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This sequence remains, however, a pure construction until we can substantiate it. It is thinkable that we may see something of an earlier shape for the same base in Hittite *išpatar*, gen. *išpannaš* ‘Spieß (?)’, but it should be noted that the forms *išpija* = *išpāi* ‘sich satt essen’, *išpijatar* ‘Sättigung’ also occur. An old neuter **sp(e)t-r/*sp(e)t-n-* would go a long way toward helping to throw light on our form.

Perhaps we may see an ultimate relationship to forms listed in *IEW*, p. 981 or 983; but at present I see no clear choice.

Palatal before resonant in Albanian

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1. Albanian *glun-* ‘knee’

The standard Albanian forms are Tosk *gju*, def. *gjuri*, pl. *gjunjë*. North Geg *giŭ*, def. *giŭni*, pl. *giuj*. The dialects of Çamërija (south Tosk) and of the enclaves of Greece and Italy (exclusive of some of the Calabrian dialects, where the departure is normal) show an initial *gl-*. Borgo Erizzo (Dalmatian Geg) has (plural) *guñ*. On the basis of the reflexes in North Geg and southern Tosk, the proto-Albanian form is clearly **glun-*. This has long been known and accepted; it would be superfluous to adduce here the long list of separate dialect attestations that my files show.

Wackernagel (*Altindische Grammatik* 3. i. 132) accepts the possibility that the Albanian form represents a dissimilation from **gnun-*, and compares this to *γουφατ- : γόνυ*, parallel to Vedic *drúnah*, *δοϕατ- : δδru*, *δδου*. The comparison is attractive in every way, especially when one considers that Albanian has also generalized **drun-* > Geg *drŭ*, *drŭni*, Tosk *drŭ*, *druri*.

We may perhaps be troubled by the length of the vowel in Keltic: OIr. *glŭn*, Welsh Breton *glin* < **glŭnos* (a neuter s-stem in Keltic; the Welsh plural *glinyeu* shows reshaping). It is hard to know just how this length fits; perhaps we have a cross with a laryngeal-extended stem **gŭnX-*. In any case we find a parallel long-vowel form in Albanian *dri-zë* ‘tree’ (the meaning varies in different dialects) < **drŭ-*, plus the diminutive suffix *-zë* < **-dijŕ*.

In original final position $*\bar{u} > \text{Alb. } i$; cf. *mi* 'mouse'. And again, in *drǵ*, def. *drǵni* 'lock' we have $*\bar{d}r\bar{u}n-$. This last form seems to be matched also in Iranian. In original medial position $*\bar{u} > \text{Alb. } y$.

Thus $*\bar{g}lu(X)n-$ seems likely to be a dissimilation product of $*\bar{g}nun-$, once in paradigmatic relation to $*\bar{g}enu/*\bar{g}onu$ just as $*\bar{d}run-$ was to $*\bar{d}eru/*\bar{d}oru$.

This established, the initial cluster of the Albanian form has an additional interest: We find another case of an IE palatal falling together with the velar in Albanian immediately before a resonant; see my discussion of this in KZ 74. 127—128 (1956) and in my article Albanian and Messapic, § 4. 6, in Studies presented to Jeshua Whatmough. Whether this happened before or after the dissimilation in question cannot be determined. The parallel phenomenon in Keltic, however, points to a very early date (pre-Albanian) for the dissimilation. In any event, the "Guttural-verschiedenheit" which troubles Pokorny (IEW 362) need no longer give us doubts on the ultimate relationship.

2. Albanian *grua* 'woman'

Tagliavini (L'albanese di Dalmazia 126) follows earlier attempts going back to Meyer to connect this word with the general IE word for 'woman', and reconstructs $*g^un-\bar{u}n$. As long as the traditional view of the treatment of the IE palatals in Albanian held, this reconstruction, though unsatisfying, was justified. It fails, however, to explain effectively the plural *grā*.

It now seems much simpler to revive the connexion with $\gamma\rho\alpha\bar{u}\varsigma$. The singular Tosk *grua*, Geg *grue*, Buzuk *gruo* goes back to an early Albanian $*gr\bar{o}$, and this to an IE vocalism $*\bar{a}(y)$. The plural *grā* goes back to an apparent $*gra$ (or $*gro$), and this may reflect a vocalism $*\bar{a}(y)$. The ablaut relationship is perfect for such an old stem-type.

Thus, the two forms reflect a paradigm which may be summarized $*\bar{g}r\bar{a}(y)-s$ ($\gamma\rho\alpha\bar{u}\varsigma$, $\gamma\rho\eta\bar{i}$), $*\bar{g}r\bar{a}(y)-\bar{e}s$ — or $*\bar{g}r\bar{e}Au-s$, $*\bar{g}rA-u\bar{e}s$.

Here we have yet another case in support of the Albanian merger of palatals and velars before $*r$, since the base is presumably related to Persian *zar*, Armenian *cer*, and their cognates.

