, the change producing *ur-* operated on the sequence *us-r*, rather than *uz-r*. The phonological motivation behind this process would have been as follows. The sequence *usrV-* constituted less than an optimal syllable contact situation, in which the coda of the preceding syllable *s* counts as stronger than the onset of the following syllable *r*. It should also be noted that the syllable division *u\$srV* is no less problematic in that *sr-* is not a well-formed initial cluster in the language. Among the contacts involving *usCV* (or more generally *VsCV*), the one of *us\$ rV* (or *Vs\$ rV*) is least preferable on account of the weakest consonantal strength of *r*.²⁸ By virtue of the general tendency

²⁸ As Vennemann 1985, p.206ff. has shown, *j* and *w* are of stronger consonantal strength than sonorants; they are obstruents. This may account for the retention of the sequence *us-wV-* as in **uswaurhts* 'just'; the sequence

toward a more preferred syllable contact, generalized as the Contact Law in Vennemann (1988, p.40),²⁹ the string *us\$ rV* was subject to change for improvement in such a way that *s* was to be totally assimilated to *r*. The resulting syllable contact counted as more preferred in that it was no longer the case that the offset was of greater consonantal strength than the onset.

The characterization of the change *us* > *ur* as a contact-induced assimilation has the following advantages over that of rhotacism. First, in the extant corpus, the sequence *VsrV* is attested only in a set of word forms of *Israel*, apart from a single instance *usrunnoda* 'enlarge' in 2 Corinthians 6, 11, Ambrosianus B, beside the expected form *urrunnoda* in the same place, Ambrosianus A. This suggests that the syllable contact involved counted as something phonologically undesirable to be avoided. Second, rhotacism is a process of weakening or decreasing of consonantal strength (cf. Hock 1991, p.81). Most favorable for a weakening process seems to be an intervocalic position, in which by assimilation to the preceding and following vowels the consonant becomes more vowel-like, that is, the original consonantal strength is decreased. Curiously enough, the change of *uz* to *ur* did not occur in intervocalic position (e.g. *usagidai* 'be afraid') despite the phonetically natural tendency to the contrary. Thus, insofar as one is committed to the characterization of *us* > *ur* as rhotacism, the aberrant property in question remains unaccounted for.

If the proposed characterization is tenable, then it is no longer necessary to assume the initial stage *uz* prior to the change into *ur*. Therefore, the argument for postulating final devoicing later than breaking loses merit.

constitutes a more preferable contact situation. For further support for characterizing Gothic *w* as nonsonorant, see S. Suzuki 1992.

²⁹ "Contact Law: a syllable contact A^sB is the more preferred, the less the Consonantal Strength of the offset A and the greater the Consonantal Strength of the onset B; more precisely – the greater the characteristic difference CS(B) – CS(A) between the Consonantal Strength of B and that of A" (Vennemann 1988, p.40).

6. Conclusion

This paper has presented the following claims concerning Verner's law and its relation to final devoicing in Gothic:

- (i) Verner's law took place in Gothic as well as in other dialects before the occurrence of accent shift;
- (ii) Final devoicing constituted a necessary condition for the elimination of the effects of Verner's law;
- (iii) The elimination of the effects of Verner's law was phonologically motivated. It improved reduced phonological identifiability of the voiced and voiceless fricatives, an undesirable situation that arose owing to the interaction of Verner's law and final devoicing;
- (iv) The restoration of original voiceless fricatives depended on transparency of the words involved in morphological and semantic terms;
- (v) Two of the traditionally held assumptions underlying the thesis proposed here are shown to be correct despite recent challenges: (a) Verner's law operated both medially and finally; (b) final devoicing was introduced in pre-Gothic.

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Gothic *haldana*

The Gothic verb form *haldana* in M 8, 30: *wasuh þan fairra im hairda sweine managaize haldana* is not a 'n pl prpl' as stated in W.P. Lehmann's Gothic etymological dictionary (Leiden 1986, p. 173, H 27) but a past participle in the nominative, singular, feminine of the strong adjective declension. *haldana* refers to *hairda*, a feminine noun and the subject of the verb *wasuh*.

A present participle in the nominative plural would have been *haldandans* (masculine), *haldandeins* (feminine), *haldandona* (neuter). The Gothic passage means literally '(there) was then away from them a herd of many swines kept' with 'kept' referring to 'herd' and not to 'swine'. In the latter case it would have been *haldanaize*, actually recorded in L 8, 32: *wasuþ-þan jainar hairda sweine managaize haldanaize*.

Accurate parsing of inflected forms in the texts is an essential but fairly neglected task in the linguistic study of the Gothic language whose importance in historical Germanic linguistics cannot be overestimated.

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Gothic *paruh, panuh* and *-(u)h pan*

0. In a prior study, Klein and Condon (1993) discussed in detail the syntax of the Gothic enclitic conjunctive particle *-(u)h* in the Gospels. The authors showed that *-(u)h* is limited to sentential employment,¹ where it tends to occur in anaphoric/ sequential structures containing either some repeated term, a set of coreferential terms, or a series of nonidentical, noncoreferential rhetorical correlatives. In each case, *-(u)h* is attached to one of the terms of the sequence. Cf. the following examples, where the relevant part of the Greek text is also presented:²

- (1) John 9.16 *qepun pan sumai þize* Fareisaie (= ἔλεγον οὖν ... τινές) + QUOTE. *sumaih qepun* (= ἄλλοι ἔλεγον) + QUOTE. 'Then *some* of the Pharisees *said* + QUOTE. (*And*) *some* [Gk.: *Others*] *said* + QUOTE.'
- (2) Luke 1.31–32 *gabairis sunu* (= υἱόν) *jah haitais namo* is Iesu. (32) *sah* (= οὗτος) *wairþiþ mikils* 'Thou wilt bear *a son*, and thou shalt call his name Jesus. (32) (*And*) *that one* will be great.'
- (3) Matthew 5.19 *iþ saei taujiþ* (= ὃς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ) *jah laisjai swa, sah* (= οὗτος) *mikils haitada in þiudangardjai himine* 'And *whoever does* and teaches so, *that one* will be called great in the kingdom of the heavens.'

¹ Exceptions are structures of the type $V_1 V_2\text{-}uh$, e. g. Mark 2.11 *urreis nimuh þata badi þein* 'Arise *and* take thy bed' and *ni(h) ... nih*, etc., where the negative marker is in each of its occurrences attached to a constituent, which may be a subclausal term, e. g. Matthew 6.20 *þarei nih malo nih nidwa frawardeiþ, jah þarei þiubos ni ufgraband nih stiland* 'where *neither* a moth *nor* corrosion destroys, and where thieves *neither* dig up *nor* steal'. The first of these represents a special category of word-level conjunction that can also be viewed as sentential. The second may contain an *-h* of different etymological formation from the other occurrences of *-(u)h* in Gothic (cf. footnote 6 below).

² All citations from Gothic and New Testament Greek in this study are taken from Streitberg 1919.

- (4) John 7.40–41 *managai* (= πολλοί) þan þizos manageins hausjandans þize waurde qeþun: sa ist bi sunjai sa prau-fetes. (41) *sumaih* (= ἄλλοι) qeþun: sa ist Xristus. ‘Then *many* of the crowd, hearing the words, said, “This one is truly the prophet.” (41) (*And*) *some* [Gk.: *Others*] said, “This one is the anointed.”’³

Characteristic of these and other passages is the frequency with which *-(u)h* occurs in the absence of any conjunction in the corresponding Greek text. This alone would strongly contrast *-(u)h* with *jah*, the basic ‘and’-word of Gothic, which in 487 out of 494 occurrences in the Gospels translates καί, the basic ‘and’-word of New Testament Greek. When combined with the absence of any nominal conjuncts involving *-(u)h* paralleling such syntagms as John 6.42 *attan jah aiþein* ‘father and mother’, this suggests that *-(u)h* is not a full-valued additive conjunction but rather a word possessing an often untranslatable discourse value: a sequential or resumptive role associated particularly with anaphora in both its traditional senses: iteration and coreference.⁴ For this reason, Klein and Condon (op.cit.) compared *-(u)h* to both Rigvedic *u* and Homeric Greek αὖ, cognate forms showing a near identical range of employment among themselves (Klein 1989) and in relation to *-(u)h*. They derived *-(u)h* from **u k^we*, an etymological source identified already by Brugmann in 1913–14, and a collocation occurring in the Rigveda (*u ca*: 1×), Homeric Greek αὖτε, and possibly Hispano-Celtic *auCu* (Hamp 1990). Of these, αὖτε is particularly important, because its value is essentially the same as that of simplex αὖ (Klein 1989), providing another example, in addition to Gothic, of the employment of PIE. **(a)u k^we*⁵ in the value of **(a)u*, not of **k^we*. The

³ The continuation of this passage, *sumaih* (= ἄλλοι) qeþun: *ibai þau us Galeilaia Xristus qimiþ ? ‘And some* [Gk.: *Others*] said, “The anointed will not come from Galilee, will he?”’, shows that *-(u)h* may occur more than once within sequential structures.

⁴ On these, cf. Klein 1987.

⁵ In laryngeal notation, the alternation **au/u* can be easily accounted for by assuming ablaut variants **H₂eu/H₂u*. Whether this morpheme ever did contain a laryngeal, however, is unclear. Cf. Klein 1989, p. 284, fn. 33.

latter, as is well-known, is the basic PIE. 'and'-word, occurring at all levels of syntactic structure, from the word to the sentence, and shows no particular affinity for iterative or coreferential sequences.⁶ It is therefore the avatar of **(a)u* in Gothic that is responsible for the distinctive employment of *-(u)h* seen in (1)–(4) above.

1. The results just described were based on an analysis of 176 instances in the Gospels in which *-(u)h* occurs by itself, i.e. not as part of a conglomeration of particles. However, of 435 occurrences of *-(u)h* in the Gospels, 259 or 60% appear in the conglomerate forms *paruh, panuh*, and *-(u)h pan* (cf. Table 1). In this paper I shall investigate the syntax of these forms as an addendum to the earlier study of Klein and Condon. In so doing, I wish to close the circle on the analysis of *-(u)h* in the Gospels.

Table 1: *paruh, panuh*, and *-(u)h pan* in the Gospels (259×)

- I. *paruh*: 68× (all sentence-initial)
= οὐν (31×: all in John), δέ (23×: 16 in Luke), ∅ (6×), καί (4×), καὶ ἰδοὺ (2×), ἰδοὺ (1×), ἐκεῖ (1×)
- II. *panuh*: 68× (all sentence-initial)
= οὐν (33×: 32 in John), τότε (20×: 16 in Matthew), δέ (10×), ∅ (3×), καί (1×), καὶ ἰδοὺ (1×)
- III. *X-(u)h pan*:⁷ 123× (122 sentence or clause-initial)
= δέ (97×), ∅ (7×), οὐν (6×), γάρ (5×), μὲν οὐν (2×), μέντοι (2×), δὲ καί (2×), καί (1×), δὲ τότε (1×)

⁶ An exception is the sequence-type NEG(-**k^we*) ... NEG-**k^we* seen particularly in Greek οὐ(τε) ... οὐτε, μή(τε) ... μήτε and Latin *nec/neque* ... *neque*. The parallelism of the Gothic type *ni(h)* ... *nih* to these structures as well as the fact that no Indo-European language shows a clear instance of **au/u* following a negative led Klein and Condon (op.cit.) to derive *nih* not from **ne u k^we* but from simple **ne k^we*. The avoidance of **k^we* in coreferential sequences is reflected in the near absence of a collocation *sá/tá- ca* in the Rigveda (only 4× and never in coreferential sequences). Such sequences involving this pronoun typically show the particle *u*, and in both the Rigveda and Homer **so/to- (a)u* is the single most frequent collocation in which **au/u* occurs. The same is true of the Gothic Gospels, once we eliminate the 52 occurrences of *nih*.

⁷ Including the variable assimilated sandhi-variant *-uþ-pan* (cf. John 13.28)

2. The particle *paruh* (68×⁸) is diachronically analyzable as *par* 'there' + *-(u)h*. However, *par* has only a shadow of an existence as an independent word in Gothic, appearing only twice (in parallel Marcan and Lucan passages dealing with the *missio discipulorum*), both in anaphoric-correlative value: Luke 9.4 *in panei gard gaggaiþ* (Mark 6.10 *þishvaduþ þei gaggaiþ in gard*), *þar saljiþ* (Mark 6.10 *saljaiþ*) 'Into whichever house ye go (Wherever ye go into a house), *there* (ye should) remain'. The basic 'there'-word in Gothic is *jainar*. *paruh*, on the other hand, is a discourse articulator whose basic function is to indicate narrative continuity associated with change of grammatical subject (so in every one of its occurrences), but particularly to signal conversational turntaking. Thus, exactly one-half of its occurrences are associated with a change of speaker, and 41 of its 68 occurrences appear with *qīþan* 'speak, say'. The following examples illustrate these features:

Luke 8.30 *frah þan ina Iesus qīþands: wa ist namo þein? þaruh qap* (= ὁ δὲ εἶπεν): *harjis* 'Then Jesus asked him, saying, "What is thy name?" *And* he said, "Legion."'

John 9.1–2 *Jah þairhgaggands gaumida mann blindamma us gabaurþai. (2) þaruh* (= καί) *frehun ina siponjos is qīþandans + QUOTE* 'And passing through, he saw a man blind from birth. (2) *And* his disciples asked him, saying + QUOTE.'

patuh þan vs. 12.6 *þatuþ-þan* and John 6.10 *wasuh þan* vs. Luke 18.3 *wasuþ-þan*). The use of a hyphen in the case of the assimilated variant in Streitberg's text is strictly editorial and without authority in the original manuscript.

⁸ Not including three occurrences of *paruh* within the correlative sequence *þarei ... þaruh*, e.g. John 12.26 *þarei im ik, þaruh* (= ἐκεῖ) *sa andbahts meins wisan habaiþ* 'Where(ver) I am, *there* my servant will be' (cf. also John 14.3, Matthew 6.21). In each of these instances *paruh* is not a relexicalized discourse articulator, but is synchronically equivalent to *par* + *uh* and has the sense 'there' with *-(u)h* signaling an anaphoric relation with the previous *þarei*. Each of these instances renders Greek ἐκεῖ 'there', a translational relationship seen only once among the occurrences of the discourse articulator *paruh* (cf. footnote 11).

Although it is associated with a change of speaker and always a change of grammatical subject, *paruh* is properly characterized as a discourse-continuative foregrounding marker. The conversational turns or narrative continuity which it signals occur nearly without exception along the time-line of the main story, as in the above examples, advancing the narrative. Thus, *paruh* does not signal commentary on the part of the narrator or stage-setting. It is associated for the most part with processive rather than stative verbs,⁹ occurring, for example, only once with *wisan* 'be'. Moreover, to appeal to the independent authority of the historical tradition of New Testament discourse analysis, as captured in Aland, Black, et al. (1968), *paruh* is associated with no chapter breaks and introduces only two pericopes and one paragraph. *paruh* is employed as a temporal correlative in at most two passages, both of which render Greek Hebraisms which most likely caused trouble for the Gothic translator.¹⁰ In any event, these passages are significantly different from the three cases of the sequence *parei* ... *paruh*, which Klein and Condon (op.cit.) have classified with

⁹ The association of processive verbs with foregrounding and of stative verbs with backgrounding has been noted by Hopper 1979, p.61.

¹⁰ Both involve Greek (καὶ) ἰδοὺ '(and) behold', a construction ultimately based on Hebrew *wəḥinnē* 'id.': Matthew 9.18 *miþþanei is rodida þata ... paruh* (= ἰδοὺ) *reiks ains ... inwait ina* 'While he was saying that ... then [Gk.: behold] a certain ruler ... worshipped him ...' and Luke 7.12 *bipeh þan neŌha was daura ... paruh sai* (= καὶ ἰδοὺ), *utbaurans was naus* 'When he was near the gate ..., then behold [Gk.: and behold], a corpse was brought out'; and the same is true of the one instance in which *paruh* occurs in an existential backgrounding clause whose main verb is *wisan*: Luke 2.25 *paruh* (= καὶ ἰδοὺ) *was manna in Iairusalem, þizei namo Swmaion* 'Now then [Gk.: And behold], there was a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon'. Here the Gothic translator, at a loss, may have simply resorted to a translational algorithm, starting from some passage, such as Matthew 9.3, where *paruh* signalled conversational turn-taking and was therefore a fitting and proper rendition of καὶ ἰδοὺ: *paruh* (= καὶ ἰδοὺ) *sumai þize bokarje qeþun* 'Then [Gk.: And behold] some of the scribes said'. In Matthew 9.2, where there is no conversational turn-taking, the same Greek opening is rendered by *panuh*: *panuh* (= καὶ ἰδοὺ) *atberun du imma usliþan* 'Then [Gk.: And behold] they brought forth to him a paralytic'.

simplex *-(u)h* (cf. footnote 8). A final category of evidence bearing on the value of *paruh* is translational. 54 of its 68 occurrences render Greek οὖν (31×) and δέ (23×); and only six render no Greek word. This picture is significantly different from that of *-(u)h*, which in 81 of its 176 occurrences renders ∅, while rendering οὖν only once. All 31 instances in which *paruh* renders οὖν occur in John, where οὖν plays a special role in discourse articulation (cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf 1979, p.381, fn.1 and Arndt and Gingrich 1957, p.593).

Based on the considerations just noted we conclude that, synchronically at least, *paruh* is a unitary linguistic sign in Gothic. Although its origins as a collocation of *par* 'there' + *-(u)h* may be taken for granted, there is very little unambiguous evidence in the Gospels of the translational values 'and there, precisely there', etc.,¹¹ much less of anaphoric/resumptive seriation, which would provide a synchronic trace of its diachronic analysis. However, in accordance with normal linguistic change, one may assume the widely attested temporalization of 'there' as 'then' (cf. Greek ἐνθα 'there', but especially in Homer also 'then') to have occurred in this form, the latter subsequently syntacticized to signal narrative sequence, a process in which the seriation function of *-(u)h* no doubt played a role.

3. *panuh* (68×¹²) is diachronically analyzable as *pan* + *-(u)h*. Unlike *par*, *pan* is a frequent word in Gothic, having a wide

¹¹ The only clear instance of the value 'and there' is Mark 16.7 ... *gaggiþ qipiduh du siponjam is ... þatei faurbigaggiþ izwis in Galeilaian; paruh* (= ἐκεῖ) *ina gasaihiþ* 'Go and say to his disciples ... that he is preceding you into Galilee; (and) there ye will see him.' This is also the only passage outside of the correlative structures *þarei ... paruh* where *paruh* renders Greek ἐκεῖ 'there' in the Gospels. In many other instances the sense 'and there' is conceivable in Gothic (cf. the numerous instances of the collocation *paruh qahþ*, where one might question whether the focus is not upon the place where the action occurs ['and there he said']); however, the Greek particles rendered by *paruh* (primarily οὖν and δέ) provide no basis for assuming such a local focus. Thus, on synchronic grounds, we cannot agree with Friedrichsen's statement (1961, p.103) that '*panuh* and *paruh* ... cannot be divorced from their basic meanings "then" and "there"'.
¹² Not including four occurrences of *panuh* in the correlative sequences *biþe*

range of employment as a demonstrative temporal adverbial 'then' = 'at that time', a subordinating conjunction 'when', and a discourse-continuative element 'thereupon, (now, so) then'. The last of these is identical to the role of *panuh*, which resembles *paruh* in numerous ways. *panuh* signals a change of speaker in 29 occurrences and is associated with a change in grammatical subject in 64 instances (cf. the comparable figures of 34 and 68, respectively for *paruh*). Moreover, *panuh*, like *paruh*, is associated almost exclusively with events along the time-line of the main story, appearing more with *qipan* than with any other verb (29× vs. 41× for *paruh*) and rarely signaling narrative commentary or setting (e. g. only two occurrences with *wisan*).¹³ Some characteristic examples of *panuh* are seen

... *panuh* (2×), *pan* ... *panuh* (1×), and *swe* ... *panuh pan* (1×), cf. John 12.16 *biþe gasweraipþ was Iesus, panuh* (= τότε) *gamundedun þatei þata was du þamma gameliþ* 'After Jesus had been glorified, then they recalled that that was written (with reference) to him' (also 7.10), John 8.28 *pan ushauheiþ þana sunu mans, panuh* (= τότε) *ufkunnaiþ þatei ik im* 'When ye shall lift up the son of man, then ye shall recognize that I am (he)', and John 11.6 *swe hausida þatei siuks was, panuh* (= τότε) *pan* (= μέν) *salida in þammei was stada* 'When he heard that he was sick, then he remained in the place he was ...', as well as the isolated John 16.25 *qimiþ Öheila, panuh* = ἔρχεται ὥρα ὅτε 'there will come a time, when [Goth.: and then]'. *panuh* is in these instances not a discourse articulator but rather an anaphoric demonstrative synchronically analyzable as *pan* + *uh* in the sense 'then' with *-(u)h* emphasizing the anaphoric relation with the previous *biþe*, *pan*, *swe*, and *Öheila*, respectively. All of these passages are from John, and with the exception of 16.25 *panuh* everywhere renders Greek τότε 'then' in this group, a translational relationship seen in only two other Johannan passages (cf. Table 1).

- ¹³ Of the two occurrences of *panuh* with *wisan*, one is clearly not a background clause: Luke 14.10 *ak þan haitazau ... anakumbei ana þamma aftumistin stada, ei biþe qimai saei haihait þuk, qipai du þus: frijond, usgagg hauhis. panuh* (= τότε) *ist þus hauhiþa faura þaim miþanakumbjandam þus* 'But when thou art invited ... sit down in the last place, so that when the one who has invited thee comes, he may say to thee, "Friend, move up closer;" and then there will be glory for thee in the presence of those sitting with thee'. This passage is also the clearest instance, outside of John 16.25 (footnote 12), in which *panuh* is functionally analyzable as *pan* + *uh* 'and then'. The remaining occurrence of *panuh* with *wisan* is one of only two passages in which *panuh* signals background or setting: John

in the following passages, which exhibit a range of particles or adverbs in Greek:

Luke 9.12–13 ... atgaggandans þan du imma þai twalif qeþun du imma + QUOTE. (13) *panuh* qaþ (= εἶπεν δέ) du im + QUOTE '... Then going up to him the twelve said to him + QUOTE. (13) (*And*) *then* he said to them + QUOTE'

Matthew 9.28–29 ... Qeþun du imma: jai, frauja! (29) *panuh* (= τότε) attaitok augam ize qiþands + QUOTE '... They said to him, "Yea, Lord!" (29) *Then* he touched their eyes, saying + QUOTE'

John 6.67–68 þaruh qaþ Iesus du þaim twalibim + QUOTE. (68) *panuh* andhof (= ἀπεκρίθη οὖν) imma Seimon Paitrus + QUOTE 'Then Jesus said to the twelve + QUOTE. (68) *Then* Simon Peter answered him + QUOTE'

The considerations just noted, as illustrated in the above examples, allow us to characterize *panuh*, like *paruh*, as a discourse-continuative foregrounding marker. This conclusion, based on strictly Gothic evidence, is once again fully corroborated by a study of the Greek items rendered by *panuh*. Note especially the 33 renditions of οὖν (compared to 31 for *paruh*), 32 of which occur in John, and 20 renditions of τότε (16 in Matthew). Τότε plays the same kind of special role as a discourse articulator in Matthew that οὖν plays in John (cf. Blass–Debrunner–Rehkopf 1979, p.389 and Arndt and Gingrich 1957, p.823). *paruh*, on the other hand, occurs only twice in Matthew; but 16 of the 23 passages in which *paruh* renders δέ are found in Luke and four in Mark (out of five occurrences of *paruh* in that text), Gospels in which *panuh* occurs only seven and three times, respectively, rendering δέ in six of these. So far, then, *paruh* and *panuh* appear to be iso-functional, but with differing frequencies in Luke and Matthew. There is, however, one major difference between the

18.28 *iþ eis tauhun Iesu ... in praitoriaun. panuh was maurgins* (= ἦν δὲ πρωία) 'And so they led Jesus ... into the pretorium. *Now then*, it was morning' (cf. also Luke 9.12 *panuh dags* [= ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα] *juþan dugann hneiwan* 'Now then, the day had already begun to decline').

two. Whereas *paruh* is associated with traditional discourse breaks in only three of 68 occurrences (introducing two new pericopes and one new paragraph), *panuh* is associated with such breaks in 18 of its 68 occurrences, introducing two new chapters, eleven new pericopes, and five new paragraphs. Cf. the following examples:

John 6.51–52 ... jah þan sa hlaifs þanei ik giba, leuk mein ist þatei ik giba in þizos manasedais libainais. (52) *panuh* sokun (= ἐμάχοντο οὖν) miþ sis misso Iudaieis qiþandans + QUOTE 'And the bread which I shall give is my flesh, which I shall give for the life of the world. (52) *Then* the Jews strove with each other, saying + QUOTE' (6.52 introduces a new paragraph in Aland, Black, et al. 1968, p.347. Cf. also Nestle–Aland 1979, p.267).

Mark 10.12–13 jah jabai qino afletiþ aban seinana jah liugada anþamma, horinoþ. (13) *panuh* (= καί) atberun du imma barna ... 'And if a woman divorces her husband and gets married to another, she acts as a harlot. (13) *And* they brought children to him ...' (10.12 concludes the pericope *De matrimonio et virginitate*, and 10.13 initiates the pericope *Benedictio parvulorum*. Cf. Aland 1987, p.215–16).

The difference between *paruh* and *panuh* in regard to traditionally established textual discontinuities is probably to be ascribed to the greater frequency with which *paruh* is employed to signal turn-taking in conversation. Such turns are unlikely to be associated with major discourse breaks. It should be borne in mind, however, that chapter divisions in the New Testament text date from only the thirteenth century (cf. Aland and Aland 1987, p.27), whereas paragraphing may to this day differ from edition to edition, and pericope divisions are strictly editorial and of course have no traditional manuscript authority whatsoever. Nevertheless, it is probably of some importance that in so many instances where later New Testament scholars saw breaks of various types in the narrative, the Gothic translators,¹⁴ who themselves could not have

¹⁴ In my view the Gothic Bible is not likely to be the work of a single in-

been blind to the discourse structure of the text which they were rendering, employed *panuh* as their marker of discourse nexus.

From the preceding considerations, it follows that *panuh* represents synchronically a single unanalyzable linguistic sign in Gothic. However, while *paruh* has lost almost all trace of its original sense 'and there', *panuh* retains clear affinities with *pan*, with which it is isofunctional in discourse-continuative value. Moreover, this value of *pan* is itself a straightforward development of the demonstrative adverbial sense 'then' = 'at that time'. Exactly the same development is seen in the employment of *τότε* in the New Testament (especially Matthew) relative to its Classical Greek value. For a rare but clearcut case where *panuh* must still be analyzed as *pan* + *uh* 'and then', cf. footnote 13. Again, the discourse-continuative value of *panuh* is completely compatible with the original function of *-(u)h*.

4. Significantly different from both *paruh* and *panuh* is *-(u)h pan* (123×). Whereas the former two particles are discourse-continuative foregrounding markers, carrying forward the discourse along the time-line of the main story, *-(u)h pan* in one-half of its occurrences (61×) signals background, whether it be temporal or spatial setting or circumstance, a parenthetical remark, or a narrator's commentary removed from the time-line of the narrative. Of its remaining employments, 25 are sequential, a role which is to be expected in view of the clear relationship of *-(u)h pan* to *-(u)h* (note, for example, that *-(u)h pan* remains a nonuniverbated sequence in our text¹⁵), while another 36 signal discourse continuation of one sort or another. The

dividual. Even if Wulfila was the prime mover behind the project and translated part of it, I believe it likely that he delegated responsibility for various sections/texts to a number of other scholars. Then, of course, there were numerous subsequent revisions by others as the Goths moved westward into Italy and France.

¹⁵ The status of the hyphenated structures showing assimilation in Streitberg's text (type *patuþ-pan*, etc.) is not entirely clear, but these forms are not likely to represent unitary words.

remaining occurrence is a peculiar mistranslation or at any rate an addition to the Greek text.¹⁶

The fundamental difference between *-(u)h þan* and the particles just discussed is exemplified in the observations that the single most frequent verb appearing together with *-(u)h þan* is *wisan* (36×), and that this verb appears only twice with *panuh* and once with *paruh*. When occurring with *-(u)h þan*, *wisan* invariably provides temporal or spatial background or setting, predicates the existence of or introduces a topic to be subsequently commented upon, or provides numerical or other digressive background information. Cf. the following passages:

Temporal background: John 6.4 *wasuh þan* (= ἦν δέ)¹⁷ *nehwa pasxa* 'Now then, Passover was nigh'

Spatial background: Mark 10.32 *wesunup-þan* ana wiga gagandans du Iairusaulwmai 'Now then, they were on the way going to Jerusalem'

Existential predication: John 11.1 *Wasuh þan* sums siuks, Lazarus af Beþanias, us haimai Marjins jah Marþins, swistrs izos 'Now then, there was a certain sick man, Lazarus of Bethany, from the village of Mary and Martha, her sister'

Digressive background information: John 11.18 *wasuh þan* Beþania nehwa Iairusaulwmiam 'Now then, Bethany was close to Jerusalem'

The Gothic treatment of two New Testament episodes encapsulates better than anything else the backgrounding value

¹⁶ The passage in question is Matthew 9.17, where Streitberg's Greek text reads οὐδὲ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μῆγε, ῥήγνυνται οἱ ἀσκοί, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται ... 'Nor do they pour new wine into old skins; otherwise the skins break and the wine is spilled out'. Gothic renders the first two clauses here without difficulty as *Niþ-þan giutand wein niujata in balgins fairnjans, aiþþau distaurnand balgeis*. Instead of continuing *jah wein usgutniþ*, however, it adds *bipeh þan*, perhaps 'afterwards', before *jah*. This adverbial usage of *bipeh þan* is at odds with the other four occurrences of this collocation in Gothic, all of which function as subordinating conjunctions 'after, when'.

¹⁷ In subsequent examples the absence of any Greek text means that the Greek form rendered by *-(u)h þan* is δέ, a translational relationship seen in 97 of 123 occurrences of *-(u)h þan* in the Gospels. Cf. Table 1.

of *-(u)h pan*. The first is the story of the herd of swine into which Jesus sent the impure spirits which had possessed the Gadarene demoniac(s). The episode, common to all three synoptic Gospels, is fortunately preserved each time in our Gothic texts. In each instance the existence of the herd of swine is first predicated as background information in the text (Greek: ἦν δέ ... ἀγέλη χοίρων), and Gothic responds uniformly with *wasuh/(þ-)pan ... hairda sweine* (Matthew 8.30, Luke 8.32, Mark 5.11). The second episode is the crowd's insistence that Barabbas be released rather than Jesus. The pericope is found in all four Gospels and is preserved in Gothic in all but the Lucan version. Since Barabbas is nowhere mentioned prior to this episode, his existence must first be predicated as background information. In Mark and John this is done in an existential clause (Greek: ἦν δέ ...), whereas in Matthew it is presented slightly differently (εἶχον δὲ τότε δέσμιον ... λεγόμενον Βαραββᾶν 'And they had then a prisoner ... named Barabbas'). In each instance Gothic responds with a clause containing *-(u)h pan*:

Matthew 27.16 *habaidedunuh pan* bandjan gatarhidana (haitanana) Barabban. 'Now then, they had a notorious prisoner named Barabbas.' (Note the close semantic relationship between *haban* and *wisan* + dative to indicate possession)

Mark 15.7 *wasuh pan* sa haitana Barabbas ... gabundans 'Now then, one named Barabbas was ... bound'

John 18.40 *ne þana, ak Barabban; sah pan* was sa Barabba waidedja "Not him, but Barabbas." Now then, that Barabbas was a thief.'

