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(LUCA ALFIERI)



Foreword

In 1950 Antonino Pagliaro founded the scholarly journal *Ricerche Linguistiche* as the scientific body of the former “Istituto di Glottologia” of the University of Rome. He published five volumes until 1962, when Walter Belardi, who had served as the editorial assistant of the journal, succeeded Pagliaro as the new Editor-in-chief. The sixth volume was published in 1974 as the last volume of the journal. In the same year, Belardi established the new series *Biblioteca di ricerche linguistiche e filologiche* that took up the themes of the journal in the form of monographs. The sixty-second and last volume was published in 2006 and the series ceased with Belardi’s passing.

Over its lifetime, the journal *Ricerche Linguistiche* hosted articles authored by esteemed scholars from the fields of comparative Indo-European linguistics, Iranian philology, and Romance studies, including Harold W. Bailey, Giuliano Bonfante, Enrico Campanile, Enzo Evangelisti, Robert A. Hall Jr., and Vittore Pisani. *Ricerche Linguistiche* stood out for the calibre of its authors and topics.

The revival of the journal has been envisioned by the two of us – successors of Antonino Pagliaro and Walter Belardi – with the explicit aim of pursuing the scholarly legacy of our Masters and renovating a scientific tradition which never dried up.

The new series of *Ricerche Linguistiche*, published yearly, intends to privilege and promote the studies in the field of historical linguistics. Although the articles are definitely expected to follow a research policy fitting for the innovative methodologies and the new topics which have come to light over the last fifty years, we feel that it is essential for the journal to retain its original breadth of interest without dis-

owning the traditional principles of our discipline: a consistent reference to texts, which necessarily lays the foundations of any diachronic research, and a careful exegesis of historical documentations, in close connection with both an in-depth philological scrutiny of textual data and an extensive account of changing socio-historical contexts.

Behind this editorial approach is a clear assumption of method, which is based on a profound connection between *philologeîn* (aimed at tackling linguistic issues in the hermeneutics of ancient texts) and *philosophêin* (aimed at exploring historiographical and theoretical aspects of linguistic thought). This conception of linguistic analysis has been characterising the so-called “Roman school of historical linguistics” for more than a century: from Luigi Ceci to Antonino Pagliaro, Walter Belardi, and his successors.

The journal provides a venue for contributions in the fields of diachronic and historical linguistics concerning all levels of linguistic analysis, with a special focus on ancient Indo-European languages, as well as Romance languages and varieties. Contributions on other language families are also welcomed, provided that they coincide with the main focus of the journal with respect to methods, language history, and historical documentation. The journal also aims to promote the study of the history of all branches of linguistic thought, including writing systems, literacy, textual exegesis, grammaticography, from antiquity to modern times.

The journal consists of three sections: (1) papers and essays; (2) *Léxeis* (contributions on the history and etymology of specific words); (3) review articles.

The articles contained in this first issue fully illustrate the lines of research and the methodological approach pursued by *Ricerche Linguistiche*.

Eystein Dahl investigates patterns of variation and convergence in the prohibitive clause system of ancient Indo-European languages, suggesting a typologically plausible reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European situation and its development in the so-called Core Indo-European. Simone Gentile offers a theoretically informed reassessment of the relation between relative clauses and the proto-*ezāfe*

in Avestan, Old Persian, and some Eastern Middle Iranian languages. Marco Fattori provides a new edition, translation, and commentary of one of the most controversial passages of the Bīsotūn inscription, the Old Persian version of paragraph 70, correcting several misreadings on the basis of new high-resolution photographs. Martin Maiden deals with matters related to sound change, morphological change, and language contact applied to a case of syncretism in the present indicative and subjunctive of medieval Tuscan and Badiot Ladin. Franco Franciullo traces the main historical steps concerning the theoretical relationship between phonetic change and the dimensions of linguistic variation, providing a rich exemplification from Italo-Romance varieties. Vincenzo Orioles builds on a solid historical reconstruction of the events surrounding an unpublished lecture that Graziadio Isaia Ascoli gave in Gorizia on February 25th, 1861 and highlights the first signs of Ascoli's linguistic thought concerning the "Italianness" of Gorizia. The section of the *Léxeis* contains etymological notes authored by two distinguished scholars in the field: Daniel Kölligan traces the Old Norse word *jóð* 'child, descendant' back to Germanic **euð/pa* and provides further evidence for the reconstruction of a verbal root PIE **h₁eu_h_{1/3}* - 'to give milk, suck', so far only assumed for Hittite; Adriano V. Rossi demonstrates that the Pahlavī lexeme *kōk* 'migration' should be considered as a ghost word, since a closer look at the texts where the relevant forms occur suggests that the word should be read *kōy* 'road, street'. The issue closes with a review article by Luca Alfieri, who critically analyses the papers collected in the Proceedings of the fifteenth Conference of the Indogermanische Gesellschaft and provides historical and typological notes on the concept of the PIE root within the framework of contemporary linguistics.

We hope that *Ricerche Linguistiche* will serve as more than a home for scholarly studies, functioning also as a solid vehicle for prolific exchange of ideas and a welcome forum for fruitful collaboration between generations of scholars.

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Articoli



Prohibitive clauses in some Indo-European languages

EYSTEIN DAHL

ADAM MICKIEWICZ UNIVERSITY, POZNAŃ

ABSTRACT

This paper explores prohibitive clauses in a selection of languages belonging to some branches of the Indo-European family. Prohibitive clauses are defined as negative directive clauses and express deontic modality. Unlike positive directive clauses, which characteristically select the imperative mood, prohibitive clauses have a variety of forms even across genetically closely related languages, differing along two dimensions: negation and verb form. As regards negation, there is variation as to whether prohibitive clauses select the same negation as negative assertive clauses or employ a special, prohibitive negation. As regards verb form, on the other hand, prohibitive clauses either show the same verb form as positive directive clauses, that is, an imperative, or a different form. In some languages, prohibitive clauses of the latter type select the same mood form as neutral assertive clauses, while other languages consistently show other mood categories in this clause type. Moreover, it is not uncommon that languages have more than one type of prohibitive clause. In such cases, one often finds a tendency to distinguish so-called inhibitive and preventive clauses.

KEYWORDS: clause types, deontic modality, typology, Indo-European languages

1. *Introduction*¹

This contribution explores prohibitive clauses, that is negative directive clauses, across the Indo-European linguistic family. The empirical focus is restricted to Hittite (Anatolian), Vedic (Indo-Iranian), Homeric Greek (Greek), Early Latin (Italic), Gothic (Germanic), Tocharian A and B (Tocharian), and Old Irish (Celtic). These languages have been selected because they belong to the some of the oldest

¹ Data and R scripts are available at: <https://github.com/eystdahl/DahlProhibitives>.

attested branches of this family and because they show considerable variation in their morphosyntactic realisation of prohibitive clauses².

Positive directive clauses have relatively unitary coding across languages. The examples in (1) illustrate that positive directive clauses characteristically select imperative forms in various Indo-European languages³.

- (1) a. *imám* *indra* *sutám*
 DEM.ACC.SG Indra:VOC soma.juice:ACC.SG
piba
 drink:PRS.IMP.2SG
 ‘Indra, drink this soma juice!’
 (Rigveda VIII 6.36c [Vedic Sanskrit])
- b. *allà* *sù* *mèn* *nùn* *pîne*
 CONJ 2SG.NOM PTCL now drink:PRS.IMP.2SG
kathémenos *áithopa* *oínon*
 sit:PRS.PTCP.NOM.SG fiery:ACC.SG wine:ACC.SG
 ‘But now you sit down and drink the fiery wine’
 (Hom. *Il.* 14.5 [Homeric Greek])
- c. *gagg* *in* *gawairþi*.
 go:IMP.2SG PRP peace:ACC.SG
 ‘Go in peace!’
 (Luke 7:50 [Gothic])
- d. *ārwer* *ptāka* *pelaikneṣṣe*
 ready:NOM.SG be:IMP.2SG righteousness:OBL.SG
naumiye *klyauṣṭsi*
 jewel:OBL.SG hear:INF
 ‘Be ready to hear the jewel of righteousness!’
 (THT 100 b5 [Tocharian B])

² For reasons of space, we have chosen to leave out the Armenian, Slavic, Baltic, and Albanian branches from the present discussion, since their systems of prohibitive clauses seem to largely correspond to one or more of those found in the branches under scrutiny here.

³ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author’s own. The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: ABL: ablative; ACC: accusative; ADV: adverb; ALL: allative; ANAPH: anaphoric pronoun; AOR: aorist; ART: article; CONJ: conjunction; CONN: connective; COP: copula; DAT: dative; DEM: demonstrative; DF: definite article; DU: dual; F: feminine; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; IMP: imperative; INDF: indefinite; INF: infinitive; INJ: injunctive; INS: instrumental; IPF: imperfect; LOC: locative; M: masculine; MID: middle; N: neutrum; NA: nota augens; NEG: negation; NOM: nominative; OBL: oblique; OPT: optative; PASS: passive; PL: plural; POSS: possessive; PRP: preposition; PRF: perfect; PRL: perlativ; PROH: prohibitive; PRS: present; PRT: preterite; PRV: preverb; PTCL: particle; PTCP: participle; QP: quotative particle; REFL: reflexive; REL: relative; SBJ: subjunctive; SG: singular; VN: verbal noun; VOC: vocative.

These examples illustrate that 2nd person singular imperative forms belong to the inventory of verbal categories characteristic of the Indo-European languages and that such forms are the default verb form in positive directive clauses.

In contrast, negative directive or *prohibitive* clauses present a much less unitary picture across these languages, as illustrated by the examples in (2).

- (2) a. *ví uchā duhitar divo*
 PRV shine:PRS.IMP.2SG daughter:VOC.SG heaven:GEN.SG
má cirám tanuthā āpaḥ
 NEG longer protract:PRS.INJ.2SG work:ACC.SG
 ‘Shine forth, o daughter of heaven, do not longer protract your work’
 (Rigveda V 79.9 [Vedic Sanskrit])
- b. *exaúda, mé keúthe*
 speak.out:PRS.IMP.2SG NEG hide:PRS.IMP.2SG
nóōi
 mind:DAT.SG
 ‘Speak out! Don’t hide (it) in (your) mind’
 (Homer *Il.* 1.363 [Homeric Greek])
- c. *jah qap du izai: ni gret!*
 CONJ say:PRT.3SG PRP 3SG.DAT NEG cry:IMP.2SG
 ‘And he said to her: “Don’t cry”’ (Luke 7:13)
- d. *mäkte kca tve ce te-yäknece ike mā*
 how INDF you DEM in.this.manner place NEG
kātkat
 cross:SBJ.2SG
 ‘You mustn’t cross this point on any account’
 (THT1103b2 after Peyrot 2013: 308 [Tocharian B])

These examples illustrate that prohibitive clauses differ along at least two dimensions. One dimension concerns the form of the negation. In some of the languages, e.g., Gothic and Tocharian B, the negation used in prohibitive clauses is identical to that used in assertive clauses. In other cases, prohibitive clauses have a different negation than that used in assertive clauses, as in Homeric Greek and Vedic Sanskrit. The other dimension concerns the verb form. In some language

other hand, contains a verb form in the so-called subjunctive, which is the main expression of futurity in neutral assertive clauses in Tocharian (cf. Peyrot 2013). Although this clause type thus represents the same general form as the one given in example (2d), the two types have different functions. As will be discussed in more detail in Section 3 below, alternations of this sort are rather common and tend to have converging functions in the Indo-European languages. Before turning to a discussion of the primary data, however, some preliminary observations on theoretical and methodological issues are presented in Section 2.

2. *Theoretical and methodological preliminaries*

In the introductory section, prohibitive clauses were characterised as ‘negative directive clauses’; however, to develop a viable analytical framework we need to define the notion of directive clause. Drawing on the model outlined in Portner (2018: 121-124), we assume as a working hypothesis that there is a finite inventory of clause types, minimally including assertive, interrogative, and directive clauses. The different clause types are taken to be associated with different (sets of) sentence mood types understood as language-specific morphosyntactic patterns conventionally associated with different types of sentential force, in turn defined as ‘the fundamental conversational functions within semantic/pragmatic theory’ (Portner 2018: 122). Two points should be noted here. First, we assume a one-to-one relation between clause type and sentential force, so that a given clause type is principally associated with a given sentential force type or set of sentential force types. The exact inventory of sentential force types and, consequently, clause types is ultimately an empirical question which cannot be pursued here. However, an important issue that needs to be addressed concerns the characteristic features of directive clauses, which will be returned to shortly. Second, the relationship between clause types, on one hand, and sentential force and sentence mood, on the other, can be overruled by

pragmatic factors, for example by substituting the sentential force of a given clause type with different ones. This is, for instance, the case when an assertive clause is used with directive or interrogative force, as illustrated by sentences like those cited in (4).

- (4) a. *You are going home now!*
 b. *You are going home now?*

Such non-prototypical uses of clause types are the result of what we label ‘pragmatic shift’. This paper does not systematically include such cases, primarily focussing on prototypical uses of clause types. However, some languages do not make any explicit morphosyntactic distinction between assertive and directive clauses, differentiating them by intonation or other phonological means (cf. e.g., Aikhenvald 2010: 89-92). It is especially important to keep this in mind when exploring directives in corpus languages, since the available written sources as a rule do not provide detailed information about different patterns of sentence intonation. This is clearly a disadvantage from a heuristic perspective, since we might find that prohibitive and negative assertive clauses have the same form in some of the languages in our sample, rendering a classification of any given sentence with the relevant properties difficult but not impossible. In such cases, textual genre and various types of discourse factors may serve as cues for classifying clauses as assertive or directive. Henceforth, the term ‘directive clause’ is shorthand for ‘directive clause in prototypical function’, that is, directive clause with characteristic modal force and sentence mood. This is intended to include cases where directive clauses are formally identical with assertive clauses.

We now turn to a brief discussion of the characteristic semantic properties of directive clauses, that is, their prototypical modal force. In several important studies, Mauri & Sansò (e.g., 2011, 2012) have explored the synchronic and diachronic properties of directive constructions. They define directive situations as situations where:

the **speaker** *wishes* a SoA [State-of-Affairs ED] to become true and conveys an appeal to the addressee(s) to help make this SoA true. The **performer(s)**

of the action(s) required to bring about the desired SoA may coincide (i) with the addressee, (ii) with the speaker, (iii) with a third party or (iv) with any possible combination of (i)-(iii). (Mauri & Sansò 2012: 149)

This definition highlights the fundamentally speaker-oriented character of the modal force of directive clauses (cf. also Bybee *et al.* 1994 with references)⁴. However, it is at least debatable whether the speaker's wish component is an obligatory part of directive modal force. One can easily conceive of situations where a directive utterance suggests a behaviour which is in the best interest of the addressee without any real volitional commitment on part of the speaker, as illustrated by the examples in (5).

- (5) a. *Take the road across the bridge! It's faster.*
 b. *Don't go bathing in the swamp! There are alligators there.*

We therefore prefer to define directive clauses in terms of rational behaviour of the performer rather than a wish of the speaker. What constitutes rational behaviour is highly context dependent, determined, amongst other things, by the relative balance of power or authority between the speaker and the intended performer(s), what sanctions or consequences may be expected in case of failing to comply with the requested mode of behaviour etc. Moreover, directive clauses do not seem to have the truth conditions characteristic of assertive clauses but have a fundamentally different set of discourse functions than the latter. Along the lines of Portner (2007) and Dahl (2010, 2012), we assume that assertive clauses append propositions to the Common Ground, that is, the knowledge or set of assumptions shared by the speech act participants. In contrast, directive clauses are taken to add properties to the so-called To-Do-List of a salient discourse referent, understood as the properties that ideally should be realised by the referent, assuming rational behaviour. Following Aikhenvald (2010, 2017), a distinction will be made between 'canonical' and 'non-canonical' di-

⁴ Interestingly, however, this definition does not include the seemingly crucial condition that it must be within the performers power to bring about the SoA. We return to this point below.

rectives, canonical directives involving a second person performer and non-canonical directives having a first- or third-person performer. In the present context, we shall mainly be concerned with canonical directive clauses, even though non-canonical directive clauses will also occasionally be considered.

