

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.

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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 *indemnis* (: *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.

I therefore propose that in the case of these independent morphemes the shape *in*, which arose by phonological regularity in position before [+grave] consonantism, was extended by analogy to [-grave] and vocalic (as well as sonant) contexts. The analogical extension took the direction which we find because only the high vowel now normally occurred in the [+grave] context, and thus the extension of the mid vowel was blocked in this context; in the other contexts both vowels were synchronically permitted.

These assumptions appear to have important bearing on the chronology which we must assume for the shortening and laxing of the vowel in *membrum*, for the development of *p* in *exemplum* and *templum*, and for the incorporation of an independent *p* in *tempus*. Perhaps for a considerable time Latin had a distinctive tense *e* in such forms, which only later merged with **e*.

Ceteris paribus, in such diachronic problems a simple conditioned phonetic change is normally to be preferred over others.²⁾ However, in this case, quite apart from the factuality of instances such as *indemnīs* and *inermīs*, we prefer a solution of (strict) analogy because (a) it restores or conserves the integrity of morphemes by according them a single surface shape, (b) the directionality is constrained by explicit phonotactic properties, and (c) it contributes to ultimate simplification of the grammar whereby a contextual rule ("before [+grave]") may be eliminated.

The formulation referred to in footnote 1 is therefore to be modified as above. The regularity of that formulation is in no wise altered by this modification; in fact, the simplicity of the account is enhanced.

Latin pulc(h)er

By ERIC P. HAMP, Chicago

Ernout-Meillet *DÉLL* s.v. have this word for 'beautiful, fine' as "sans étymologie." I see no objection semantically to the old suggestion that it be derived from the base **perk-* 'variegated.' However, we can now improve the reconstruction reproduced by Walde-

²⁾ "Further on Latin *capillus* and *pullus* and Lautgesetze", *Folia Linguistica Historica* 4, 1983, 133-5.