In addition to the passages involving (primarily) *wisan* and showing the kinds of background information noted above, there are a number of other instances in which *-(u)h pan* clearly signals a digressive parenthetical statement or a narrator's commentary:

John 11.1.2 *Wasuh pan* sums siuks, Lazarus af Beþanias, us haimai Marjins ... (2) *wasuh pan Marja*, soei salboda frau-jan balsana ... þizozei broþar Lazarus siuks was 'Now a cer-

tain man was sick, named Lazarus, of Bethany, the town of Mary ... (2) (*It was that Mary* which anointed the Lord with ointment ... whose brother Lazarus was sick.)' (King James translation, including parentheses)

John 12.6 *patuþ-þan qaþ*, ni þeei ina þize þarbane kara wesi, ak unte þiubs was 'He said that not because he cared about the needy, but because he was a thief' (the narrator's commentary on Judas' motive for asking why Mary had not sold her expensive ointment to get money for the poor, rather than using it to anoint Jesus' feet) (cf. John 6.6)

In several other instances the backgrounding is associated with an intellectual or modal verb, and the commentary describes the thought process at work explaining prior statements or underlying subsequent actions:

Luke 20.40 *niþ-þan þanaseiþs* gadaurstedun fraihnana ina ni waihtais 'For¹⁸ they no longer dared to ask him anything.'¹⁹

John 18.2 *wissuh þan* jah Iudas sa galewjands ina þana stad 'Now then, also Judas, the one betraying him, knew the place.'

Of particular interest is the second of these passages, which sits between two verses along the action-line of the story: 18.1 ... *Iesus usiddja miþ siponjam seinaim* ... 'Jesus went out with his disciples' and 18.3 *iþ Iudas nam hansa* ... *iddjuh jaind-wairþs* 'And Judas took a troop ... and went there'. Compared to these, 18.2 functions as background information preceding and explaining subsequent action.

Two further features characterizing some of the passages in which *-(u)h þan* appears in its backgrounding function are the

¹⁸ Although Streitberg's Greek text reads οὐκέτι δέ for *niþ-þan þanaseiþs* here, Nestle-Aland (1979) prefer the reading οὐκέτι γάρ. Although γάρ is found among the forms rendered by *-(u)h þan* in Streitberg's text, such instances are limited to Matthew and John. Cf. Table 1.

¹⁹ Note that both the negative and the intellectual-modal verb 'dare' are non-actional and as such impede the forward progression of the narrative. Consequently, they are associated with background information. Naturally, the same is true of the causal sememe, which provides a background rationale for the action occurring along the main story-line.

employment (at least in Greek) of a pluperfect tense (rendered in Gothic by a simple preterite) in order to indicate already completed action which is therefore off the time-line of the main story and the conveyance of information which is not actually new, because it recapitulates events included in or presupposed by a prior statement. The first of these features is seen in Mark 14.44, the second in John 18.5:

Mark 14.44 *at-uh-pan-gaf* (= δεδῶκει δέ) *sa lewjands* ⟨ina⟩ *im bandwon qiþands: þammei kukjau, sa ist* ‘*Now then*, the one betraying him had given them a sign, saying, “The one whom I kiss, it is he.”’

John 18.5 *stoþuh þan jah Iudas sa lewjands ina miþ im* ‘*Now then*, also Judas, his betrayer, stood among them.’

Mark 14.44 is the Marcan version of the arresting of Jesus. In the prior verse we are told that Judas came with a crowd, and in the following verse Judas actually kisses Jesus. The present verse backtracks off the time-line of the story to provide the background for what is about to happen. In view of the frequent occurrence of *-(u)h þan* as a background marker, its presence here might have been a contextual feature guiding the linguistically sensitive Gothic reader to interpret the verb *at-uh-pan-gaf* as a pluperfect. John 18.5 follows the sequence of events of 18.1–3, synopsisized two paragraphs above, in which it is explicitly stated that Judas is in the group accosting Jesus – indeed, at its head. We have here merely a reminder, in a kind of aside, of this fact.

The backgrounding function of *-(u)h þan* is also evident in passages where this particle complex appears within a subordinate temporal clause. The most frequent clause type of this sort is introduced by *biþeh þan* (3×²⁰), but one also finds *panuh þan*, a dative absolute, and a passage where Gothic translates a Greek genitive absolute as a direct object noun phrase:

²⁰ Not including Matthew 9.17. Cf. footnote 16.

Luke 4.42 *biþeh pan* warþ dags (= γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας), usgaggands galaiþ ana auþjana stad 'When it was day, going out, he went into a deserted place'

Matthew 9.25 *panuh pan* usdribana warþ (= ὅτε δὲ ἐξεβλήθη) so managei, atgaggands inn habaida handu izos 'Now then, when the crowd had been driven out, going in, he grasped her hand'

Luke 3.1 ... raginondin Puntiau Peilatau Iudaia, jah fidurraginja þis Galeilais Herodeis, Filippauzuh *pan* broþrs is fidurraginja (= Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τετραρχοῦντος) þis Iturais ... 'when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judaea and in the tetrarchy of Herod over Galilee and in the tetrarchy of Philip, his brother (Gk.: and while Philip, his brother, was tetrarch) over Ituria ...'

Luke 15.20 *nauhpanuh pan* fairra wisandan (= ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος) gasaþ ina atta is jah infeinoda 'Now then, while he was still far away, his father saw him and had compassion'

The passages discussed so far account for around 50% of the total occurrence of *-(u)h pan* and demonstrate clearly the role of this particle complex as a marker of background information. However, in some three dozen passages *-(u)h pan* is associated with discourse continuity and action along the main time-line of the narrative. In such cases *-(u)h pan* appears to enter the functional spheres of *paruh* and *panuh*. There are, however, some subtle differences. Thus, *-(u)h pan* is not associated with conversational turn-taking to the same degree as *paruh*, nor is it associated with action to the same extent as *panuh*. Most of the discourse-continuative occurrences of *-(u)h pan* are found within speeches of Jesus, where they usually mark transitions in the topic of discussion or a continuation of Jesus' sayings introduced via the renewed but pleonastic employment of the verb *qiþan* 'speak, say'. Others mark transitions from backgrounded information to the main story-line. Cf. the following two passages, respectively:

Matthew 5.30–31 jah jabai taihswo þeina handus marzjai þuk, afmait þo jah wairp af þus; batizo ist auk þus ei fraqistnai

ains liþiwe þeinaize, jah ni allata leik þein gadriusai in gai-
ainnan. (31) qīpanuh *pan* ist (= ἐρρέθη δέ) þatei wazuh saei
afletai qen, gibai izai afstassais bokos 'And if thy right hand
cause thee to stumble, cut it off and cast it from thee; for it
is better for thee that one of thy limbs should be destroyed
and thy entire body not fall into hell. (31) *Now then*, it has
been said that whoever divorces (his) wife should give her a
bill of divorcement'

Mark 7.1–5 Jah gagemun sik du imma Fareisaieis jah sumai
þize bokarje ... (2) jah gasaihwandans sumans þize siponje is
gamainjaim handum ... (5) þaþro *pan* (= ἔπειτα + ∅)
frehun ina þai Fareisaieis jah þai bokarjos + QUOTE
'And there came together to him Pharisees and some of the
scribes ... (2) And seeing some of his disciples with dirty
hands ... (5) the Pharisees and the scribes then asked him +
QUOTE'

Matthew 5.31 represents a transition from a discussion of
adultery to the related topic of divorce, and Mark 7.2–5 con-
tains a very long digression (omitted in the above citation) on
the customs of the Jews with regard to the washing of their
hands and their utensils. Verse 5 then picks up the discourse
immediately where it is broken after *handum* in verse 2.

A special association seems to exist between *-(u)h pan* and
time reference (cf. the backgrounded passages in which it oc-
curred within subordinate temporal clauses and those of the
sort *wasuh pan* + indication of time cited earlier). This is seen
as well in the following passages:

Matthew 8.5 afaruh *pan* þata (= Old Latin *post haec autem*)
innatgaggandin imma in Kafarnaum, duatiddja imma hun-
dafaps 'Now then, after that, when he had just entered Ka-
farnaum, a centurion went up to him ...' (cf. Mark 16.12)

Luke 1.26 panuh *pan* in menoþ saihstin (= ἐν δὲ τῷ μηνὶ τῷ
ἕκτῳ) insandiþs was aggilus Gabriel fram guda 'Now then,
in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God ...'

These passages are transitional to those, numbering about ten,
in which *-(u)h pan* seems to differ only minimally if at all

from *paruh* and *panuh*, functioning as a foregrounding marker. The point of contact of the two groups is that a normal foregrounding marker of discourse-continuity might be perceived as indicating temporal sequence along the main storyline; and such sequencing may be captured translationally in English by such renderings as '(and) then, thereupon, etc.', both of which are very close to 'after that'. One is reminded here of the form *pasāva*, lit. 'after that', which serves as the basic narrative discourse continuant in the Old Persian Behistun Inscription.

Passages in which *-(u)h pan* functions as a discourse-continuative foregrounding marker include the following:

Matthew 26.67 *panuh spiwun ana andawleizn is jah kaupastedun ina; sumaiþ-þan lofam slohun* 'then they spit in his face and beat him with their fists; *and* some slapped him'

John 6.10–11 *iþ Iesus qaþ: waurkeiþ þans mans anakumbjan ... þaruh anakumbidedun wairos ... (11) namuh þan þans hlaibans Iesus jah ... gadailida þaim anakumbjandam* 'And Jesus said, "Make the men sit down." ... And the men sat down²¹ ... (11) (*And*) *then* Jesus took the loaves and ... distributed (them) to those sitting down'

In the remaining 20% of its occurrences *-(u)h pan* is essentially isofunctional to simplex *-(u)h*, but with specialization in certain construction types not well represented with the latter. Examples of *-(u)h pan* within iteratively anaphoric sequences are the following:

Luke 9.7–8 ... *unte qeþun sumai þatei Iohannes urrais us dauþaim. (8) sumai þan qeþun (þatei) Helias ataugida sik; sumaiuþ-þan þatei praufetus sums þize airizane usstoþ* '... since *some* said that John had arisen from the dead; (8) and

²¹ This passage is one in which *paruh* may be contextually understood as equivalent to *þar + uh* 'and there'. However, the Greek text reads οὕτως and therefore provides no translational basis for assigning such a value to *paruh*. Cf. footnote 11.

some said that Elijah had shown himself; *but others* that some prophet of the ancients had arisen.²²

Luke 9.3 *ni waiht nimaiþ in wig; nih waluns nih matibalg nih hlaib nih skattans, nih þan tweihnos paidos haban* = μηδὲν αἴρετε ... μήτε ῥάβδους μήτε πήραν μήτε ἄρτον μήτε ἀργύριον, μήτε ἀνὰ δύο χιτῶνας ἔχειν 'Take *nothing* on the way: *neither* staffs, *nor* a knapsack, *nor* bread, *nor* coins, *nor* have two tunics apiece.'²³

A feature associated with these iterative structures is Be-haghel's Law (Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder), whereby the conglomerate conjunction increases the weight of the final term of the sequence. Note especially Luke 9.7–8 *sumai ... sumai þan ... sumaiþ-þan*.²⁴ Luke 9.3 illustrates in addition the common linguistic phenomenon whereby the conglomerate conjunction *niþ þan* is employed in sentential value, while the simplex *-h* is limited to word-level employment.

The remaining sequence types are noniterative but contain various lexical items that are inherently sequential. The attested sequences closely resemble those observed in the syntax of simplex *-(u)h*:

John 11.45–46 *þanuh managai þize Iudaiei ... galaubidedun imma*. (46) *sumaiþ-þan* ize galipun du Fareisaium 'Then *many* of the Jews ... believed in him. (46) *But some* of them went to the Pharisees ...' (*managai ... sumaiþ-þan*; cf. John 7.40–41 *managai ... sumaih*)

Luke 16.5–7 *jah athaitands ainþwarjanoh faihuskulane frauþins seinis qaþ þamma frumistin: wan filu skalt frauþin meinaþamma? ... (7) þaþroh þan* (= ἔπειτα + $\emptyset$) *du anþamma*

²² Greek text (with passive construction): ὑπό τινων ... ὑπό τινων ... ἄλλων δέ 'by some ... by some ... and/but by others ...'.

²³ Type X-(u)h *þan* ... X-(u)h *þan* at Matthew 25.38–39 *Öþvanuh þan þuk seÖþvum ... (39) Öþvanuh þan þuk seÖþvum ...* 'When did we see thee ... (39) And when did we see thee ...'

²⁴ It is therefore no accident that this is the only instance in the Gothic Bible where *-uh* rather than *-h* occurs after *sumai*. The latter would not have increased the number of syllables in the final member: **sumai ... sumai þan ... sumaih þan*.

qap: aþpan þu, wan filu skalt? ‘And summoning each one of his lord’s debtors, *he said to the first*, “How much dost thou owe my lord?” ... (7) *Then to the second he said*, “And thou, how much dost thou owe?”’ (*qap þamma frumistin ... þaþroh þan du anþamma qap*; cf. Mark 4.28 *frumist gras, þaþroh [= εἶτα] ahs* ‘first grass, [and] then the ear’)

In the sequential passages discussed above the syntax of *-(u)h þan* recapitulates that of simplex *-(u)h*. This is not surprising in view of the obvious origin of *-(u)h þan* as a conglomerated but not unverbated accretion of *-(u)h* and the discourse articulator *þan*. What is surprising is rather the extent to which *-(u)h + þan* have in tandem come to signal in so many of their occurrences a specific discourse function, backgrounding, separate from the individual values of each and strikingly different from that seen when the two particles are unverbated and occur in the opposite order. For *panuh* shows a different syntax entirely from *-(u)h þan* – one much more rigid and having little to do with independent simplex *-(u)h*.

The iterative-sequential value of simplex *-(u)h* is not limited to noninitial or resumptive position within sequences. It may also appear, albeit rarely, in initial or annunciatory position, where its role is cataphoric, the text-linguistic inverse of the anaphoric or resumptive role. We find some instances of the same type involving *-(u)h þan*, but their frequency (12×) and type is surprising. Two instances follow the *sa/þa-* pronoun within series where this pronoun resumes anaphorically a word or phrase previously mentioned and then functions cataphorically relative to a following clause. Although the anaphoric value of *sa/þa-* is more basic and original, the cataphoric role is more pronounced in these instances. Cf. the following:

John 17.2–3 *swaswe atgaft imma waldufni allaize leike, ei all þatei atgaft imma, gibai im libain aiweinon. (3) soh þan ist so aiweino libains, ei kunneina þuk ainana sunjana guþ* ‘Just as thou hast given authority to him over all flesh, so that all that thou hast given to him, to them he might give *eternal*

life. And this is the eternal life: that they might recognize thee as the single true God ...' (cf. John 6.38–40)

The remaining cataphoric type, which occurs 10 times, shows in each instance a structure of the sort *X-uh pan ... (ak[ei])*, in which one clause is opposed to another having the opposite positive/negative value. The form *ak(ei)*²⁵ which conjoins them means 'but' (in one passage it is not overtly present). A single occurrence of simplex *-(u)h* in this value is seen in John 6.38 *atstaig us himina, nih peei taujau wiljan meinana, ak wiljan þis sandjandins mik* 'I have descended from heaven, not in order that I should do my will, but the will of the one sending me.' Within this structure *-(u)h* is an index of interrelationship, pointing forward cataphorically and rendering its own clause incomplete relative to that which follows. Examples of this type involving *-(u)h pan*, 90% of which appear in John, are the following:

John 7.43–44 *panuh missaqiss in þizai managein warþ bi ina.*

(44) *sumaih pan* ize wildedun fahan ina; *akei ni ainshun* uslagida ana ina handuns 'And so a division arose in the crowd concerning him. (44) *And some* of them wanted to seize him; *but no one* laid hands upon him' (*sumaih pan ... akei ni ainshun*; cf. John 12.42)

John 12.16 *þatup-pan* ni kunþedun siponjos is frumist; *ak* biþe gasweraipþ was Iesus, *panuh* gamundedun þatei þata was du þamma gameliþ 'His disciples did not know *that* at first; *but* after Jesus had been glorified, then they recalled that that was written (with reference) to him.' (*þatup-pan ni kunþedun ... ak ... panuh gamundedun*; cf. also Matthew 9.13; John 8.42, 9.31, 11.30, 12.47, 16.13)

The following passage is of the same basic type as those just cited, except that the adversative conjunction is not overtly present:

John 8.34–35 ... *hwazuh saei taujiþ frawaurht, skalks ist frawaurhtai.* (35) *sah pan skalks* (= ὁ δὲ δοῦλος) ni wisipþ in

²⁵ *Ak* following a positive clause, *akei* following a negative one.

garda du aiwa, sunus wisip̃ du aiwa. 'Everyone who commits sin is a slave to sin. (35) *Now then, the slave* does not abide in the house forever, (*but*) the Son abides forever.' (*sah pan skalks ni wisip̃ ... ∅ sunus wisip̃*)

Several of the above passages could be assigned alternatively to one or another of the other categories of employment of *-(u)h pan*. Nevertheless, their striking structural similarities suggest that they belong together within a group of their own.

The single remaining *-(u)h pan* passage shows the unique structure *A jah B jah C jah D jah E jah F nauhuþ-pan G*. This is the only instance in which *-(u)h pan* appears within a conjoined sequence involving polysyndetic word-conjunctive *jah*. Although it is reminiscent, *mutatis mutandis*, of Luke 9.3 *nih A nih B nih C nih D nih pan E*, its final member is not sentential but phrasal, a feature seen only one other time in the syntax of *-(u)h pan*:²⁶

Luke 14.26 *jabai was gaggiþ du mis jah ni fijaiþ attan seinana jah aiþein jah qen jah barna jah broþruns jah swistruns, nauhuþ-pan* (= ἔτι δὲ καὶ) *seina silbins saiwala, ni mag meins siponeis wisan*. 'If somebody comes to me and does not hate his father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, *and furthermore* (Gk.: even) his own soul, he may not be my disciple.'

Note once again the expanded conjunction and compass of the final member.

Our discussion of *-(u)h pan* has so far been based exclusively on Gothic data, and the categories of its employment have been established strictly on the basis of Gothic evidence. This procedure is of overriding importance where this particle conglomeration is concerned, because the evidence from the Greek forms rendered by *-(u)h pan* provides little of explanatory value. Of the 123 occurrences of *-(u)h pan*, 97 or 78.9% render δέ in a distribution from Gospel to Gospel that is so

²⁶ Cf. Mark 12.5 *sumans usbliggwandans, sumanzuh pan usqimandans* 'beating some and killing some'.

consistent (Matthew 72.2%, Mark 84.2%, Luke 81.6%, John 77%) that other renditions appear almost insignificant; and this impression is strengthened by the fact that the other renditions are eight in number, ranging in frequency from $\emptyset$ (7×), οὐν (6×), and γάρ (5×) to δὲ τότε and καί (1× each) (cf. Table 1). The preponderance of δέ means only that the Greek particle is hopelessly polysemous (recall that δέ is also represented to a significant degree among the forms rendered by *paruh* and to a lesser degree by *panuh*, despite the fact that these particles serve overall a very different function than *-(u)h pan*). Far from confirming Friedrichsen's statement that 'the use of Greek particles was too subtle for exact reproduction in a barbarous language without exactly corresponding words or phrases' (1961, p.93), our investigation suggests at the very least a greater subtlety in the employment of discourse particles in Gothic than has heretofore been appreciated, possibly even a greater refinement and means for indicating such subtleties in Gothic than in New Testament Greek.²⁷ Friedrichsen's incorrect conclusion is the result of his methodology, which looks only at the one-to-one renderings of Greek καί, δέ οὐν and γάρ in Gothic and is therefore based on superficial translational syntax rather than on a detailed study of discourse function.

Another point to be noted is that *-(u)h pan*, like *panuh*, shows a relatively high rate of occurrence before traditional discourse breaks (25/123), including 6 instances in second position within new chapters, 15 in new pericopes, and 4 in new paragraphs. The occurrence of *-(u)h pan* in such transi-

²⁷ Certainly it can be said that in the area of coordinate conjunction, including simple additive and adversative roles, Gothic, with its *jah*, *-(u)h*, *iþ*, *ak(ei)*, and *aþþan* has a richer system than New Testament Greek, with its καί, δέ and ἁλλά; and, as we have seen, on a discourse level *pan*, *panuh*, *-(u)h pan*, and *paruh* show some fine degrees of subtlety relative to δέ, οὐν and, in Matthew, τότε. The Gothic system appears to reflect archaic Germanic speech patterns, quite unlike the Old English Gospels, for example, where the frequent *witodlice* and *sóþlice* have all the earmarks of conscious literary creations in part pressed into service to provide variation from the monotonous but genuine *pá*.

tional discourse positions is in large measure traceable to its employment in presentative-existential background statements (*wasuh pan* ...), temporal resumptive clauses (*afaruh pan pata*), and resumptive discourse continuation (e.g. Mark 15.11 *qapub-pan*, which introduces the parable of the prodigal son, while continuing Jesus' discourse). Naturally, the occurrence of such transitions provides the basis for the traditional discourse units found in our texts.

Finally, given the overall syntax of *-(u)h pan*, particularly its similarity at many points to the syntax of simplex *-(u)h* as well as its nonuniverbated status, it is probably fair to say that this collocation retains significant features of the syntax of its constituent parts: anaphoric(/cataphoric)-sequential *-(u)h* and discourse-continuative *pan*. As such, *-(u)h pan* differs from *panuh* and *paruh*, which represent synchronically unitary linguistic signs in Gothic. However, *-(u)h pan* has developed, in its backgrounding function, a completely new value independent of its component parts. We are thus dealing with a phenomenon of syntacticization, whereby a new linguistic sign is generated and implemented in syntax and discourse. This newly acquired value is striking and unexpected and has gone heretofore unnoticed, largely because of the tendency to treat Gothic syntax from a translational rather than a system-internal perspective.

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Zur Entwicklung der Abstraktbildungen im Baltischen

Als Grundeinheit der synchronen Wortbildung gilt heute die Wortbildungskategorie, d.h. die Wortbildungs-klasse, die eine gemeinsame Wortbildungsbedeutung und spezifische Affixe hat. Jede Wortbildungskategorie enthält eine oder mehrere produktive und reguläre Wortbildungstypen, deren Wortbildungsbedeutung ganz mit der verallgemeinerten Kategorienbedeutung zusammenfällt. Diese bilden das Zentrum der Wortbildungskategorie, während andere weniger produktive Wortbildungstypen, die eine engere oder spezialisiertere Bedeutung haben, zur Peripherie gehören.

Diese Umstände wirken sich auch auf die Aufgabe aus, die sich die diachrone Wortbildung stellt, nämlich die Entwicklung der Wortbildungskategorien zu erforschen. Vorerst müssen einerseits die Affixe festgestellt werden, die von altersher der einen oder anderen Wortbildungskategorie eigen waren, und andererseits diejenigen, die späterhin aus anderen Wortbildungskategorien übernommen wurden infolge von Wechselbeziehungen zwischen einzelnen Wortbildungskategorien in verschiedenen Perioden der Sprachentwicklung. Es ist auch sehr wichtig, die Bedeutung der Ableitungen und die Spezialisierung ihrer Affixe zu erforschen, die allmählich zur Entwicklung einiger neuer Wortbildungskategorien aus einer älteren Kategorie führten. Das alles würde erlauben, größere Einheiten im System der Wortbildung aus diachronischer Sicht zu erkennen.

Die Abstraktbildungen im Baltischen haben schon seit langem die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher auf sich gelenkt. Viele wichtige Data über die Entwicklung ihrer Wortbildungsaffixe liegen vor in August Leskiens grundlegender Untersuchung (1891), wie auch in den späteren Arbeiten von K. Brugmann (1906), P. Skardžius (1943), J. Endzelīns (1948; 1951), J. Otrębski (1965) u. a. In A. Bammesbergers spezieller Monographie (1973) wurde die Herkunft vieler baltischer Abstrakt-

bildungen aus indogermanischer Sicht weitgehend untersucht. Weiterhin versuchen wir nun die Analyse der baltischen Abstrakta fortzusetzen, die Entwicklung ihrer Wortbildungsparadigmen wie auch ihre historischen Beziehungen zu den anderen Wortbildungskategorien zu erhellen, wobei wir anstreben, das ursprüngliche System zu rekonstruieren.

In unseren früheren Publikationen, in denen wir die historischen Beziehungen der Verbalabstrakta (Nomina actionis) zu den Nomina acti untersucht haben, kamen wir zu dem Schluß, daß in der baltischen und idg. Grundsprache nur ein Paradigma der Verbalabstrakta und der Nomina acti vorhanden war (Verf. 1987, S.170–176; 1988; 1993, §§ 130–186). In diesem Artikel versuchen wir die Beziehungen der Verbalabstrakta zu den Nominalabstrakta (Nomina qualitatis) zu erörtern.

Schon K. Brugmann (1906, S.641) hat festgestellt, daß diese Wortbildungskategorien in den idg. Sprachen einander sehr nahe stehen. Ein großer Teil der archaischen Affixe in den baltischen Sprachen, die zur Bildung der Verbal- bzw. Nominalabstrakta diene, sind gemeinsamen idg. Ursprungs. Sie sollen zuerst erörtert werden.

1. Gemeinsame Affixe

*A. *-tu-, *-ti-*

Zur Bildung der Verbalabstrakta wurden diese Suffixe in den baltischen und anderen idg. Sprachen von altersher sehr weit gebraucht. Wie E. Benveniste (1948, S.112) zeigt, haben sie sich früher ihren Bildungsfunktionen nach unterscheiden können. Aber späterhin verringerte sich allmählich die Produktivität dieser Wortbildungstypen in den einzelnen Dialekten der baltischen Sprachen.

In den ostbaltischen Sprachen verringerte sich zuerst die Zahl der Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-tu-*. Im Lit. und Lett. liegen nur Relikte vor, vgl. lit. *lietùs* (*lytùs*) : *lýti* 'regnen', *líeti* 'gießen', lett. *lietus* 'Regen', lit. *piētūs* 'Mittag' : **pōi-* 'trinken', lett. *mītus* 'Veränderung' : *mīt* 'tauschen, sich verändern',

vīltus 'Betrug' : *vīlt* 'trügen, betrügen', auch noch: *dēstu likt* '(Samen) in die Keime legen' : *dēstīt* 'pflanzen'. Betrachtlicher ist die Zahl der Verbalabstrakta, die mit dem abgeleiteten Suffix *-tuvē* im Lit. gebildet wurden. Die größte Zahl der Ableitungen dieses Typs tritt jedoch mit einer spezifischen Semantik auf, nämlich 'Feier' (vgl. *īkurtūvēs* 'Einzugsfeier', *vestūvēs* 'Hochzeit'), nur sehr selten treten diese mit der alten Bedeutung eines Handlungsprozesses oder eines Zustandes auf (vgl. dial. *baigtūvēs* 'Ende' : *baīgti* 'beenden', *būtuvē* 'Leben' : *būti* 'sein; leben'). Im Lett. indessen sind entsprechende Verbalabstrakta mit dem Suffix *-tuve* beinahe überhaupt verschwunden, sie liegen nur in manchen Phraseologismen vor, vgl. *saūlīte dzītuvē* 'die Zeit, wo das Vieh nach Hause zu treiben ist' BW.28878 (Endzelīns 1951, S.380-381).

In den westbaltischen Sprachen sind die Verbalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-tu-* am längsten produktiv geblieben. Das bezeugen die preuß. Infinitive auf *-tvei* (aus **-tu-* entstanden), die keine Entsprechungen in den ostbaltischen Sprachen haben, vgl. *dātwei* (geben) III 33₁₅, *westwei* (führen) 27₁₄, *attrātwei* (antworten) 127₇.

Das Suffix **-ti-* ist im Vergleich mit dem Suffix **-tu-* in den ostbaltischen Sprachen viel länger erhalten geblieben als hauptsächliches Mittel zur Bildung der Verbalabstrakta. Im Lit. sind noch heute mehr als 100 Verbalabstrakta auf *-tis* (Urbutis 1965, S.290-291) erhalten geblieben, unter ihnen sehr archaische, vgl. lit. *būtis* 'Sein, Dasein, Existenz, Leben' und atschech. *byt* 'Wesen, Dasein, Existenz, Leben', ai. *bhūtiḥ* 'Sein, guter Zustand; Gedeihen; Heil usw.' (vielleicht auch lit. *buitis/būitis* 'Lebensweise; Sein, Leben', griech. φύσις 'Natur', ir. *buith* 'Sein'); lit. *mintis* 'Gedanke, Idee, Meinung' : *miñti* 'gedenken, sich erinnern, raten' und lat. *mens* 'Sinnesart, Gemüt, Denkvermögen, Vernunft', ai. *matih* 'Andacht, Absicht, Wunsch, Verlangen, Sinn', teilweise auch aksl. *pa-meṭb* 'Andenken', got. *ga-munds* 'Andenken, Gedächtnis', ir. *air-mitiu* 'Ehrfurcht'; lit. *mirtis* 'Tod' und lat. *mors*, ai. *mṛti-* 'Tod', tschech. *mrt* 'abgestorbener Teil von etwas, totes Fleisch auf Wunden; taube Erde', teilweise auch aksl. *sъ-mrṣb* 'Tod'. Doch neue Ableitungen dieses Typs sind nicht sehr häufig.

Die Produktivität der Verbalabstrakta auf **-ti-* nahm in den ostbaltischen Sprachen ab, als sich aus ihnen die Infinitivformen zu entwickeln begannen (vgl. lit. *būti*, lett. *būt* 'sein', lit. *miřti*, lett. *miřt* 'sterben').

Nominalabstrakta mit den Suffixen **-tu-* und **-ti-* wurden in den baltischen Sprachen anscheinend selten gebildet. Überreste dieser Suffixe sind nur in abgeleiteten Suffixen anzutreffen.

Aus dem Suffixe **-tu-* entwickelte sich im Lit. das Suffix *-a-tva*, mit dem *senatvā* 'hohes Alter' : *sēnas* 'alt' abgeleitet ist. Ein wenig größer ist die Anzahl der Nominalabstrakta im Litauischen, die mit Hilfe der paradigmatischen Variante dieses Suffixes *-atvė* gebildet ist, vgl. *senātvė* 'hohes Alter', *jaunātvė* 'Jugend' : *jāunas* 'jung', *kvailātvė* 'Dummheit' : *kvaīlas* 'dumm' u. a. (Urbutis 1965, S.312). Genaue Entsprechungen hat das Suffix *-atva* in den germ. und indo-iran. Sprachen, vgl. ai. *priyatvam* 'Geliebtsein' : *priyas* 'lieb, beliebt', got. *friapwa* 'Liebe' : *freis* 'frei' < **frija-* 'lieb' (Brugmann 1906, S.450; Meid 1967, S.163; Bammesberger 1973, S.77). Mit dem Suffix *-tva* werden häufig Nominalabstrakta in den ai. Sprachen gebildet, während in den slavischen Sprachen (besonders in den ältesten Zeiten) sehr produktiv die Ableitung der Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix *-bstvo* ist, das wahrscheinlich durch die Verschmelzung zweier Suffixe *-bškō* + *-tvo* entstanden ist, vgl. *dětbstvo* 'Kindheit' < **dětbsktvo* : *dětbskō* 'kindisch' (Vondrák 1924, S.490, 592–593).

Aus dem Suffix **-ti-* ist das abgeleitete Suffix *-a-tis* entstanden, mit dem im Lit. einige Nominalabstrakta gebildet sind, vgl. *aklatīs* 'Blindheit' : *āklas* 'blind', *sausatīs* 'Dürre' : *saūsas* 'trocken, dürr', *vienatīs* 'Einigkeit' : *vīenas* 'eins' (Urbutis 1965, S.312). Die Ableitung *pīlnatis* : *pīlnas* 'voll' hat eine genaue Entsprechung im Lettischen *pīlnats* 'Vollmond' (Endzelīns 1951, S.385; Eckert 1983, S.196). In den slavischen Sprachen liegen auch einige Nominalabstrakta mit dem entsprechenden Suffix *-otb* vor, vgl. aksl. *lixotb* 'Gemeinheit' : *lixō* 'böse, arg', poln. *dobroć* 'Güte' : *dobry* 'gut'. Mit dem nichtabgeleiteten Suffix **-ti-* liegen in manchen anderen idg. Sprachen einzelne Nominalabstrakta vor, vgl. engl. *youth* <

**juuntis* 'Jugend' und ai. *yúvan-* 'jung' (Meid 1967, S.156), ai. *jyokti-* 'langes Leben' : *jyok-* 'lang' (Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954, S.640).