Another important question concerns the status of prohibitive clauses *vis-à-vis* positive directive clauses. Above, prohibitive clauses were defined as negative directive clauses, thus representing a subtype of the more general class of directive clauses, an assumption that seems to be uncontroversial (cf. e.g., van der Auwera 2006, 2010; van der Auwera & Devos 2012). It was noted in the introductory section that the formal expression of prohibitive clauses varies considerably even in genetically related languages. Mauri & Sansò (2011: 3489) observe that directive clauses frequently appear in everyday conversational contexts and that this makes them particularly prone to morphosyntactic change. They convincingly show that much of the variation found in directive clauses within and across languages reflects the fact that directive constructions result from various diachronic processes, including grammaticalization, constructionalisation, and cooptation (cf. Mauri & Sansò 2011, 2012). They also note that inner-paradigmatic variation is not uncommon with directive clauses, indicating that the morphosyntactic realization of different paradigmatic slots is determined by different strategies with a local scope at an earlier stage (cf. Mauri & Sansò 2011, 2012). In several works van der Auwera (e.g., van der Auwera 2006, 2010, van der Auwera *et al.* 2013a, 2013b) has established that there is a strong tendency across languages to make a formal distinction between assertive and directive clauses. This is reflected in the fact that only 122 of the 548 languages in the sample of van der Auwera *et al.* (2013a) do not show distinct 2nd person imperative forms. Moreover, languages seemingly show a clear preference for special prohibitive markers differing from the negation used in assertive clauses, as shown by the numbers given in Table 2 (cf. van der Auwera *et al.* 2013b).

		NEGATION (Compared to assertive clauses)		
		Same	Different	
VERB FORM (Compared to positive directive clauses)	Same	113 (22,8%)	182 (36,7%)	295 (59,5%)
	Different	55 (11,1%)	146 (29,4%)	201 (40,5%)
		168 (33,9%)	328 (66,1%)	496 (100%)

Table 2. Cross-linguistic distribution of prohibitive clauses.

Table 2 shows that as many as 328 of 496 languages examined by van der Auwera *et al.* (2013b) have a specialised prohibitive negation. It is also interesting to note that 295 languages have prohibitive clauses with the same verb form as positive directive clauses. These observations raise the question why the distinction between directive and non-directive clauses is so central in language. According to some scholars, like Zanuttini (1997: 145-149), syntactic constraints preclude the cooccurrence of imperative forms and assertive negation. However, the fact that 22.8% of the sample languages of van der Auwera *et al.* (2013b) show this constellation speaks against a constraint-based explanation along these lines (cf. also van der Auwera 2006, 2010). Another avenue of research assumes that the general preference for prohibitive markers reflects the fact that negated assertive clauses are stative, whereas directive clauses in general have a dynamic character even when negated (van der Auwera 2006, 2010). Here, we adopt the latter hypothesis, assuming that prohibitive clauses are sensitive to aspectual distinctions and more so than positive directive clauses. More specifically, Mauri & Sansò (2011: 3509) note that positive directive clauses show a pragmatic bias towards perfectivity, typically, though not necessarily, referring to a completed situation (cf. also van der Auwera *et al.* 2009). This ties in with the fact that variation of the sort illustrated in (2) and (3) above sometimes seems to be motivated by aspect-related factors, as will be elaborated in more detail shortly.

Apart from the various combinations of negative markers and mood categories outlined in the introduction, prohibitive clauses vary according to at least three sets of properties. One parameter of variation concerns the distinction between what is often labelled ‘inhibitive clauses’ and ‘preventive clauses’ (cf. e.g., Ammann 1927, Hoffmann 1967, Hollenbaugh 2020). Inhibitive clauses request the performer to discontinue a situation that is ongoing at the time of speech typically being expressed by an imperfective category, whereas preventive clauses involve a demand to abstain from performing a situation in the future being conveyed by perfective aspect. This analysis was originally proposed by Ammann (1927) and taken up by Hoffmann (1967). It represents the *communis opinio* in Indo-European linguistics but was recently criticized by Hollenbaugh (2020), who recurs to an analysis in terms of lexical aspect and discourse factors rather than grammatical aspect. Another parameter of variation concerns the distinction between controllable and uncontrollable situations, so-called ‘preventive clauses’ involving controllable situations and so-called ‘prohibitive clauses’ involving uncontrollable situations (cf. e.g., Birjulin & Xrakovskij 2001: 34, Willmott 2007: 96-107). The delimitation of controllability and/or uncontrollability is a matter of dispute and cannot be dealt with at length in the present context. It is uncontroversial, however, that positive directive clauses presuppose some notion of agent control (cf. e.g., Aikhenvald 2010: 187-189, 2017: 20-23). Cross-linguistically, many unaccusative predicates, e.g., *fall*, *lose*, *grow*, *decline*, as well as predicates denoting psychological states, e.g., *like*, *fear*, *worry*, *be angry*, or bodily states and processes, e.g., *cry*, *laugh*, *be hungry*, *fall*, tend to appear odd in the imperative except under certain contextual conditions (cf. e.g., Aikhenvald 2010: 187-189, 2017: 20-23). This clearly reflects a general condition on positive directive clauses, that the performer must be able to carry out the situation lest the directive utterance be nonsensical. Interestingly, predicates of this type generally tend to be more natural in prohibitive clauses. In the following discussion, predicates denoting psychological or bodily states and processes will be regarded as a core group of uncontrollable predicates, which have the advantage of being easily comparable across languages. Controllable predicates, on

the other hand, are taken to comprise most unergative predicates like *run*, *go*, *shut up*, and various types of two- and three-place predicates, e.g., *speak*, *put*, *do harm* etc. It should be noted that this definition of uncontrollable and controllable events differs fundamentally from the one on which Willmott's (2007) analysis is based. To avoid ambiguity, we will not employ the terms 'preventive' and 'prohibitive' to refer to these two subtypes of directive clauses but instead use the terms 'controllable' and 'uncontrollable' to characterise predicates and/or situations. Accordingly, the pertinent prohibitive clauses will sometimes be referred to as 'agentive prohibitive' and 'non-agentive prohibitive'. The third parameter we would like to suggest involves what may loosely be referred to as 'neutral' and 'marked' modal categories roughly corresponding to the descriptive categories 'realis' and 'irrealis' (cf. e.g., van der Auwera & Devos 2009, Mauri & Sansò 2011, 2012, Cristofaro 2012). For the purposes of this paper, it suffices to note that the indicative is primarily found in neutral assertive clauses and therefore considered the neutral or unmarked mood in all the languages under consideration, whereas all other modal categories, including the imperative, are considered non-neutral or marked. In the following section, we explore the properties of prohibitive clauses according to these parameters. Our investigation is informed by descriptive grammars, dictionaries, and pertinent special studies, wherever available. Selection of examples is partly based on mining of grammars, dictionaries, and secondary literature, and partly on text exploration. In some cases, we have deemed it relevant to perform more thorough quantitative analyses which are based on first hand data collection.

3. *Prohibitive clauses in Indo-European languages*

Before turning to a discussion of the language-specific data, a note on the hypothetical prehistory of the Indo-European languages is in order. In the present context, the reconstruction model in Figure 1 will be assumed as a working hypothesis. This model presupposes that it is possible to reconstruct three distinct prehistoric stages of Indo-Eu-

ropean, pre-Proto-Indo-European (pre-PIE), Proto-Indo-European (PIE), and Core Indo-European (Core IE) (cf. Melchert 2014, Dahl 2022 with references). PIE is the common ancestor of all the Indo-European branches including Anatolian, which by hypothesis branched off at an early stage. Core-IE is conceived of as the common ancestor of the other Indo-European branches and pre-PIE is the oldest reconstructable stage of this family, accessible via internal reconstruction.

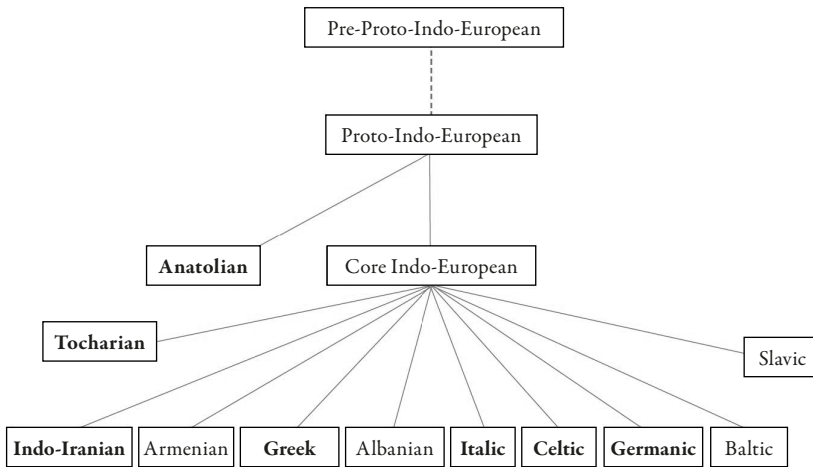


Figure 1. Stages and branches of Indo-European

The following subsections will deal with prohibitive clauses in representative languages of some branches of Indo-European, namely Anatolian, Indo-Iranian, Greek, Italic, Germanic, Tocharian, and Celtic.

