

Douglas Q. Adams, Latin *crinis* 'Headhair,' Albanian *krip* etc. 71

*cato inauguratoque conditam habemus*²³). I tentativi di distinzione operati dagli antichi sono quanto mai fragili. Secondo Servio²⁴) l'augurio è chiesto esplicitamente e si basa sull'osservazione di determinati uccelli, mentre l'auspicio non pone limitazioni circa gli uccelli da osservare e non è richiesto, bensì si presenta spontaneamente; l'attività dell'auspicio può essere effettuata anche all'estero, mentre l'augurio può essere fatto solo *in patriis sedibus*²⁵). Ma non sempre gli impieghi dei due termini sono coerenti con queste distinzioni che hanno un'apparenza un po' artificiosa. Secondo l'Ernout-Meillet *augurium* è più comprensivo di *auspicium*: quello di *augur* è un titolo ufficiale, mentre l'*auspex* è un prete magistrato che fa parte di un collegio e la cui azione è sottoposta a norme rigorose. Quanto detto finora è comunque sufficiente per chiarire taluni aspetti della storia semantica di *augurium* e per escludere un rapporto diretto fra *sacer* e *augustus*.

Further Reflections on Latin *crinis* 'Headhair,' Albanian *krip* and Related Words in Indo-Iranian

By DOUGLAS Q. ADAMS, Moscow (Idaho)

With his usual ability to collate insightful data from a very wide range of Indo-European languages, Eric Hamp (1981[1982]) has recently discussed Latin *crinis* 'headhair,' *crista* 'crest,' and *crispus* 'curly' along with their Brittonic cognate, e.g., Welsh *crych* 'curly,' and shown that *crispus* and *crych* reflect a Proto-Indo-European **kripso-* while *crinis* and *crista* reflect putative Proto-Indo-European **kripsni-* and **kripstā-* respectively. These reconstructions slightly complicate the history of these forms from the Latin point of view, at least when one compares them with the usual **krispo-*, **krisni-*, and **kristā-*, but it allows us to make *lautgesetzlich* the observation that PIE **ri* normally appears as *er* in Latin before dentals (witness *testis* from **terstis* from **tristis*) and to connect the Latin and Celtic words with the semantically satisfying cognate

²³) Liv. V 52, 2.

²⁴) *In Aen.* I 398.

²⁵) *In Aen.* III 20.

seen in Albanian *krip* '(short) hair (mainly of the head but including facial hair).'¹⁾

Hamp's Albanian cognate not only removes *crinis* and *crista* from the isolation that these words have heretofore enjoyed but also provides us with the basis for integrating another isolated word from the opposite end of the Indo-European world. Almost fifty years ago Frisk (1936) pointed out that the Vedic word *śiprā-* (attested as either a feminine dual or plural), whose meaning even the ancient Indian commentators did not know for sure, meant something on the order of 'Schnurrbart, die bärtige Lippen,' or 'Helmbusch.' He also saw its relationship to the Avestan *hapax legomenon sriḡā-* which has traditionally been translated 'nostrils.' It occurs at Y. 10: 113, *yaṭ . . . aspanamča sriḡa xšufšaṇ* "und wenn die Nüstern(?) der Pferde in Aufregung geraten." Frisk defends the traditional translation of *sriḡā-* by pointing out the parallel shifts in meaning between 'muzzle' and 'nose,' particularly in German. Indeed, one of his glosses for Sanskrit *śiprā-*, 'die bärtigen Lippen,' seems designed to bring out this semantic relationship with the Avestan cognate. But as he himself points out, the putative Avestan meaning is hardly assured and either 'plume' or 'mane' would also fit the context. Surely we can conclude that the Avestan word did mean 'plume' or 'mane,' matching the meaning 'Helmbusch' in Sanskrit. In addition, Sanskrit *śiprā-* probably means 'moustache' and 'moustache + beard' rather than 'die bärtigen Lippen.'

From a phonological point of view Sanskrit *śiprā-* is not of course an exact match for Avestan *sriḡā-*. Frisk opts for considering Sanskrit *śiprā-* as the better representative of the Indo-Iranian form and then proceeds to compare these words with Sanskrit *śepa-* 'penis' (from *'tail'). However, in the context of Latin *crinis* and Albanian *krip*, it is preferable to reconstruct a Proto-Indo-Iranian **šripā-* or possibly **šriprā-*. The former (with metathesis in Sanskrit) would imply a PIE **kripā-* [: the pre-Albanian **kripo-*],

¹⁾ I am strongly tempted to add Albanian *kriḡë* 'mane, crest' to this etymon, either directly from a late Indo-European **kripsā* or through a metathesized variant, **kriḡpā*. I know of no other example of either **-sp-* or **-ps-* (nor is any suggested in Huld, 1979) but since both **(-)sk-* and **(-)ks-*, initially and medially, have the same output in Albanian (as [-]h-), it may not be too much to suggest that both **(-)sp-* and **(-)ps-* have equally identical fates, namely the Albanian *f-* seen in *farë* 'seed' from PIE **sporā* [: Greek *sporá* 'seed'] and *fjalë* 'word' [: English *spell* 'incantation'].

the latter (with dissimilatory loss in both Indic and Iranian) would imply a PIE **kriplā-* which, among semantically similar words, would be like **pu-lo-* (Pokorny, 1959: 850) or **dok-lo-* (Pokorny, 1959: 191).

We have, then, in these forms the reflexes of an archaic Indo-European word for 'hair (of the head)' preserved in both the "far east" and the "far west" of the Indo-European speaking world. In its attestations it is clearly a relic form and possibly that was so even as the Proto-Indo-European speech community was dissolving.

Bibliographie

- Frisk, Hjalmar (1936). "RV *çipra-*." *Le Monde Oriental* 30: 78–79.
Hamp, Eric P. (1981[1982]). "On **ri* in Latin and Albanian *krip*." *Glotta* 59: 230–231.
Huld, Martin E. (1979). *An Etymological Glossary of Selected Albanian Items*. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms International.
Pokorny, Julius (1959). *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern, Francke.

Latin *in* before dental

By ERIC P. HAMP, Chicago

I have shown¹⁾ that Proto-Latin **e* was regularly raised to *i* in position before grave nasal clusters. Thus *e* remains before *n* + dental stop, with the apparent exception of the negative *in-* and the preposition *in*. In the abovementioned exposition I credited these two instances to the condition of pretonic position; that is to say, I assumed a phonological context of more restricted scope.

In fact such a phonological context may well be doubted at least for early Latin in the case of the negative prefix. A form such as *indemnīs* (: *damnum*) speaks against such an assumption. Moreover, we must in any event reckon with an analogical replacement in such prevocalic instances as *inermis* and *iners*.

¹⁾ *Proceedings of the 9th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 12–13 February 1983, 84–7.