B. *-o-, *-ā

Die Verbalabstrakta (und Nomina acti) mit der Wortbildungsendung *-o- haben in den baltischen Sprachen häufig eine konkrete Bedeutung und sind archaischen Ursprungs; davon zeugen die Entsprechungen in den verwandten Sprachen, vgl. lit. *kaūpas* 'Haufen, Anhäufung, Übermaß' (: *kaūpti* 'reinigen, säubern'), aksl. *kupъ* 'Haufen', av. *kaofa-*, apers. *kaufa-* 'Bergrücken, Höhenzug'; lit. *káušas* 'Schöpflöffel, hölzerner Becher, Muschelschale; Schneckenhäuschen, Hirnschädel' (: *kaūšti* 'aushöhlen'), lett. *kaūss* '(Hirn)schädel, größeres Gefäß, Trinkgefäß, Schale, Napf, Becken, Kochlöffel', lat. *caucus* 'Becher', griech. *καυκίον* 'Kelch'; lit. *kuōlas* (: *kálti* 'schmieden, hämmern'), aksl. *kolъ*, griech. *σῶλος* 'Pfahl'; lit. *pēnas* 'Nahrung, Futter, Kost' (: *penėti* 'mästen, füttern, nähren'), lat. *penus* 'Mundvorrat', ai. *panasa-* 'Brotfruchtbaum', lit. *tākas* (: *tekėti* 'fließen, laufen'), lett. *taks* 'Pfad, Fußsteig', aksl. *tokъ* 'Lauf, Strömung', ai. *taka-* 'Lauf'.

Mit der Wortbildungsendung *-ā sind derartige archaische Ableitungen in den baltischen Sprachen seltener belegt, vgl. lit. *skalà* '(Holz)span, Kienholz, -span, Schindel, Scheitholz, Steinsplitter, Kalkstein, harter Lehm' (: *skélti* 'spalten'), lett. *skala* 'Lichtspan', slav. *skala* 'Fels, Felsblock, Holzsplitter, Lichtspan', ae. *scalu-* 'Hülse, Schale, Zottel'; lit. *skarà* 'Tuch, abgerissener Lappen, Kleidung' (: *skirti* 'trennen, teilen, scheiden'), lett. *skara* 'krause Wolle, Zotte, Tuch, Fetzen', aruss. *skora* 'Haut, Fell, Pelzwerk', ae. *scearu-* '(An)teil'.

Verbalabstrakta mit den Wortbildungsendungen *-o-, *-ā, die eine abstrakte Bedeutung besitzen, haben sich besonders in den baltischen Sprachen verbreitet, seit die alten Ableitungen mit dem Suffix *-ti- ihre Produktivität eingebüßt haben. Damals sind die Ableitungen mit Wortbildungsendungen das Zentrum dieser Wortbildungskategorie geworden. Ihre Verbreitung – wahrscheinlich bedingt durch die Differenzierung

des männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechts sowie die Produktivität der *o-* bzw. *ā-* Stämme – vollzog sich in vielen idg. Sprachen, jedoch nicht gleichzeitig (Burrow 1955, S. 121 ff.).

Die Nominalabstrakta mit den Wortbildungsendungen (a) **-ā* und (b) **-o-* werden von altersher gebildet, aber viel seltener, vgl. a) lit. *smarkà* 'Heftigkeit, Wucht' : *smarkùs* 'heftig', lett. *līksma* 'Freude, Fröhlichkeit' : *līksms* 'fröhlich'; b) lit. *lābas*, lett. *labs* 'Güte, Eigentum', pr. gen. sing. *labbas* (Gut) III 53₁₄ : lit. *lābas*, lett. *labs* 'gut'.

C. **-i-*

In den baltischen Sprachen liegen drei archaische Verbalabstrakta (und Nomina acti) mit dieser Wortbildungsendung vor, vgl. lit. *dalìs* (: *dilti* 'sich abscheuern, sich abnutzen'), lett. *dalìs*, slav. *dolb* 'Anteil', mhd. *zol(l)* 'zylinderförmiges Stück, Klotz, Knebel', ai. *daliḥ* 'Erdscholle'; lit. *grandìs* 'Ring einer Kette, Kettenglied, Armband' (: *grĩsti* 'mit Brettern belegen, dielen, pflastern'), preuß. *graudis*, d.h. *grandis* (Rincke E 25, ahd. *kranz* 'Kranz', ai. *granthi-* 'Knoten, Knopf'; lit. *pilìs* (: *pilti* 'gießen, schütten, füllen'), lett. *pils* 'Burg, Schloß', ai. *puriḥ* 'Burg, befestigte Stadt', griech. *πόλις* 'Stadt'. Alle gehören sie zu den *i-* Stämmen.

Manche *i-*stämmigen Ableitungen haben eine reine Handlungs- bzw. Zustandsbedeutung, vgl. preuß. *īdis* (Essen) III 48₁₅, lit. *irm-ēdis* (-ies) 'fiebriger Zustand; Grippe; Gicht; Armfraß' (: *ėsti* 'fressen') und slav. *jědb* 'Speise, Essen' (Eckert 1983, S. 96–102).

Die Verbalabstrakta und Nomina acti mit der Wortbildungsendung **-i-* haben in den baltischen Sprachen neuere *ījo-* Stammformen bekommen. Die Verbalabstrakta dieses Stammes sind im Lit. sehr verbreitet und verdrängen die älteren Ableitungen mit der Wortbildungsendung **-o-* (Verf. 1993, §§ 28–30).

Im Litauischen liegen einige *i-*stämmige Nominalabstrakta mit der Wortbildungsendung **-i-* vor, vgl. *rūgštìs* (-ies) 'Säure' : *rūgštùs* 'sauer'; *sótis* (-ies) 'Satttheit' : *sótus* 'satt'; dial. *skoniš* (-iēs) 'Geschmack' (Dieveniškės, Marijampolė) :

skanùs 'wohlschmeckend, schmackhaft, lecker'. Andere Ableitungen dieses Bildungstyps gehören zu den *ijō*-Stämmen, vgl. *aũkštis* (-čio) 'Höhe' : *áuķštas* 'hoch'.

Die *i*-stämmigen Nominalabstrakta haben Entsprechungen in den slavischen Sprachen (vgl. aksl. *sytb* 'Sattheit' : *sytb* 'satt'). Was den Ursprung dieses Wortbildungstyps anbetrifft, liegen zwei entgegengesetzte Hypothesen vor. K. Brugmann (1906, S.172–173, 197) und später P. Skardžius (1943, S.53) vertreten den Standpunkt, daß die *i*-stämmigen Ableitungen alter Herkunft sind, während den lit. *ijō*-stämmigen Ableitungen die Vermischung der *i*- und *ijō*-Stämme zugrunde liegt. A. Bammesberger (1973, S.55 ff.; 1989) leitet indessen die *ijō*-stämmige Wortbildungsendung -is im Litauischen vom adjektivischen Affix *-*ijō*- ab und hält die *i*-stämmigen Nominalabstrakta in den baltischen und slavischen Sprachen für Neubildungen, da sie keine eindeutigen Entsprechungen in anderen verwandten Sprachen haben. Aber der Umstand, daß die wenigen im Lit. vorliegenden *i*-stämmigen Nominalabstrakta nicht die Tendenz haben, sich zu verbreiten, sondern – im Gegenteil – zu verschwinden, erlaubt sie als Archaismen zu betrachten.

D. *-(*i*)ē-

Die Verbalabstrakta mit dieser Wortbildungsendung sind in erster Linie im Lett. verbreitet. Im Lit. (besonders in den altlit. Schriftdenkmälern) sind sie viel seltener belegt. W.P. Schmid (1963, S.19–20) setzt zwei baltische Verbalabstrakta dieses Typs in Verbindung mit entsprechenden Ableitungen in den tocharischen Sprachen, vgl. lit. *orẽ/õrẽ* 'Pflügen, gepflügter Acker' (: *árti* 'ackern, pflügen'), lett. *âre* 'Freie, freies Feld' und toch. A, B *āre* 'Pflug', alit. *tékẽ* 'eine tiefe, von der Strömung nicht bewegte Stelle im Fluß' (: *te-kẽti*), lett. *tẽce* 'Rinnsal, morastiger Bach, Wiesenbach', *tece* 'Fließen; Fluß; Leck' und toch. B *cake* 'Fluß'. A.J. van Windekens (1970, S.430 ff.) vertritt jedoch den Standpunkt, daß der Stamm -*e* eine Innovation sei, die sich selbständig im To-

charischen entwickelt habe. Verbalabstrakta auf *-(i)ē- liegen noch im Lateinischen vor.

Mit der Wortbildungsendung *-(i)ē- sind in den baltischen Sprachen nur einige Nominalabstrakta anzutreffen, vgl. lit. *láisvė* 'Freiheit' : *láisvas* 'frei'; *téisė* 'Recht' (in den altlit. Schriftdenkmälern 'Wahrheit'), preuß. *teisi* (Ehre) III 91₁₁; lett. *brīve* 'Freiheit' : *brīvs* 'frei', *līksme* 'Lustigkeit' : *līksms* 'froh, lustig'.

Obwohl Ableitungen dieses Typs auch im Lateinischen vorliegen, ist es nicht klar, ob diese Wortbildungsendung (und überhaupt (i)ē- resp. iē-Stamm) aus der idg. Ursprache ererbt ist oder ob sie in den einzelnen idg. Dialekten nach dem Zerfall entstanden ist.

E. *-mo-

Sowohl a) Verbalabstrakta (und Nomina acti) als auch b) Nominalabstrakta, bei denen das unerweiterte Suffix *-mo- erhalten geblieben ist, sind in den baltischen Sprachen nicht zahlreich:

a) lit. *dūmai*, lett. *dūmi* 'Rauch, Qualm', preuß. *dumis* (Rauch) E 39 (vgl. slav. *dymǫ*, lat. *fūmus*, ai. *dhūma-* 'Rauch' u. a. : **dhū-* 'wehen, blasen'); lit. *kėlmas* 'Baumstumpf, Stamm' (: (s)*kėlti*), preuß. *kalmus* (Stock) E 633 (vgl. tschech. *klam-ol* 'Brachstück', ae. *helma* 'Steuerruder', ahd. *skalm* 'Schiff', griech. *σκαλμός* 'Pflock, Dillb' u. a.); lit. *tūžmas* 'Zorn' (: *tūžti* 'heftig zürnen, ergrimmen'), *ūžmas* 'Rauschen' (: *ūžti* 'brausen, rauschen'); vielleicht alit. *brakšmas*, *trakšmas* 'Knarren, Knattern, Lärm' Sirvyd. Dict.³ 155 (: *braškėti*, *traškėti* 'knarren, knattern, prasseln'), *trokšmas* 'Wunsch, Begierde' Mažv. 319 (: *trókšti* 'dürsten, ersticken; gieren'); instr. sing. *ištarmu* 'deutlich' Daukš. Post. 4X (: *ištaĩti* 'sagen, aussprechen'); *sumaišmu* 'gemischt, durcheinander' Vilent. Evang. 221 (: *sumaišyti* 'zusammenführen, mischen'); lett. *vezms* 'Wagen' (vgl. lit. *vežimas* : *vėžti* 'fahren, etwas mittels eines Wagens befördern', lett. *vezums* 'Wagen' und die alte baltische Entlehnung in den finnischen Ostseesprachen *vehmä-* 'Einzeldeichsel des Ochsenpaares', s. Posti 1977, S. 269–270);

b) lit. dial. *plōtmas* 'leerer, ebener Platz, Fläche, Ebene' : *plótas* 'Flächenraum, Landstück, Areal'.

Ableitungen dieses Typs sind in den baltischen Sprachen viel seltener anzutreffen als in den slavischen, wo sie einst produktiv gewesen sind (Liukkonen 1987).

In den baltischen Sprachen ist das Suffix **-mo-* schon längst mit den Stammvokalen *i* und *u* verwachsen, so daß auf diese Weise Suffixe neuerer Herkunft, nämlich **-imo-*, **-umo-* entstanden sind.

F. **-imo-*

Verbalabstrakta mit diesem Suffix sind im Lit. besonders verbreitet. Sie wurden zuerst aus den Präsensstämmen gebildet. Einige Ableitungen, die auf diese Weise gebildet sind, kann man noch auf den litauischen Sprachinseln in Weißrußland antreffen, vgl. *bústymas* 'Leben' : *bústa* 'ist; lebt', *penìmas* 'Futter, Nahrung, Mästung' (Zietela) : *pēni* 'füttert, mästet' (Vidugiris 1969, S.152); *tekìmas* (*saules*) 'Sonnenaufgang' (Lazūnai) : *tēka* 'fließt, geht auf (von der Sonne, vom Mond)'.

In den Schriftdenkmälern des 16.–17. Jh.s kommen sie ziemlich häufig vor. Sie wurden von nichtsuffigierten Verben (vgl. *imìmas* 'Nehmen' : *ìma* 'nimmt', *atmenimas* 'Erinnerung' Sirvyd. Dict.³ 149 : *àtmena* 'erinnert') und von Verben mit dem Suffix *-auti* (vgl. *dūsaujimas* 'Seufzen' : *dūsauja* 'seufzt', *kariaujimas* 'Kriegführen' : *kariáuja* 'führt den Krieg'), *-uoti* (vgl. *pūliuojimas* 'Eitern' Sirvyd. Dict.³ 378 : *pūliúoja* 'eiert', *švilpuojimas* 'Pfeifen' : *švilpúoja* 'pfeift', s. Verf. 1993, §§ 16–21) abgeleitet.

Verbalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-imo-*, die ebenfalls aus dem Präsensstamm gebildet sind, findet man noch im Slav. (vgl. lit. *piešìmas* 'Zeichnen' : *piěšia* 'zeichnet' und slav. *pisbmo* 'Schreiben, Schriftstück', s. Liukkonen 1987, S.106–111 mit Literatur), im Albanischen (Desnickaja 1983, S.20) und Hethitischen (Laroche 1956; Kronasser 1963, S.177–178).

Im Litauischen wurden die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-imo-*, wohl noch bevor das Gesetz von F. de Saussure zu

wirken begann, mit den Präteritumstämmen in Verbindung gebracht (vgl. *kalbėjimas* 'Sprechen' : *kalbėjo* 'sprach', *radimas* 'Finden' : *rādo* 'fand'). Solche Ableitungen fanden mit der Zeit eine weite Verbreitung und verdrängten aus dem Zentrum der Kategorie der Verbalabstrakta die Ableitungen mit Wortbildungsendungen, die zum größten Teil in der Periode der litauischen Schriftsprache terminologisierte Bedeutungen bekamen (vgl. *mūšis* 'Schlagen' > 'Schlacht', *pāsaka* 'Erzählen, Erzählung' > 'Fabel, Märchen', s. Verf. 1993, §§ 38–42).

Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-imo-* liegen größtenteils vor in den Schriften von M. Mažvydas (vgl. *bjaurimas* 'Häßlichkeit' 53 : *bjaurūs* 'häßlich', *ramymas* (*ramimas*?) 'Ruhe' 37, 38 : *ramūs* 'ruhig', *sausimas* 'Trockenheit' 466 : *sausas* 'trocken', *silpnimas* 'Schwäche' 52 : *silpnas* 'schwach, kraftlos', *sveikimas* 'Gesundsein' 77 : *sveikas* 'gesund', *viežlybimas* 'Züchtigkeit, Ehrenhaftigkeit' 29 : *viežlybas* 'züchtig, ehrbar, tugendsam') und in der Mundart von Zietela (vgl. *karšūmas* 'Hitze' : *kárštas* 'heiß', *šlapimas* 'Nässe' : *šlāpias* 'naß' u. a., s. Vidugiris 1969, S.154). In den anderen altlitauischen Texten und Dialekten sind die Abstraktbildungen dieses Typs sehr selten. Schon im 16.–17. Jh. sind manche Bildungen auf **-imo-* mit konkreten Bedeutungen belegt, vgl. *apskritimas* 'Kreis' Sirvyd. Dict.³ 69; Lexic. Lith. 56 : *āpskritas* 'kreisrund, kugelrund', *baltymas* 'Weißes im Auge' Daukš. Post. 559; Sirvyd. Dict.³ 13, 15 : *báltas* 'weiß'.

Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-imo-* sind in den slav. Sprachen viel seltener belegt als entsprechende Verbalabstrakta, vgl. slav. *bělbmo* 'Star' : *bělъ*, *bogatbmo* 'Menge, Vielheit' : *bogatъ* 'reich' (Liukkonen 1988, S.89); über die Ableitungen dieses Typs im Hethitischen s. Laroche 1956, S.74; Kronasser 1963, S.178–179; Puhvel 1984, S.258.

G. **-umo-*

Dieses Suffix ist aus dem gleichen Suffixe **-mo-* entstanden, das sich dem Stammvokal *u* angeschlossen hat (vgl. lit. *gražūmas* 'Schönheit' : *gražūs* 'schön').

Nominalabstrakta mit diesem Suffix herrschen in der litauischen und lettischen Gegenwartssprache vor, doch nicht seit altersher. In den litauischen Schriftdenkmälern des 16.–17. Jh.s, denen die žemaitischen und ostaukschaitischen Mundarten zugrunde liegen, sind die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-umo-* nicht zahlreich, sie machen 2–19% aller Nominalabstrakta aus. In jener Periode sind sie häufiger belegt in manchen Schriftdenkmälern, die im westaukschaitischen Dialekt verfaßt sind, besonders in der Postille von M. Daukša (an 54% aller Nominalabstrakta).

Im Lettischen sind die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-umo-* viel weiter verbreitet. Hier werden mit diesem von altersher nicht nur Nominal- sondern auch Verbalabstrakta gebildet (Endzelīns 1951, S.333–337; Baltynja 1979, S.15–16). Im Litauischen sind die Verbalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-umo-* sehr selten, größtenteils in den altlit. Schriftdenkmälern (Verf. 1993, §§ 110–112). Aber einige von ihnen haben genaue Entsprechungen im Lett., vgl. alit. *tikūmas* 'Gefügigkeit, Brauchbarkeit': *tīkti* 'taugen, passen, genügen' und lett. *tikums* 'Art, Eigenschaft, Tugend' (Jēgers 1966, S.91–102), alit. *īradumas/inradumas* 'Dienstfertigkeit, Pflicht' Daukš. Post. 289, 551 : *īrāsti* 'sich eingewöhnen' und lett. *īeradums* 'Gewohnheit, Sitte'. Das kann als ein Beweis dafür dienen, daß mit dem Suffix **-umo-* auch Verbalabstrakta schon verhältnismäßig früh gebildet wurden.

In der Periode der Sprachgemeinschaft des Litauischen und des Lettischen waren die Wortbildungsfunktionen der Suffixe **-imo-* und **-umo-* noch nicht getrennt. Diese Suffixe konnten wohl damals als Varianten eines Suffixes **-mo-* aufgetreten sein, das sich den Stammvokalen *i* und *u* angeschlossen hatte. Nur in der Periode der selbständigen Entwicklung der litauischen Sprache gewannen die Suffixe **-imo-* und **-umo-* spezialisierte Funktionen: mit dem Suffix **-imo-* wurden gewöhnlich Verbalabstrakta, mit dem Suffix **-umo-* Nominalabstrakta gebildet. Im Lett. indessen wurde sowohl für die Bildung der Verbal- als auch der Nominalabstrakta das gleiche Suffix **-umo-* benutzt. Vielleicht sind gerade aus diesem Grund die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-imo-* aus dem Lett. überhaupt verschwunden.

H. *-es-

Der Schwund der konsonantischen Stämme führte dazu, daß sich die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix *-es- produktiveren Stämmen anschlossen.

Zur Bildung der Verbalabstrakta werden im Lit. sehr häufig die Suffixe -esys/-esis (< *-es- + *-ijo-) verwendet, vgl. *il-gesỹs* 'Sehnsucht' : *ilgētis* 'sich sehnen', *liūdesỹs* 'Traurigkeit, Trauer' : *liūdėti* 'traurig, betrübt sein, trauen', *šlamesỹs* 'Rauschen' : *šlamėti* 'zwitschern, rauschen, säuseln' (Urbutis 1965, S.291–292). Im žemaitischen Dialekt sind einige Verbalabstrakta mit dem Suffixe -esa (< *-es- + *-ā-) belegt, vgl. *ilgesa* 'Sehnsucht' (Darbėnai, Mosėdis) und *ilgesỹs*.

Im Lett. werden indessen mit dem entsprechenden Suffix -es(i)s Nomina acti gebildet (vgl. *gruveis*/*gruveis* 'Trümmer, Schutt' : *grūt*/*grūt* 'einstürzen, zusammenfallen', *puveis* 'Eiter' : *pūt* 'faulen, modern' und griech. πύος 'Eiter', s. Endzelīns 1951, S.374). Im Lit. sind häufiger Nomina acti mit dem neuen Suffix -ėsis/-ėsys belegt, während solche mit -esys/-esis in den Dialekten manchmal anzutreffen sind, vgl. *degėsis*/*degėsys* und dial. *degėsis* 'Asche' : *dėgti* 'brennen' (Verf. 1993, §§ 131, 137). Das Suffix -ėsis/-ėsys hat sich wohl in der lit. Sprache aus -esys/-esis unter Einfluß des Suffixes -ėsas entwickelt, vgl. *puvėsis*, *puvėsas* und lett. *puveis* 'Eiter'.

Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix *-es- sind in den baltischen Sprachen eine Rarität. Sie liegen nur in den litauischen Dialekten vor, vgl. *nuogesỹs* 'Nacktheit' (Alsėdžiai) : *nuōgas* 'nackt'. Doch auf den archaischen Charakter dieses Wortbildungstyps weisen einige baltische Gewässernamen (vgl. lit. *Žalesà*, *Žālesas*, *Žalesỹs* : *žālias* 'grün', *Rudesà*, *Rūdesas* : *rūdas* 'braun, rötlich' u.a., s. Vanagas 1970, S.136–138) und entsprechende Ableitungen im Altindischen und Griechischen hin (vgl. griech. μεγεθός, ai. *mahas-* 'Größe' : *mah-* 'groß').

I. *-men-

Für die Verbalabstrakta mit dem Suffix *-men-/-mon-/-mñ- ist (wie auch mit *-es/-os-/-as-) im Indogermanischen ein bedeutender semantischer Synkretismus kennzeichnend: sie

hatten von altersher die Bedeutung sowohl der Handlung, des Zustandes als auch die der Objekte bzw. der Resultate von diesen, manchmal sogar der Instrumente. W. Porzig (1924, S. 245) war der Meinung, daß sie in der idg. Ursprache „eine Klasse von Dingen, die geformt und daher krafterfüllt waren“ bezeichneten. Merkmale des archaischen Bedeutungssynkretismus liegen auch in den baltischen Sprachen vor. Im Altlitauischen bedeutete die indogermanische Ableitung *sēmuō* (mit dem Varianten *sēmenis*) nicht nur 'Same' (vgl. preuß. *semen* E 256, aksl. *sěmę*, lat. *sēmen* u. a.), sondern auch 'Säen', vgl. *nesilaus semo ir pjumo* 'die Saat (das Säen) und die Mahd hört nicht auf' Chylinsk. Bibl. Gen. 8, 22; *Siew/seminatio, satus*, [...] *semenies metas* Sirvyd. Dict.³ 402 (aufgrund dieser Bedeutung wurde die Ableitung *sēmenis* allein oder in Verbindung mit dem Nomenklaturterminus *mėnuo* 'Monat' in den litauischen Schriftdenkmälern des 16.–19. Jhs. aus Ostpreußen als Monatsname 'Juni' gebraucht), vgl. noch lit. *augmuō* 'Pflanze, Gewächs, Frucht, Sproß, Jahrwuchs, Geschwür, Anwuchs' : *áugti* 'wachsen, größer werden' und ai. *ojman-* 'Kraft' (Mayrhofer 1956, S. 131).

Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-men-* sind in den baltischen Sprachen noch seltener belegt, vgl. alit. *lygmuō* 'Ähnlichkeit, Ebenbild' : *lýgus* 'gleich, gleichartig, ebenbürtig', dial. *retmenà* 'Lichtung' (*Žagarė*) : *rėtas* 'selten; undicht, licht, dünn, langsam', *sunkmenà* 'schweres Ding' (*Panevėžys*) : *sunkùs* 'schwer, lästig, unangenehm'; lit. *gelmė*, lett. *dzelme* und *dzelmenis*, lit. *gilmenà* 'Tiefe', Jušk. *Žod.* I 703 : *gilùs* 'tief', preuß. *Gilmen*. Das Suffix **-mē-* ist wahrscheinlich durch die Verallgemeinerung der Singularform des Nominativs **-mē* (< **-mēn*) entstanden (Specht 1932, S. 252 ff.; Kazlauskas 1968, S. 276–277). Vom Alter der Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-men-* zeugen die Entsprechungen im Altindischen (Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954, S. 754–755), im Slavischen (Bernštejn 1974, S. 181) und im Germanischen (Meid 1967, S. 129).

J. **-ul-*

Verbalabstrakta mit dem Suffix *-ulas* sind im Litauischen eine Rarität; sie sind belegt in den altlitauischen Schriftdenk-

mälern aus Ostpreußen und auf den litauischen Sprachinseln in Weißrußland, vgl. alit. *geĩdulas* 'begehrliche Lust, Lüsternheit' : *geĩsti* 'wünschen, begehren, verlangen'; lit. dial. *sópulas* 'Schmerz' (Gervėčiai) : *sopėti* 'schmerzen, wehtun'. Im Litauischen werden viel häufiger Verbalabstrakta mit dem *ijo*-stämmigen Suffix *-ulyš/-ulis* jüngerer Herkunft gebildet, vgl. *čiaudulỹs* 'Niesen' : *čiaudėti* 'niesen', *svaigulỹs* 'Schwindel' : *svaĩgti* 'taumeln, schwindelig werden' u. a. Sie haben Entsprechungen im Lett. (vgl. lit. *dusulỹs* : *dūsti* 'außer Atem kommen, ersticken, erlöschen' und lett. *dusulis* 'Atemnot, Engbrüstigkeit') und im Preuß. (vgl. alit. *pa-vidulỹs* 'Augapfel' und preuß. *weydulis* (Sehe) E 81 : *widdai* (sahe) III 113₁). Schon K. Brugmann (1906, S. 361) hat die letztgenannte Ableitung mit ai. *vidura-* 'verständlich, klug', griech. εἰδυλῖς 'wissend, kundig', auch mit lat. *tumulum*, *tumultum* 'Lärm' verglichen, wobei aber in allen diesen Ableitungen als Suffix das erweiterte idg. Suffix **-lo-* vorliegen dürfte. Daß diese Ableitungen mit dem idg. Suffix **-ul-* gebildet sind, bezeugen die von E. Benveniste (1935) angeführten hethitischen Parallelen (*takšul-* 'Friede, Eintracht, Verabredung' u. a.).

Die Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix *-ulyš* liegen im Litauischen vor, vgl. dial. *skanulỹs* 'Appetit' : *skanũs* 'schmackhaft'. Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-ul-* sind auch im Hethitischen belegt, vgl. *aššul-* 'Gutsein' : *aššu-* 'gut' (Ivanov 1963, S. 18).

Die oben angeführten Belege bestätigen, daß früher Verbal- und Nominalabstrakta mit den gleichen Affixen gebildet wurden. Das erlaubt zu folgern, daß in der idg. Ursprache eine einheitliche Wortbildungskategorie der Abstrakta vorhanden gewesen ist, aus der sich späterhin die Kategorien der Verbal- und Nominalabstrakta sowie in manchen idg. Sprachen das besondere Wortbildungsparadigma der Nomina acti entwickelt haben.

Der Differenzierungsprozeß der Wortbildungskategorien der Verbal- bzw. Nominalabstrakta konnte in der Periode des Zerfalls der idg. Ursprache begonnen haben. In jener Zeit sind wohl einige alte nur für die Nominalabstrakta charakteristische Suffixe entstanden.

2. Suffixe der Nominalabstrakta

A. *-osti-

Dieses Suffix ist durch die Verschmelzung zweier Suffixe der Abstrakta *-es/-os- und *-ti- entstanden.

In den baltischen Sprachen sind Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix *-osti- selten belegt, vgl. lit. *ámžinastis* 'Ewigkeit' : *ámžinas* 'ewig', *gyvastis* 'Leben' : *gývas* 'lebendig', *méilastis* 'Freundlichkeit' : *meilūs* 'lieblich, gütig, freundlich', lett. *mielasts* 'Gastmahl', *kungasts* 'Herrschaft' : *kungs* 'Herr'. Manche litauische Bildungen auf -astis (besonders in den altlitauischen Sprachdenkmälern) sind Entlehnungen aus den slavischen Sprachen, vgl. alit. *čystastis* 'Reinlichkeit, Sauberkeit', *pilnastis* 'Fleiß, Sorgfalt', *svétastis* 'Sakrament' u.a. (Eckert 1971, S.25 ff.). Aber das Verbreitungsareal echtlitauischer Abstraktbildungen mit dem Suffix -astis in aukštaitischen wie auch žemaitischen Mundarten und ihre Entsprechungen im Lettischen weisen auf den baltischen Charakter dieses Wortbildungstyps hin (vgl. Skardžius 1943, S.366; Otrębski 1964, S.248–249).

In den slavischen Sprachen indessen ist das Suffix *-osti- eines der am häufigsten gebrauchten Wortbildungsmittel. Ableitungen mit diesem Suffix haben sich besonders intensiv verbreitet in der Periode der selbständigen Entwicklung der einzelnen slavischen Sprachen, aber nicht gleichzeitig in allen. Im Bulgarischen und Tschechischen ist das ziemlich früh geschehen (Andel 1963, S.85 f., 89; Kravčuk 1986). Im Polnischen begannen sich die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix *-osti- im 16. Jh. zu verbreiten (Mróz-Ostrowska 1962, S.303 ff.), im Russischen indessen – erst im 17. Jh. (Auerbach 1973, S.40–61), obwohl dank dem Einfluß des Kirchenslavischen auch schon manche in den Texten des 14. Jhs. vorlagen (Jelitte 1982, S.129 ff.).

Die slavischen Nominalabstrakta auf *-osti- werden mit entsprechenden hethitischen Ableitungen auf -ašti- in Verbindung gebracht, die Raumausmaße bezeichnen, vgl. *dblgostb* und heth. *dalugašti-* 'Länge', slav. *palostb* und heth. *palhašti-*

‘Breite’ (Kronasser 1963, S.208; Ivanov 1987 u. a.). Außerdem wird slav. *qzostb* mit lat. *angustia* ‘Enge, Angst’ verglichen und von manchen Linguisten sogar mit ahd. *angust* ‘Angst’ (Porzig 1959, S.188 f. mit Literatur); doch kann das ahd. Wort eine Entlehnung aus lat. *angustia* (Kluge 1934, S.18; Bammesberger 1973, S.137–138) sein.

Es kann also angenommen werden, daß ursprünglich mit dem Suffix **-osti-* Bezeichnungen für Raumausmaße gebildet wurden (wie in Hethit.), und erst später sind in den einzelnen Sprachgruppen, in der Periode ihrer selbständigen Entwicklung, Nominalabstrakta anderer Semantik entstanden.

Auch das baltische Suffix der Verbalabstrakta **-esti-* (< **-es-* + **-ti-*) wird häufig von dem Suffix **-osti-* abgeleitet. Doch ist dieses baltische Suffix wohl im baltischen Sprachgebiet entstanden, denn 1.) hat der größte Teil der Ableitungen mit dem Suffix *-estis* auch heute im Litauischen Entsprechungen zu dem Suffix *-esys/-esis* und 2.) werden im žemaitischen Dialekt und in einigen aukschaitischen Mundarten des Memelgebietes wesensgleiche Ableitungen mit dem Suffix *-esnis* (< **-es-* + **-ni-*) gebraucht, die keine Entsprechungen in anderen verwandten Sprachen haben, vgl. lit. *gailesys*, *gailestis* und *gailesnis* ‘Mitleid; Reue’ : *gaileti(s)* ‘Reue empfinden, bedauern, reuen’ (ausführlicher Verf. 1993, §§ 64–67).