3.1. *Anatolian*

Among the Anatolian languages, Hittite is best attested and will furnish the main bulk of data in this section. Three chronological stages of Hittite are conventionally distinguished, Old Hittite (ca. 1650-1450 BCE), Middle Hittite (ca. 1450-1350 BCE) and New Hittite (ca. 1350-1190 BCE). The Hittite verbal system has two tenses, present and preterit, and two moods, indicative and imperative. The imperative is the characteristic modal form in positive directive clauses in Hittite, as

illustrated by example (6a). Example (6b) shows that negated assertive clauses select the negative particle *natta* ‘not’.

- (6) a. *nu apāt uttar iya=pat*
 CONN DEM.ACC.SG thing:ACC.SG do:IMP.2SG=PTCL
 ‘Do that very thing!’
 (HKM 10:13 after Hoffner 2009: 113 [Middle Hittite])
- b. *natta apūn GEŠTIN-an piyer*
 NEG DEM.ACC.SG wine-ACC.SG give:PRT.3PL
 ‘They did not give us that wine’ (KBo 3.34 ii 4-5 [Old Hittite])

Negative directive clauses, on the other hand, characteristically select the prohibitive negation *lē* and the present indicative, as illustrated by the examples in (7) (cf. Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 244, Daues 2022).

- (7) a. *ANA É.EN.NU.UN lē daitti*
 PRP prison PROH put:PRS.2SG
 ‘Don’t put him in prison!’ (KBo 3.28 14-15 [Old Hittite])
- b. *lē=wa nahtēni*
 PROH=QP fear:PRS.2PL
 ‘Don’t be afraid!’ (KUB 8.51 ii 15 [New Hittite])

These data show that Hittite has prohibitive clauses selecting another negation than assertive clauses and a different verb form than positive directive clauses. Interestingly, however, there are some examples of prohibitive clauses with *lē* and the imperative, as shown by the examples in (8).

- (8) a. *lē=wa=tta naḫi*
 PROH=QP=CONN be.afraid:IMP.2SG
 ‘Don’t be afraid!’ (KUB 33.24 I 43 [Old Hittite])
- b. *nu=tta LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI URUKÙ.BABBAR-ti*
 CONN=CONN men oldest Hatti
lē memiškandu
 PROH talk:IMP.3PL
 ‘Don’t let Hatti’s elders continue speaking to you’
 (KUB 1.16 ii 60 [Old Hittite])

The few attested examples of the construction with *lē* and imperative all seem to involve situations over which the performer does not have control. This fact may be indicative of a situation where Hittite had an alternation between two types of prohibitive clauses, a non-agentive with *lē* and imperative and an agentive with *lē* and indicative. The non-agentive type is exclusively attested in New Hittite copies of Old Hittite documents (cf. e.g., Hoffner & Melchert 2009: 345). This fact may be significant, since it could indicate that we are faced with a marginally attested archaism, given that this feature does not occur in other Middle or New Hittite texts⁵. Examples like that cited in (7b) suggest that this distinction was given up in Late Hittite. The examples in (8) also show that Hittite prohibitive clauses were compatible with non-neutral modality, as also indicated by passages like those given in (9).

- (9) a. *lē=man=še* [LUG]AL-*uš*
 PROH=OPT.PTCL=3SG.ACC king:NOM.SG
kiššan tezzi
 thus speak:PRS.3SG
 ‘The king should not speak like that to her!’
 (KUB 1.16 iv 65-6 [Old Hittite])
- b. *lē=man=wa=mu* *kuitki*
 PROH=OPT.PTCL=QP=1SG.DAT INDF.NOM.SG
 HUL-*uešzi*
 DO.HARM:PRS.3SG
 ‘Don’t let anything do me harm!’ (KUB 31.66 iii 8 [New Hittite])

Here, the modal so-called ‘optative particle’ *man* introduces a non-neutral semantic feature, contributing to modifying the modal force of the clause. Hoffner and Melchert (2009: 345) note that this

⁵ Evidence from the other two old Anatolian languages, Luwian and Palaic, is scarce and inconclusive. MELCHERT (2003: 206) notes that Luwian has two distinct negations, one (*nāwa*) for assertive clauses and another (*nīš*) for directive clauses. He also notes that both Cuneiform Luwian and Hieroglyphic Luwian show examples of prohibitive clauses with imperative and with indicative. According to CARRUBA (1970), Palaic has only one negation *nī(t)* which is used in both types of clauses. While the use of *nī(t)* with indicative forms in assertive clauses is unsurprising, it is noteworthy that the few examples of (potentially) prohibitive clauses in the admittedly very sparse Palaic corpus do not seem to contain finite verb forms, only participles (cf. CARRUBA 1972: 44).

Finally, a recent study by Daues (2022) makes a case for the claim that Hittite also shows a morphosyntactic distinction between inhibitive and preventive clauses. On her analysis, present forms based on the imperfective stem derived with the suffix *-ške/a-* tend to trigger an inhibitive meaning, whereas present forms lacking this suffix often display a preventive meaning, as illustrated by the examples in (10) (cf. Daues 2022: 106, 113).

- (10) a. *n=an* *lē* *dammišḫiškanzi*
 CONJ=3SG.ACC.C PROH harm:PRS.3PL
 ‘And they shall not continue to harm it!’
 (HKM 52, 16 [Middle Hittite])
- b. *n=aš* *LÚ.KÚR* *lē* *dammišḫaizzi*
 CONJ=3PL.ACC.C enemy PROH harm:PRS.3SG
 ‘The enemy shall not harm it!’ (HKM 25, 20-21 [Middle Hittite])

Summing up, we note that Hittite prohibitive clauses consistently select the non-assertive negation *lē* and almost consistently selects the present indicative, apart from a few cases where imperative forms are employed. The prohibitive modal force may be modified by the so-called optative particle *man*, resulting in a more 'polite' prohibitive clause suitable for requests to a superior performer. Stem alternation is employed to some extent to distinguish inhibitive and preventive clauses.

3.2. Indo-Iranian

⁶ It should be noted that the data from Vedic Sanskrit discussed in this section represent Early Vedic, that is, the language of the Rigveda, if not otherwise noted.

Vedic Sanskrit has a complex verbal system including four tense/aspect stems (present, aorist, perfect, future) and a modal system comprising five mood categories, the indicative, injunctive, subjunctive, optative, and imperative (cf. e.g., MacDonell 1916). The example in (11a) illustrates that the imperative represents the default mood category in positive directive clauses. Example (11b) illustrates that the negation *ná* is employed in negative assertive clauses⁷.

- (11) a. *á no agne rayīm*
 PRV 1PL.DAT Agni:VOC wealth:ACC.SG
bhara
 bring:PRS.IMP.2SG
 ‘Agni, bring wealth to us’ (Rigveda I 79.8a)
- b. *té devānām ná minanti*
 DEM.NOM.PL god:GEN.PL NEG violate:PRS.3PL
vratāni
 ordinance:ACC.PL
 ‘They do not violate the commands of the gods’ (Rigveda VII 76.5c)

In Vedic Sanskrit, prohibitive clauses are characterized by the negation *má*, which differs from the assertive negation, and the injunctive mood, as illustrated by the examples in (12) (cf. Hoffmann 1967, Dahl 2010, Hollenbaugh 2020). This negation is restricted to main clauses.

- (12) a. *vy ūcchā dubitar divo*
 PRV shine:PRS.IMP.2SG daughter:VOC.SG heaven:GEN.SG
má cirām tanuthā ápaḥ /
 PROH long:ACC.SG stretch:PRS.INJ.2SG work:ACC.SG
 ‘Shine forth, daughter of heaven! Don’t continue protracting you work any longer’ (Rigveda V 79.9ab)
- b. *pūrūravo má mrthā má*
 Purūravas:VOC PROH die:AOR.INJ.2SG PROH
prá pāpto má tvā vṛkāso
 PRV FALL:PRS.INJ.2SG PROH 2SG.ACC wolf:NOM.PL

⁷ Examples follow Theodor Aufrecht’s edition of the Rigveda (AUFRECHT 1877).

