

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.³⁾ However, in this case, quite apart from the factuality of instances such as *indemnis* and *inermis*, 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

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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-

³⁾ "Further on Latin *capillus* and *pullus* and Lautgesetze", *Folia Linguistica Historica* 4, 1983, 133-5.

Hofmann *LEW* 2.384 (1950) and cited diffidently by Buck *Selected Synonyms* 1191–2, and we can give the word a perfectly regular derivation.

In a **-ró-* quasi-participle, or colour word, we should expect zero-grade; see my contribution to *Wege zur Universalienforschung . . . zum 60. Geburtstag von Hansjakob Seiler* (1980) and *IJSLP* 25/26, 1982, 188. Therefore we must start not from **perk-ros* but from **prk-ró-s* > **porkros*.

At this point the regular prehistoric dissimilation of like liquids with intervening grave consonant applies, which I have formulated *Glotta* 50, 1972, 294–5. Thus **porkros* > **polkros* > OLat. *polc(h)er*.

Therefore in these terms the stem class, the morphology, and the phonological derivation would all be perfectly regular. The only remaining aspect to be settled would seem to be a consensus on the semantic development **‘variegated’* > *‘beautiful’* > *‘fine’* > *‘endowed with positive values appropriate to the head noun.’* For the first step cf. the syndrome of Skt. *piś-* ‘adorn,’ *piśanga-* ‘reddish,’ *peśalá-* ‘beautiful, etc.,’ Russ. *pěstryj*, Pol. *pstry* ‘variegated.’

Zum Konjunktiv des Präsens bei lat. *dare*

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[Der Konjunktiv lat. *dem*, *dēs* etc. setzt die starke Alternante des Optativs zum Wurzelaoist bei **dō-* ‘geben’ fort; die Grundform ist als **dā-yē-* (> ital. **dayē-* > lat. **daē-* > *dē-*) zu postulieren (9.). Der im Altlateinischen bezeugte Konjunktiv *duim* kann auf der schwachen Alternante dieses Paradigmas basieren. In der theoretisch als **dā-i-* anzusetzenden schwachen Alternante wurde die Hochstufe **dō-* der Wurzel sekundär eingeführt: **dō-i-* liegt in gr. *doi-*, ai. *de-* und möglicherweise lat. *dui-* vor (10.–12.).]

1. Nach dem eindeutigen Zeugnis des Arischen, das durch den Befund im Griechischen bestätigt wird, ist anzunehmen, daß die grundsprachliche Wurzel **dō-* ‘geben’ einen athematischen Wurzelaoist bildete: **e-dō-t* wird unmittelbar durch ai. *ādāt* erwiesen, und gr. *ἔδωκα* setzt die gleiche Ausgangsform voraus. Zu dieser Wurzel gehört ein reduplizierendes Präsens; ai. *daddmi* geht auf **de-dō-mi* zurück, während in gr. *δίδωμι* der Reduplikationsvokal als *-i-* auftritt.