B. **-otā/*-etā*

Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-otā* (< *o* + **-tā*), das adjektivischer Herkunft ist, sind in den baltischen Sprachen nicht zahlreich belegt, vgl. lett. *jaunata* ‘Jugend’ : *jaûns* ‘jung, neu’, lit. *gyvatà* ‘Leben’ : *gývas* ‘lebendig’, preuß. *giwato* (Lebin) E 152. Die letztgenannte Ableitung wurde lange direkt mit dem lat. *vīta*, griech. *βιοτή* ‘Leben’ in Verbindung gebracht. Aber in letzter Zeit begründen manche Forscher die Ansicht, daß die erwähnten Ableitungen nicht auf die gleiche Weise und nicht zur gleichen Zeit entstanden sind (Fraenkel 1962, S.155; Bammesberger 1973, S.68–73). In den slavischen und germanischen Sprachen ist der Wortbildungstyp der Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-otā/-etā* sehr produktiv und hat

augenscheinliche Entsprechungen in den indoiranischen Sprachen (vgl. lit. *pìlnatà* 'Überfluß' : *pìlnas* 'voll', aksl. *pl̃nnota*, ahd. *fullida* 'Fülle' und ai. *pūrnatā* 'Vollsein, Fülle').

Es ist zu verzeichnen, daß das Suffix **-otā/-etā* der Nominalabstrakta vom Suffix **-to/-tā-* abgeleitet ist, das von altersher auch zur Bildung von Verbalabstrakta (auch Nomina acti) diente, vgl. lit. *sraūtas* 'Strom, Strömung, Flut', *srūtos* 'Jauche, flüssiger Stalldünger, (Tier)harn' (: *srūti*, *sravēti* 'fließen'), lett. *straits* 'Stromschnelle, Regenbach', ai. *śrota-* 'Strömung, Strom, Fluß', ir. *sruth* 'Fluß' u. a.

C. **-ijō/-ijā*

Im Baltischen werden (im Gegensatz zum Slavischen, Indoiranischen, Griechischen, Lateinischen) die Nominalabstrakta mit diesem adjektivischen Affix beinahe überhaupt nicht gebildet. Er liegt eventuell vor in der Ableitung lit. *sapnỹs/sāpnis*, lett. *sapnis* 'Traum' (vgl. ai. *svapn(i)yam*, lat. *somnium*, slav. *sъnbje*, griech. ἐν-ύπνιον 'Traum' : **sūopno-* 'Schlaf') und in einigen seltenen litauischen Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix *-ija*, vgl. dial. *pìlnija* 'Vollmond' : *pìlnas* 'voll', *nuogalijà* 'das Nichts- zum-Anziehen-Haben' : *nuogālis* 'nackte Person'. Doch konnten diese Ableitungen auch neuerer Herkunft sein. Von altersher werden im Litauischen mit dem Suffix *-ija* Nomina collectiva gebildet, vgl. lit. *brolijà* 'Brüder und Schwestern' (Vištytis) und aksl. *bratŕoja* 'Familie', griech. φρᾶτρίᾱ 'Bruderschaft, Familie, Stamm'.

D. **-ībā*

Bei der Entstehung des Wortbildungsparadigmas der Nominalabstrakta im Baltischen spielten eine wichtige Rolle die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-ībā*, dessen archaische Form am besten im Lettischen erhalten ist. Im Litauischen sind die Nominalabstrakta mit der archaischen Form dieses Suffixes nur in den peripherischen Mundarten, größtenteils an der Grenze zu Weißrußland zu finden. Die Entstehung der paradigmatischen Variante dieses Suffixes **-ībē* – sie ist besonders im Lit. verbreitet – wird durch die Produktivität der *ē*-Stämme be-

dingt; den urbaltischen Charakter dieser Suffixvariante bestätigt preuß. *pagonbe* (Heidenschaft) E 795, das aber wohl korrigiert werden müßte als **pagonībe* (vgl. Endzelīns 1943, S.218; Mažiulis 1981, S.45, 297), vgl. lit. *pagonybė*.

Die Belege aus dem Altlitauischen weisen darauf hin, daß früher die Ableitungen dieses Wortbildungstyps vorherrschten. In den Schriftdenkmälern des 16.–17. Jhs., die auf den ostaukschaitischen und žemaitischen Dialekten gründen, lagen Ableitungen mit dem Suffix *-ybė* viel häufiger vor als andere Nominalabstrakta: sie bilden 36–61% der Ableitungen dieser Wortbildungskategorie. Aber schon in jener Zeit wurden die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix *-ybė* in dem westaukschaitischen Dialekt von produktiveren Ableitungen mit den Suffixen *-ystė* und *-umas* verdrängt und standen diesen zahlenmäßig nach. In der litauischen Gegenwartssprache sind die Abteilungen mit dem Suffix *-umas* zahlreicher als die mit dem Suffix *-ybė* (Urbutis 1965, S.306–310). In einem ähnlichen Verhältnis stehen die Nominalabstrakta mit den Suffixen *-ums* und *-ība* in der lettischen Gegenwartssprache (Endzelīns 1951, S.333, 392; Saule-Sleina 1959).

Das baltische Suffix **-ībā* ist wohl am engsten mit dem slavischen *-bba* verbunden. Doch unterscheiden sich diese Suffixe im Stammvokal. Das slavische Suffix *-bba* entstand, als sich das Suffix **-bhā* den substantivischen *i*-Stämmen anschloß, vgl. aksl. *tatbba* 'Dieberei' : *tatb* 'Dieb'. Das baltische Suffix **-ībā* ist indessen wohl aus dem gleichen Suffix **-bhā* entstanden, das sich aber mit dem *u*-Stamm der männlichen Adjektive korrelierenden *ī*-Stamm der weiblichen Adjektive anschloß, vgl. lit. dial. *gudrýba* (lett. *gudrība*) 'Klugheit' : lit. *gudrī* 'kluge' (vgl. Arumaa 1955, S.24; Martynov 1973, S.17).

Es unterscheidet sich auch die weitere Entwicklung der Ableitungen mit diesen Suffixen in den baltischen und slavischen Sprachen. Das Suffix **-ībā* ist in den baltischen Sprachen eines der wichtigsten Wortbildungsmittel der Nominalabstrakta, und erst Ende des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jhs. begann es sich im Litauischen und Lettischen intensiv zu verbreiten; gleichfalls als Wortbildungsmittel der Verbalabstrakta (vgl. Baltynja 1979, S.20–22; Verf. 1993, § 113). In den slavischen Sprachen

indessen war es umgekehrt: sehr früh begann man das Suffix *-bba* zur Bildung von Verbalabstrakta zu benutzen, während Nominalabstrakta mit diesem Suffix sehr selten belegt sind. Die Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-ībā* haben sich somit als ein besonderer Wortbildungstyp in den baltischen Sprachen herausgebildet.

E. **-īstā*

Nominalabstrakta mit diesem Suffix (vgl. lit. dial. *jaunystà* 'Jugend' : *jáunas* 'jung', *senystà* 'Alter' : *sēnas* 'alt'), besonders mit seiner paradigmatischen Variante **-īstē*, deren Entstehung wie auch die von **-ībē* auf der Produktivität der *ē*-Stämme gründete, ist im Lit. ziemlich häufig belegt; im 16.–17. Jh. waren die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix sehr produktiv, besonders in den westaukschaitischen Dialekten. In jener Periode wurden sie nicht nur von Substantiven abgeleitet wie in der Gegenwartssprache (vgl. *mergỹstē* 'Jungfrauenstand' : *mergà* 'Mädchen, Jungfrau'), sondern auch von Adjektiven, unter ihnen auch von solchen, die mit dem Suffix *-ingas* gebildet waren (vgl. häufig belegt sind die Ableitungen *mielaširdingỹstē* 'Barmherzigkeit' : *mielaširdingas* 'barmherzig', *dėkingỹstē* 'Dankbarkeit' : *dėkingas* 'dankbar' u.a.) und von Entlehnungen (vgl. alit. *bagotỹstē* 'Reichtum' : *bagótas* 'reich', *kytrỹstē* 'List, Schlauheit, Klugheit' : *kỹtras* 'listig, schlau' u.a.). In manchen Schriftdenkmälern, die im 16.–17. Jh. im westaukschaitischen Dialekt verfaßt waren (J. Bretkūnas, Postille; Lexicon Lithuanicum; S. B. Chylinski, Neues Testament), herrschen die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix *-ystē* unter den Nominalabstrakta vor. Späterhin, als sich die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix *-umas* verbreitet hatten, nahm der Gebrauch der Ableitungen mit *-ystē* ab.

Im Lett. fehlt dieser Typ der Ableitungen beinahe ganz: J. Endzelīns (1943, S. 53) erwähnt nur eine dialektale Ableitung *keņīste* 'Königreich'.

In den preußischen Texten ist nur eine Ableitung mit dem Suffix **-īstā cristionisto* (Christenheit) E 794 belegt, die genau der lit. Form *kriksčionystà* entspricht.

Diese Gegebenheiten erlauben den Schluß, daß die Nominalabstrakta mit dem Suffix **-īstā-* in den baltischen Sprachen (vor allem wohl in den Westdialekten) dann entstanden, als schon Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-ībā* verbreitet waren. Es waren substantivierte Adjektive, vgl. lit. dial. *balỹstas* 'mora-stig' (Lazūnai), *kiaulỹstas* 'unhöflich' (Tauragnai, Paringys, Kuktiškės), *ugnỹstas* 'hitzig' (kennzeichnend für das Ostaukschaitische). Diese Adjektive haben zahlreiche Entsprechungen im Slavischen, vgl. aruss. *rěčistō* 'beredt', *plečistō* 'breitschultrig', poln. *barwisty* 'farbig' u.a. (Vaillant 1974, S.469–471; Kiparsky 1975, S.219). Das eigentliche adjektivische Suffix **-īsto-* (eine Innovation im Baltischen und Slavischen) ist entweder eine Variante des Suffixes **-īto-* (vgl. lit. *akỹtas* 'äugig', aksl. *srōditō* 'zürnend', lat. *aurītus* 'lange Ohren habend') oder entstanden durch den Anschluß des Suffixes **-sto-* an den *ijo*-Stamm.

F. **-isko-*

In den altpreußischen Schriftdenkmälern herrschen unter den Nominalabstrakta Ableitungen mit dem adjektivischen Suffix **-isko-* vor, vgl. *deiwūtisku* (Seligkeit) III 75₂₂, *labbisku* (Güte) 85₂, acc. sg. *ginniskan* (Freundschaft) 125₂₋₃, *kailūstiskun* (Gesundheit) 53₁₆ u. a.

Nur wenige Nominalabstrakta mit dem entsprechenden Suffix *-išķē* finden wir auch im Litauischen. Unter diesen ist am gebräuchlichsten die Ableitung *jauniškē* 'Jugend' (vgl. *jáuniškas* 'jugendlich' Rimšė). Zwei andere *berniškē* 'Kindheit' (vgl. *bérniškas* 'knechtisch; jugendlich'), *vieniškē* 'Einsamkeit' sind selten anzutreffen und nur in den alten Schriftdenkmälern belegt, die auf den westaukschaitischen Dialekt gründen.

Manchmal gewinnen Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-isko-* im Prozeß ihrer Substantivierung die Bedeutung eines Nominalabstraktums auch in manchen altgermanischen Sprachen, vgl. got. *barniski*, anord. *bernska* 'Kindheit', *fólska* 'Dummheit, Narrheit' (Meid 1967, S.197; Range 1977, S.128).

Alle diese Fakten bezeugen, daß zur Bildung der Nominalabstrakta das adjektivische Suffix **-isko-* schon ziemlich lange

verwendet wurde, besonders in den westbaltischen Sprachen. Es anzunehmen, daß sich im Altpreußischen die Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-isko-* verbreiteten und aus dem Zentrum der Wortbildungskategorie der Nominalabstrakta die älteren Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-ībā/-ībē* verdrängten.

Andere Wortbildungstypen der Nominalabstrakta im Litauischen und Lettischen sind selten und später belegt.

Schlußfolgerungen

1. Die Gegebenheiten in den baltischen und anderen verwandten Sprachen zeigen, daß ein großer Teil der Wortbildungsaffixe, die von altersher kennzeichnend waren für die Verbalabstrakta, auch zur Bildung der Nominalabstrakta gebraucht wurde. Eine solche doppelte Funktion erfüllten von altersher die Affixe **-ti-*, **-tu-*, **-mo-*, **-es-*, **-men-*, **-ul-*, **-o-*, **-ā-*, **-i-*, **-(i)ē-*.

2. Das wichtigste Bildungsmittel der Nominalabstrakta in den baltischen Sprachen ist das Suffix **-ībā* ($< \bar{i} + *-bhā$), das auf baltischem Sprachgrund entstanden ist. Ein entsprechendes slavisches Suffix *-vba* ($< i + *-bhā$) unterscheidet sich durch den Stammvokal. Auch im Urbaltischen wurde für die Bildung der Nominalabstrakta das adjektivische Suffix **-īsto-* gebraucht, eine Innovation im Baltischen und Slavischen, entstanden aus dem Suffix **-to-*. Im Lit. sowie Lett. verbreiteten sich in der Periode ihrer selbständigen Entwicklung Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-umo-* und im Altpreußischen mit dem Suffix **-isko-*; sie verdrängten mit der Zeit die entsprechenden älteren Ableitungen mit dem Suffix **-ībā* aus dem Zentrum der Wortbildungskategorie der Nominalabstrakta.

3. In den baltischen Sprachen sind Ableitungen mit den alten abgeleiteten Suffixen **-osti-* ($< *-es-/os- + *-ti-$) und **-otā* ($< o + *-tā$) verhältnismäßig rar, die die Nominalabstrakta charakterisieren. Im Baltischen werden auch selten Nominalabstrakta mit dem adjektivischen Suffix **-ijō/-ijā-* gebildet. Dadurch unterscheiden sich die baltischen Sprachen

von den slavischen, in denen sich die Suffixe *-ostb*, *-ota*, *-bje*, genauso wie *-bstvo* (< *-bskʷ* + *-tvo*) zu den wichtigsten Bildungsmitteln der Nominalabstrakta entwickelt haben. In der Zeit, als in den slavischen und manchen anderen verwandten Sprachen dieser Innovationsprozeß stattfand, blieben die baltischen Sprachen von ihm beinahe unberührt. Das könnte als ein Argument dienen für die sog. Divergenzhypothese, nach der sich die baltischen und slavischen Sprachen aus unterschiedlichen Dialekten der idg. Ursprache entwickelt hatten.

4. Der erörterte Stoff erlaubt anzunehmen, daß sich die Wortbildungskategorie der Verbal- bzw. Nominalabstrakta aus einer gemeinsamen idg. Kategorie der Abstrakta entwickelt hat. Der Differenzierungsprozeß dieser beiden Wortbildungskategorien hat wahrscheinlich in der Periode des Zerfalls der idg. Ursprache begonnen. Aus dieser gemeinsamen Kategorie der Abstrakta hat sich in manchen Sprachen neben den Verbalabstrakta ein besonderes Wortbildungsparadigma der Nomina acti entwickelt.

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II. BESPRECHUNGSAUFSATZ

La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites*

Plan: **I.** Présentation du HZL.: méthode suivie et résultats obtenus. – **II.** L'inventaire des valeurs syllabiques en usage à Hattuša. Remarques sur quelques valeurs rares. – **III.** Les sumérogrammes: révision des lectures. – **IV.** Index locorum. – **V.** Conclusion.

I. Présentation du HZL.: Méthode suivie et résultats obtenus.

La publication du Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon (cité ci-dessous par le sigle HZL.) répond à un desideratum unanimement exprimé. En effet, les transcriptions des textes hittites parues les trente dernières années se conformaient généralement aux valeurs indiquées par J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Keilschrift-Lesebuch/II, Heidelberg 1960 (signalé ci-après à l'aide de l'abréviation HKL./II); mais ce répertoire de signes qui a rendu de grands services aux hittitologues débutants, rédigé dans un esprit essentiellement pédagogique, négligeait les sumérogrammes et les valeurs syllabiques rares¹. En outre, les progrès incessants de la philologie hittite (datation des textes, analyses paléographiques, recensements lexicographiques) ont permis d'établir un nombre important de lectures idéographiques nouvelles, tracer l'évolution morphologique des signes, préciser le sens ainsi que l'emploi des sumérogrammes et des akkadogrammes dans les textes hittites trouvés à Hattuša.

Le moment était propice pour entreprendre la synthèse de ces faits nouveaux, compléter l'inventaire des valeurs syllabiques et idéographiques en usage à Boğazköy, procéder à une révision systématique de leurs transcriptions (en tenant compte des données complexes que nous livre, de son côté, l'Assyriologie). Toutes ces tâches qui demandent de grandes compétences, beaucoup de temps et d'efforts, ont été menées à bien par les Auteurs du HZL.; ces savants ont mis à la disposition de la communauté scientifique un ouvrage sûr, bien informé, qui fera date dans les études anatoliennes. Comme il est indiqué

* À propos de l'ouvrage publié par Christel Rüster/Erich Neu: Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten. (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 2.) Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1989. 388 S. 4°. DM 98,-.

¹ Noter les premiers compléments apportés par E. Laroche *in* RHA. 19, fasc. 68 (1961), pp. 42-45.

dans la préface, les travaux de R. Borger² et de H. Otten³ ont été éminemment profitables à la réalisation du HZL.

Ce lexique – dédié à la mémoire d’Emil Forrer – comporte 375 lemmes (pp.87–282). Les signes sont classés suivant un ordre différent de celui précédemment adopté par J. Friedrich; mais une table de concordance (Konkordanz von Zeichenlisten, pp.75–85) permet au lecteur d’avoir aisément les numéros correspondants des listes établies par J. Friedrich (1960), E. Forrer (1922) et R. Borger (²1981, ⁴1988).

En tête de chaque lemme apparaît le signe sous sa forme la plus répandue dans les archives de Hattuša. Mais, pour certains signes, les recherches paléographiques ont mis en évidence, de façon incontestable, des modifications de structure produites au cours des trois périodes du hittite; c’est pourquoi, sont citées deux variantes⁴ en tête de 104 lemmes⁵ et, exceptionnellement, trois variantes⁶ dans 9 cas⁷. Les 113 signes en question sont ordonnés dans le HZL. d’après la forme qu’ils présentaient en vieux-hittite⁸.

Ensuite se trouve(nt) indiquée(s) : 1. la (éventuellement les) valeur(s) phonétique(s) et/ou 2. la (parfois les) valeur(s) idéographique(s). Les Auteurs men-

² Cf. HZL., p.7: “Wenn uns die Anpassung des hethitischen Umschriftsystems an das heute in der Assyriologie übliche gelungen sein sollte, verdanken wir dies im wesentlichen R. Borgers Zeichenliste und seiner persönlichen selbstlosen Ratgeberschaft.”

³ Cf. *ibid.*: “Ohne die lexikalischen Sammlungen des von H. Otten aufgebauten Boğazköy-Archivs (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz) wäre dieses Zeichenlexikon nicht möglich geworden.”

⁴ Cf. *ibid.* p.17, § 4.1: “Daher haben wir uns hinsichtlich einer Zeichen-datierung ganz bewußt auf diejenigen Keilschriftzeichen beschränkt, die deutlich eine Unterscheidung nach alt- und junghethitischen oder auch mittelhethitischen Zeichenformen zulassen. Das Nebeneinander von zwei Leitzeichen gestattet auch die definitorische Lesart: relativ alt – relativ jung”; *ibid.* p.19, § 6.1.

⁵ Il s’agit des signes: n^{os} 6, 9, 12, 14, 18, 21, 30, 34–36, 43, 44, 51, 54, 67, 69, 71, 72, 74, 80–82, 86, 89, 92, 93, 95–97, 105, 106, 113, 114, 117, 119, 124, 128, 129, 133, 156, 160, 166, 167, 170–173, 183–187, 189, 192, 196–200, 202, 205, 208, 209 (1), 211, 213, 224, 228, 229, 231, 234, 237, 238, 240–243, 250, 265, 272, 291, 294, 298, 300, 301, 306, 309, 310, 312–314, 316, 322, 331–334, 337, 341, 343, 345, 353, 357, 360, 367.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.* p.19, § 6.1: “Sind rechts neben dem eigentlichen Leitzeichen noch zwei weitere Zeichenformen angeführt, dann ist das Leitzeichen als althethitisch, das zweite Zeichen als mittelhethitisch und die dritte Zeichenform als junghethitisch zu verstehen.”

⁷ Il s’agit des signes: n^{os} 7, 10, 19, 40, 118, 214, 215, 299, 340.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.* p.19, § 6.1: “In diesen Fällen entschied jeweils die althethitische Zeichenform über die Einordnung des betreffenden Keilschriftzeichens in die Gesamtabfolge innerhalb des Zeichenlexikons.”

tionnent à part (et sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité⁹) les valeurs propres aux termes akkadiens, hattis et hurrites. Ce lexique propose un mode de transcription conforme au 'BCE-System' (: le système qu'ont élaboré R. Borger, M. Civil et F. Ellermeier pour les transcriptions suméro-akkadiennes)¹⁰.

Dans les lemmes, figurent, en troisième lieu, les variantes qu'a connues chaque signe durant les 350 ans environ (de Hattušili I^{er} à Šuppiluliuma II) que couvrent les documents hittites¹¹. M^{me} Christel Rüster, avec sa précision coutumière, a excellemment reproduit les signes et leurs variantes (dont le nombre dépasse les 3.200) après collation des tablettes ou examen minutieux des photographies (rassemblées dans la Foto-Sammlung des Boğazköy-Archivs). Sur la foi des copies cunéiformes ont été incluses quelques variantes seulement qui n'ont pas pu être vérifiées (HZL. n^{os} 127/1, 156/7, 227/2). Toutes ces formes se trouvent aussi commodément classées dans la 'Tabelle der Keilschriftzeichen' (pp.22-23, 27-74). Ce travail rigoureux mérite d'être salué avec reconnaissance.

Le HZL. (dont la couverture est ornée du signe ^DDALHAMUN₄ [n^o 352]) ne comporte pas de tables paléographiques avec datation des signes et références précises. Un nombre important de tables ainsi conçues figure déjà dans les volumes de la collection Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten dont fait partie le HZL. aussi¹². Mais il serait prématuré de tenter une synthèse de l'ensemble

⁹ Cf. *ibid.* pp. 19-20, § 6.2: "Für die akkadischen wie auch für die besonderen (proto-)hattischen und hurritischen Lautwerte ist keine Vollständigkeit angestrebt worden. ... Da für das (Proto-)Hattische und das Boğazköy-Hurritische systematische Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von keilschriftlichem Syllabogramm und Lautwert noch ausstehen, sind die von uns dafür angegebenen Lautwerte eher als Zufallsfunde zu verstehen."

¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.* pp. 16-17, § 3: "Die Autoren des vorliegenden Zeichenlexikons haben es sich zur Aufgabe gemacht, das bisher allgemein in der Hethitologie verwendete Umschriftsystem auf dem Hintergrund des 'BCE-Systems' mit dem in der Assyriologie gebräuchlichen Umschriftverfahren abzustimmen, um auf diese Weise ein durch nichts gerechtfertigtes Sondersystem der kleinasiatischen Randzone zu vermeiden."

¹¹ Pour la disposition des variantes, les Auteurs ont adopté le principe suivant (HZL., p. 20, § 6.3): "... die Zeichenvarianten, die in der Regel nach äußerer Ähnlichkeit, in bestimmtem Umfang auch nach dem Belegalter angeordnet sind."

¹² La monographie Hethitische Keilschrift-Paläographie, StBoT. 20, 1972 (von Chr. Rüster mit einer Einleitung von H. Otten) et StBoT. 21, 1975 (von E. Neu-Chr. Rüster), constitue pour les hittitologues un ouvrage de référence avec des données extrêmement utiles à la datation des textes. Noter également les tables qui se trouvent dans: StBoT. 8, 1969, p. 43; 17, 1973, p. 3; 18, 1974, pp. 4-5; 22, 1976, p. 4; 30, 1985, pp. 59, 82, 110, 142, 219, 302; StBoT. Beiheft 1, 1988, p. 2; Fs. H. Otten¹ [1973], pp. 224, 237; Fs. H. G. Güterbock¹ [1974], p. 247; Fs. S. Alp [1992], p. 481; etc.

des textes hittites actuellement connus dans la mesure où leur élaboration philologique est loin d'être terminée¹³.

En quatrième lieu, les lemmes offrent pour chaque signe la liste des formes qui le comportent: sumérogramme(s), akkadogramme(s), notations idéographiques ou semi-idéographiques de noms propres (noms divins, de personnes, de lieux), graphies abrégées. Cette section se termine souvent par une série de remarques qui concernent la lecture, le sens ou la datation des formes en question. Les sumérogrammes composés et autres types complexes (formés de deux ou plusieurs signes) sont généralement cités en cunéiforme et interprétés sous le signe initial (mais un renvoi [*Querverweis*] est ajouté à la fin des lemmes des autres signes).

La consultation du HZL. est particulièrement aisée, grâce aux huit tables qu'il contient (pp.283–376). Le lecteur a notamment à sa disposition une liste alphabétique des valeurs phonétiques (pp.285–303) et les répertoires des sumérogrammes et akkadogrammes cités dans cet ouvrage (avec traduction en allemand et en turc, pp.304–361 et 362–369). Enfin, à l'usage des débutants sept tables ont été placées en appendice (pp.378–388).

Aussi bien la conception que la réalisation du HZL. nous paraissent exemplaires. Dans la suite de notre compte rendu, seront examinés, d'une part, l'inventaire des valeurs syllabiques hittites et, d'autre part, la mise à jour des lectures des sumérogrammes.

II. L'inventaire des valeurs syllabiques en usage à Hattuša. Remarques sur quelques valeurs rares.

Aux Auteurs du HZL. revient le grand mérite d'avoir établi l'inventaire exhaustif des valeurs syllabiques hittites grâce au dépouillement systématique des tablettes de Boğazköy. Dans leur lexique sont citées des valeurs syllabiques de trois ordres: α) celles qui reflètent les éléments sonores entrant dans la constitution des divers vocables de la langue hittite; β) celles, peu usuelles¹⁴, confinées essentiellement dans l'onomastique (noms divins, de personnes, de lieux); et γ) celles – mentionnées à part – qui sont particulières aux termes akkadiens, hattis¹⁵ et hourrites¹⁶. Les valeurs qui ap-

¹³ Comme le remarquent avec raison les Auteurs (p. 17, § 4.1): "... dazu hätten auch noch zu viele Vorarbeiten gefehlt".

¹⁴ Les valeurs rares sont généralement indiquées entre parenthèses; cf. HZL., p. 18, § 5: "Lautwerte, von denen wir meinten, daß sie seltener zur Anwendung gelangten, wurden von uns in runde Klammern gesetzt"; *ibid.* p. 19, § 6.2.

¹⁵ Valeurs typiques des textes en hattis: áš, áz (n° 241); lál (n° 362); sa (n° 200); si (n° 86); 𐎶a_a (n° 326); 𐎶e_e (n° 322); 𐎶i_i (n° 319); 𐎶i_pi (n° 320); 𐎶u_u (n° 323); 𐎶u_ú (n° 321); 𐎶u_{pu} (n° 324 dans un inédit [E. Neu mündlich, Paris 28 mai '93]).

¹⁶ Valeurs attestées dans le corpus hourrite de Boğazköy: g/kàr (n° 240); ge_e

La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites 305

partiennent aux catégories α) et β) s'élèvent à 283; elles se laissent répartir ainsi:

1. V(oy.): 5;
2. VC: 48 [dont 36 valeurs déjà répertoriées dans le HKL./II et 12 valeurs complémentaires signalées dans le HZL.];
3. CV: 93 [dont 47 valeurs déjà répertoriées dans le HKL./II et 46 valeurs complémentaires signalées dans le HZL.];
4. CVC: 137 [dont 79 valeurs déjà répertoriées dans le HKL./II et 58 valeurs complémentaires signalées dans le HZL.].

Le tableau ci-joint donne le détail des faits.

N. B. Les valeurs complémentaires sont imprimées en italiques.

Valeurs syllabiques hittites enregistrées dans le HZL.

a HZL. n° 364	e n° 187	i n° 217	u n° 261 / ú n° 195
Voy. + Labiale	Labiale + Voy.	CVC	
ab/p n° 97	ba, (<i>pá</i>) n° 205 pa n° 174 / <i>pà</i> n° 292	pád/t n° 13 bar, pár n° 20	⇒ bal, pal n° 4 (<i>paš</i>) n° 244
ib/p, <i>eb/p</i> n° 44	bi, <i>bé</i> , pí, <i>pé</i> n° 153 <i>pè</i> , <i>pì</i> n° 13	píd/t n° 13 pir n° 316 / (<i>pir_x</i>) n° 20	bíl, pí, (<i>pél</i>) n° 172 piš, biš n° 244 <i>püş</i> n° 244
ub/p n° 152 am n° 168	bu, pu n° 339 ma n° 208	bur, pur n° 245 <i>maḥ</i> n° 10 mar n° 191	⇒ man n° 296 maš n° 20
im, <i>em</i> n° 337	mi, (<i>mé</i>) n° 267 me, (<i>mì</i>) n° 357	(<i>mil</i> , <i>mel</i>) n° 151 meš n° 360	miš n° 112 (<i>mut</i>) n° 26 /
um n° 98	mu n° 17	(<i>múd/t</i>) n° 13	mur n° 333
Voy. + Dentale	Dentale + Voy.	CVC	
ad/t n° 105	da, (<i>tá</i>) n° 214 ta, (<i>dá</i>) n° 160	tab/p, (<i>dáb/p</i>) n° 90 taḥ, (<i>daḥ</i>) n° 171 dam, (<i>tám</i>) n° 298 (<i>tan_x</i>) n° 330 <i>dáš</i> , <i>táš</i> n° 356 /	⇒ tág/k/[q], (<i>dag/k/q</i>) n° 243 tal, (<i>dal</i>) n° 32 dan, <i>tan</i> n° 196 / tar n° 7 táš n° 241

(n° 31); gu₄ (n° 157); li₈ (n° 277); li₁₃ (n° 172); lib/p_x (n° 306); né_e (n° 76); nim (n° 74); sa (n° 200); šel₄ (n° 297); šig/k/q (n° 255); taḡ (n° 90); dib/p et tib/p (n° 210); tíš (n° 51); ub_x (n° 98); ūa_a (n° 326); ūa_{ap} (n° 318); ūe_e (n° 322); ūi_i (n° 319); ūi_{ip} (n° 325); ūu_u (n° 323); ūu_ú (n° 321); ūu_{pu} (n° 324).

id/t, <i>ed/t</i> n° 215	di, <i>de</i> , (<i>ti</i> ₄) n° 312 ti, (<i>di</i> , <i>te</i> ₉) n° 37 te, (<i>ti</i> ₇ , <i>de</i> ₄) n° 249	<i>dim</i> , <i>tim</i> n° 14 / tin, <i>tén</i> n° 330 tir, (<i>ter</i>) n° 344	(<i>dim</i> _x , <i>tim</i> _x) n° 298 (<i>dir</i> [?]) n° 89 <i>diš</i> , <i>tiš</i> n° 356
ud/t n° 316	du, (<i>tù</i>) n° 128 tu, (<i>dú</i>) n° 346 / <i>tu</i> ₄ n° 125	<i>tub/p</i> , (<i>dub/p</i>) n° 99 tum, (<i>dum</i>) n° 125	<i>túh</i> n° 171 <i>túl</i> n° 180 dur, <i>túr</i> n° 202
an n° 8	na n° 15	nab/p n° 100	⇒ nam, (<i>nan</i> _x [?]) n° 39
in, (<i>en</i> ₆) n° 354 en, (<i>in</i> ₄) n° 40 un n° 197	ni, <i>né</i> n° 72 ne, (<i>ni</i> ₅) n° 169 nu n° 11	nir, (<i>nàr</i>) n° 204	(<i>níš</i>) n° 178
Voy. + Dorsale ag/k[/q ¹⁷] n° 81	Dorsale + Voy. ga n° 159 ka n° 133 [qa=] <i>ga</i> ₅ , <i>ka</i> ₄ n° 21	CVC <i>kab/p</i> , <i>gáb/p</i> n° 49 gal, (<i>kál</i>) n° 242 kam, (<i>gám</i>) n° 355 kar n° 250 <i>gaš</i> , <i>kaš</i> n° 153	⇒ gad/t, kad/t n° 173 kal, (<i>gal</i> ₉) n° 196 gán, kán n° 61 <i>gàr</i> , <i>kàr</i> n° 240 gaz, (<i>kaz</i> [?]) n° 122
ig/k[/q], eg/k[/q] n° 67	gi, <i>ge</i> n° 30 ki, <i>ke</i> , (<i>gi</i> ₅ , <i>ge</i> ₅) n° 313	<i>kib/p</i> n° 260 (<i>kid/t</i> ₉) n° 173 (<i>kir</i> ₈) n° 250	(<i>gít</i>) n° 339 / gir, kir n° 244 / kiš n° 273 (<i>kiz</i> _x) n° 122
ug/k[/q] n° 93	<i>gu</i> n° 304 ku, (<i>gu</i> ₅) n° 206	gul, (<i>kúl</i>) n° 271 kum, (<i>gum</i>) n° 120 kur n° 329	<i>kul</i> n° 12 gur, <i>kùr</i> n° 185
Voy. + h (vélaire spirante) ah n° 332	h + Voy. ha n° 367	CVC <i>hab/p</i> n° 179 <i>har</i> n° 333	⇒ had/t n° 174 <i>hal</i> n° 2 <i>haš</i> n° 7

¹⁷ Les Auteurs du HZL. suivent avec raison l'enseignement de H. Otten selon lequel "... das Hethitische kein Phonem [q] besaß" (MIO. 1, 1953, p.136); les transcriptions aq, i/eq, uq / qa / liq, šaq, táq sont purement conventionnelles.

