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On *HRC- in Latin

By ERIC P. HAMP, University of Chicago

John A. C. Greppin has given us an imaginative discussion of this question in *Glotta* 51, 1973, 112–16; his point of departure was the stimulating article by H. Rix, *MSS* 27, 1969, 79–111. The following comments are intended to enrich the evidence and discussion, and by no means to detract the positive aspects of the question opened.

Greppin doubts (112–13) that there is evidence for an *e*-colouring (or non-colouring) laryngeal for the etyma of *edō* 'eat' or *est* 'is'. Apart from the possible contribution of Hittite, of which I am still myself persuaded and which I discussed in *TPS* 1952 (1953) 110–13, it seems to me that Greek *νήστις* settles this question clearly at least for **H_eed-*. By such an assumption, and only so, we can make perfectly good morphological and semantic sense of *νήσ-τις* < **n_eH_e(t)s-ti-* < **n-H_ed-ti-*, a privative expression with **H_eed-* in zero-grade.

Both, Greppin and Rix, in my opinion, attend too little to the Albanian evidence in analyzing **orǵh-* or **H_orǵh-* 'testicle(s)'. Without entering into the entire question here, I would simply point out that, although Avest. *ərəzi* reflects a zero-grade **rǵh-*, it is quite possible (and, I think correct) to posit for *ῥοχεις*, Arm. *orjik'*, and even Lith. (dialect) *aržilas*¹⁾ an *o*-grade **orǵh*. However, in my view, Alb. *herdhe* f. additionally continues the *a*-colouring

cf. Umbrian *mers* 'law, justice', also from a stem **med-*; cf. also Greek *μεδίτης*, post-classical Latin *mediator*, German *Vermittler*, all from stems meaning 'middle'.

¹⁾ Because of recent developments in the correlation of palatalization an apparent *a-* or *e-* is not dependable in Lithuanian in any case. However, the productivity of ablaut in Baltic could easily explain such forms as Lith. *ežilas*, Latv. *ēzelis*.

4th laryngeal; in any event we must explain the undiphthongized Alb. *-e-*. As with other Albanian feminine nouns, we may take the *-e-* as an old plural/collective. Then we are free to derive *herdhe* < **harðiā*, and the stem *herdh-* < **harði-*. To maximize the match with the other attested forms²⁾ we reconstruct **horghi-*. As I argue elsewhere, we may additionally motivate the *o*-grade and *i*-stems by assuming an old decompound.

In the course of his argument (114) Greppin remarks that there is no evidence for an **H* colouring an *a*. That may be so, since an underlying **a* is a rare assumption (by definition) in the laryngeal hypothesis in any case. But since Ruijgh has argued strongly and, in my opinion, correctly against the view that sees *H_a* as unable to colour an ablaut **o*, the above form **horghi-* raises an interesting problem in this regard. It would take us too far afield to discuss it here, but I cannot let the occasion pass without drawing attention to this important point. Either **H_a* > Hitt. *h(h)* was different in its behaviour from **h* (= *H_a*) > Alb. *h-* in this respect; or else we are dealing with a different chronology of *o*-grade in **horghi-* from those cases discussed by Ruijgh.³⁾ Note that this also conflicts with Greppin's footnote 10.

Certainly Greppin's argument (114) for the chronology of syllabifications lying behind *ὄμφαλος* is well reasoned, as is also his footnote 5.

When we turn from the Greek to the Latin, things become less decisive. Certainly *umbilicus* and *unguis* look like reasonable candidates for a zero-grade, at least as a starting hypothesis; they would indeed match OIr. *imbliu* and *ingen* well in this respect. But *ambi* is far less clear in this regard, and by no means the evident case that Greppin makes it out to be. On the two etyma that have become mistaken for one, and their varying ablaut manifestations, see my analysis *Ériu* 24, 1973, 164–66.

Greppin claims (115) that all reflexes in Latin of **HNC-* show laryngeal colouration. But what of *ignis*,⁴⁾ *ensis*, *inguen*, *indigena*,⁵⁾ to name but a few cases that come to mind? What assurance do we have that the first three actually contained **H_e*; and how can we

²⁾ For the Hittite noun *arkiyēš*, now attested and identified, see Howard Berman *JAOS* 92, 1972, 468.

³⁾ *Lingua* 26, 1971, pp. 192 §§ 11ff.

⁴⁾ See my discussion of Lith. *ugnīs*, Slavic *ognь*, *Baltic Linguistics* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1970) 75–79.

⁵⁾ See my remarks on Welsh *anian*, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 16, 1956, 279ff.

guarantee that the last was not full grade? And certainly forms such as *ante* are agreed to be **H_a* with full grade.

The etymon of the 'bear' presents a considerable problem, and I discuss this from another point of view elsewhere. It is sufficient here to remark that Hitt. *hartagga-* is quite obscure semantically and probably does not mean 'bear' in any event. We therefore have no evidence whatever on the value of the initial laryngeal which would lead to assurance even in an hypothesis.

In view of these uncertainties surrounding *ambi* and *ursus* it is then seen that there is as yet really no basis for Greppin's claim (116) regarding the chronology and colorability of the initials of these words. Only *umbilicus* and *unguis* remain as possible evidence at this stage; and their ablaut grade remains too uncertain to provide a sure touchstone for an entire theory.

A.c.i.- and ut-clauses with verba dicendi in Latin

By A. M. BOLKESTEIN, Amsterdam

The following article is part of a more comprehensive study on the syntactic and semantic properties of clauses governed by verba dicendi in Latin.¹⁾ It contains an attempt to clear up a number of points which, to different degrees, are left vague in traditional Latin grammars, regarding the different types of constructions found with verba dicendi.

This article falls apart into two parts which are relatively independent, although the methodological approach remains the same. Part I treats the similarities and differences in behaviour between actual accusative cum infinitive clauses and constructions existing of an object-noun in the accusative caseform and a complementary infinitive; Part II deals with phenomena distinguishing two types of clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunction *ut*, namely

¹⁾ The work for this study was done as part of a research-project financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Pure Research (Z.W.O.), project 31-39 on 'The syntactic and semantic structure of Latin sentences with special attention to the role of case forms', under supervision of Prof. Dr. A. D. Lee-man and Dr. H. Pinkster at the University of Amsterdam.

I would like to thank especially Harm Pinkster for his perseverance in encouraging my work. I have also benefitted from remarks by Simon Dik, Cees Ruijgh and Elseline Vester. For any errors which remain I myself am of course completely responsible.