3. Albanian *dhallë* 'buttermilk'

Pokorny's account (IEW 400—401) of $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$, $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Lat. *lac*, *lactis* is inconclusive and unsatisfying, though it is not clear

that a really acceptable explanation can yet be furnished. However, laryngeal theory now enables us to unite these forms more efficiently, without the inelegant assumption of an uncharacteristic epenthetic vowel in the Greek form.

Greek *γαλακτ-* may be reconstructed on well known lines to **głkt-*. Latin *lact-* may point to **gləkt-*. Now, apparent **l̥* and **l̥ə* are really just two different syllabifications, under Sievers-Edgerton principles, of a single sequence of IE **l* plus laryngeal; we may write it conveniently **lX*. Thus, we are led to **glXkt-*, or **gl̥Xkt-*.

Jokl (LKU 273) earlier accepted Pedersen's (KZ 36. 334) and Meyer's (Et. Wb. 83) suggested connexion of *dhallë* with *γάλα*. Later, however he connected it with *djathë* 'cheese' and *dele* 'sheep'. Rumanian *zară* seems connected with *dhallë*. When we consider a parallel pair, Rum. *mazăre* — Alb. *modhullë* (see Jokl LKU 200), the Rum. *z*—Alb. *dh* correspondence may well point to an IE **ǵ*, that is, a palatal. If this is so, then we are led once again to match *dhallë* with *γάλα* rather than with *djathë* and *dele*.

If true, and if *γάλα* and *lac* really go back to **gl̥Xkt-*, then we must somehow modify the statement of relationship, since **gl̥Xkt-* would yield according to our present formulation an initial *g-* in Albanian.

Of course, the words do not share the same suffixal elements (whatever the precise suffix was on the ambiguous Albanian-Rumanian form). Therefore, the Albanian could conceivably go back to something like **ǵolX-*; but this is pure construction on almost no foundation.

4. Albanian *drith*, *drithë* 'grain, cereal'

There can be little doubt that this represents, along with Gk. *αρῖ*, an old root-noun. The ancestor form has been reconstructed as **ǵhr̥zd̥h*. If that is so, we must assume that before **r̥*, at any rate, **ǵh* did not depalatalize; perhaps the aspiration would have blocked it. But I know of no other good examples against which to test it.

On the other hand, on the basis of OHG *gersta*, we may safely assume a paradigm for which we may cite nom. **ǵhérzd̥h*, gen. **ǵhr̥zd̥hés*. This accords with what we know of IE noun patterns. These would have yielded proto-Albanian **ǵerǵ* (~ **derǵ*), **griǵ*. The attested *drith* could thus represent a levelling.

5. **(s)k(o)nid-* 'nit'

Pokorny (IE W 608) heads his entry "knid-, knid-, sknid-", and gives a cross-reference to *ghnīdā*. There are several departures from rigor involved in this.

It should be noted that reflexes of **ghnīdā* are limited to Germanic and Balto-Slavic; this is an interesting distribution.

There is no clear need for positing the **k* which Pokorny assumes for two of his variants.

Pokorny assumes a constant **kn-* initial. Germanic, Keltic, and perhaps Armenian point to this. For Greek *κνίς, -ίδος* f., he reconstructs **knid-s*, remarking "wohl an *κνίς* 'Staub' angeglichen". This reasoning is quite gratuitous, for good method demands that we posit **konid-s* (or better, **konit-s, -id-os*). If the Greek form were the only one involved, we might say that there was a grain of justification in his procedure. But he also cites "alb. *thēntī* 'Laus' (**k(ē)nid-*)".

Albanian Geg *th(ē)nī*, Tosk *th(ē)rī* generally means 'nit, louse-egg'; the word for 'louse' is *morr*. Plentiful references to the standard handbooks are given s. v. *θνια*, Tagliavini, *L'albanese di Dalmazia* 301, but one further remark is necessary. The *-r-* in Tosk *th(ē)rī* shows that the **n* in Proto-Albanian was intervocalic. Therefore we have **kVnid-*; the most likely shape to posit is **konid-*. As we have seen above, there is reason to believe, furthermore, that if the **k* had originally been followed by **n* the palatal would have been depalatalised in Albanian; this is the case for **l* and **r*, but it cannot yet be demonstrated for **n* so far as I know. If **k* was lost in Armenian before **n* as it was before **l* (*lu, lsem*), perhaps we may be able to account more precisely for Arm. *anic*.

It is difficult to say what the original paradigm was. Perhaps there was a feminine **konīts*, gen. **knidós*.

6. Geg *grân*, Tosk *grurë* 'wheat'

Ever since Miklosich scholars have entertained the possibility that this word is a loan from Latin *grānum*. However, some means, e. g. an unknown Dalmatian intermediary, has had to be brought into play to explain the unexpected vocalism. Skok and Pușcariu favoured a Rumanian source, but this makes for uncomfortable chronology when one considers the clearly old status reflected by the Tosk treatment of intervocalic **-n-* and our relative ignorance of the details of that stage of proto-Rumanian. The references are conveniently summarized by Tagliavini, *L'albanese di Dalmazia* 126.