La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites 307

iḫ, eḫ n° 332	ḫi, <i>he</i> n° 335 / ḫé, (<i>hí</i>) n° 113	(<i>hel</i> [?]) n° 2	<i>hub/p</i> n° 50
uḫ n° 332	ḫu n° 24	ḫul n° 290	ḫur n° 333
Voy. + Sifflante aš n° 1	Sifflante + Voy. ša n° 158 šá n° 369	CVC šab/p n° 175 šaḫ n° 309 (<i>šam</i>) n° 195 / šar n° 353 / (<i>šar_x</i>) n° 5 šir n° 5 / (<i>šir₉</i>) n° 353	⇒ šag/k[/q] n° 192 šal n° 297 šām n° 103 šīp n° 175
iš, (<i>eš₁₅</i>) n° 151	ši, (<i>še₂₀</i>) n° 288		
eš, (<i>iš</i>) n° 331	še n° 338		
(<i>eš₁₇</i>) n° 360 uš n° 132	šī, šé n° 86 šu n° 68 / šú n° 251	šum n° 91	šur n° 42
Voy. + Affriquée az n° 92 iz, <i>ez</i> n° 178	Affriquée + Voy. za n° 366 zi, <i>ze</i> n° 33 / zé, (<i>zī</i>) n° 108	CVC	
uz n° 340	zu n° 209	zul n° 46	<i>zum</i> n° 300
Voy. + Latérale al n° 183 il, (<i>él</i>) n° 117	Latérale + Voy. la n° 95 li, <i>le</i> n° 343 / (<i>lī</i>) n° 72 / (<i>lī</i>) n° 288 / <i>lī₁₂</i> n° 286	CVC <i>lal</i> n° 358 lig/k[/q] n° 51	⇒ lam n° 306 liš n° 286
el, (<i>il₅</i>) n° 307			
ul n° 275	lu n° 210	<i>luḫ</i> n° 198	<i>lum</i> n° 310
Voy. + Vibrante ar n° 289 ir, <i>er</i> n° 77 ur n° 51 / úr n° 124	Vibrante + Voy. ra n° 233 ri, <i>re</i> n° 32 ru n° 43 / (<i>rū</i>) n° 1	CVC rad/t n° 29 <i>riš</i> n° 192	
	Semi-voyelle + Voy. īa n° 218 ūa n° 317 (<i>ui₄</i>) n° 267 / <i>ui₅</i> n° 131		

La phonétique du hittite et des autres dialectes anatoliens soulève plusieurs problèmes ardues qui n'ont pas encore reçu de solution définitive; ils sont dus, en partie, à la nature même de l'écriture cunéiforme qui – par son caractère syllabique, la notation fort défectueuse des quantités vocaliques et de la place de l'accent (*scriptiō plēna*), etc. – se prêtait mal à reproduire avec précision une langue indo-européenne comme le hittite. Les Auteurs parfaitement aver-

tis de ces difficultés¹⁸ et des hypothèses qui ont été avancées pour les aplanir, n'ont pas cherché à faire une étude syn- et diachronique des phonèmes du hittite. Il est clair que ces faits relèvent d'un traité de phonétique, d'un Handbuch der hethitischen Lautlehre que les hittitologues sont en train d'écrire patiemment¹⁹; ce livre aura aussi pour objectif d'établir la datation des valeurs syllabiques²⁰ et d'analyser leur distribution dans les diverses catégories des textes hittites.

En effet, les valeurs que comporte le tableau précédent, connaissent des emplois fort inégaux; certaines sont attestées seulement dans quelques textes (comptes rendus oraculaires, descriptions d'idoles, etc.) rédigés en hittite impérial. Il est à noter que 28 valeurs syllabiques²¹ incluses dans le HZL. – plus précisément les modalités de leur utilisation – sont l'objet d'une vive controverse²²; mais les tablettes hittites recèlent des formes rares dont l'examen fait pencher la balance du côté des Auteurs du HZL. Dans la section suivante, nous citons les faits qui nous sont connus, afin que les indo-européanistes intéressés par les dialectes anatoliens, mais arrêtés par l'écriture cunéiforme, puissent juger par eux-mêmes.

Remarques sur quelques valeurs syllabiques rares²³.

HZL. n° 1. La valeur syllabique (rù) du signe AŠ a été établie par E. Laroche, RHA. 12, fasc. 54 (1952), pp. 24, 39, 42 (notes 19, 20, 21). Elle sert à noter la désinence *-(t)taru* de l'impératif, 3^e sg. moy., dans les comptes rendus oraculaires: SIG₅-rù e.g. KUB. 22.52 Ro 9, 13, 15, 17, Vo 1, 4 (CTH. 570), KUB. 50.52, 9'; cette graphie équivaut à SIG₅-(*ia-at-ta-*)ru = *lazzija-ttaru* (impér. 3^e sg. moy. de *lazzija-* "être en bon état; guérir; être bon, favorable"). Il existe

¹⁸ Cf. HZL., p. 18, § 5: "Noch immer ist die phonetisch-phonologische Interpretation der keilschriftlichen Notationen des indogermanischen Hethitischen mit zahlreichen Problemen belastet."

¹⁹ Cf. C. Watkins, JAOS. 103 (1983), p. 474a: "The phonology of Hittite and its relation to the spelling system remains to be written."

²⁰ Cf. H. Otten *apud* Chr. Rüster, StBoT. 20 (1972), p. VIII "Eine epigraphische Untersuchung, die auch die zeitliche Festlegung der einzelnen Lautwerte einbezieht, wäre eine spätere Aufgabe, ..."

²¹ Parmi ces valeurs 21 présentent la structure CVC; 7 seulement sont du type CV. L'interprétation des valeurs syllabiques fermées (CVC) pose des problèmes particuliers, cf. E. Laroche, Problèmes de l'écriture cunéiforme hittite, in *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa (Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, Serie III)*, vol. VIII/3 (1978), pp. 739-753 (notamment pp. 752-3).

²² Cf. H. C. Melchert, *Kratylos* 36 (1991), p. 124: "I challenge the authors to produce the full evidence for the following so-called 'Hittite' phonetic values, none of which to my knowledge occurs in Hittite appellatives ..."

²³ Le développement qui suit, doit beaucoup à la méthode que nous enseigna autrefois le regretté Emmanuel Laroche.

aussi les notations ŠE-rù "... soll günstig sein/werden", e.g. KUB. 6.2 Ro 1, 3 et *passim*; KUB. 22.31 Ro[?] 5', 9' (CTH. 570) = ŠE-ru (même sens); cf. CHD., L-N, p. 50b; HW.² A-495 a, 520 a, H-51 b; etc.

Sur le nom théophore hourrite ^mBU-Šàr-rù-ma KUB. 7.61 Ro 8 (CTH. 417), cf. E. Laroche, *Ugaritica* III (1956), pp. 118 *sqq.*; NH. n° 371 [^mBU-LUGAL-rum-ma = *Hišmi-Šarru(m)ma*] et p. 348; GLH., p. 103.

n° 7. La valeur syllabique ḫaš du signe TAR apparaît dans les variantes graphiques qu'offre le terme ḫaštabi- (nom d'oiseau attesté dans quelques textes d'ornithomancie); nom. sg. c. ḫaš-tá-bi-iš(-) KUB. 52.75 Ro 5, ḫaš-tá-bi-iš *ibid.* Ro 10; acc. sg. ḫaš-ta-bi-i[n] KUB. 49.55 Ro[?] 6'; acc. pl. ḫaš-tá-bi-uš KUB. 52.75 Vo 15'; etc. Cf. A. Archi, KUB. 49 [1979], *Inhaltsübersicht* p. V^b (et déjà SMEA. 16, 1975, p. 142 n. 55); H. Ertem, *Fauna*, p. 213; J. Puhvel, *HED.* 3, p. 238. – En outre, il y a la graphie an-uḫ-tu-ḫaš (pour an-tu-uḫ-ḫaš) CTH. 409, KUB. 7.53 + Ro I 1; cf. A. Goetze, *Tunnawi*, pp. 30–31; Chr. Rüster, *Fs. H. Otten*² [1988], p. 303 (*Zeichenumstellung*); HW.², A-118b.

Il convient de signaler aussi un autre terme dont la lecture est discutée: ^{IM}tar-aš-me-ni ou ^{IM}ḫaš^{aš}-me-ni CTH. 533.3, KUB. 29.11 + Ro II 16 (*dat.-loc. sg.*) "toward the north"; cf. E. Laroche, *RHA.* 12, fasc. 54 (1952), p. 22; H. G. Güterbock, *Studies in Memory of A. Sachs* [1988], pp. 164 (§ 10), 166, 171–172; CHD., L-N, p. 354 a. – Pour le composé tar-ša-an-zi-pa- (attesté dès le vieux-hittite²⁴), la transcription ḫaš-ša-an-zi-pa- a été parfois proposée²⁵. Mais elle est improbable, car les tablettes qui présentent le ductus vieux-hittite, ne connaissent pas la valeur ḫaš du signe TAR. On ne trouve pas, dans ces textes, la graphie [†]ḫaš-ša- pour le substantif ḫašša- (c.) "foyer"; voir E. Neu *apud* J. Tischler, *HEG.* III/Lfg. 9, p. 223.

La valeur ḫaš se trouve encore dans la toponymie, e.g. KUR ^{URU}Nu-ḫaš-ši KBo. 4.4 Ro I 40', 43', II 63, ^{URU}Nu-ḫaš-ši(-) *ibid.* Ro I 41', 45' (CTH. 61, cf. A. Götz, *AM.*, pp. 110, 112, 120, 326b; d'autres exemples, avec les graphies -ḫaš- / -ḫa-aš-, in *RGTC.* 6, 1978, pp. 291 *sqq.*); ^{PÚ}ḫaš-ḫa-na₁-[et ^{PÚ}ḫaš-ḫa-an₁-[CTH. 505.2, KBo. 2.13 Ro 23 et 27 (mais graphie "monnayée" dans le texte parallèle KBo. 2.7 Vo 26 ^{PÚ}ḫa-aš-ḫa-an-na-ri-[iš]; cf. H. T. Bossert, *Ein heth. Königssiegel*, pp. 68–69; C. Carter, *Hittite Cult Inventories*, pp. 94, 107).

²⁴ Voir E. Neu, *StBoT.* 26 (1983), p. 191 et n. 559 ("Bühne?"). – Noter la variante tar^{aš}-ša-an-zi-pa-an (*acc. sg.*) CTH. ^{ISu}738.2.C, KBo. 21.90 Ro 17' (*Inhaltsübersicht*, p. VI n. 14: "Den Duktus möchte man als mittelhethitisch bezeichnen").

²⁵ Voir H. Otten, *StBoT.* 13 (1971), pp. 24–25, 40 ("etwa "Herdstelle")"; S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels*, Ankara 1983, pp. 39–42 et *passim* ("Herdsockel?"). – Sur ce mot qui pose des difficultés d'ordre sémantique, voir N. Oettinger, *SHV.*, 1979, p. 453 et *Glotta* 59, 1981, p. 5 (*littéralement* "trockener Boden"); St. de Martino, *Hethitica* 5, 1983, pp. 75 *sqq.* ("divisorio, paravento"); J. Tischler, *HEG.* III/Lfg. 9 (1993), pp. 222–224; etc.

– Sur le nom de personne ^f*A-ja-tar/haš-ša*, cf. A.Goetze *apud* H.Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8 (1962), p.109; E.Laroche, *NH.*, p.23 n° 6; F.Starke, *StBoT* 31, p.510.

Enfin, la remarque d'A.Goetze, *JCS* 10 (1956), p.35 et n.32 au sujet des graphies du mot akkad. *hašmānu(m)* [AHw. I, p.334^b] à Boğazköy, mérite d'être relevée; voir aussi B.Rosenkranz, *ZA* 57/NF. 23 (1965), pp.244–245.

n° 13. La valeur syllabique (*múd/t*) du signe BAD.

Le rituel de la 'Vieille' (^{MUNUSŠU.GI}) CTH. 760.I. comporte peut-être une occurrence de cette valeur dans le passage KUB. 9.4 + Vo III 43' ... ^{UZU}*mì-i-(lu-)li-ja-aš* (var. *mi-i-lu-l[i-ja-aš]* HT. 6 + Ro 7') *pa-aḥ-ḥur* (44') *ša-a-tar múd* (BAD)-*da-a-iz-zi* en regard de KUB. 9.34 Vo IV 3' [... *pa-a*] *ḥ-ḥur ša-a-tar mu-ta-iz-zi* "It shall remove the burning of skin? (and) anger". Voir G.Beckman, *Or. NS* 59 (1990), pp.39, 47 qui toutefois adopte la correction *mu¹²-da-a-iz-zi* III 44'(/48) proposée par A.Götze, *NBr.*, p.14 n.2 (voir aussi CHD., L-N, pp.253b, 336a); en effet, les autres occurrences du verbe *mudai-* dans la tablette KUB. 9.4 + présentent la graphie simple de la dentale: prés. 3^e sg. *mu-ú-ta-iz-zi* III 29', 31' (var. *mu-ta-iz-zi* Bo 3436 Vo 2,3); impér. 3^e sg. *mu-ú-da-id-du* III 33', 36', IV 6' (cf. *ZA* 68, 1978, p.157), 12', 14', *mu-da-id-du* IV 16'. Sans étymologie établie; voir la bibliographie chez J.Tischler, *HEG.*, II/Lfg. 5–6, pp.235 *sqq.* – La transcription *píd-da-a-iz-zi* KUB. 9.4 + Vo III 44', avec la traduction "wird forttragen" (cf. V.Haas-G.Wilhelm, *AOATS* 3, 1974, p.56 et n.1), a l'inconvénient d'attribuer à la forme *piddai-zzi* qui relève des thèmes verbaux (*pittai-/pittiḫa-* "courir; se hâter; s'enfuir" ou *pittai-* "alouer, accorder; s'acquitter, payer" (voir là-dessus J.Puhvel, *Analecta*, pp.359–360), le sens de *peda-* "emporter" (prés. 3^e sg. *pedai*); en outre, elle ne tient pas compte de la leçon attestée dans la version parallèle KUB. 9.34 Vo IV 3'.

n° 72. La valeur (*lí*) du signe NI est attestée dans une occurrence du nom divin ^D*Zalinu* (cf. E.Laroche, *Recherches*, p.38; V.Haas, *KN.*, pp.79–82; O.R.Gurney, *HittRelig.*, pp.6,19). Le fragment KUB. 53.49 Ro 11' offre la variante *A-NA* ^D*Za-lí-nu-ú* (lecture confirmée par E.Neu [*brieflich*, 2 juin '93] après examen de la photographie; la transcription ^D*Zanunu* [L.Jakob-Rost, *KUB* 53, *Indizes*, p.VI] est à rectifier). Mais on trouve habituellement la graphie ^D*Za-li-nu-ú(-ja)* KUB. 56.35 Ro I 3, etc.

Les instructions aux chefs de postes (*bēl madgalti*) présenteraient cette valeur dans la forme *da-a-lí-ja-mi* CTH. 261.1.A, KUB. 31.84 + Vo III 63, selon N.Oettinger, *SHV.*, p.488; toutefois la lecture [*a*]*n-da a¹-ni-ja-mi* (proposée par E.Laroche, *RAss.* 43, 1949, p.73) est du point de vue épigraphique plus satisfaisante et a été adoptée par E.von Schuler, *HDA.*, p.49; cf. *HW.*², A-86b; CHD., L-N, pp.220a, 257a. – Il faut aussi écarter la transcription ^{LÚ}*KÚR-lí-li* CTH. 69.A, KBo. 19.70 +, 6' et 8' (erronément imprimée ^{LÚ}*KÚR-li-li* chez S.Heinhold-Krahmer, *THeth.* 8, pp.296, 301) qui est morphologiquement injustifiée; voir E.Neu, *Stud. Med.*, I/2, p.415 et n.16; *StBoT* 26, p.249 n.38 avec de bons arguments en faveur de la lecture ^{LÚ}*KÚR-ni-li* (adv.) "hostilement".

La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites 311

En hourrite, malgré le terme *pu-ur-li* “maison, temple, palais” (GLH. 206-7), il faut lire *pu-(u-)ur-ni* [et non pas [†]*pu-(u-)ur-lí*], car il existe des formes comme *pu-(u-)ur-na*, etc.; voir E. Laroche, RAss. 47, 1953, p. 193.

n° 86. La valeur syllabique *ši* du signe SI a été posée notamment d’après les duplicats CTH. 14.1, KUB. 31.5, 5’ ^{URU}*Ha-aš-ši* // KBo. 19.91, 5’ ^{URU}*Ha-aš-ši*(SI); voir, sur cette graphie, H. Otten, KBo. 19, *Inhaltsübersicht* p. VI; C. Kühne, ZA. 62, 1972, p. 245 et n. 43. – L’interprétation du nom propre ^mSI-*it-ra*’ KBo. 18.107 Ro 3 reste incertaine; voir la bibliographie chez F. Starke, StBoT. 31, p. 403 n. 1455.

On doit lire *kar-aš-ki-ši* Mst. 75/53, bord supérieur 28 conformément à l’excellente copie publiée par S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük*, Ankara 1991, p. 57 n° 54; rectifier la faute d’impression *kar-aš-ki-ši* dans *idem*, *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük*, p. 220.

n° 103. La valeur syllabique *šàm* a été reconnue par H. Ehelolf, MDOG. 75, 1937, p. 67; cf. aussi H. Freydank, KUB. 42, *Inhaltsübers.* p. V, n° 51; H. G. Güterbock, KBo. 18, *Inhaltsübers.* p. VII, n° 181. Le terme de sens incertain (^{TÚG/KUŠ})*kabit(t)aš(š)amna-* est souvent noté, dans les inventaires, à l’aide du signe ŠÀM; voir S. Košak, THeth. 10, pp. 22, 220 (a garment, made of cloth or suède); J. Siegelová, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente*, III pp. 598–599 (ein Kleidungsstück); F. Starke, StBoT. 31, p. 277 (qui pose un thème neutre en *-mman-* au sens de “Beutel, Sack?”). Il s’agit vraisemblablement d’un mot d’emprunt (cf. H. G. Güterbock, *loc. cit.*).

Nom. sg. animé: I ^{KUŠ}*ga-bi-ta-šàm-na-aš* CTH.^{1Su} 241.8, KUB. 42.16 Vo V[?] 9’ (*aliter* THeth. 10, p. 41: ^{TÚG}*ga-*; HethVerwalt., II p. 418: *-šàm-na*).

Thème nu (ou, selon F. Starke, *loc. cit.*, nom.-acc. pl. nt.): I *ka-bi-it-ta-šàm-na* CTH.^{1Su} 243.6, KBo. 18.181 Ro 3 et, sans le signe *-it-*, *ibid.* Ro 20, Vo 12’; CTH.^{1Su} 243.7, KUB. 42.50, 5’[+ dupl. (cf. HethVerwalt., II p. 430)]; I ^{TÚG}*ka-bi-ta-šàm-na* CTH.^{1Su} 241.8, KUB. 42.16 Vo IV[?] 4’; CTH.^{1Su} 244.1, NBC. 3842 Vo 15’ (transcription erronée chez J. J. Finkelstein, JCS. 10 (1956), pp. 101, 103 b *sqq.*). Il y a aussi quelques exemples avec la graphie “monnayée” *-ša-am-*: II ^{KUŠ}*ka-bi-it-ta-aš-ša-am-na*(-) CTH. 504.1, KUB. 12.1 Vo III 29’ (*aliter* THeth. 10, p. 220: *-na-a[š]*); [... *ka-bi-i*] *t-ta-ša-am-na* CTH.^{1Su} 250, KUB. 42.51 Vo[?] 3’.

Graphie abrégée: I *ka-bi-ta-šàm* CTH.^{1Su} 244.1, NBC. 3842 Ro 14; II ^{TÚG}*ka-bi-ta-šàm* CTH.^{1Su} 243.7, KUB. 42.56, 3 (cf. J. Siegelová, HethVerwalt., I p. 200; II p. 522).

Passages fragmentaires: CTH.^{1Su} 241.3, KUB. 42.14 Vo IV[?] 3’[, 9’[, 10’[(-)// KUB. 42.15 Vo[?] col. dr. 7’[, 8’[//IBoT. 3.144 col. dr. 7’[; CTH.^{1Su} 243.7, KUB. 42.55 Ro 11]; etc.

n° 151. Quelques tablettes qui relèvent de l’administration religieuse, présentent la valeur syllabique (*mil/mel*) du signe IŠ dans le nom divin ^D*Mil-ku-uš* (ou ^D*Mel-*) CTH. 510, KUB. 38.6 Ro I 12’(!), 15’, 23’, Vo III 5’[, Vo IV (+ Bo 6741) 3’ (fragm.), 11’, 21’; KUB. 38.10 + Vo IV 15’]; KUB. 57.106 Ro II

19 (cf. Th. P. J. van den Hout, *Bi. Or.* 47 (1990), col. 424, 430; transcription ^D*iš-ku-uš* chez L. Rost, *MIO.* 8 (1961), pp. 186–188, 196); etc. Il y a aussi une occurrence avec signe diacritique: ^D*Mil^{il}₅-ku-uš* (ou ^D*Mel^{el}*) CTH. 511.1, KUB. 12.2 Ro I 20' (lectures périmées chez E. Laroche, *Recherches*, p. 80; C. W. Carter, *Hittite Cult-Inventories*, pp. 75, 190; *aliter* JNES. 39 (1980), pp. 313 *sqq.*). Comparer Msk. 74.102, 176: ^D*Mil^{il}-ku* (GLH., p. 170).

La graphie “monnayée” est moins usuelle: ^D*Mi* (signe écrit sur rature)-^r*il₅-ku-uš* (ou ^D*Mé^r-el-*) CTH. 511.3, KUB. 38.16 Ro 9'; ^D*Mi-il₅-ku* CTH.^{2Su} 62, KBo. 22.39 Vo III 16' (traité). Cf. H. Otten-Chr. Rüster, *ZA.* 72 (1982), p. 141. Noter le théophore hourrite ^m*A-ri-Mi-il₅-ku* CTH. 225, KUB. 26.43(+) Ro 13[, 14 // KUB. 26.50(+) Ro 2'[, cf. F. Imparati, *RHA.* 32 (1974[–77]), pp. 24, 50 (et NPN., p. 29^a s. u. *A-ri-ip-mil-ku*).

n° 172. Pour la valeur syllabique **b/píl** du signe BÍL (GIBIL), il convient de citer le nom du roi du Kizzuwatna, ^m*Píl-li-ja-aš(-)* attesté (au *nom.* et *gén. sg.*) dans le traité CTH. 25, KUB. 36.108 Ro 4[, 5, 9 (ductus v.-hittite); voir l'édition de H. Otten, *JCS.* 5 (1951), pp. 129 a, 131 b (avec la transcription ^m*píl-*). Noter aussi A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*, pp. 40 (n. 92), 68 (n. 214), 97, 107; E. Laroche, *NH.*, p. 134 n° 915; E. Neu, *StBoT.* 18, p. 101 n. 217; G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, pp. 33, 36, 45.

En outre, un fragment hourrite du cycle de Gilgameš offre la graphie ^D*Bíl-ga-miš* CTH. 341. II, KUB. 8.60 bord gauche 1; cf. J. Friedrich, *ZA.* 39/NF. 5 (1929), p. 33; A. Kammenhuber, *Or. NS.* 43 (1974), p. 124; M. Salvini, *SMEA.* 18 (1977), pp. 75, 78; mais G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge*, p. 108 se prononce pour la transcription ^DBÍL. GA. MES.

n° 174. La valeur syllabique **had/t** du signe PA a été déjà signalée par E. Forrer, *WVDOG.* 41, 1922, p. 20 n° 213; C.-G. v. Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen* [1943], pp. 38–39. Elle figure dans une occurrence du terme (^{GIŠ})*hattalla-* “massue”: CTH. 521.1, KUB. 38.2 (= Bo 2383) Ro II 9' ^{GIŠ}*hat₁-tal₁-la-an* (d'après la copie de von Brandenstein; celle postérieurement effectuée par L. Jakob-Rost montre les trois derniers signes plus abîmés). En revanche, les passages suivants offrent la graphie “monnayée”: CTH. 591 (Fête du mois) 2. A, KUB. 2.10 Ro I 24' [(*ha-a*)]*t-tal-la-an* (// B. KBo. 14.33 Ro I 8'; la lecture [^{GIŠ}*h*]*at-* adoptée par von Brandenstein, *loc. cit.*, est inexacte); 3. A, KUB. 1.17 Ro II 28 ^{GIŠ}*ha₁-at-tal-la-an* (cf. E. Laroche, *RHA.* 24, fasc. 79, 1966, p. 177); CTH.^{1Su} 670, KUB. 41.28 Ro II 6'. Le système casuel comprend aussi les formes: CTH. 126.2, KUB. 26.25 Ro II[?] 12' :*ha-at-tal-li-it¹* (instr.; cf. DLL., p. 44); CTH.^{1Su} 250, KUB. 42.36 Ro[?] 5' (fragment d'inventaire) III *ha-at-tal-la* “3 Keulen” (thème nu ou nom.-acc. pl. nt.; cf. J. Siegelová, *HethVerwalt.*, II pp. 493 *sqq.*, III p. 590; *aliter* F. Starke, *StBoT.* 31, p. 309 qui pose un thème louv. *hattal-*, nt.). Passages lacunaires: 309/z, col. dr. 6' ^{GIŠ}*ha-at-tal-lla(-)*, cf. H. Otten, *StBoT.* 15, p. 47; CTH. 670, KUB. 9.18, 15' ^{NA4}*ha-at-[-]*; etc. Noter, pour l'étymologie, J. Puhvel, *HED.* 3, pp. 255–6.

Il convient d'en distinguer le terme ^{TUG}*pa-ta-al-lla(-)* CTH. 250, KBo. 7.25 +, 5' (cf. H. G. Güterbock, *Oriens* 10, 1957, p. 355; S. Košak, *THeth.* 10,

pp. 160–1; J. Siegelová, *HethVerwalt.*, II pp. 432–3 ‘eine Art Fußbekleidung’) qui est attesté aussi dans la construction *pa'-ta[(l-li-it)] pa-tal-li-ja-* CTH. 427, KBo. 6.34 + Ro I 23'–24' // KUB. 40.13 Vo¹ 7' “mit Fußfesseln fesseln” (figure étymologique), cf. C. Kühne, *ZA.* 62, 1972, p. 249; N. Oettinger, *StBoT.* 22, pp. 6/7, 26–27 (interprétation différente chez E. Laroche, *RHA.* 13, fasc. 57, 1955, p. 84). Sur le syntagme *pa-tal-li-ja-aš-ša* MUŠEN^{HIA} CTH.^{1Su} 500, KBo. 21.45 Ro I 14', cf. G. M. Beckman, *StBoT.* 29, pp. 206/7, 209 (“and the birds of the fettering”).

La valeur *hat* n'est pas ignorée de la toponymie; e.g. ^{URU}*Hat-ti-na-an* (acc.sg.) CTH. 40, KUB. 19.18 Vo IV 18' (cf. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS.* 10, 1956, p. 78: fragm. 17; mais la graphie usuelle est ^{URU}*Ha-at-*, voir RGTC. 6, p. 101). Dans les tablettes de Boğazköy, (KUR ^{URU})*Ha-at-ti* [a] permute souvent avec (KUR ^{URU})*GIDRU-ti* / *Hat-ti* [b], e.g. CTH. 85.1, KUB. 21.15 + Ro I 2' [a] // KBo. 6.29 + Ro I 30 [b]; CTH. 378.I, KUB. 14.14 + Vo 11' [a], 12' [b]; parfois à la même ligne CTH. 61.I, KBo. 3.4 + Ro I 15; sur ces notations, voir C. Kühne–H. Otten, *StBoT.* 16, pp. 33–36; N. Oettinger, *StBoT.* 22, p. 95.

n° 175. La valeur syllabique *šip* du signe ŠAB (= PA.IB).

Selon A. Goetze, *JCS.* 1, 1947, p. 319 n. 71 la “glose” louvite :*šap-pa-at-ta*, prêt. 3^e sg., “il a écorcé” CTH. 341.11, KUB. 8.50 Vo III¹ 16' (Gilgameš et le nocher Uršanabi) serait à lire :*šip-pa-at-ta* (*šic*) à cause du verbe hitt. (*arḫa*) *šippai-* “peler” (e.g. KUB. 29.7 + Vo 31', 32'). Cette interprétation a été mise en doute par E. Laroche, *RAss.* 46, 1952, p. 162 qui a conservé le vocalisme -a- du signe ŠAB (cf. DLL., p. 85; TMH., p. 134; de même F. Starke, *StBoT.* 31, p. 313 § 202). Voir aussi H. G. Güterbock, *RHA.* 25, fasc. 81, 1967, pp. 141 sqq. qui propose de rattacher la “glose” en question à la famille de hitt. *šap(p)-* “battre; – baratter” [cf. CHD., L-N, p. 122b]; – *aliter* J. Friedrich, in *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser* [= *JAOS.* 88/1, 1968], p. 38.

À la place des transcriptions [†]*šip-pa-an-tén-zi* (cf. A. Götze, *Madd.*, p. 56), [†]*šip-pa-an-du-ar* (cf. A. Goetze, *Tunn.*, p. 92), il faut lire *ši-ip-pa-an-tan_x-zi* CTH. 625, KBo. 4.13 + Vo V 12, *ši-ip-pa-an-du-ar* CTH. 303.1, KBo. 1.42 Vo IV 44' [*šip(p)ant-* “offrir, faire une libation”]. – Sur le vocalisme des toponymes (KUR) ^{URU}*Šap-pa*, ^{URU}*Šap-la*, voir RGTC. 6, pp. 345, 349.