āśivāsa *u* *kṣan*
 pernicious:NOM.PL PTCL eat:AOR.INJ.3PL
 ‘Purūravas, do not die! Do not fall down! Do not let the pernicious
 wolves eat you!’ (Rigveda X 95.15ab)

These examples suffice to illustrate the characteristic form of prohibitive clauses in Vedic Sanskrit. Here, prohibitive clauses characteristically show a different mood form than positive directive clauses and a different negation than the one used in assertive clauses. Moreover, example (12a) shows that present injunctive forms like *tanuthās*⁸ ‘protract’ typically engender an inhibitive reading, while example (12b) demonstrates that aorist injunctive forms like *mṛthās* ‘die’, *paptas*⁹ ‘fall’ and *kṣan* ‘eat’ tendentially trigger a preventive reading (cf. also Hoffmann 1967). Hoffmann (1967) argued that this distinction reflected the different aspectual properties of the present and aorist stems, the imperfective aspect of the present giving rise to the inhibitive reading and the perfective aspect of the aorist engendering a preventive reading (cf. also Ammann 1927). However, this analysis has recently been severely criticized by Hollenbaugh (2020), who plausibly derives the preventive and inhibitive interpretations from lexical semantic and contextual factors. Since the Vedic evidence has played a significant role for the reconstruction of the Core Indo-European system of prohibitive clauses, Hollenbaugh’s (2020) findings have far-reaching implications, as will be discussed below.

In the framework outlined in Section 2 above, the indicative was generally defined as the neutral mood in all the languages under consideration, including Vedic. It should be noted, however, that the Early Vedic injunctive represents a modally underspecified category, which is compatible with a broader range of temporal and modal contexts than any other mood category¹⁰. A case could therefore be made for the claim that it represents an even more unmarked mood category than the indicative. Since a full-scale discussion of this problem is far beyond the scope of this article, we simply note that prohibitive

⁸ Note that *tanuthā* in the text reflects the sandhi rule *ās# > ā / _#*[+voiced].

⁹ Note that *papto* in the text reflects the sandhi rule *as# > o / _#*[+voiced].

¹⁰ Cf. KIPARSKY (2005); DAHL (2010) for discussion.

(13) a. *mā* *no* *br̥ṇītām* *ātithir*
PROH 1PL be.angry:PRS.IMP.3SG guest:NOM.SG
vásur *agníḥ*
good:NOM.SG agni:NOM.SG
‘Don’t let Agni, the good guest, be angry at us!’
(Rigveda VIII 103.12)

b. *mā* *vo* *yámesu* *marutaś*
PROH 2PL.ACC journey:LOC.PL Marut:VOC.PL
ciráṃ *karat*
long:ACC.SG make:AOR.SBJ.3SG
‘Don’t let him make you (too) long on your journeys, Maruts!’
(Rigveda V 56.7)

c. *mā* *va* *éno* *anyákr̥tam*
PROH 2PL.DAT sin:ACC.SG made.by.another:ACC.SG
bhujema
suffer:AOR.OPT.1PL
‘Don’t let us suffer for a sin against you made by another!’
(Rigveda VI 51.7)

Hoffmann (1967: 92-97) discusses these and similar examples in detail and argues that they can be explained as secondary. The present middle imperative form *hr̥nītām* 'be angry' in (13a) may have been preferred to the corresponding injunctive form *hr̥nīta* to avoid an otherwise rare hiatus between a word final and word initial *a*. The aorist active subjunctive form *karat* 'will make' in (13b) instead of the expected injunctive *kar* reflects a tendency to replace athematic forms with thematic forms. Finally, Hoffmann (1967: 95-97) suggests that the otherwise isolated

prohibitive optative form *bhujema* ‘may we enjoy, suffer’ results from a syntagm originally involving the verbal noun *bhujé* and a first person pronoun *me* ‘me’, *naḥ* ‘we’. While these explanations are convincing, it is not clear that they are necessary. As noted in Section 2 above, Mauri & Sansò (2011: 3489) point out that directive clauses are frequent in everyday discourse and therefore particularly prone to morphosyntactic change, something which would make us expect to find sporadic exceptions to the general schema of prohibitive clauses across languages. From this perspective, there is no need to explain away cases like those cited in (13).

Thus, we may conclude that Vedic Sanskrit represents a language where prohibitive clauses are formed by means of a negation differing from the assertive negation and with a different mood category than positive directive clauses and neutral assertive clauses. Comparative data from Avestan show that this reflects the Indo-Iranian system, cf. e.g., the examples in (14)¹¹.

- (14) a. *huxšaθrā* *xšəntəm*
 whose.command.is.good:NOM.PL command:AOR.IMP.3PL
mā nā duš.xšaθrā
 PROH 1PL.ACC whose.command.is.bad:NOM.PL
xšəntā
 command:AOR.INJ.3PL
 ‘Let (now) those of good command command (us)! Let not those of
 bad command command us’
 (Y 48.5 after Skjærvø 2009: 132 [Gatha Avestan])
- b. *mā dim pər’sō yim*
 PROH DEM.ACC.SG ask:PRS.INJ.2SG REL.ACC.SG
pər’sahi
 ask:PRS.2SG
 ‘Don’t ask him whom you are asking’
 (H 2.17 after Skjærvø 2009: 129 [Young Avestan])

¹¹ REICHELDT (1909: 320) notes that the negation *mā* co-occurs with optative forms in Young Avestan, a feature that most probably is secondary and would correspond to the Vedic example in (13c). It should be noted, however, that this development does not change the typology of prohibitive clauses in Avestan, since they still show different negation than assertive clauses and a different mood form than positive directive clauses, which also differs from the default mood used in neutral assertive clauses.

Thus, Vedic Sanskrit and Avestan belong to the class of languages where prohibitive clauses select a different negation than assertive clauses and a different verb form than positive directive clauses, which also differs from the default mood category in neutral assertive clauses.

3.3. Greek

The present section examines data from Homeric Greek, the oldest attested stage of Greek that is sufficiently well attested to delimit the functional range of verbal categories. The study of modal categories in Ancient Greek in general and Homeric Greek in particular, has engendered a rich tradition of research (cf. e.g., Goodwin 1889, Schwyzer 1950: 301-354, Chantraine 1963: 205-231, Willmott 2007, van Emde Boas *et al.* 2019: 438-446). As regards prohibitive clauses in Homeric Greek, Ammann (1927: 329-337) provides a detailed discussion, as does Willmott (2007: 90-110). Like Vedic Sanskrit, Homeric Greek has a verb system comprising four tense/aspect stems (present, aorist, perfect, future) and five modal categories (indicative, injunctive, subjunctive, optative and imperative)¹². Example (15a) illustrates that the imperative is the preferred mood in positive directive clauses, while example (15b) shows that negated assertive clauses select the negation particle *ou(k)*¹³.

- [illegible]

¹² The existence of the injunctive mood in Homeric Greek is disputed. I refer to WEST (1989) and KIPARSKY (2005) for arguments in favour of this view.

¹³ The examples follow WEST (1998, 2000).

In Homeric Greek, prohibitive clauses are characterized by the negation *mē* and alternately select imperative, subjunctive, and infinitive forms, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. *exaúda,* *mē* *keúthe*
 speak.out:PRS.IMP.2SG PROH hide:PRS.IMP.2SG
nóōi, *hína* *eídomen* *ámphō*
 mind:DAT.SG so.that know:AOR.SBJ.1PL both:NOM.DU
 ‘Speak out! Don’t hide it in your mind, so that we both can understand’
 (Hom. *Il.* 1.363)
- b. *mē* *nemésa*
 PROH be.angry:PRS.IMP.2SG
 ‘Don’t be angry!’
 (*Il.* 16.21-22)
- c. *Priamídē,* *mē* *dé* *me* *hélōr*
 son.of.Priam:VOC PROH PTCL 1SG.ACC prey:ACC.SG
Danaoísin *eásēis* *keísthai*
 Danaean:DAT.PL let:AOR.SBJ.2SG lie:PRS.INF
 ‘Son of Priam, don’t let me lie here as prey for the Danaeans!’
 (Hom. *Il.* 5.684-685)
- d. *alla* *sù* *mèn* *mē* *pō* *katadúseo*
 CONJ 2SG.NOM PTCL PROH PTCL plunge:AOR.IMP.2SG
mōlon *Árēos*
 turmoil:ACC.SG Ares:GEN
 ‘But you do not plunge into the turmoil of Ares!’
 (Homer *Il.* 18.134)
- e. *mē* *sú* *g’* *áneuthen* *emeîo*
 PROH 2SG.NOM PTCL without 1SG.GEN
lilátesthai *polemízein*
 long:PRS.INF fight:PRS.INF
 ‘Don’t long to fight (the Trojans) without me!’ (Hom. *Il.* 16.89)

Thus, Homeric Greek has a rather variegated system of marking negative directive clauses, at least when compared with Anatolian and Vedic Sanskrit. According to the typology outlined in Tables 1 and 2 above, Homeric Greek prohibitive clauses instantiate two distinct types. One, illustrated in (16ab) has the same mood form as positive directive clauses and a different negation than assertive

clauses¹⁴. The other, illustrated in (16cd) has a different mood form than positive directive clauses and a different negation than assertive clauses. It should be noted, however, that the different types are not evenly distributed. Table 3 gives their absolute frequencies in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

	Present imperative	Aorist subjunctive	Aorist imperative	Infinitive
<i>Iliad</i>	73	14	4	14
<i>Odyssey</i>	42	2	1	6

Table 3. Distribution of prohibitive strategies in Homeric Greek.