In light of the points made in the preceding etymologies, it now seems possible to consider tentatively a direct derivation of this Albanian etymon from the IE form reflected in Skt. *jīrná-*, Lith. *žirnis*, OPruss. *syrne*, Serb. *žno*, Lat. *grānum*, Welsh *grawn*, Goth. *kaur̥n* (see IEW 391). If so, we have in Brugmann's terms **ǵr̥nóm* (with accent placed on the basis of Skt. and of our knowledge of IE morphophonemics, thereby regarding the position of the accent in Balto-Slavic as a well attested later development), or better, since the Albanian *-ë* reflects a neuter-collective, **ǵr̥nd̥*. Interpreted in laryngeal terms, this becomes **ǵr̥XnéA*, or more precisely yet (see my note on Alb. *plak*, appearing shortly in *Language*) **ǵr̥XnáA*.

The only good Albanian attestation for IE **r̥* known to me is *parë* 'first' (see Studies presented to Whatmough 82 and 86). It is true that our knowledge of the fate of any sort of syllabic **r* in Albanian is poor, but the vocalism of **grunë* may cause us to think further. We note in the Iranian cognates (IEW 391) the presence of a so-called *u*-formant: *zaurvan-*, *zaurura-*, *zrvan-/zr̥n-*. Greek (see 2 above) and ON *kqr* are supposed to reflect the same formant. The alternation of a laryngeal with **u/w* puts us in mind of Martinet's **A^w* (Word 9. 253—267, 1953); I have discussed the matter further, Word 11. 399—403, 1955, and have suggested that this phenomenon is a further reflex of **γ^w*. It is moreover interesting that *γαῶς* fits well morphologically with Martinet's **g^weA^w- 'ox'*.

Strictly, then, we seem led to reconstruct for the Albanian form **ǵrunóm* (or **ǵrunóm* if one prefers), and to regard this as a by-form, perhaps coexisting on the late IE level, to a basic **ǵr̥γ^wnóm*, **ǵr̥γ^wnáA*. Greek *γαῶς* would then go back to **ǵráAus*, this in turn to an earlier **ǵrey^ws*, etc.

7. Postscript on *krye* 'head'

Since writing the above, I see that S. E. Mann (*Language* 17. 13 and 16, 1941) has anticipated me in proposing a depalatalization of **k̥* and **ǵ* before *r* and *l*. To him, therefore, belongs the priority in this formulation; it is gratifying to see that our results converge.

Regarding *grún*, we are in complete agreement, when account is taken of the fact that Mann's analysis makes no use of laryngeal theory. I cannot, however, agree in detail with his treatment of the vocalism of *quej* 'I call'.

In the case of *krye*, except for the initial cluster, we are not at all in agreement (see my Albanian and Messapic, Studies Presented to Whatmough 86). Mann's proposal for an explanation of the vocalism of *krye* (*ɾ) takes no account of the obviously relevant plural Geg *krén*, Tosk *krerë*; the alternation *ye* ~ *e* clearly goes back to an apparent *ō.

In my abovementioned article I reconstructed *oA as the laryngeal sequence underlying this pre-Albanian *ō. The *a*-colouring laryngeal *A was posited on the basis of Gk. *κάρᾱ* (Ion. *κάρη*), *καρός*, for which we may reconstruct an old root noun *kráA (< *kréA), *krAós; the vocalism *krA- > *καρ-* (before vowel) would have been generalized.

When we consult IEW 574—576, we find an ensemble of forms that suggests another solution: Av. *srū-*, *srvā-*, Gk. *κόρυδος* (Gmc. **herut-*), *κόρυς -υθος*, *κορυγγεῖν· κεραιλίξεν*, and the entire entry (p. 576) which may be rewritten as *k(e)rXuo- all show an apparent “*u*-formant”. This fits well with the *o*-vocalism underlying the Albanian form, and may well point to an original *ɣ^w (Martinet's *A^w), which in accordance with Martinet's assumption came later by delabialization to alternate with *A. Thus Alb. *krye*, Gk. *κάρη καρός* and Av. *srū-* Welsh *carw* would represent respectively a later IE alternation *króɣ^w- (< *kréɣ^w-) ~ *kr(á)A- (< *kr(é)A-) ~ *kr(X)u'-.

Die iberischen und keltiberischen Nasalzeichen

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Die umstrittenen Belege für eine angebliche festlandkeltische Nasallenition sind durch die keltiberische Inschrift *uouaruticum* „Numantinorum“ um einen weiteren vermehrt worden. Nachdem diese Form von A. Tovar mehrfach als Spur einer *m*-Lenition im hispanischen Keltisch zitiert worden war, hat M. Lejeune in seinen *Celtiberica* auch eine Spirantisierung des *n* im Keltiberischen behauptet. Lejeune ist zu diesem Schluß durch eingehendes Studium der merkwürdigen keltiberischen Nasalschreibungen gekommen, er hat aber dabei versäumt, das Problem im Zusammenhang mit der iberischen Nasalfrage zu untersuchen, von der es