

This is striking and persuasive evidence for the most ancient recoverable state of affairs in Italy. It remains to be seen whether this is a feature distinguishing Latin-Venetic from "p-Italic". One further wonders whether *eu* in Alpine Venetic, Germanic and Celtic was a feature of areal conservation.

2. Ardea *titoio*

Vetter *Handbuch* 332 (≠ 364) analyzes *titoio*, the possessor's name, as an adjective formed like Lat. *quoiom*, rather than a genitive. That seems eminently plausible and violates no phonetics. But we may ask what permitted and motivated such a formation.

Now that we have the new evidence for *-osio* from Satricum we may imagine that a 3rd century rustic *-osio* would have been obtrusive in an area widely accustomed to *-ī*. It would have been a small adjustment of but one consonant to accommodate an old **-osio* to a less startling adjectival *-o-io(m)*, an easily expected result of dialect interference.

On **ri* in Latin and Albanian *krip*

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Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* 5², München 1977, 142 § 149 a a, correctly states that **ri* gives Latin *er* before dental, as in *ter*, *terr-uncius*, *ternī*, *tertius*, *testis*, *certus*. He is however properly troubled by *crispus* and *crīsta* 'crest'.

Now *crispus* has long been compared, as Ernout-Meillet₄ 151 report, to such Celtic forms as Welsh *crych*. These Celtic forms go back to a proximate **kripsos*, but it must be remembered, as Ernout and Meillet do not, that an original **krispos* would have metathesized to give a Celtic **kripsos*. As we shall see, it is the Latin which demonstrates the status of **kripsos* as the original.

When we come to *crīsta*, we find that Ernout-Meillet₄ 151 compare *crīnis*, as being from **crīsnis*. But this would contradict the formulation for *ternī*. The obvious way to save all of these in a single relation is to reconstruct **kripsos*, **kripstā*, and **kripsnis*. We thus have an old set **krip-so-*, +*tā*, +*ni-*.

The regularity of **ri* > *er* is therefore preserved.

At the same time we have gained a new etymon **krip-* 'hair' or 'curly' vel sim., which apparently favoured a suffix in **-s-*. We may now seek a comparandum. There is a noun in Albanian *krip* m., def. *krip-i*, which denotes 'hair'; it is not the dominant and most usual noun for 'hair', but it is well attested and appears in the major dictionaries. Tagliavini mentions the etymon (*La stratificazione del lessico albanese: elementi indoeuropei*, 1943, ristampa Bologna 1965, p. 91), but records it only for Sicilian Arbëresh and, on the authority, of Jokl, for Old Geg (attested in Bogdan). Actually the noun is much better attested than that, and I have recorded it in the far North Geg dialect of Gusî (Gusinje, Crna Gora), where it denotes short hair, including facial hair.

G. Meyer left the word without explanation or comment. Tagliavini reproduces Jokl's comparison with Lith. *krypti* 'sich drehen' (IE **greip-*, WP. II 571) and his claim that the original meaning would have been 'ricciolo'. But, he concludes, "la connessione non è però del tutto sicura."

Walde-Hofmann *LEW*₃ 293 doubts the relation of Lat. *crispus* to Lith. *kreĩpti*, but on the basis of an incorrect reconstruction of *crispus*, as we now see. Fraenkel *Lit. EW* 292 also doubts any connexion between *kreĩpti* (and hence *krỹpti*) and *crispus* but without offering further reasons. Russ. *kres* and *krës* and congeners (Vasmer *REW* 1. 660) is of ambiguous consonantism¹).

Any direct relation to the Baltic and Slavic etyma must remain speculative for the Latin, British Celtic and Albanian words. But a semantic connexion '(short) hair' : 'curly' : 'turn' is now potentially of firmer basis than it was before.

Nevertheless, the Latin and British Celtic *-s-* suffix is a significant shared feature to be noted in particular.

Culus, Clunes and their Synonyms in Latin

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The anus (or rectum : see below, p. 235 on the tendency for popular speech to ignore the distinction between the two parts) was a common topic of risqué humour in Latin, partly because it was seen as

¹) The fullest account of the Slavic etymon *krës-* is to be found in Sławski, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* 2. 227–9 (1968).