Il y a, en hourrite, à côté des formes *ša-ap-ši*, (^D)*še-ep-ši* la variante *ŠAB-ši* dont le vocalisme est ambigu; voir V. Haas-G. Wilhelm, *AOATS.* 3, pp. 74, 79, 96 qui adoptent la transcription *šep*(Š[A]B)-*ši*, KUB. 45.50 (= Bo 2581) II 5', mais E. Laroche, *GLH.*, p. 215 préfère lire *šap-ši*. Nōn liquet.

n° 178. Le signe GIŠ présente la valeur syllabique (nīš) presque exclusivement dans le rituel pour Ištar-Pirinkir (avec des ré citations “en babylonien”); cf. H. Ehelolf, *ZA.* 43 / NF. 9 (1936), p. 181 n. 1; H. Ehelolf–H. Otten, KUB. 32, *Inhaltsübers.* p. II, n°s 1–3; A. Goetze, *JCS.* 23 (1970), p. 80 a; E. Neu, *StBoT.* 26 (1983), p. 268 n. 53. C'est le mot d'emprunt ^{LÚ}*ša-an-ku-nīš* “prêtre” CTH. 718.1.F, HT. 5, 5' [et 9' qui la comporte; il y a aussi la graphie plus fréquente ^{LÚ}*SANGA-nīš*:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. B. KUB. 32.1 + Ro II ⁷ 11, III ⁷ 7, 12;
KUB. 39.70 (+) Ro I 10', 17', Vo VI 10. | 3. A. KBo. 7.29 Ro ⁷ II 20'.
3. B. KUB. 39.90, 10']. |
| 1. C. KUB. 32.2 (+) FHG. 3 Ro II 2, 4/3', 6/5',
7, 14 (cf. E. Laroche, RAss. 45, 1951, p. 135). | 4. Fragments divers:
KUB. 32.3 Vo 1] et 10];
KUB. 39.79, 2', 4', 7', 10'.
– CTH. 470, KUB. 39.68
col. g. 2'. |
| 2. A. KUB. 39.78 Ro I 13', 19', 21', Vo 3, 6[, 23. | |

n° 179. La valeur syllabique **hab/p** du signe LAGAB.

H. G. Güterbock, MSL. 13 (1971), p. 135 a proposé de lire *hap⁷-pu ut-tar* KBo. 1.42 Ro II 22' (CTH. 303.1); interprétation différente chez J. J. S. Weitenberg, U-Stämme, pp. 26, 157, 410 n. 98 (mais la lecture *al-pu* est peu probable). – Sur l'akkadogramme *tahapšu* [AHw. III, p. 1301^a] et ses graphies (*-hap-*/*-ha-ap-*), voir A. Goetze, Fs. F. Sommer, pp. 48 *sqq.*, 58 *sqq.*; E. Laroche, GLH., pp. 250–1; J. Siegelová, HethVerwalt., III, p. 704.

n° 192. Les valeurs syllabiques **šag/k** et **riš** du signe SAG.

A. – Le mot d'emprunt ^{LÚ}ša(n)kun(n)i-, ^{LÚ}ša(n)kun(n)i(i)ant- "prêtre" (cf. A. Kammenhuber, THeth. 7, p. 196; E. Laroche, GLH., p. 214; F. Pecchioli Daddi, Mestieri, pp. 257–259; etc.) est noté à l'aide du signe SAG in CTH.¹^{Su} 237.7, KBo. 19.28 Ro 2 ^{LÚ}.MEŠ²šak-ku-ni-iš; CTH. 242.8, KBo. 16.83 + Vo III 3 ^{LÚ}šak-ku-ni-an-z(a-az), nom. sg. c.; cf. L. M. Mascheroni, Stud. Med., I/2, 1979, pp. 357–358 et n. 24 [qui écarte la transcription ^{LÚ}SAG-ku-ni-an-za-az précédemment proposée par A. Kammenhuber, Or. NS. 39 (1970), p. 563]; E. Neu, Fs. H. G. Güterbock² [1986], p. 157 et n. 20; J. Siegelová, HethVerwalt. I p. 264/5, 288; F. Starke, StBoT. 31, p. 517 n. 1911.

Quelques noms de personnes comportent la valeur **šag/k**: ^mšag-ga-na-aš CTH. 242.8, KBo. 16.83 + Ro II 10', ^mšag-ga-na *ibid.* II 11'; ^mšak-ka-pí CTH. 294.1, KUB. 40.88 (+⁷) Ro III 12' (cf. R. Werner, StBoT. 4, p. 24); ^mšak-ka-pí CTH. 263.A, KBo. 5.11 (+) Vo IV 26' (colophon; *aliter* E. Laroche, NH., n° 1755); etc.

B. – Le nom du dieu *Iarri* (cf. E. Laroche, Recherches, p. 82; *idem*, NH., p. 291; E. von Schuler, WbMyth. I, p. 180) connaît aussi la graphie ^DIa-riš 248/r, Vo 5; voir H. Otten, RIA. 5, 1976–1980, p. 267^b. [E. Weidner dans son étude Subaräische Gottheiten im assyrischen Pantheon, AfO. 15, 1945–51, pp. 82^b *sqq.* cite la graphie ^DŠe-riš].

n° 198. À l'aide du signe LUḪ est noté le toponyme *Meluhḫa* dans trois lettres (rédigées en akkadien) de Ramsès II, cf. E. Edel, Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G 205 (1972[–76]), p. 95; et déjà E. Forrer, WDOG. 41 (1922), pp. 19–20 n° 169. Les passages où figure ce terme, sont les suivants: CTH. 165.7, KUB. 3.52 Ro 6', 7' KUR (^{URU})Me-luḫ-ḫa; CTH. 170, KUB. 3.51 Ro⁷ 20' KUR Me-luḫ-ḫa^{MEŠ} (lettre de Ramsès II à Ḫattušili III; cf. E. Edel, ÄgÄrzte, pp. 44–45, 76–80); CTH. 156.A, KBo. 1.15 + Vo 9' (/15) LÚ Me-luḫ-ḫa^{ME[Š]} ('Nubier', cf. *idem*, ZA. 49 / NF. 15, 1950, p. 201 et n. 3).

n° 244. La valeur syllabique **pùš** du signe GIR est garantie par les variantes que connaît le nom de montagne *Puškurunuua*, cf. E.Laroche, Recherches, p.87; RAss. 46 (1952), p.161; NH., p.276; RHA. 31 (1973[-76]), p.89.

Le vocalisme de la syllabe initiale de ce mot se laisse préciser grâce à la graphie “monnayée” attestée dans CTH. 386.1, KUB. 36.90 bord inf. 25' ^{HUR.SAG}*Pu-uš-ku-ru-nu-ua-za* (abl. sg.; cf. V.Haas, KN., p.178); CTH.^{1Su} 591.4. A, KBo. 17.88 + KBo. 24.116 + Vo III 15' ^{HUR.SAG}*Pu-uš-ku-ru-nu-ua* [a] (voc. sg.; cf. A.Archi, Stud. Med., I/1, pp.39 *sqq.*; E. Neu, StBoT. 5, p.151), mais le texte parallèle CTH.^{1Su} 591.4. F, KUB. 1.15 (= Bo 430) Ro II 6 offre la leçon ^{HUR.SAG}*Pùš-ku-ru-nu-ua*; etc. Les occurrences avec le signe GIR sont plus fréquentes et se trouvent dans divers textes: CTH. 381, KUB. 6.45 + Ro I 54 // 6.46 Ro II 19 (prière); CTH.414.A, KUB.29.1 Ro II 28 (rituel de fondation); CTH.568.A, KBo.24.118 + Vo VI 16', 21' //B, KUB. 22.27 Vo IV 30,33 (compte rendu oraculaire); et notamment dans les fêtes, e.g. CTH. 618 (AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}: 33^e/34^e jours). Voir les passages cités dans le RGTC. 6, pp.324 *sqq.* Il faut noter enfin le nom de personne ^m*Pu-uš-ku-ru-nu-ua-an(-na)*, acc. sg., que conserve le texte historique CTH. 147, KUB. 14.1 + Ro 58 (cf. A.Götze, Madd., p.14). – En l'absence de la graphie [†]*Pi-š-ku-*, la transcription ^{HUR.SAG}*Piš-ku-* (cf. HW.², E-18 a et *passim*) reste injustifiée.

En outre, le signe GIR est employé à Boğazköy avec les valeurs syllabiques **g/kir** (dès le vieux-hittite, cf. H.Otten, StBoT. 17, pp.22-23, 46): e.g. *pé-e har-kir* KBo. 18.22 Ro 10; [*š*]*a-an-ḫi-iš-ki-kir* KUB. 31.39 Ro 12; **b/piš**: e.g. ^{UZU}*har-piš* KUB. 55.25 Ro 9'; *piš-ši-an-zi* IBoT. 3.148 Vo III 48; *piš-ši-an-du* KUB. 52.75 Vo 14'; (**paš_x**): e.g. *paš_x-šu-u-i* KUB. 25.23 bord gauche a-1 (cf. J.J.S.Weitenberg, Heth. U-Stämme, pp.198-9). Certaines occurrences des termes louv. *tappaš-* “ciel” et *tappašša-* “fièvre” comportent ce signe, cf. F.Starke, StBoT. 31, p.97 et n.238.

L'anthroponymie fournit quelques variantes qui méritent d'être relevées: [†]*PIŠ^r-ku-ua-at-ti* KUB. 9.27 + Ro 1 en regard de [†]*Pa-aš-ku-ua-at-ti* (cf. E.Laroche, NH, n° 955); ^m*Ta-ru₁-PIŠ^r-ša-ni-* KUB. 31.41 Ro 11' en regard de ^m*Ta-ru-up-ša-ni-ja* KUB. 22.40 Vo III 28' (cf. *idem*, NH., n° 1292; J.Tischler, Fs. G.Neumann, p.450; sur ^D*Taruppašani*, cf. CHD., L-N, p.124b et *infrā* n°369).

n° 260. La valeur syllabique **kib/p** a été définitivement établie par H.M.Kümmel, StBoT. 3, 1967, pp.72-75. Le signe KIB permute avec la graphie “monnayée” *ki-ip-* dans la syllabe initiale du terme ^É*kippa-* (une construction cultuelle de petite dimension); cf. H.M.Kümmel, *op. cit.*, p.75 (‘vielleicht ... ein zeltartiges leichtes Bauwerk’); moins bien E.Laroche, NH., p.258 et n.12 (‘édifice religieux’); d'autres indications bibliographiques chez J.Tischler, HEG., I/Lfg. 3, pp.581-2. La plupart des exemples qui constituent le paradigme de hitt. ^É*kippa-*, c., se trouvent dans les rituels et les fêtes.

Acc. sg. ^É*kippa-pa-an* CTH. 421.1, KUB. 15.2 + Ro I 8' // KBo. 15.2 + Ro I 5' (cf. StBoT. 3, p.56); CTH.^{1Su} 421.7, KUB. 43.49 Vo[?] 35'; CTH.^{1Su} 470, KUB. 41.22 Vo III 13'; 343/v, 3' (cf. StBoT. 3, p.134); – VII *kip-pa-an* CTH. 401.1, KUB. 30.36 Vo III 8' (avec maintien du singulier après un nom de

nombre, cf. J. Friedrich, HE., I² § 194; H. Otten-Vl. Souček, StBoT. 8, p. 67), mais graphie “rompue” ^É*kip-an* *ibid.* Vo III 4’.

Dat.-loc. sg. *A-NA* ^É*ki-ip-pí an-da* CTH. 699, KBo. 21.34 + Ro II 46¹, 51; ^É*ki-ip-pí an-da-an* *ibid.* Vo III 4 (cf. HW.², A-103 b, 452 a). – Abl. sg. ^É*kip-pa-az* 59/v, 5’ attesté à côté de la graphie “rompue” ^É*kip-az* CTH. 669.17, KUB. 25.8 Vo VI 6’.

Acc. pl. ^É*kip-pu-uš* CTH. 401.1, KUB. 30.36 Vo III 10’, 12’; CTH.¹*Su* 421.7, KUB. 43.49 Vo[?] 9’. – Dat.-loc. pl. ^É*kip-pa-(a-)aš* CTH.¹*Su* 448.5, KUB. 24.12 Vo III 23’ (?), cf. A. Goetze, Tunn., p. 54 et n. 169); CTH. 669.17, KUB. 25.8 Vo VI 7’ (contexte brisé); *PA-NI* ^É*ki-ip-pa-aš* CTH. 699, KBo. 21.34 + Ro II 28 (cf. E. Badalì, THeth. 14/1, p. 190) et -]x ^É*ki-ip-pa-aš* IBoT. 1.7 + Vo IV 9’/31.

Passages fragmentaires (avec la graphie ^É*kip-*): CTH.¹*Su* 421.7, KUB. 43.49 Vo[?] 18’; CTH. 779.A, KBo. 15.1 Vo III 8’ (cf. V. Haas – I. Wegner, ChS. 5/I, p. 234); KBo. 26.152 Ro 11’; etc.

Terme sans étymologie; reste indémontrable le rapprochement avec le syntagme hourrite *ki-ip-pí* ^D*U-ub* KBo. 15.75 + Vo IV 11’ (cf. V. Haas – G. Wilhelm, AOATS. 3, pp. 67, 263 et n. 1; V. Haas, ChS. 1, p. 248) ou le radical *ki(b)-* “mettre, placer” (cf. E. Laroche, GLH., pp. 145 *sqq.* avec les corrections apportées par G. Wilhelm, Or. NS. 54, 1985, p. 492).

En outre, le texte KUB. 38.12 Vo III 14’ (CTH. 517.A) comporte la graphie ^D*Kip-pa-mu-la-aš*, cf. M. Darga, RHA. 27 (1969), p. 7. – Le nom akkadien ^m*Is(GIŠ)-qip-p[u]* se trouve dans CTH. 311.1, KBo. 3.13 Ro 13’ cf. H. G. Güterbock, ZA. 44/NF. 10 (1938), pp. 68, 75; W. von Soden, AHw. I, p. 398^a; E. Laroche, NH., n° 470.

n° 288. Il existe pour la valeur syllabique (lì) du signe IGI quelques exemples isolés.

Pour le thème *taruḫal(l)i-* / *taruḫal(l)i-* (de sens incertain), le compte rendu oraculaire (ornithomancie) KUB. 52.75 offre – à côté de *tar-ua-li₁₂-an* Ro 15], 16, 17 – les graphies abrégées *tar-lì-an* Ro 22, Vo 22’, 23’, 28’, bord inf. 29’ et *tar-li₁₂-an* Ro 4, 7; voir A. Archi, KUB. 50, *Inhaltsübers.*, p. V^a: n° 1; KUB. 52, *Inhaltsübers.*, p. IV^a: n° 75; (avec la transcription périmée TAR. LIŠ-an, *idem*, SMEA. 16, 1975, pp. 178 *sqq.*; A. Ünal, RHA. 31, 1973[-76], p. 42); J. Tischler, HEG. III/Lfg. 9, pp. 248–250.

Le verbe *ḫališšija-* “plaquer, recouvrir (d’un métal précieux)” connaît la graphie *ḫa-lì-iš-ši-ir*, prét. 3^e pl., dans CTH. 577.I (oracles mixtes), ALT. 454 II 19; cf. O. R. Gurney *apud* D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, p. 117 n. 6; A. Kammenhuber, HW.², H-47 a; H. Kronasser, EHS., I p. 492 et n. 2; E. Neu, StBoT. 18, p. 86 n. 167.

Sur le passage KBo. 1.51 Vo 14’ (CTH. 309.1 fragment de vocabulaire), voir H. A. Hoffner, JNES. 27, 1968, p. 65 n. 31 qui adopte la lecture *ḫu-tal-lì-ja-a[š]*.

n° 292. Avec la valeur syllabique pà du signe PÀD [= IGI.RU] est noté le toponyme *Pada* dans l’hymne à Adad (traduit du babylonien) CTH. 313, KBo. 3.21 (= BoTU. 6) Vo III 24’: *A-NA* ^{URU}*Pà-da(-ma-az-kán)*; cf. A. Archi, Or. NS. 52/1 [= Fs. A. Kammenhuber], 1983, pp. 24, 26, 30; HW.², E-109 b.

n° 296. L'emploi de la valeur syllabique **man** dans les comptes rendus oraculaires a été déjà indiqué par E. Forrer, WVDOG. 41, 1922, p.20 n° 177. À la place de la graphie usuelle *ku-it-ma-an* (*conj.*) “pendant que, tant que; jusqu'à ce que”, on lit *ku-it-man in* CTH. 561, KUB. 5.1 Vo III 79,85 (*cf.* A. Ünal, THeth. 4, pp.76–79; A. Kammenhuber *et aliae*, THeth. 9, p.256); CTH. 578, KUB. 6.26 Vo 3'. – Il y a aussi le syntagme *a-man^{an}-da-an-te-eš* MUŠEN^{HI.A} CTH. 577.I, KUB. 5.24 + Ro II 32; *cf.* HW.², A-66b (hapax).

Une variante du terme hourrite *ḫilipšīman* est notée avec le signe MAN dans CTH. 572 [oracles par les sorts (KIN)], KBo. 13.68 Ro 5, 26; *cf.* H. Berman, JCS. 30 (1978), p.123; St. de Martino, ChS. 7 (1992), p.146.

Pour la valeur **man**, la toponymie offre quelques exemples; *e.g.* KUR URU *Kum-man-ni* KUB. 36.90 Vo 38' (CTH. 386, *cf.* V. Haas, KN., p.178); URU *Kum-man-ni* KBo. 14.142 Vo III 27' (CTH. 698); KBo. 3.38 Vo 17' (*cf.* H. Otten, StBoT. 17, p.10); etc. Mais les occurrences avec la graphie “monnayée” *-ma-an-* sont plus nombreuses, voir RGTC. 6, p.221. – La lecture URU *Kum-man-eš-mah* KUB. 38.6 Vo IV 23' (*cf.* L. Rost, MIO. 8 (1961), pp.188, 190; E. von Schuler, Die Kaššäer, p.19 n.2) a été mise en doute par H. A. Hoffner, JAOS. 87 (1967), p.181b.

n° 300. La valeur syllabique **zum** est attestée dès le vieux-hittite.

Le rituel archaïque pour le couple royal CTH. 416 offre pour le terme *ḫan-tezumna-* “Vorhof/avant-cour(?)” les graphies *ḫa-an-te-zum-ni* KBo. 17.1 + Ro I 21' (dont ABoT. 4a, 6')/[*ḫ*]a₁-an₁-^r*di-zu-um-ni* KBo. 17.3 + Ro I 16'; *cf.* E. Laroche, RAss. 45, 1951, p.185; H. Otten-Vl. Souček, StBoT. 8 (1969), p.95; A. Kammenhuber *et aliae*, THeth. 9 (1979), p.209; E. Neu, StBoT. 26 (1983), p.51 et n.250. Selon H. A. Hoffner, Bi. Or. 38 (1981), col. 650 il faut lire *ḫa₁-an-di-zum-n[i²(-)]* dans CTH. 676.1.A, IBoT. 2.121 Vo 17' (OH./OS.). D'autres occurrences se trouvent dans des textes plus récents: *ḫa-an-te-zum-na-a[n]* CTH. 744.4, KUB. 48.15 Ro 4 (acc. sg.); *ḫa-an-te-zum-ni* CTH.^{1Su} 612, KBo. 20.77 Ro I 8 (*cf.* S. Alp, BeitrTempel, p.154); *ḫa-an-di-zum-ni* CTH.^{2Su} 500, KBo. 22.172, 5' (dat.-loc. sg.); etc.

En outre, les scribes notent à l'aide du signe ZUM le nom propre ^D*Iz-zum-mi* (le vizir du dieu *Ea*); *e.g.* CTH. 343.I.A, KUB. 36.2a [= Bo 3905] + Vo III 33' (*cf.* E. Laroche, TMH., p.148; H. A. Hoffner-G. M. Beckman, Hittite Myths, p.44); CTH. 616.2, KUB. 20.59 *passim* et KBo. 9.140 Ro I 9', Vo III 15 (*cf.* H. Otten, StBoT. 13, p.24; M. Popko-P. Taracha, AoF. 15 (1988), pp.88–91, 96–97); CTH. 712.A, KUB. 27.1 Ro II 20; etc. Voir E. Laroche, GLH., p.131; H. Otten, RIA. 5 (1976–1980), p.228b.

n° 304. La valeur syllabique **gu** apparaît dans deux occurrences de l'adjectif *panku-* “massif; total, entier; – (*substantivement*) masse, totalité; assemblée (des notables)”.

[*p*]a-an-gu-uš ŠA ÉRIN^{MEŠ} *tar-na-at-ta-al-la-aš-š[a² ...]* KBo. 16.71 + KBo. 25.13 + Ro II 9' “a[nd?] the totality of the ration-receiving groups [...]”; *cf.* H. Otten-Vl. Souček, StBoT. 8 (1969), p.50 n.12; E. Neu, StBoT. 25 (1980), p.40; 26 (1983), pp.136, 191; I. Singer, StBoT. 27 (1983), pp.148, 152; J. J. S. Weitenberg, U-Stämme, pp.124, 129 *sqq.* Lecture moins satisfaisante

chez G. Beckman, JAOS. 102 (1982), p.436 b et n.19 (*pa-an-gu-uš-ša*); K. K. Riemschneider, Fs. H. Otten¹ [1973], p.273 n.3. – L'inédit 2157/c, 11' présente aussi la graphie *pa-an-gu-i* (dat. sg.), cf. A. Ünal, THeth. 3 (1974), p.171 n.228.

Deux fragments hittites du *šar tamḫāri* "roi du combat" (CTH. 310) conservent le terme précédé de "clous de glose" *kupaḫi-*. Il est à noter que les signes GU et KU permutent entre eux dans la syllabe initiale: KBo. 13.46 Ro⁷ col. dr. 10' : *gu-pa-ḫi-i[n]*, mais KBo. 22.6 Vo IV 3' : *ku'-p[(a-ḫi-i)n]*; cf. P. Meriggi, Gs. W. Brandenstein [1968], p.262 ("Tiara, Krone"); H. G. Güterbock, MDOG. 101 (1969), pp.21, 24 ("Hut(?)"); E. Laroche, GLH., p.157 (s. u. *kuwaḫi* 'Bonnet, coiffure du dieu Tešsub'). – Voir aussi A. Goetze, Fs. F. Sommer, p.59.

n° 310. Avec le signe LUM est parfois noté le terme technique hourrite *alum-paḫi* (cf. HW.², A-66 a; V. Haas-G. Wilhelm, AOATS. 3, pp.72-3, 136; E. Laroche, GLH., p.45; J. Puhvel, HED. 1, p.43). Outre la graphie "monnayée" que présente le syntagme I MUŠEN(-ma) *a-lu-um-pa-aḫi-ia*, e. g. CTH.^{1Su} 457.1, KBo. 19.137 Vo IV⁷ 3' // KUB. 17.8 Vo III 5[, on trouve *a-lum-pa-aḫi-ia* dans les tablettes KUB. 47.89 (= Bo 3236) Vo III 8'; KBo. 24.60 Vo⁷ 4'[(avec la variante *a-lum-ma-a[z- ibid. Ro⁷ 10']*; cf. H. Otten, StBoT. 15, p.24; ZA. 66 (1976), p.100. – D'autres formes hourrites comportent aussi la valeur syllabique *lum*, e. g. *a-lum-mi-in-ni* CTH. 628.II. a, KUB. 25.42 + Vo V 11 (cf. ChS. 4, p.38; GLH., p.45); *ke-e-lum-ma* CTH. 701.1, KBo. 23.12 + Vo¹ IV¹ 19 (cf. ChS. 2/I, p.65; IV 20; GLH., p.142); etc.

Au lieu de ^{URU}*Lum-an/na-ḫi-(i-)la*, il faudrait p.-ê. transcrire ^{URU}SIG₄-*an/na-ḫi-(i-)la*; cf. I. Singer, StBoT. 27, p.82 n.65 (avec bibl.); H. Otten-Chr. Rüster, KBo. 30, p.XII n.1; et HZL. n° 311, Anm.2.

Sur le passage fragmentaire Mṣt. 75/94 Ro 9, voir S. Alp, Heth. Briefe aus Maṣat-Höyük, pp.218, 335.

n° 339. La valeur (gît) du signe BU est attestée dans *UL uš-gít* (prét. 3^e sg. act.) CTH.^{1Su} 525.7, KUB. 42.100 Vo III 37' "il n'apercevait pas, il ne voyait pas", cf. G. Beckman, JAOS. 102 (1982), p.437 a (transcription inexacte chez G. F. del Monte, Or. Ant. 17 (1978), p.184). Cette notation est à mettre en parallèle avec *uš-kir* (prét. 3^e pl.) KBo. 18.69 Vo⁷ 13', cf. A. Hagenbuchner, THeth. 16, p.113: n° 72. – Mais on trouve la graphie "monnayée" *uš-ki-it* notamment dans les Annales de Muršili II (KBo. 3.4 + Ro II 18 [2x], KUB. 14.15 + Ro II 3', 4') et le mythe du dragon Ḫedammu (KBo. 26.70 + I 15).

En outre, la forme *šu-un-né-eš-gít'* (prét. 2^e sg. act.) "tu as (sans cesse) rempli"²⁶ figure dans la rédaction tardive CTH. 316 (Sagesse akkado-hittite). A', KBo. 12.70 + "Ro" 14'b suivant l'interprétation proposée par H. M. Kümmel, UF. 1 (1969), p.164; E. Neu (*brieflich*, 2 juin '93); J. Tischler,

²⁶ Le même texte présente les formes *ú-e-te-et* "Ro" 10' "tu as bâti", *pár-ka₄-nu-ut* "Ro" 11' "tu as élevé", *DÜ-at* "tu as fait", etc. Sur cet emploi secondaire de la désinence verbale -t (3^e sg. ⇒ 2^e sg. prét. act.), voir déjà J. Friedrich, HE. I², § 151 b), p.79.

La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites 319

HEG. III/Lfg. 9, pp.217-8. L'émendation *šu-un-ni-eš-šir*?? adoptée par E. Laroche, Ugaritica V, 1968, pp.782-3 (ligne 39) et G. Keydana, UF. 23 (1991), p. 73 (et n. 30) ne s'impose pas.

n° 356. Les valeurs syllabiques *d/tiš* et *d/táš* du signe DIŠ.

A. – L'inventaire CTH. 517.A, KUB. 38.12 qui concerne le sanctuaire de ^DLAMMA de la ville de *Karaḫna*, présente la graphie ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*hi-lam-ma-tiš(-)* Ro II 19 en regard de ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*hi-lam-ma-(at-)ti-eš(-)* *ibid.* Ro I 3, 17 et *passim*; cf. F. Pecchioli Daddi, Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita, pp.210-212 ("addetto al tempio, inserviente templare"); I. Singer, ZA. 65 (1975), p.77 (avec bibl.). – En louvite, la lecture : *ku-wa-ya-táš* CTH. 570, KUB. 22.52 Vo 1 "crainte" (cf. E. Laroche, DLL., p.58; *idem*, Mél. É. Benveniste, p.342) est à améliorer en : *ku-ya-i-ja-tiš* selon E. Neu (*brieflich*, 2 juin '93; voir aussi J. Tischler, HEG. I/Lfg. 4, pp.685-686).

De même la transcription ^f*Ú-da-tiš* ^f*Ú-ya-šu-na-tiš* Bo 1602 = KUB. 48.117 Ro 10 que signalent H. Otten et Vl. Souček, StBoT. 1, 1965, p.42 n.1, serait à modifier – d'après la copie publiée en 1977 par H. Klengel – ainsi: ^f*Ú-da-tiš* (selon d'autres ^{MUNUS}*ú-da-tiš*) *ya-ú-ya-šu-na-tiš*.

Pour le terme hourrite *enti* (signe omineux en hépatoscopie, cf. GLH., p.82), les comptes rendus oraculaires offrent la graphie *en-tiš* (CTH. 570 et 582, KUB. 6.39 Ro[?] 7', 14'; KUB. 22.31 Ro[?] 14'; 22.54 Vo 4'; KUB. 52.34 Ro 6) à côté de *in-ti-iš* (CTH. 577.I, KUB. 22.39 Vo IV 18'); *en-tiš*(UR), e.g. KUB. 22.31 Ro[?] 9'. Cf. HW.², E-42b; St. de Martino, ChS. 7, p.144; E. Neu *apud* J. Tischler, HEG. III/Lfg. 9, pp.277-8.

B. – La valeur syllabique *d/táš* est attestée dans le syntagme V ^{NINDA}*ha-a-liš še-ep-pít-táš* CTH. 678.12, KBo. 16.81 Ro I 6 (cf. V. Haas, KN., p.308; H. Berman, JCS. 28 (1976), p.245 *ad* Ro I 7). Une autre variante rare figure dans la formule I *PA še-pí-táš* (ÁŠ) KUB. 58.58 (= Bo 2780) Ro 18 (cf. S. Alp, BeitrTempel, p.292). Mais la graphie "monnayée" est de loin la plus fréquente; e.g. I ^{NINDA}.GUR₄.RA *še-ep-pí-it-ta-aš* KBo. 23.95 Ro 6'. D'autres exemples chez H. A. Hoffner, AlHeth., pp.77-80; E. Neu, StBoT. 26, p.163 (*s. u. šepit-*, nt., "Getreideart").

L'emploi phonétique du signe DIŠ dans le nom divin *Huyattašši* a été déjà indiqué par E. Forrer, WVDG. 41, 1922, p.17 n° 50 (mais avec la vocalisation -*diš*-). L'inventaire CTH. 510 (Idoles et fêtes de villes) comporte plusieurs fois la graphie ^D*Hu-u-ya-táš-ši-iš*: KUB. 38.6 + Ro I 5'[, 11'[, 19', 31', 35', Vo IV 9', 19'; KUB. 38.10 + Vo IV 17']; KUB. 57.106 Ro II 8[, 30], '35', 44[; cf. L. Rost, MIO. 8 (1961), pp.185-189, 196, et 9 (1963), p.211; Th. P. J. van den Hout, Bi. Or. 47 (1990), col. 424, 430; F. Starke, StBoT. 31, p.374 n.1349.

Mais certaines tablettes conservent la graphie "monnayée" ^D*Hu-ya-at-ta-aš-ši(-iš)*, e.g. CTH. 138.1, KUB. 23.77 a (+) Ro 15[(moy.-hitt.; cf. E. von Schuler, Die Kaškäer, p.117); CTH. 511.4, HT.14, 11'; *fragm.* CTH. 525.3, KUB. 25.23 Vo IV 11 (cf. C. W. Carter, Hittite Cult-Inventories, p.160); une autre variante (^D*Hu-u-*) dans CTH. 524.2, KUB. 25.22 Vo III 3 (cf. V. Haas, KN., p.240). Cf. E. Laroche, Recherches, p.69.

n° 358. Avec la valeur syllabique **lal** est parfois noté le terme d'origine hourrite *šilalluḫi*: 1. nom professionnel féminin; 2. nom de femme; voir E. Laroche, GLH., p.231; NH., n° 1148 (et G. Beckman, JAOS. 103 (1983), p.625b); F. Pecchioli Daddi, Mestieri, p.396; F. Starke, StBoT. 30 (1985), pp.78-79 n.5. – Deux rituels kizzouvatniens comportent les syntagmes ^{MUNUS}GÁB.ZU.ZU ^{MUNUS}ši-lal-lu-ḫi-iš CTH. 488, KUB. 30.28 + Ro 6' (cf. H. Otten, HTR., p.94: Ro 14'; p.95 n.4); ^{MUNUS}GÁB.ZU.ZU ^{MUNUS}ši-lal-lu-(u)-ḫi CTH. 480, KUB. 29.7 + Ro 19, 27, 29 (MH./MS.; cf. CHD., L-N, p.373b).

n° 369. La valeur syllabique **ša** du signe NÍG apparaît dans le nom divin ^DTa-ru-up-pa-^rša-ni-iš KUB. 52.68 Vo III 31' et 41' (KIN-Orakel); cf. St. de Martino-H. Otten, ZA. 74 (1984), p.300 (qui écartent la lecture °-pa-a-ni-iš proposée par A. Archi, KUB. 52, *Inhaltsübers.*, p.V.); – J. Tischler, HEG. III/Lfg. 9, p.241.

Noter les graphies avec le signe ŠA (HZL. n° 158): ^DTa-ru-up-pa-ša[- KUB. 36.47, 6'; ^DTa-ru-up-ša-ni-iš KUB. 57.87 Ro II 2; [^DT]a-ru-up-pa-ša-ni ABoT. 56 Ro I 3 (et II 15', cf. P. Meriggi, WZKM. 58 (1962), p.92); il y a aussi le nom de personne (théophore) ^mHa-aḫ-la-ta-ru-up-pa-ša-ni KUB. 31.76 Vo 16' (cf. E. Laroche, NH., pp.54, 284, 292; R. Werner, StBoT. 4, p.26).