These distribution patterns clearly show that the present imperative is the preferred mood category in Homeric Greek prohibitive clauses (cf. also Ammann 1927)¹⁵. However, Ammann (1927) identifies some important functional differences between the different prohibitive clause types. Under his analysis, prohibitive clauses with the present imperative are characteristically used to make the addressee change his attitude or interrupt his behaviour, that is, to discontinue an ongoing situation, as also illustrated in (16ab). In contrast, prohibitive clauses with aorist subjunctive forms are, on his account, primarily used to beg someone not to do something, typically involving an entreaty of a speaker that is in some sense inferior to the addressee. According to Ammann (1927), this is the case in example (16c), where Sarpedon addresses Hector, being under the latter's command. As shown in Table 3, prohibitive clauses with aorist imperatives constitute the rarest type. Ammann (1927) regards this type as an archaism and assumes that the Homeric Greek system

¹⁴ Since infinitives can also, albeit marginally, be used in positive directive clauses in Homeric Greek, example (16e) also reflects this type.

¹⁵ It should also be noted that the differences between the two works are not statistically significant, indicating that the two texts reflect the same stage of the language. A chi-square test of the numbers in Table 7 yielded a p-value of 0.24 and a chi-square value of 4.163 and three degrees of freedom ($\chi^2(3) = 4.163$). Since the p-value is well above the conventional significance level (0.05), it is probable that the differences are due to chance. The Cramér's V value is 0.163, indicating a small but reportable effect size. These results were obtained by the `chi.sq()` function in the standard package of R (R Core Team 2022) and the `assocstats()` function in the package `vcd` (MEYER *et al.* 2023).

of prohibitive clauses derives from a system of the type found in Vedic Sanskrit, where the injunctive is the main prohibitive mood. An analysis along these lines has the advantage of providing a straightforward explanation of the fact that this subtype of prohibitive clauses exclusively selects aorist imperative forms that are syncretic with corresponding aorist injunctive forms. Finally, Ammann (1927) regards prohibitive clauses with the infinitive as an inner-Greek innovation, which typically serves to express preventive exhortations, cf. example (16d).

As regards the distinction between agentive and non-agentive prohibitive clauses, the Homeric data are somewhat too imbalanced to arrive at a firm conclusion. Example (16b) above illustrates that the present imperative occurs with such verbs, but examples are few (cf. Willmott 2007: 96-106 for a different analysis). Similar patterns of co-occurrence are found in other languages, as will be discussed below.

These observations suggest that the system of prohibitive clauses in Homeric Greek is structured in a different manner than the Vedic system. Another relevant difference concerns the negation characteristic of prohibitive clauses, *mé*, which is etymologically connected with the Vedic prohibitive negation *mā́*¹⁶. For example, in Homeric Greek *mé* occurs in subordinate clauses, as in (17a), and in relative clauses, as in (17b), two patterns of use that do not occur in Vedic Sanskrit.

- (17) a. *pántes* *d'Oulúmpoio* *katélthomen*
 all:NOM.PL PTCL Olympus:GEN go.down:AOR.1PL
antióōntes *tēs-de* *mákhēs*,
 go.seek:PRS.PTCP.NOM.PL DEM.GEN.SG-PTCL battle:GEN.SG
hína mé ti *metà Tróessi*
 CONJ NEG PRON.ACC.SG PRP Trojan:DAT.PL
páthēisi *śēmeron*
 suffer:AOR.SBJ.3SG today
 'We have all come down from Mount Olympus to seek the battle, so
 that he will not suffer anything among the Trojans today'
 (Hom. *Il.* 20.125-127)

¹⁶ In Vedic Sanskrit, the vowel *ā* may correspond to Homeric *ā*, *ē*, *ō* in all syllable types and *o* in open syllables, cf. e.g., Homeric Greek *dóru* 'stem, tree, spear' and Vedic *dāru* 'wood, timber'.

- Examples like these illustrate that the negation $m\acute{e}$ is not restricted to prohibitive main clauses in Homeric Greek, thus having somewhat different properties than its cognate $m\acute{a}$ in Vedic, which exclusively occurs in prohibitive clauses.

This section examines prohibitive clauses in Italic, mainly drawing on evidence from Early Latin, as reflected in the comedies of Plautus. Early Latin has a verbal system comprising two aspect stems, the present or infectum and the perfect or perfectum stem. There are three morphological tense categories in Latin, the past, present, and future, and both aspect stems have distinct forms for all these tenses. We also find three mood categories in Latin, the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative, and two voice categories, the active and mediopassive (cf. e.g., Leumann *et al.* 1965, Pinkster 2015; Risselada 1993 deals with directive clauses in Latin). The imperative is the default mood category in positive directive clauses, as illustrated in (18a). Example (18b) demonstrates that the negation *nōn* is the characteristic marker of negated assertive clauses in Early Latin¹⁷.

- ¹⁷ The examples follow LINDSAY (1905).

recipere *se* *senem;*
 take.back:PRS.INF REFL old.man:ACC.SG
ille *me* *non* *videt*
 DEM.3SG.NOM 1SG.ACC NEG see:PRS.3SG
 ‘Then, from that place I saw the old man return; he did not see me’
 (Pl. *Aul.* 709-710)

Early Latin has a complex system of negative directive clauses. One group characteristically employ the prohibitive negation *nē*, as illustrated by the examples in (19).

- (19) a. *ne* *corrumpe* *oculos,* *redibo* *actutum.*
 PROH spoil:IMP.2SG eye:ACC.PL return:FUT.1SG soon
 ‘Don’t spoil your eyes! I’ll return soon’ (Pl. *Am.* 530)
- b. *ignosce,* *irata* *ne* *sies*
 forgive:IMP.2SG angry:NOM.SG PROH be:PRS.SBJ.2SG
 ‘Forgive (me), don’t be angry!’ (Pl. *Amph.* 924)
- c. *Ne* *sic* *fuēris:* *ilico* *ego* *non*
 PROH thus be:PRF.SBJ.2SG ADV 1SG.NOM NEG
 dixero.
 say:PRF.FUT.1SG
 ‘Don’t be like that! In that case I won’t say that’ (Pl. *As.* 840)

These examples illustrate that prohibitive clauses with *nē* alternately select the present imperative (*corrumpe*), the present subjunctive (*siēs*) or the perfect subjunctive (*fuēris*). Thus, the situation in Early Latin is analogous to the one in Homeric Greek, where we have seen that prohibitive clauses instantiate two of the types outlined in Tables 1 and 2 above. The type illustrated in (19a) has the same mood category as positive directive clauses and a different negation than assertive clauses. The distribution of the three constructions is given in Table 4.

Present imperative	Present subjunctive	Perfect subjunctive
45	56	12

Table 4. Distribution of verb forms in prohibitive sentences in Plautus.