L'akkadogramme ŠA [HE., I² p.172] connaît aussi la notation ŠÁ dans quelques textes tardifs, cf. J. Friedrich, HW., p.312b; N. Oettinger, StBoT. 22, pp.37 (et n.68), 125.

*
* *

D'après les faits cités ci-dessus, 8 valeurs syllabiques se trouvent uniquement dans l'onomastique. Les termes qui les comportent, reçoivent généralement les marques casuelles du hittite; ils se répartissent ainsi:

A. (noms divins) n° 72 (^DZa-lí-nu-ú), n° 151 (^DMil-ku-uš), n° 192 (^DIa-riš), n° 369 (^DTa-ru-up-pa-ša-ni-iš);

B. (nom de personne) n° 172 (^mPíl-li-ja-aš);

C. (toponymes) n° 86 (^{URU}Ha-aš-ši), n° 244 (^{HUR.SAG}Pùš-ku-ru-nu-ya(-)), n° 292 (^{URU}Pà-da(-))²⁷.

En revanche, des tablettes de l'époque impériale²⁸ montrent que l'usage des valeurs n° 7 **haš**, n° 174 **ḫad/t**, n° 296 **man**, n° 356 **d/táš** et **d/tiš** ne se limite pas à l'onomastique (e.g. ^{URU}Nu-**haš**-ši, ^{URU}**Ḫat**-ti-na(-), KUR ^{URU}GIDRU-ti /**Ḫat**-ti, ^{URU}Kum-man-ni, ^DḪu-u-ya-táš-ši-iš, ^rÚ-da-tiš [selon d'autres ^{MUNUS}ú-da-tiš]); il s'étend, quoique sporadiquement, à la notation des appellatifs et de quelques autres formations: e.g. **haš**-ta-bi- (nom d'oiseau); an-tu-uh-(texte:-uh-tu-)haš, nom. sg. c., "personne, homme"; ^{GIŠ}ḫat-tal-la- "mas-

²⁷ Mais le toponyme KUR (^{URU})Me-luḫ-ḫa ne prouve pas l'emploi de la valeur n° 198 **luḫ** en hittite, car il figure dans trois lettres en akkadien que Ramsès II avait envoyées à Ḫattuša.

²⁸ Il s'agit notamment de comptes rendus oraculaires, fragments de fêtes, descriptions d'idoles.

sue”; *a-man^{an}-da-an-te-eš* (hapax de sens inconnu); *ku-it-man* (conj.) “pendant que; jusqu’à ce que”; *še-ep-pít-táš*, gén. sg. nt. (variété de céréale); LÚ.MEŠ *hi-lam-ma-tiš(-)*, nom. pl. c. (CTH. 517.A); *en-tiš*, signe ominieux (mot d’origine hourrite, cf. ChS. 7, p.144); louv. : *ku-ua-i-ja-tiš*, nom. sg. c., “crainte”.

Une distribution différente présentent les valeurs syllabiques n° 260 **kib/p** et n° 300 **zum** qui entrent dans la constitution de deux thèmes nominaux relatifs à l’architecture: *ha-an-te-zum-na-* “avant-cour(?)” (attesté dès le vieux-hittite, e.g. CTH. 416) et ^E*kīp-pa-* (une construction cultuelle de petite dimension). Presque toutes les occurrences de ces termes se trouvent dans les rituels et les fêtes. L’onomastique connaît l’hapax ^D*Kīp-pa-mu-la-aš* et fournit un certain nombre d’exemples pour ^D*Iz-zum-mi* en hittite impérial.

D’un emploi plus restreint, mais ancien (cf. StBoT. 25, n° 13 II 9’), est la valeur n° 304 **gu** contenue dans deux occurrences de l’adj. *panku-* “massif; total, entier; – (substantivement) masse, totalité; assemblée (des notables)”. Elle subsiste encore dans la “glose” : *gu-pa-ḫi-* (CTH. 310.4); cf. hourr. *kuwaḫi* (GLH., p.157).

En outre, il y a 4 valeurs syllabiques qui servent à noter presque exclusivement des mots empruntés au hourrite; il s’agit des valeurs n° 178 (LÚ *ša-an-ku-niš* / LÚSANGA-*nīš* [cf. GLH., p.214], graphies attestées dans le rituel pour Ištar-Pirinkir CTH. 718), n° 192 (LÚ.MEŠ *šak-ku-ni-iš*, LÚ *šak-ku-ni-an-za(-)*; valeur à peine connue de l’onomastique aussi), n° 310 (*a-lum-pa-az-ḫi-ja*, dat.-loc. sg., cf. GLH., p.45; valeur parfois employée dans des textes écrits en hourrite), n° 358 (MUNUS *ši-la-lu(-u)-ḫi(-iš)*, cf. GLH., p.231). À cette série pourrait encore appartenir la valeur n° 103 *šam* que comporte (TÚG/KUŠ) *ka-bi(-it)-ta-šam-na-* (une pièce d’habillement); ce vocable propre aux inventaires serait un emprunt suivant une hypothèse avancée par H. G. Güterbock.

Il faut mettre à part quelques graphies de formes verbales (attestées dans des textes tardifs) avec les valeurs n° 1 (*rù*), n° 288 (*lì*) et n° 339 (*gít*). Les comptes rendus oraculaires offrent parfois la notation semi-idéographique SIG₅-*rù* (ou ŠE-*rù*) pour hitt. *lazziya-ttaru*, impér. 3^e sg. moy.; les mêmes textes conservent l’hapax *ha-lì-iš-ši-ir*, prété. 3^e pl., (AIT. 454) ainsi que la graphie abrégée *tar-lì-an* (KUB. 52.75) du thème nominal *taruḫal(l)i-* / *taruḫal(l)i-* (de sens incertain). Sont constitués avec le suffixe -*ške/a-* les types: *šu-un-né-eš-gít*, prété. 2^e sg. act., CTH. 316 (Sagesse akkado-hittite); *uš-gít*, prété. 3^e sg. act., CTH.^{1Su} 525.7 (recensements de sanctuaires)²⁹.

La distribution des syllabogrammes que nous venons d’examiner brièvement, est complexe et inégale. À l’exception de trois valeurs (n° 172 **b/píl**, n° 300 **zum**, n° 304 **gu**) attestées dès le vieux-hittite, les autres apparaissent en moy.-hittite (e.g. n° 358 **lal**) et, surtout, en hittite impérial. D’un emploi restreint, elles ne se trouvent que dans quelques catégories de textes. Certaines subsistent dans les occurrences d’un seul terme. La publication d’autres textes

²⁹ Pour les valeurs n° 13 (*múd/t*), n° 175 *šip* et n° 179 *hab/p* ont été citées quelques formes dont la lecture est discutée.

hittites actuellement inédits livrera sans doute des faits nouveaux qui nous permettront de mieux cerner les problèmes que soulève l'étude des valeurs en question.

Les Auteurs du HZL., grâce à leur connaissance exemplaire des textes, ont su dresser l'inventaire – le plus complet jamais fait – des valeurs syllabiques qui figurent dans les tablettes de Boğazköy; ces savants ont apporté de multiples et importantes précisions sur le fonctionnement ainsi que l'évolution de l'écriture cunéiforme durant les trois périodes du hittite.

III. Les sumérogrammes: révision des lectures.

Toute aussi importante est la contribution des Auteurs dans le domaine des valeurs idéographiques. Ils ont été en mesure de compléter la liste des sumérogrammes publiée en 1960 par J. Friedrich, de distinguer certains signes à tort confondus dans le HKL./II et, surtout, d'éliminer nombre de lectures périmées qui entachaient fâcheusement les éditions des textes hittites. Dans le HZL. se trouvent systématisés les résultats des recherches effectuées depuis le déchiffrement du hittite. Ce bilan précis est d'une grande utilité, car la partie du CHD. prévue pour les sumérogrammes (avec examen des contextes et des compléments phonétiques) ne paraîtra qu'au début du XXI^e siècle.

Malgré les divers palliatifs proposés, il subsistait bien des insuffisances³⁰ dans le(s) mode(s) de transcription qui étai(en)t en usage avant la parution du HZL. Les Auteurs, après avoir réexaminé l'ensemble du problème, sont parvenus à une solution rigoureuse et en conformité avec le 'BCE-System'. Il a fallu modifier la transcription d'environ 150 sumérogrammes (simples ou composés). Mais ont été maintenues les lectures idéographiques déjà adoptées par les hittitologues, quand les données de l'Assyriologie ne s'y opposaient pas formellement³¹.

La "réforme" qu'ont introduite Chr. Rüster et E. Neu dans le système de transcription des textes cunéiformes de Boğazköy, est à mettre en parallèle avec celle entamée en 1973[-74] concernant les documents en louvite hiérogly-

³⁰ Voir notamment l'exposé clair présenté par H. G. Güterbock et H. A. Hoffner dans la préface du CHD., L-N. (1989), pp. XIII-XIV [= 1979, pp. XVII-XVIII].

³¹ Cf. HZL., pp. 20-21: "Sind mehrere Lesungen für ein Sumerogramm angegeben, haben wir vielfach die in der Hethitologie bereits eingeführte Lesung entgegen der sonstigen alphabetischen Reihenfolge an den Anfang gestellt (vgl. HZL. 169: BIL, BAR₇, BIR₉), wie wir überhaupt bemüht waren, bisher in der Hethitologie geläufige Lesungen beizubehalten, sofern nicht der übergeordnete Gesichtspunkt einer Vereinheitlichung, d.h. konkret das in der Assyriologie übliche Umschriftsystem ausdrücklich dagegen sprach."

La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites 323

phique³². Toutes les deux ont largement contribué au progrès des études anatoliennes.

La liste ci-jointe présente uniquement les sumérogrammes dont la lecture a été mise à jour. Les linguistes arrêtés par l'écriture cunéiforme, pourront y trouver, d'une part (colonne de gauche), les nouvelles lectures enregistrées dans le HZL. et, d'autre part (colonne de droite), les lectures correspondantes du HKL./II qui sont à présent périmées. Depuis 1989 les éditeurs se conforment progressivement au système préconisé par les Auteurs du HZL.

	HZL. (1989)		HKL./II (1960)
A			
KUŠA.GÁ.LÁ "poche de cuir; oultre":	n° 364	KUŠA.KÁN.LAL:	→ n° 306.
Á.TAḪ "(un) aide, auxiliaire":	n°s 171, 215	Á.DAḪ:	n° 167.
GU ⁴ ÁB "vache":	n° 277	GUD.ÁB:	n° 137.
(DUG/URUDU)ÁB × A "bassin(e), cuvette":	n° 284	URUDU.LID × A, DUG/URUDU DU ₁₀ × A:	→ n°s 95, 222.
AN.ZA.GÀR "tour":	n° 8	AN.ZA.KÀR:	n° 13.
ANŠE "âne":	n° 302	ANŠU:	n° 202.
ANŠE MUNUS(.AL.LÁ) "ânesse":	n° 302	ANŠU.SAL(.AL.LAL):	→ n° 202.
LÚAPIN.LÁ "laboureur, pay- san":	n° 9	LÚAPIN.LAL:	→ n° 3.
NA ⁴ ARA ₅ "meule; moulin à bras":	n° 333	NA ⁴ ARÀ:	→ n° 263.
ARAD, ÌR "serviteur, esclave":	n° 16	ÌR:	n° 52.
NA ⁴ AŠ.NU ₁₁ .GAL "albâtre":	n° 1	NA ⁴ AŠ.ŠIR.GAL:	n° 1.
LÚÁZLAG "blanchisseur, foulon":	n° 212	LÚTÚG:	→ n° 81.
B			
(LÚ)BAḪAR "potier":	n° 162	(LÚ)DUG.GA ₅ .BUR:	n° 140.
(LÚ)BAḪAR ₅ "potier":	n° 162	(LÚ)DUG.GA ₅ .BUR.NA: F. Pecchioli Daddi, <i>Mestieri</i> pp. 54-56.	
(TÚG)BAR. "TE" (un vêtement):	n° 20	(TÚG)BAR.DUL ₅ :	n° 54.
BIL, BAR ₇ , BIR ₉ : "brûler (intr./tr.); incendier; - griller":	n° 169	BIL:	→ n° 133.
BIL.ZA.ZA "grenouille":	n° 169	NE.ZA.ZA:	n° 133.
BÚN "orage; tonnerre":	n° 144	KA × IM:	n° 119.
BÜR "brèche; trou; cavité, creux":	n° 261	BURÛ:	→ n° 205.
BURU ₅ "sauterelle":	n° 39 (2)	BURU ₆ :	n° 59.

³² Cf. J. D. Hawkins-A. Morpurgo-Davies-G. Neumann, Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New evidence for the connection. (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Jg. 1973[-74], Nr. 6.) Publication suivie d'une série d'articles importants touchant le louvite hiéroglyphique et les autres dialectes anatoliens.

	HZL. (1989)		HKL./II (1960)
BURU ₁₄ “(époque de la) mois- son, récolte; été”:	n° 274	BURU (EBUR):	→ n° 212.
D			
DAB, DIB “saisir, tenir, pren- dre”:	n° 210	DIB:	→ n° 79.
DÀRA.MAŠ “cerf”:	n° 71	ŠEG ₉ .BAR:	n° 17.
DI.KUD, DI.KU ₅ “cause, procès; jugement, sentence”:	n° 312	DI.KUD:	→ n° 236.
DUG/GIŠDÍLI, DUG/GIŠDÍLIM(GAL)		GIŠLIŠ, DUGLIŠ.GAL:	→ n° 223.
“Schale, Schüssel/plat, écuelle”:	n° 286	BULÛG:	n° 192.
DIM ₄ , MUNU ₈ “malt”:	n° 257	SA ₅ :	→ n° 28.
DIRI “être en excédent” / SA ₅ “(être) rouge”:	n° 89	GIN:	HW. ¹ , pp. 268 a, 273 b.
DU, GIN, RI ₆ , RÁ “aller”:	n° 128	TE.URU:	→ n° 196.
DU ₆ .URU(MEŠ) “monceau de ruines”:	n° 211, 249		→
DU ₁₀ .ÚS.SA “baignoire” attesté dans		DUG.HI.ÚS.SA:	n° 140 /
DUG.DU ₁₀ .ÚS.SA:	n° 162	É.HI.ÚS.SA:	n° 157, 267.
É.DU ₁₀ .ÚS.SA:	n° 199	GIŠ‘UM.MIŠ’: H. G. Güterbock, <i>Ana-</i> <i>tolia</i> 15, 1971, p.6 et n. 11.	
GIŠDUB.ŠEN “coffre à ta- blettes”:	n° 98, 99	(DUG)KA.DÛ(.A):	→ n° 115, 140.
(DUG.)KA.GAG(.A) ‘(Gefäß mit) geringe(r) Bierart’:	n° 133, 162	DU ₈ :	n° 135.
DUḪ, DU ₈ “déliver, délivrer”:	n° 164	GAB.LÁL:	n° 135.
DUḪ.LÁL “cire”:	n° 164	ANŠU.NITÁ:	HW. ¹ , p. 265b; HG. ² , p. 140a.
DÛR(ÛR) “âne; ânon”:	n° 302		
E			
KUŠ/GIŠÉ.MÁ.URU ₅ “carquois”:	n° 87, 199, 315	KUŠÉ.MÁ.URU ₇ :	n° 23, 157, 249.
UZUÉLLAG “rein”:	n° 334	KALÁM:	n° 264.
ÈN.TAR “interroger”:	n° 343	LI.TAR:	n° 274.
ÉSAG “grenier, entrepôt; - em- magasiner”:	n° 59	ARÀḪ:	→ n° 33.
EZEN ₄ (= EZEN×ŠE) “fête”:	n° 107	EZEN:	n° 93.
G			
(LÚ/MUNUS)GÁB.ZU.ZU ‘Aus- gebildete(r)’ ²³ :	n° 49	(LÚ/SAL)KAB.ZU.ZU:	→ n° 296.
(UZU)GABA “poitrine”:	n° 164	UZUGAB:	n° 135.
(TÚG)GADA “lin; étoffe, habit de lin”:	n° 173	(TÚG)GAD:	→ n° 21.
GIŠ/URUDUGAG “cheville, piquet”:	n° 75	GIŠKAK:	→ n° 44.
GI/GIŠGAG.(Ú.)TAG.(GA)		GI/GIŠKAK.(Ú.)TAG.(GA):	n° 44, 74, 142.
“flèche”:	n° 75	ÚTIN.TIR:	HW. ¹ , 3 Erg.-H., p. 42 b.
ÚGAMUN “cumin”:	n° 330	GE ₆ (.KAM):	n° 214.
GE ₆ /GI ₆ /GÍG(KAM) “nuit”:	n° 267		

La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites 325

	HZL. (1989)		HKL./II (1960)
GÉME “servante, esclave”: (GIŠ)GEŠTIN KÁ-RA-A-AN	n° 305	GEME: (GIŠ)GEŠTIN GA.RA.A.AN:	n° 243. →
“(grappe de) raisin”: (UZU)GEŠTU, (UZU)GEŠTUG	n° 131	GEŠTU:	n° 112. →
“oreille; – entendre, prêter l'oreille”:	n° 317		n° 250. →
GIŠ/URUDUGIDRU “bâton, sceptre”:	n° 174	GIŠPA:	n° 142, 146. HW. ¹ , p. 274 a.
(URUDU)GÍR.GAL [/UL ₄ .GAL]	n° 6	GÍR.GAL:	
“épée”:	n° 301	GÌR:	n° 242.
GÌR, GÌRI “pied”:	n° 301	DUGGÌR.KÁN:	n° 242.
(DUG)GÌR.GÁN (sorte de vase):	n° 291	IZKIM:	→ n° 227.
GISKIM, ISKIM “signe, pré- sage”:	n° 178	GIŠ.GE ₆ :	n° 142.
GISSU “ombre”:	n° 178, 327	GIŠ.ERIM:	n° 142.
GIŠ.ÉRIN, GIŠ.RÍN “balance”:	n° 178, 327	GIŠNUNUZ:	→
GIŠ.ÉRIN (“NUNUZ”), GIŠ.RÍN (“NUNUZ”) “ba- lance”:	n° 178, 328		n° 258.
GIŠ.NÁ, GIŠ.NÚ “lit, couche”:	n° 314	GIŠNÁ:	n° 209.
GU ₄ “bœuf”:	n° 157	GUD:	n° 137.
GU ₇ “manger”:	n° 149	KÚ:	n° 122.
LÚGUDU ₁₂ “oint” (un prêtre):	n° 337	LÚGUDÚ:	n° 262.
GÜN(A) “bigarré”:	n° 83	DAR(A):	n° 15.
GUR ₄ .RA “épais” (attesté dans NINDA.GUR ₄ .RA):	n° 179, 369	KUR ₄ .RA:	→ n° 143, 310.
(TÚG)GUZ.ZA “sorte de drap”; couverture”:	n° 310	TÚGLUM.ZA:	→ n° 246.
I			
TÚGÍB.LÁ “ceinture; sorte de vêtement léger”:	n° 125	TÚGÍB.LAL:	→ n° 108.
ÍD, I ₇ (= A.ENGUR) “fleuve”:	n° 365	ÍD:	n° 306.
^D IM “dieu de l'orage”:	n° 337	^D ÍŠKUR:	n° 262.
(^D ÍŠKUR, cf. StBoT. 35, p. 84 n. 34)			
(DUG)IM.ŠU.(NÍG.)RIN.NA	n° 337	IMŠU.(NÍG.)NÍGIN.NA:	→ n° 262.
“four, fourneau, réchaud”:	n° 337	IM.ULÙ ^{LU} :	n° 262.
IM.U ₁₉ .LU “vent du sud; sud”:	n° 337	LÚME.SAG:	→
LÚÍŠIB.SAG (ein Reinigungs- priester):	n° 357	CHD., L-N, p. 79 b; F. Pecchioli Daddi, <i>Mestieri</i> , p. 567.	
K			
KARAŠ, GÁRAŠ “camp, armée”:	n° 313	KARAŠ:	→ n° 237.
^D KASKAL.KUR “cours d'eau souterrain” [p.-ê. aussi “Quellbecken” (H. Otten)]:	n° 259	^D ILLAT:	→
KI.LÁ “poids”:	n° 313		n° 203.
(KUŠ)KIR ₄ .TAB “licou; bride”:	n° 133	KI.LAL:	n° 237.
(UZU)KIR ₁₄ “nez”:	n° 140	KUŠ.KA.TAB:	n° 84.
GIŠKIRI ₆ “jardin, verger”:	n° 353	KA × KAK:	n° 116.
		GIŠSAR (GIŠŠAR):	n° 142, 284.

326

Jean Catsanicos

	HZL. (1989)		HKL./II (1960)
GIŠKIRI ₆ . GEŠTIN “vigne, vignoble”:	n° 353	GIŠSAR.GEŠTIN:	→ n° 284.
MUNUSKURUN (=			→
BI.DIN).NA “cabaretière”			→
(cf. StBoT. 35, p. 84 n.36):	n° 153*		
LÚKURUN.NA “cabaretier,		LÚ/SALTIN.NA:	→
brasseur”:	n° 330		n°s 238, 260.
KUŠ.LÁ “outre (à eau)”:	n° 213	KUŠ.LAL:	n° 84.
LÚKUŠ ₇ “cocher; écuyer, valet”:	n° 151	LÚIŠ:	n° 114.
L			
LÚ.U ₁₉ .LU “homme,		LÚ.ULÙ ^{LU} :	→
(Mensch)”:	n° 78		n° 194.
M			
(KUŠ/GIŠ)MÁ.URU.URU ₅ “car-		(KUŠ)MÁ.URU.URU ₆ :	→
quois”:	n°s 87, 315		n°s 23, 248.
GIŠMÚ.SAR “jardin, potager”:	n° 353	GIŠSAR.SAR:	n° 284.
MUNUS, MÍ “femme”:	n° 297	SAL:	n° 238.
UZUMUR “poumon”:	n° 333	UZUḪAR:	HW. ² , Ḫ-13b, 14b.
MURUB ₄ , MÚRU “milieu; -		MÚRUB:	→
qui est au milieu, médian”:	n° 110		n° 96.
MUŠ.ŠÀ.TÙR = akkad.		MUŠŠÀ.TÙR:	→
bašmu(m) “serpent			
(fabuleux) venimeux”:	n° 342		n°s 229, 273.
N			
LÚNA.GAD “pasteur; berger”:	n° 15	NA.KAD:	n° 57.
NA ₄ , IA ₄ , ZÁ “pierre”; - déter-		NA ₄ :	→
minatif précédant les noms			
de pierres:	n° 73		n° 190.
NAM.LÚ.U ₁₉ .LU “humanité”:	n° 39 (1)	NAM.LÚ.ULÙ ^{LU} :	n° 59.
ᵀNIDABA, ᵀNISABA (divinité		ᵀNISABA:	→
du Grain):	n° 345		n° 277 (cf. HW. ² , Ḫ-51b sqq.).
NÍG.ÀR.RA “farine fine; -		NÍG.ḪAR.RA:	→
grain de céréale mondé			
[perlé]”:	n° 369		n° 310.
NÍG.DU “repas”:	n° 369	NÍG.GUB:	n° 310.
NIGA, NIGU “gras, engraisé”:	n° 338	ŠE:	n° 269.
NINDA LIBIR.RA “pain ras-		NINDA.U.DAR.RA:	→
sis”:	n° 369		n° 310.
LÚNU.GIŠKIRI ₆ “jardinier”:	n° 11	LÚNU.GIŠ.SAR:	n° 49.
NUNDUM, NUNDUN “lèvre;		KA×NUN:	→
bord”:	n° 135		n° 115a (cf. HW. ¹ , 2 Erg.-H., p.30b).
P			
PAB “garder, protéger”:	n° 256 (1)	PAP:	n° 191.
GIŠPAN “arc”:	n° 118	GIŠBAN:	n° 151.
GIŠPÈŠ “figue, figuier”:	n° 208	GIŠMA:	n° 77.

La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites 327

	HZL. (1989)		HKL./II (1960)
PÌRIG.TUR “léopard, pan- thère”:	n° 93	UG.TUR:	→ n° 75.
PÚ, (TÚL) “source, fontaine, citerne, puits”:	n° 180	TÚL:	→ n° 145.

S

SAG.GÉME.ARAD ^(MEŠ) “domesticité”:	n° 192	SAG.GEME.ÌR ^{MEŠ} :	→ n° 26.
LÚSAGI(.A), LÚSÌLA.ŠU.DUḪ(.A) “échanson”:	n° 21	LÚSÌLA.ŠU.DU ₈ (.A):	→ n° 56.
SÈD, SE ₂₄ , ŠE ₁₂ , ŠED ₉ (1) “hiver; – hiverner”; (2) “être calme, apaisé, satisfait”:	n° 27	ŠE ₁₂ :	→ n° 61.
SÍG, SÍK, SIKI “laine”:	n° 65	SÍG:	n° 38.
SILA ₄ “agneau”:	n° 54	SILÁ:	n° 31.
SILIM, SALIM “salut; bon état; bien-être; – prospérité”:	n° 312	SILIM:	→ n° 236.
SIM ^{MUŠEN} “hirondelle”:	n° 39 (1)	NAM ^{MUŠEN} :	n° 59.
LÚSIMUG(.A) “fondeur, forgeron”:	n° 102, 187	LÚE.DÉ(.A):	→ n° 158.
(LÚ)SIPA(D), (LÚ)SIBA(D) “pas- teur; berger”:	n° 177	LÚSIPAD:	→ n° 148.
SÍSKUR “offrande, sacrifice; rituel”:	n° 156	SISKUR.SISKUR:	→ n° 128.
MUNUS ^{SUḪUR} .LÁ/LA ₅ “cham- brière, suivante”:	n° 349	SALSUḪUR.LAL/LÁL:	→ n° 280, 304.
SUM, SUMU, SÌ “donner”:	n° 350	SUM:	n° 281.
SUM.SIKIL ^{SAR} (sorte d’oignon ou d’ail):	n° 350	SUM.SIKIL.SAR:	→ n° 281.
SUR ₁₄ .DÜ.A ^{MUŠEN} “faucon”:	n° 192	SAG.DÜ.A ^{MUŠEN} :	n° 26.

Š

ŠÀ DIR (ŠÀ DIR), ŠÀ TIR (ŠÀ TIR) “circonvolutions (in- testinales)”:	n° 294	ŠÀ.DIR, ŠÀ.TIR:	→ n° 229.
(LÚ)ŠAGAN.LÁ, (LÚ)ŠÁMAN.LÁ “apprenti, novice”:	n° 270	ŠAGAN.LAL:	→ n° 216.
ŠE.NAGA (1) “saponaire; – plante d’où l’on extrait un al- cali”; (2) “laver, nettoyer”:	n° 345	ŠE+NÁG:	→ n° 277 (cf. HW. ¹ , p.294a).
GIŠŠEN “récipient; – conduite (d’eau), rigole, chéneau, gouttière”:	n° 230	GIŠPISÀN:	→ n° 179.
(URUDU)ŠÈR.ŠÈR “chaîne”:	n° 106	(URUDU)SÌR.SÌR:	n° 92.
ŠID, ŠIT, ŠITI, ŠITA ₅ “nombre; compte; compter”:	n° 231	ŠID: HW. ¹ , p.294b; H. G. Güterbock, RHA. 25, fasc. 81, 1967, pp.146–148.	
LÚŠU.DAB/DIB “prisonnier de guerre”:	n° 68	LÚŠU.DIB:	→ n° 42.
LÚŠU.ḪA ₆ “pêcheur, chasseur”:	n° 68	LÚŠU.PIŠ:	n° 42.
GIŠŠÜDUL/ŠÜDUN, GIŠDUL ₄ /DUN ₄ “joug”:	n° 88	GIŠŠÜDUN:	→ n° 24.

328

Jean Catsanicos

	HZL. (1989)		HKL./II (1960)
T			
TAR, KUD, KU ₅ “couper; trancher; séparer”:	n° 7	TAR:	→ n° 7.
TI, TIL “vie; vivre; vivant”:	n° 37	TI:	n° 55.
TI ₈ MUSEN “aigle”:	n° 215	Á ^{MUSEN} :	n° 167.
LÚTIBIRA, LÚTABIRA “(ar- tisan) métallurgiste”:	n° 109	LÚURUDU.NAGAR:	→ n° 95.
GIŠTIBULA instr. de musique (“luth?”):	n° 294	GIŠŠÀ.A.TAR:	→ n° 229.
TU ₇ ‘Suppe’?, UZUTU ₇ ‘Fleisch- suppe’, Fleischgericht’?:	n° 355	UTÚL, UZU.UTÚL:	→ n°s 164, 285.
TÚG, TU ₉ “habit; étoffe (de laine)”:	n° 212	TÚG:	→ n° 81.
TUŠ (DÚR, DÚRU, DURUN) “être assis; s’asseoir”:	n° 206	TUŠ:	→ n° 78.

U

Ú.BAR ₈ “printemps”:	n°s 195, 274	Ú.EBUR, Ú.BURU _(7/14) :	HW. ¹ , p. 50a; 2 Erg.-H., p. 31b; 3 Erg.-H., p. 42b, etc.
U ₄ .SAKAR “croissant de lune”:	n° 316	UD.SAR:	n° 235.
UD(KAM), U ₄ (KAM) “jour”:	n° 316	UD(KAM):	n° 235.
UDU.“SÍG+MUNUS” “brebis”:	n°s 66, 210	UDU.SÍG.SAL:	n° 40
		(UDU.U _x : G.M. Beckman, StBoT. 29, p. 38, 318).	
UH ₇ “charme, sorcellerie; – en- sorceler”:	n° 261	UH(?) :	n° 221
		(UH ₄ , cf. HW. ² , A-64a; UH _x , cf. CHD., L-N, p. XIV).	
UMBIN “ongle”, GIŠUMBIN “roue”:	n° 166	DUBBIN, GIŠDUBBIN:	→ n° 16.
LÚ/MUNUSÛMMEDA “gardien, gardienne”:	n° 109	LÚ/SALÛMMEDA:	→ n° 95.
UN (ÛKU, ÛG) “homme, être humain”:	n° 197	UKÛ:	→ n° 161.
UR.GI ₇ “chien”:	n°s 51, 212	UR.ZÍR:	n° 295.
ÚŠ “mourir; – mort, peste”:	n° 13	UG ₆ :	n° 51.
(BA.ÚŠ “(il) est mort, meurt”:	n° 205)	(BA.UG ₆ :	n° 47).
DUG/URUDUÛTUL “pot, vase”:	n° 355	DUGTU ₇ :	n°s 140, 285.
UZ ₆ “chèvre”:	n° 23	ÛZ: H.G. Güterbock, JCS. 15, 1961, p. 78; 16, 1962, p. 23b.	

Z

LÚZABAR.DAB (un fonction- naire; cf. AHw. III 1501 ^a ‘Bronze(schalen)halter’):	n° 316	LÚZABAR.DIB:	→
ZÌ(DA), ZÍD(DA) “farine”:	n° 212	ZÍD.DA:	n° 235. n° 81.
URUZIMBIR.ME (UD.KIB.NUN.ME) la ville de Sippar:	n° 316	URUZIMBIR:	→
(UZU)ZU ₉ “dent”:	n° 143	KA×UD:	n° 235. n° 118.

L'examen approfondi des textes a permis aux Auteurs de bien distinguer quelques signes dont la structure et l'emploi étaient confusément présentés dans le HKL./II: DUL "couvrir" (⇒ (TÚG)SAG.DUL 'sorte de coiffure') et GIR₄ "four; terre cuite, ouvrage de poterie" (⇒ (DUG)GAL.GIR₄ "gobelet, coupe de terre cuite") HZL. n^{os} 262, 266 à la place de HKL./II n^o 207. – GÚG (une plante légumineuse), LÚNIMGIR "hérald", GÍN/TÜN (⇒ NA₄NÍR "cal-cédoine?", agate?) HZL. n^{os} 220, 222, 223 (et déjà H.G.Güterbock, Fs. H. Otten¹ [1973], pp.72–74) à la place de HKL./II n^{os} 180a–b, 307. – HUŠ "craindre, redouter" (cf. CHD., L-N, pp.339b–340a) et KA₅ (⇒ KA₅.A "renard"), LUL (⇒ AL.LUL.A un crustacé, p.-ê. "écrevisse") HZL. n^{os} 348, 351 à la place de HKL./II n^o 282. – ma (MA/PÈŠ) et KISAL "avant-cour, cour d'entrée, vestibule" (⇒ LÚKISAL.LUḪ "balayeur") HZL. n^{os} 208, 228 à la place de HKL./II n^o 77. – NIN (= MUNUS.TÚG) et NIN₉ (= MUNUS.KU) "sœur" HZL. n^o 299 (cf. R. Borger, ABZ.⁴, p.409, n^o 556) à la place de HKL./II n^o 240. – UZ₆ "chèvre" et MÁŠ "famille" HZL. n^{os} 23, 38 à la place de HKL./II n^o 58. – Mais les signes URU₆ et URU₇ (HKL./II n^{os} 248, 249) sont à lire maintenant URU₅ (HZL. n^o 315).

En outre, le HZL. comprend un nombre important de sumérogrammes (simples ou composés) qui manquaient aux listes précédemment établies³³. Les 37 signes cités ci-dessous étaient absents du HKL./II (1960)³⁴: sum. ÁG/ÁGA "bien-aimé" (HZL. n^o 121); – ALIM "bison" (n^o 303); – AMAR×KU₆ attesté dans NINDA.AMAR×KU₆ (variété de pain, n^{os} 276, 369); – DÚB in MÁŠ.ḪUL.DÚB.BA "bête d'expiation" (n^o 130); – E¹.KISIM₅×A.MAŠ "claie (de parc à bestiaux)" (n^{os} 190, 285); – ENGUR in I₇/ÍD "fleuve, rivière" (n^{os} 216, 365); – GALAM.GALAM "secret" (n^o 119 Rem.); – GE₄/GI₄ attesté dans (MUNUS)É.GI₄(.A) "fiancée; bru" (n^{os} 199, 234 = HKL./II n^o 157), LÚKIN.GI₄.A "messenger" (n^o 47), UZUNÍG.GI₄.A (de sens inconnu, n^o 369); – (GIŠ)GIŠIMMAR "palmier-dattier" (n^o 70); – ÍL (de sens inconnu, n^o 161); – KISIM₅ (une herbe, n^o 278); – KISIM₅×Ú.MAŠ (n^o 283); – LAGAB×A attesté dans GIŠBUGIN/GIŠBUNIN [une sorte de récipient à liquides] et AMBAR/SUG "cannaie, marais" (n^o 182); – LAGAB×NÍG attesté dans GIŠBÚGIN/GIŠBÚNIN "baquet; coffre" (n^o 55); – (DUG/URUDU)LAḪTA (sorte de récipient, n^{os} 232, 280); – LÚLIL "idiot, sot" (n^o 127); – LÚLUNGA

³³ Le HZL. fait rarement état des sumérogrammes qui figurent dans les vocabulaires polyglottes de Boğazköy (CTH., chapitre IV: textes scolaires); cf. p.20, § 6.2: "... nur sporadisch wurden sumerische Einträge lexikalischer Listen aus Boğazköy berücksichtigt. Um die sumerischen Spalten dieser Vokabulare angemessen auszuwerten, ist noch manche Vorarbeit von berufenerer Seite notwendig."

³⁴ Noter aussi les sumérogrammes rares UDU¹GUKKAL²+KUN "Fett-schwanzschaf" KBo. 32.13 Ro II 17 (HZL. n^o 252); GIŠKA×ÚR KBo. 25.102 Ro² II 5', URUDUKA×PA KBo. 10.45 Vo IV 43, GIŠKA×GIŠ KUB. 7.41 Vo IV 10', KA×LUM 505/u, UZUKA×ÀŠ (HZL. n^{os} 137, 138, 139, 142, 150).

“brasseur” (n° 154); – LÚMU₇ (ou LÚ TU₆) “faiseur d’incantations, exorciste” (n° 146); – DUGMUD₄ (= KU[!].U.GAG) “pot à bière” (n° 207); – MUG “étoupe” (n° 22); – LÚMUŠ.LAH₄ “psylle, charmeur de serpents” (nos 236, 342); – NAGA [= DNÍSABA/DNÍDABA et (en forme de croix) D^DDALHAMUN₄, n° 352; noter aussi n° 345: ŠE.NAGA; n° 85: GIŠŠINIG (= GAD.ŠE.NAGA)]; – NIB (= PIRIG×KAL) “léopard” (n° 94); – NÍNDA (attesté dans ÁG/ÁGA, LÚAZU/LÚÚZU, ŠÁM et ŠAM, cf. HZL. n° 119); – SU₆ “barbe” (n° 136); – ŠÀM “prix d’achat; acheter” (n° 103); – GIŠŠÉS “régliste” (n° 63); – ŠUŠANA attesté dans GIDIM “mort; spectre, esprit d’un mort” (nos 48, 52); – TAG/K₄ attesté dans ÍB.TAG₄ “reste” et LÚTAG₄.TAG₄ de sens inconnu (nos 125, 227); – TÚKUR “silence, calme” (n° 145); – TÚM (de sens indéterminé, n° 279); – U₈/US₅ in USDUHA “petit bétail” (n° 45); – (UZU)UBUR “sein(s)” (nos 189, 282); – UKKIN/UNKIN “assemblée” (n° 134); – ÚKUŠ “concombre” (n° 254)³⁵; – (KUR) URI^(KI) “(le pays d’)Akkad” (n° 246); – UTUL₅ “bouvier” (nos 188, 281).

Un supplément (avec d’autres sumérogrammes inusuels) a été déjà publié par les Auteurs dans StBoT. 35, 1991, pp. 88–89. L’œuvre que ces savants ont accomplie, est de première importance; grâce à eux, nous disposons enfin, pour les sumérogrammes attestés à Boğazköy, d’un inventaire sûr, très bien informé et qui tient compte des données actuelles de l’Assyriologie.

IV. Index locorum.

Plusieurs textes ont été commentés dans les remarques que contiennent les lemmes du HZL. Les spécialistes pourront y trouver notamment: 1. les collations qu’ont effectuées les Auteurs en vue de préciser la lecture de maints passages; 2. des indications relatives à la datation des tablettes; 3. l’éclaircissement du sens de certains termes peu fréquents. La totalité de ces passages se trouve enregistrée dans la liste qui suit.

KBo. 1.4 I 10	n° 313 (p. 248)	<i>ibid.</i> I 18–19	n° 149 (p. 161)
KBo. 1.5 I 37	n° 57 (p. 119)	<i>ibid.</i> I 25–26	n° 84 (p. 133)
KBo. 1.11 Ro [!] 21’, 27’	n° 112 (p. 145)	KBo. 1.44 + KBo. 13.1 + I 48	n° 348 (p. 266)
KBo. 1.30 Ro 21’	n° 209 (p. 196)	KBo. 1.44 + KBo. 13.1 + KBo. 26.20	
KBo. 1.33, 1’ et 7’	n° 39 (p. 110)	II 10’ <i>sqq.</i>	n° 88 (p. 135)
KBo. 1.36 II 7’, 8’	n° 109 (p. 144)	KBo. 1.44 + IV 5’	n° 161 (p. 167)
KBo. 1.37, 11’ <i>sqq.</i>	n° 227 (p. 206)	KBo. 1.52 Ro 7’	n° 93 (p. 138)
KBo. 1.39 Ro 11’	n° 366 (p. 277)	KBo. 2.2 II 25, 44	n° 298 (p. 239)
KBo. 1.43, 2’	n° 279 (p. 231)	KBo. 2.16, 10	n° 144 (p. 159)
KBo. 1.44 + I 8–10	n° 6 (p. 91)		

³⁵ [Note de correction: Sur le sumérogramme ÚKUŠ, voir maintenant J. Klinger, NABU. 1994 (n° 2 juin), p. 31.]

La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites 331

KBo. 3.3 + I 5		KBo. 17.71, 3'	n ^{os} 100, 101 (p. 141)
<i>et passim</i>	n ^o 29 (p. 104)		
KBo. 3.14, 6'	n ^o 334 (p. 258)	KBo. 17.78 II 21'	n ^o 162 (p. 168)
<i>ibid.</i> 8'	n ^o 169 (p. 172)	KBo. 17.79 <i>passim</i>	n ^o 356 (p. 271)
KBo. 3.21 III 21'	n ^o 199 (p. 190)	KBo. 17.92 Ro 8'	n ^o 11 (p. 95)
<i>ibid.</i> III 24'	n ^o 292 (p. 235)	KBo. 18.25 Vo 6', 9'	n ^o 112 (p. 145)
KBo. 3.22 Vo 48	n ^o 238 (p. 212)	KBo. 18.107 Ro 3	n ^o 86 (p. 134)
<i>ibid.</i> Vo 61	n ^o 92 (p. 137)	KBo. 18.161 Ro 11'	n ^o 342 (p. 264)
KBo. 3.36 Ro 7'	n ^o 129 (p. 153)	KBo. 18.170 Ro 9'	n ^o 143 (p. 159)
KBo. 3.38 Vo 29'	n ^o 353 (p. 269)	KBo. 18.175 + V 11	n ^o 244 (p. 216)
KBo. 4.13 + V 25	n ^o 53 (p. 117)	KBo. 18.181 Ro 1	n ^o 335 (p. 259)
KBo. 5.3 + I 36	n ^o 312 (p. 246)	<i>ibid.</i> Vo 2'	n ^o 301 (p. 241)
KBo. 5.3 + KUB		<i>ibid.</i> Vo 12'	n ^o 244 (p. 216)
40.35 + III 62'	n ^o 92 (p. 137)	KBo. 19.81, 4' et 6'	n ^o 180 (p. 179)
KBo. 5.6 III 43	n ^o 357 (p. 271)	KBo. 19.91, 5'	n ^o 86 (p. 134)
KBo. 8.93 I 16'	n ^o 169 (p. 172)	KBo. 19.99 b 2'	n ^o 4 (p. 90)
KBo. 9.82 Ro 3	n ^o 7 (p. 92)	KBo. 19.129 Ro 21, 22	n ^o 55 (p. 118)
KBo. 10.1 Ro 4	n ^o 313 (p. 248)	KBo. 19.136 I 2'	n ^o 112 (p. 145)
<i>ibid.</i> Ro 9	n ^o 335 (p. 259)	<i>ibid.</i> I 21'	n ^o 229 (p. 206)
<i>ibid.</i> Vo 11	n ^o 333 (p. 258)	KBo. 19.145 Ro I 3	n ^o 240 (p. 213)
KBo. 10.2 III 16	n ^o 333 (p. 258)	KBo. 20.13 Vo 15'	n ^o 80 (p. 131)
KBo. 10.7 + I 18'	n ^o 205 (p. 194)	KBo. 20.33 + Ro 8	n ^o 49 (p. 115)
KBo. 10.23 (+) I 9'	n ^o 213 (p. 200)	<i>ibid.</i> Ro 16	n ^o 226 (p. 205)
KBo. 10.45 III 52	n ^o 330 (p. 256)	KBo. 20.107 + KBo.	
<i>ibid.</i> IV 43	n ^o 138 (p. 158)	23.50 Ro II 21'	n ^o 192 (p. 184)
<i>ibid.</i> IV 44	n ^o 194 (p. 185)	KBo. 21.1 I 4	n ^o 52 (p. 117)
KBo. 11.19 Ro 9'	n ^o 240 (p. 213)	KBo. 21.42 VI [?] 4'	n ^o 93 (p. 138)
KBo. 11.32 Ro 32	n ^o 46 (p. 114)	KBo. 21.87 + Ro II 4'	n ^o 313 (p. 248)
KBo. 12.53 + Ro 5'	n ^o 215 (p. 201)	<i>ibid.</i> Ro II 6'	n ^o 133 (p. 156)
KBo. 12.116 ¹ Vo 4'	n ^o 298 (p. 239)	KBo. 22.27, 6'-7'	n ^o 165 (p. 170)
KBo. 13.27 +		KBo. 23.74 II 9'	n ^o 226 (p. 205)
VBoT. 12, 11' (= 5')	n ^o 68 (p. 125)	KBo. 23.91 I 15'	n ^o 195 (p. 186)
KBo. 13.76 Ro 7	n ^o 112 (p. 145)	KBo. 23.117 I 6, 7	n ^o 269 (p. 227)
KBo. 13.78 Ro 2	n ^o 83 (p. 132)	KBo. 24.16 ¹ , 13''	n ^{os} 236, 342 (pp. 210, 264)
KBo. 13.169 col. g.			
3', 7', 11'	n ^o 17 (p. 98)	KBo. 24.18 Ro 4'	n ^o 13 (p. 96)
KBo. 13.219, 4'	n ^o 195 (p. 186)	KBo. 24.26 II 6'	n ^o 68 (p. 125)
KBo. 14.12		KBo. 24.128 Ro 9'-10'	n ^o 294 (p. 237)
(dont KUB. 34.24)		KBo. 25.92 col. g. 2'	n ^o 44 (p. 113)
III 15	n ^o 357 (p. 271)	KBo. 26.4 II 8'	n ^o 227 (p. 206)
KBo. 15.19 I 7	n ^o 247 (p. 217)	KBo. 26.20 III 25, 26	n ^o 301 (p. 241)
KBo. 15.32 I 3	n ^o 274 (p. 229)	KBo. 26.34 IV 2'	n ^o 278 (p. 230)
KBo. 15.33 + II 34'	n ^o 227 (p. 206)	KBo. 26.107, 6'	n ^o 306 (p. 243)
<i>ibid.</i> II 35', 39'	n ^o 199 (p. 190)	KBo. 27.26, 4'	n ^o 223 (p. 204)
KBo. 17.46 + Vo		KBo. 27.179 Ro 24',	
26'-28'	n ^o 8 (p. 93)	Vo 4'	n ^o 133 (p. 156)

- KBo. 27.208, 4' et 7' n° 133 (p. 156)
 KBo. 28.4 Vo 7', 15' n° 223 (p. 204)
 KBo. 28.6 Vo 5' *et passim* n° 223 (p. 204)
 KBo. 28.50 Ro 1 n° 57 (p. 119)
 KBo. 28.77 Vo 12' n° 357 (p. 271)
 KBo. 29.141, 13' n° 68 (p. 125)
 KBo. 29.142, 9' n° 68 (p. 125)
 KBo. 30.28, 9' n° 226 (p. 205)
 KBo. 30.87 Ro 7' n° 187 (p. 181)
 KBo. 30.120 col. g. 11' n° 187 (p. 181)
 KBo. 32.11 Ro I 10 n° 97 (p. 139)
 KBo. 32.13 II 17 n° 252 (p. 219)
 KBo. 32.14 II/I 33 n° 13 (p. 97)
 KBo. 32.106 Vo[?] 12' n° 78 (p. 130)
 KBo. 32.176 Ro 1, Vo 7' n° 8 (p. 93)
 KBo. 33.69 I 1 n° 169 (p. 172)
 KBo. 33.130 Vo 3', 5' n° 255 (p. 220)
 KUB. 2.13 I 13 n° 133 (p. 156)
 KUB. 3.33, 9' n° 340 (p. 263)
 KUB. 3.36 Vo 7' n° 340 (p. 263)
 KUB. 3.94 Ro II 18 *sqq.* n° 190 (p. 183)
 KUB. 3.110, 21' n° 36 (p. 107)
 KUB. 4.7 Ro 3, 6 n° 111 (p. 145)
 KUB. 4.39 I 9 n° 119 (p. 148)
 KUB. 4.48 II 5 n° 147 (p. 160)
 KUB. 4.63 III 5 n° 233 (p. 209)
 KUB. 4.72 Ro B 2 n° 358 (p. 272)
 KUB. 5.1 III 21 n° 39 (p. 110)
ibid. III 100 n° 301 (p. 241)
ibid. IV 58 n° 306 (p. 243)
ibid. IV 65 n° 329 (p. 255)
 KUB. 5.9 Ro 20 n° 234 (p. 210)
 KUB. 5.24 + I 65 n° 51 (p. 117)
 KUB. 6.45 + I 12 n° 13 (p. 96)
 KUB. 7.20 Vo 6' n° 93 (p. 138)
 KUB. 7.29 I 16 n° 343 (p. 264)
 KUB. 7.41 IV 10' n° 138 (p. 158)
 KUB. 7.61 Ro 8 n° 1 (p. 89)
 KUB. 8.27 b.g. 4 n° 369 (p. 278)
 KUB. 8.35 Ro 2' n° 358 (p. 272)
ibid. Ro 11' *sqq.* n° 337 (p. 261)
ibid. Vo 17' n° 196 (p. 187)
 KUB. 8.43 col. dr. 8' n° 294 (p. 237)
 KUB. 8.53 Vo II 10' n° 93 (p. 138)
 KUB. 8.62 IV 3' n° 38 (p. 109)
 KUB. 9.31 IV 14', 29' n° 210 (p. 197)
 KUB. 9.32 Vo 10, 20 n° 210 (p. 197)
 KUB. 9.34 III 29' n° 243 (p. 215)
 KUB. 10.28 II 13 n° 212 (p. 199)
 KUB. 11.18 + III 20' n° 128 (p. 152)
 KUB. 12.1 III 15' n° 202 (p. 192)
ibid. III 43', IV 44' n° 192 (p. 184)
 KUB. 12.10 IV 2' n° 169 (p. 172)
 KUB. 12.49 I 4 n° 75 (p. 128)
 KUB. 12.61 II=III[!] 9' n° 146 (p. 160)
 KUB. 13.3 III 21 n° 161 (p. 167)
 KUB. 13.4 III 48 n° 133 (p. 156)
ibid. III 55-56 n° 330 (p. 256)
 KUB. 13.35 + II 37 n° 7, 92 (pp. 92, 137)
 KUB. 15.1 I 15 n° 36, 265 (pp. 107, 226)
 KUB. 15.28 + II 6' n° 366 (p. 277)
 KUB. 15.31 IV 31' (= StBoT. 21, p. 10) n° 93 (p. 138)
 KUB. 16.29 + 81 I 32 n° 329 (p. 255)
 KUB. 16.37 I 6' n° 244 (p. 216)
 KUB. 17.10 III 13 n° 298 (p. 239)
 KUB. 17.27 II 21' n° 290 (p. 235)
 KUB. 17.28 IV 59' n° 89 (p. 136)
 KUB. 18.2 II 15' n° 46 (p. 114)
 KUB. 18.16 II 1 n° 161 (p. 167)
 KUB. 18.41 Ro 12' n° 46 (p. 114)
 KUB. 18.57 + II 66 n° 60 (p. 120)
 KUB. 20.1 II 5', 6', 7' n° 269 (p. 227)
 KUB. 20.8 VI 7' n° 93 (p. 138)
 KUB. 20.11 II 11' n° 33 (p. 106)
 KUB. 20.42 II 16 n° 128 (p. 152)
 KUB. 21.38 Ro 30' n° 27 (p. 103)
 KUB. 21.42 + I 16', 21', IV 18 n° 7 (p. 92)
 KUB. 22.28 Vo[?] 7' n° 161 (p. 167)
 KUB. 22.31 Ro[?] 9' n° 51 (p. 117)
 KUB. 22.42 Ro 5', 10' n° 189 (p. 182)
 KUB. 22.70 Ro 66 n° 240 (p. 213)
 KUB. 23.1 + II 11 n° 353 (p. 269)
 KUB. 24.2 Ro 9 n° 174 (p. 175)

La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites 333

KUB. 24.13 II 15' (= AOAT. 31, 1978, 104)	n° 213 (p. 200)	<i>ibid.</i> II 14, 17	n° 148 (p. 161)
KUB. 25.23 bord gauche, β) 5	n° 93 (p. 138)	KUB. 38.4 Ro 9	n° 210 (p. 197)
KUB. 26.32 + II 3	n° 68 (p. 125)	KUB. 38.11 Ro 9'	n° 196 (p. 187)
KUB. 27.1 II 17	n° 198 (p. 188)	KUB. 38.12 II 21	n° 330 (p. 256)
KUB. 27.67 + II 58	n° 148 (p. 161)	KUB. 38.25 I [?] 24'	n° 149 (p. 161)
KUB. 27.70 II 10	n° 369 (p. 280)	KUB. 38.33, 4'	n°s 86, 168 (pp. 134, 171)
KUB. 28.18 Ro 8, Vo 6'	n° 86 (p. 134)	KUB. 38.37 III [?] 7'	n° 126 (p. 151)
KUB. 28.59 IV 12	n° 243 (p. 215)	KUB. 39.6 III 17	n° 43 (p. 112)
KUB. 29.1 II 13	n° 20 (p. 100)	KUB. 40.33 Ro 8', 13'	n° 317 (p. 251)
KUB. 29.2 II 5'	n° 20 (p. 100)	KUB. 40.84 + I 21'	n° 195 (p. 186)
KUB. 29.9 IV 12	n° 68 (p. 125)	<i>ibid.</i> IV 1	n° 305 (p. 243)
KUB. 29.58 + I 13, 20 (p. 221)	n° 256, 2	KUB. 40.88 III 12'	n° 192 (p. 184)
<i>ibid.</i> III 35, IV 24	n° 84 (p. 133)	<i>ibid.</i> III 16', 19'	n° 11 (p. 95)
<i>ibid.</i> IV 28	n° 195 (p. 186)	KUB. 41.6 col. dr. 9'	n° 162 (p. 168)
KUB. 30.15 + Ro 8	n° 251 (p. 219)	KUB. 41.17 I 25'	n° 38 (p. 109)
KUB. 30.48, 17	n° 84 (p. 133)	KUB. 41.23 II 11'	n° 196 (p. 187)
KUB. 30.49 + IV 14'	n° 84 (p. 133)	KUB. 41.48 IV 21'	n° 334 (p. 258)
KUB. 30.65 + II 4	n° 75 (p. 128)	<i>ibid.</i> IV 24'	n° 169 (p. 172)
KUB. 30.68 Ro 3'	n° 313 (p. 248)	KUB. 42.14 IV 11'	n° 244 (p. 216)
KUB. 31.5 II 5'	n° 86 (p. 134)	KUB. 42.43 Ro 13'	n° 143 (p. 159)
KUB. 31.68 Vo 29'	n° 129 (p. 153)	KUB. 42.48 Ro [?] 2', 5', 10', 14'	n° 334 (p. 258)
KUB. 31.76 Ro 11'	n° 195 (p. 186)	KUB. 42.56, 7	n° 206 (p. 195)
<i>ibid.</i> Ro 20'	n° 305 (p. 243)	<i>ibid.</i> 8	n° 101 (p. 141)
KUB. 31.87 + II 11'	n° 30 (p. 105)	<i>ibid.</i> 12	n° 238 (p. 212)
KUB. 32.123 + II 24'	n° 343 (p. 264)	KUB. 42.64 Vo 9'	n° 147 (p. 160)
KUB. 33.52 II 4	n° 23 (p. 102)	KUB. 42.81 + Ro [?] 4'	n° 61 (p. 121)
KUB. 33.56 Ro 4'	n° 23 (p. 102)	KUB. 42.97, 8'	n°s 316, 330 (pp. 250, 256)
KUB. 33.120 + II 38	n° 133 (p. 156)	KUB. 42.99 I 9'	n° 159 (p. 166)
KUB. 34.14 + Vo [?] 9'	n° 84 (p. 133)	KUB. 42.100 IV 7', 19', 20'	n° 310 (p. 245)
KUB. 34.58 col. dr. 1'	n° 93 (p. 138)	KUB. 42.105 III 16'	n° 162 (p. 168)
KUB. 34.88, 3'	n° 148 (p. 161)	KUB. 43.8 III 3'b	n° 20 (p. 100)
KUB. 35.43 II 28	n° 33 (p. 106)	KUB. 43.53 I 10', 27'	n° 334 (p. 258)
KUB. 35.133 I 8'	n° 343 (p. 264)	KUB. 43.68 + Vo [?] III 15'	n° 101 (p. 141)
KUB. 35.135 I 11'	n° 240 (p. 213)	KUB. 43.77 Vo 3'	n° 237 (p. 211)
KUB. 36.37 + III 3'	n° 124 (p. 150)	KUB. 44.60 + II	
KUB. 36.41 + I 16'	n° 143 (p. 159)	<i>passim</i>	n° 231 (p. 208)
KUB. 36.52, 5'	n° 72 (p. 127)	<i>ibid.</i> III 6	n° 1 (p. 89)
KUB. 37.71, 5'	n° 297 (p. 238)	KUB. 44.63 II 13'	n° 132 (p. 155)
KUB. 37.103, 19'	n° 227 (p. 206)	<i>ibid.</i> II 14'	n° 68 (p. 125)
KUB. 38.2 III 3	n° 211 (p. 198)	KUB. 45.47 IV 37	n° 13 (p. 96)
KUB. 38.3 I 17	n° 244 (p. 216)	KUB. 45.79 Vo [?] 17'	n° 7 (p. 92)

KUB. 46.37 Vo 1	n° 51 (p. 117)	Mst. 75/64, lignes 1,	
KUB. 46.38 Ro II 9'	n° 288 (p. 234)	30 (= S. Alp,	
KUB. 46.40 Ro 19	n° 288 (p. 234)	HBrM. n° 81)	n° 13 (p. 97)
KUB. 46.42 Vo III			
14''	n° 288 (p. 234)	RS. 25.421 Ro 24'	n° 30 (p. 105)
KUB. 46.71 Ro 7'	n° 316 (p. 251)	<i>ibid.</i> Ro 29'	n° 357 (p. 271)
KUB. 47.36 Ro 14',		<i>ibid.</i> Vo 48'	n° 133 (p. 156)
15'	n° 44 (p. 113)		
KUB. 48.123 II 5'	n° 310 (p. 245)	VBoT. 5, 3'	n° 344 (p. 265)
KUB. 49.54 Ro 3'	n° 156 (p. 164)	VBoT. 136 Ro 12'	n° 244 (p. 216)
KUB. 49.61, 7'	n° 227 (p. 206)		
KUB. 50.1 III 6', 15'	n° 192 (p. 184)	Amarna-Text	
KUB. 50.52, 3'	n° 30 (p. 105)	Nr. 192, Z. 8	n° 340 (p. 263)
KUB. 50.96, 13'	n° 306 (p. 243)		
KUB. 50.108, 13'	n° 269 (p. 227)	Fragments inédits	
KUB. 51.35 Ro [?] 10'	n° 243 (p. 215)	Bo. 3077 II 10	
KUB. 52.68 III 31'	n° 369 (p. 280)	(= KUB. 59.66	
<i>ibid.</i> III 39'	n° 39 (p. 110)	Ro III 10')	n° 101 (p. 141)
KUB. 53.14 II 25, 26	n° 220 (p. 203)	Bo. 3097 Vo 4, 5	n° 240 (p. 213)
KUB. 53.30 Ro 3'	n° 269 (p. 227)	Bo. 3531, 5	n° 2 (p. 89)
KUB. 54.65 (+) Ro II		Bo. 3599 col. dr. 4	n° 243 (p. 215)
7' (= Vo ¹ III ¹ 25)	n° 110 (p. 145)	Bo. 3995 II 15	n° 196 (p. 187)
KUB. 54.85 Ro 11'	n° 131 (p. 154)	Bo. 5238	n° 55 (p. 118)
<i>ibid.</i> Ro 14'	n° 97 (p. 139)	Bo. 6849 col. dr. 10	n° 199 (p. 190)
KUB. 56.14 IV 6	n° 335 (p. 259)		
KUB. 57.72, 7	n° 101 (p. 141)	153/a, 10	
KUB. 58.17, 3'	n° 243 (p. 215)	(= KBo. 34.2 Vo 46)	n° 226 (p. 205)
KUB. 58.50 IV 17'	p. 20 n. 16	1092/c, 7	
KUB. 58.51 II 14	n° 2 (p. 89)	(= KBo. 34.210,7')	n° 41 (p. 112)
KUB. 58.60 I 13'	n° 174 (p. 175)	163/d, 7	n° 366 (p. 277)
KUB. 58.102 III 8'	n° 366 (p. 277)	58/g + Ro 1	n° 75 (p. 128)
		178/o, 6	n° 53 (p. 117)
ABoT. 34, 10'	n° 131 (p. 154)	378/p, 4	n° 133 (p. 156)
ABoT. 56 I 7	n° 294 (p. 237)	466/s, 8	n° 39 (p. 109)
		505/u	n° 142 (p. 159)
HT. 1 Vo IV 1	n° 369 (p. 280)	571/u, 5	n° 269 (p. 227)
HT. 57, 4'	n° 159 (p. 166)	1080/u, 4	n° 162 (p. 168)
		730/v, 3	n° 354 (p. 269)
IBoT. 1.31 ¹ Ro 13	n° 231 (p. 208)	107/x, 7	n° 163 (p. 168)
IBoT. 1.33 Ro 19, 38	n° 126 (p. 151)	359/z I [?] 14	n° 20 (p. 100)
<i>ibid.</i> Ro 25, 39 <i>et</i>		883/z, 6 et 8	n° 86 (p. 134)
<i>passim</i>	n° 57 (p. 120)		
<i>ibid.</i> Ro 45	n° 194 (p. 185)	Bo. 68/34 I 2'	
IBoT. 1.36 III 58	n° 133 (p. 156)	(= StBoT. 31,	
IBoT. 2.103 IV 12'	n° 144 (p. 159)	p. 479 n. 1752)	n° 233 (p. 209)

La mise à jour du système de transcription des textes hittites 335

Avec l'examen de tous ces passages, les Auteurs apportent une contribution inappréciable à la philologie hittite.

V. Conclusion.

Le HZL., fruit d'une étude minutieuse des tablettes de Boğazköy et d'une profonde réflexion, marque un tournant décisif dans les études anatoliennes. Cet ouvrage contient notamment les résultats importants de trois vastes investigations. La première avait pour objectif de déterminer les variantes caractéristiques qu'ont connues les signes au cours des trois périodes du hittite. À la faveur d'un dépouillement systématique des textes, les Auteurs ont pu opérer une sélection judicieuse: dans les 375 lemmes du HZL. se trouvent enregistrées plus de 3 200 variantes copiées d'après les originaux (ou leurs photographies) et classées en fonction de la datation des textes seulement quand la paléographie fournit des critères irrécusables.

Mais les recherches ont parallèlement porté sur un autre domaine, celui des valeurs syllabiques dont se servaient les scribes à Boğazköy. Il importait de procéder à leur recensement, car les études consacrées à la phonétique des dialectes anatoliens avaient négligé de faire convenablement ce travail pourtant fondamental. Le HZL. a remédié ainsi à cette lacune grave. Ce recueil indique non seulement les valeurs qui figurent dans les divers vocables de la langue hittite, mais aussi celles, peu usuelles, confinées essentiellement dans l'onomastique; il y en a 283 en tout. De surcroît, les Auteurs ont pris soin de citer à part les valeurs syllabiques propres aux termes akkadiens et – autant que nos connaissances le permettent actuellement – celles attestées dans des formes hatties et hourrites.

Le mode de transcription des sumérogrammes que suivaient les hittitologues, était sur maints points périmé; de toute évidence, son remaniement s'imposait. Les Auteurs, avec une rare compétence, se sont acquittés de cette tâche ardue en apportant une solution rigoureuse et conforme au 'BCE-System'. Il a fallu modifier la transcription d'environ 150 sumérogrammes et dissiper quelques confusions de signes. En outre, le HZL. cite un nombre important de sumérogrammes (simples ou composés) qui manquaient aux listes précédemment établies.

Cet ouvrage de référence très soigneusement imprimé fait, d'une part, la synthèse des travaux accomplis depuis le brillant déchiffrement du hittite par B. Hrozný, et apporte, d'autre part, une masse de faits nouveaux dus aux recherches qu'ont menées les Auteurs. C'est une publication majeure qui fraye la voie aux études de paléographie, de phonétique et de lexicographie que les hittitologues prendront à tâche d'écrire durant les prochaines décennies. Au *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon* s'applique aussi la remarque qu'a formulée Monsieur le Professeur H. Otten concernant le Catalogue des textes hittites d'E. Laroche: «ein Nachschlagewerk, das aus unserer täglichen Arbeit nicht wegzudenken ist» (cf. Mél. E. Laroche, p. 273).

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