These data indicate that the present imperative and subjunctive are preferred in prohibitive clauses with *nē* in Early Latin, while perfect subjunctive forms are somewhat more marginal¹⁸. de Melo (2007b) draws attention to a likely cause for the relative paucity of perfect subjunctive forms in prohibitive clauses in Early Latin, namely the heterogeneous origin of the perfect. It is uncontroversial that the Latin perfect has risen through a merger of the Core IE aorist and perfect. This is most clearly visible in the distinction between reduplicated perfects of the type *dedī* from *dō* ‘give’ reflecting the Core IE reduplicated perfect, and sigmatic perfects of the type *scripsī* from *scribō* ‘write’ reflecting the Core IE sigmatic aorist (cf. e.g., Meiser 2003). de Melo (2007b) draws attention to the fact that subjunctive forms of the highly productive *-v/u-* perfect of the type *amāvī* from *amō* ‘love’ and *monuī* from *moneō* ‘admonish’, which is assumed by some scholars to derive, at least partly, from the Core IE perfect participle in **-uos/-ues/-us-* reflected, for instance, in Vedic *cakṛvāms-/cakṛvās-/cakṛūṣ-* from *kar-* ‘do, make’ (cf. e.g., Meiser 1998: 204 with references ; for alternative analyses, cf. Weiss 2020: 436). According to de Melo (2007b: 66), «Plautus and Terence try to avoid perfects with old perfect stems in prohibitive clauses and instead use special aorist forms wherever possible». Along the lines of de Melo’s (2007b) analysis, this would seem to reflect that the reduplicated perfect stem type had maintained some of the semantic properties inherited from Core IE, where it most likely represented a resultative or anterior category¹⁹. These considerations suggest, therefore, that the use of the

¹⁸ A chi-square test yielded a p-value of 9.005e-07, a chi-square value of 27.841 and two degrees of freedom ($\chi^2(2) = 27.841$), clearly indicating the distributional differences are statistically significant. These results were obtained via the `chisq.test()` function in R (R core team 2022). Given that the distribution of present imperative and subjunctive forms is almost equal, this clearly is due to the low number of perfect subjunctive forms in this clause type.

¹⁹ An important argument in favour of an analysis along such lines is that the merger of the perfect and aorist is comparably late and probably not of Proto-Italic origin, both because the distribution of reduplicated and various originally aoristic stems with etymologically related verbs varies across the Italic languages and even in Latin one finds synchronic pairs such as *pepercī* (e.g., Pl. *Aul.* 381) and *parsī* (e.g., Pl. *Trin.* 316), both from *parcō* ‘spare, act sparingly’ (cf. MEISER 2003).

From this perspective, it is interesting to note that Ammann (1927: 337) distinguishes no less than 10 different types of prohibitive clauses in Early Latin. Apart from those already discussed, they include the constructions illustrated in (20)²⁰.

- (20) a. *caue* *tu* *mihi* *iratus*
beware:PRS.IMP.2SG 2SG.NOM 1SG.DAT angry:NOM.SG
fuas
be:PRS.SBJ.2SG
'Don't you be angry with me!' (Pl. *Capt.* 431)
- b. *caue* *quicquam,* *nisi* *quod*
beware:PRS.IMP.2SG INDF.ACC.SG CONJ REL.ACC.SG
rogabo *te,* *mihi* *responderis*
ask:FUT.1SG 2SG.ACC 1SG.DAT answer:PRF.SBJ.2SG
'Don't answer anything to me unless I will ask!' (Pl. *Amph.* 608)
- c. *noli* *irascier*
not.want:PRS.IMP.2SG become.angry:PRS.INF.PASS
'Don't be angry!' (Pl. *Capt.* 845)
- d. *Heus* *tu,* *si* *quid* *per* *iocum*
EXCL 2SG.NOM CONJ REL.ACC.SG PRP joke:ACC.SG
dixi, *nolito* *in* *serium*
say:PRF.1SG not.want:FUT.IMP PRP serious:ACC.SG

²⁰ In addition to the types discussed previously and those given in (12), AMMANN (1927: 337) distinguishes a prohibitive clause type with *nē* and the so-called future imperative of the *faciō* type, one with *nē* and a sigmatic subjunctive of the *faxis* type, both from *faciō* ‘do, make’ and one with *caue* and the sigmatic subjunctive. He notes (AMMANN 1927: 338), however, that the former type is marginally attested, only citing Pl. *Merc.* 1021 as evidence, which, moreover, seems to be used to parody the formal style of legal texts. Drawing on DE MELO (2007a: 191-215), we consider the sigmatic subjunctive to represent a variant of the present subjunctive with some verbs and of the perfect subjunctive with other verbs. This polyfunctionality reflects the fact that the sigmatic subjunctive probably does not derive from a unitary Core IE source, but partly continues optative forms of sigmatic aorist stems and partly optative forms of a sigmatic present stem type, reflected, for instance, in Early Latin forms like *faxō* from *faciō* ‘do, make’. Prohibitive clauses containing such forms are therefore considered as belonging to the type with *nē* and present subjunctive or the type with *nē* and perfect subjunctive. Similar considerations apply to the *caue faxis* type.

convertere

change:PRS.INF

‘Hey, if I’ve said something as a joke, don’t you change it into something serious!’
(Pl. *Poen.* 1320-21)

According to Ammann’s (1927: 342-344) analysis, the type illustrated in (20a) roughly corresponds to the prohibitive clause type with *nē* and present subjunctive (19b). The type in (20b), on the other hand, exclusively shows a preventive function, thus essentially having the same properties as the prohibitive clause type with *nē* and perfect subjunctive (19c) (cf. Ammann 1927: 343). Moreover, the type with the present indicative form *noli* and infinitive, illustrated in (20c) roughly corresponds to the ones illustrated in (19b) and (20a), typically having an inhibitive meaning (Ammann 1927: 343). Finally, the type shown in (20d), with the so-called future imperative form *nolite* and infinitive is only attested three times in the Plautine corpus. According to Ammann (1927: 344), it has the same function as the type illustrated in (19c), with *nē* and perfect subjunctive. Table 5 gives a schematic overview of Ammann’s (1927) classification of the various types of prohibitive clauses in Early Latin discussed here, as reflected in the comedies of Plautus.

Inhibitive	Preventive
<i>nē</i> + present subjunctive	<i>nē</i> + perfect subjunctive
<i>nē</i> + present imperative	[<i>nē</i> + future imperative]
<i>nē</i> + sigmatic subjunctive	
<i>caue</i> + present subjunctive	<i>caue</i> + perfect subjunctive
<i>caue</i> + sigmatic future	
<i>noli</i> + infinitive	<i>nolito</i> + infinitive

Table 5: Ammann’s (1927) classification
of Early Latin prohibitive clauses.

We noted earlier that there seems to be a general tendency to avoid using perfect subjunctive forms in prohibitive clauses with *nē* in Early Latin. In this context, prohibitive strategies involving verbs selecting

for a finite or infinite complement clause such as *caueō* ‘beware’ and *nōlō* ‘not want’ represented viable alternatives²¹.

Given the complexity of the Early Latin system of prohibitive clauses and the many overlapping categories, it would not be surprising if there were systematic correlations between certain clause types and certain functions. We have already seen that prohibitive clauses with *nē* instantiate two of the four types outlined in Section 2. For the sake of completeness, we note that prohibitive clauses with *caue* and *noli* in principle also belong to the prohibitive clause type that selects a different mood form than positive directive clauses and a different negation than assertive clauses. Apart from the parameter involving inhibitive and prohibitive clauses, which clearly seems to play a fundamental role in Early Latin, two more parameters were distinguished in Section 2, one concerning agentive and non-agentive prohibitions and one concerning whether the mood category characteristic of neutral assertive clauses appears in prohibitive clauses. Interestingly, non-agentive prohibitions seem to show a clear preference for the clause types *nē* + present imperative, as illustrated in (21a), and *nōli* + infinitive, as illustrated in (21b) (cf. also 20c). However, neither of these types are restricted to uncontrollable situations, as shown in (21cd).

- (21) a. *Ne fle, mulier*
 PROH cry:PRS.IMP.2SG woman:VOC.SG
 ‘Don’t cry, woman!’ (Pl. *Epid.* 601)
- b. *Noli flere*
 not.want:PRS.IMP.2SG cry:PRS.INF
 ‘Don’t cry!’ (Pl. *Pers.* 622)
- c. *ne me appella, falsa,*
 PROH 1SG.ACC call:PRS.IMP.2SG false:VOC.SG
falso nomine
 false:ABL.SG name:ABL.SG
 ‘Don’t call me, o false one, by a false name!’ (Pl. *Amph.* 813)

²¹ Interestingly, prohibitive markers derive from verbal predicates in many languages (cf. VAN DER AUWERA 2010: 161-165).

- d. *quaeso* *hercle* *noli*, *Saurea*,
 beg:prs.1SG by:Hercules not.want:PRS.IMP.2SG Saurea:VOC
mea *causa* *hunc* *verberare*
 POSS.ADJ.1SG.ABL.SG reason:ABL.SG 3SG.ACC beat:PRS.INF
 ‘By Hercules, I beg you, Saurea, don’t beat him because of me!’
 (Pl. *As.* 417)

In contrast, the types with *caue* and present or perfect subjunctive characteristically involve controllable situations, as illustrated in (22ab) (cf. also examples (20ab) above). Similar observations apply to prohibitive clauses with *nē* and perfect subjunctive, as illustrated in (19c) above and example (22c). In contrast, prohibitive clauses with *nē* and present subjunctive seem to be indifferent to this distinction, as shown by a comparison between example (19b) above and example (22d).

- (22) a. *fac* *fidelis* *sis* *fideli*,
 do:PRS.IMP.2SG loyal:NOM.SG be:PRS.SBJ.2SG loyal:DAT.SG
cave *fidem* *fluxam*
 beware:PRS.IMP.2SG loyalty:ACC.SG fluid:ACC.SG
geras
 perform:PRS.SBJ.2SG
 ‘Do (so that) you are loyal to the loyal, don’t practice fluid loyalty!’
 (Pl. *Capt.* 439)
- b. *abige* *abs* *te* *lassitudinem*,
 drive.away:PRS.IMP.2SG PRP 2SG.ABL weariness:ACC.SG
cave *pigritiae* *praeverteris*
 beware:PRS.IMP.2SG sloth:DAT.SG turn.oneself.over:PRF.SBJ.2SG
 ‘Drive away from yourself weariness! Don’t turn yourself over to sloth!’
 (Pl. *Merc.* 113)
- c. *ubi* *voles* *pater* *esse*, *ibi*
 where want:FUT.2SG father:NOM.SG be:PRS.INF there
esto; *ubi* *noles*, *ne*
 be:FUT.IMP.2SG where not.want:FUT.2SG PROH
fuieris *pater*.
 be:PRF.SBJ.2SG father:NOM.SG
 ‘Where you want to be a father, there be (a father)! Where you don’t want to be a father, (there) don’t be a father!’
 (Pl. *Epid.* 595)

- d. *Audin* *tu,* *patrue?* *dico,*
 listen:PRS.2SG.PTCL 2SG.NOM uncle:VOC.SG tell:PRS.1SG
ne *dictum* *neges!*
 PROH tell:PRF.PTCP.ACC.SG deny:PRS.SBJ.2SG
 ‘Do you listen, uncle? I am telling you, don’t deny (that you have
 been) told!’ (Pl. *Poen.* 1155)

As regards the fourth parameter, we note that Early Latin does not employ indicative forms in prohibitive clauses. Taken together, the Early Latin system of prohibitive clauses turns out to be rather complex, at least compared to other Indo-European languages.

3.5. *Germanic*

This section deals with prohibitive clauses in Germanic, based on data from Gothic. The Gothic verbal system comprises two tenses, present and preterit, two voice categories, active and middle, and three mood categories, the indicative, optative and imperative (cf. e.g., Streitberg 1981, Braune & Heidermanns 2004, Miller 2019). Gothic only has imperative forms in the present active, but optative forms are found both in the present and the preterit.

The imperative is the characteristic mood used in positive directive clauses in Gothic. Moreover, the negation *ni* is used in both assertive and directive modal contexts. The examples in (23) illustrate the use of the imperative in positive directive clauses and the use of *ni* in negative assertive clauses²².

- (23) a. *ip* *þu* *þan* *bidjais,* *gagg*
 CONJ 2SG.NOM ADV pray:PRS.OPT.2SG go:IMP.2SG
in *heþjon* *þeina*
 PRP room:ACC.SG POSS.2SG.ACC.SG
 ‘But you, when you shall pray, go into your room!’ (Matt. 6:6)
- b. *frauja,* *framwigis* *gif* *unsis*
 lord:VOC.SG always give:IMP.2SG 1PL.DAT

²² The text follows STREITBERG (2000).

- pana* *blaif*
 DEM.ACC.SG bread:ACC.SG
 ‘O lord, always give us this bread!’ (John. 6:34)
- c. *ni* *in* *Israela* *swalanda* *galaubein*
 NEG PRP Israel:DAT so.great:ACC.SG faith:ACC.SG
bigat
 find:PRT.1SG
 ‘I have not found so great faith in Israel’ (Matt. 8:10)

Negative directive clauses, on the other hand, characteristically select the optative, although imperative forms are also sometimes found in this type of context, as illustrated by the examples in (24) (cf. also Streitberg 1981: 48-52, Cuendet 1924: 94-95).

- (24) a. *ni* *in* *pata* *weihs* *gaggais*
 NEG PRP DEM.ACC.SG village:ACC.SG go:PRS.OPT.2SG
 ‘Don’t go into that village!’ (Mark 8:26)
- b. *appan* *izwara* *jah* *tagla*
 CONJ POSS.2PL.NOM.PL CONJ hair:NOM.PL
haubidis *alla* *garapana*
 head:GEN.SG all:NOM.PL count:PRT.PTCP.NOM.PL
sind *ni* *nunu* *ogeip*
 be:PRS.3PL NEG ADV be.afraid:PRS.OPT.2PL
 ‘But the hairs of your head are all numbered. So don’t be afraid!’
 (Matt. 10:30-31)
- c. *jah* *gadrobnoda* *Zakarias*
 CONJ be.troubled:PRT.3SG Zakarias:NOM
gasaihvands, *jah* *agis*
 see:PRS.PTCP.NOM.SG CONJ fear:NOM.SG
disdraus *ina.* *qap*
 fall.upon:PRT.3SG DEM.SG.ACC say:PRT.3SG
pan *du* *imma* *sa* *aggilus:*
 ADV PRP DEM.SG.DAT DEM.SG.NOM angel:NOM.SG
ni *ogs* *þus,* *Zakaria,*
 NEG fear:IMP.2SG 2SG.DAT Zacharias:VOC
 ‘And witnessing (this), Zakarias was troubled and fear fell upon him. Then the angel said to him: “Don’t fear for yourself, Zacharias!”’ (Luke 1:12-13)

- d. *gaigrotun þan allai jah faiflokun*
 cry:PRT.3PL ADV all:NOM.PL CONJ mourn:PRT.3PL
þo. þaruh qap: ni gretiþ,
 DEM.SG.ACC CONJ say:PRT.3SG NEG cry:IMP.2SG
unte ni gaswalt, ak slepiþ.
 CONJ NEG die:PRT.3SG CONJ sleep:PRS.3SG
 ‘They all cried and mourned her. But (Jesus) said: “Don’t cry! For she is not dead but is sleeping”’ (Luke 8.52)

Streitberg (1981: 49) notes that prohibitive clauses with a second person addressee almost always contains an optative form. To substantiate this observation, a targeted search in the Gospels of the Gothic bible was conducted which yielded 48 second person prohibitive clauses with optative forms and 20 with imperative forms, a difference that is statistically significant²³. Thus, we conclude that the optative represents the preferred mood *vis-à-vis* the imperative in prohibitive clauses in Gothic. However, at the same time, these facts show that Gothic prohibitive clauses instantiate two of the types given in Tables 1 and 2 above. The preferred pattern is one with the same negation as assertive clauses and a different mood than positive directive clauses. The minority pattern is one with the same negation as assertive clauses and the same mood as positive directive clauses. There is some evidence that this morphosyntactic alternation correlates with the distinction between inhibitive and prohibitive clauses. Specifically, prohibitive clauses with the optative characteristically have a preventive reading, as illustrated by the examples (24ab). In contrast, prohibitive clauses with the imperative characteristically have an inhibitive meaning, as illustrated in (24cd) (cf. also Streitberg 1981: 49-50). As regards the dimension of controllable vs. uncontrollable situations, we may note that prohibitive clauses with the imperative involve uncontrollable situations in 10 out of 20 cases in our corpus, whereas uncontrollable situations comprise 6 out of 49 cases of prohibitive clauses with

²³ A chi-square test of these frequencies yielded a p-value of 0.000685, a chi-square value of 11.529 and one degree of freedom ($\chi^2(1) = 11.529$). These results were obtained via the `chisq.test()` function in R (R core team 2022).

the optative. The different distribution patterns of the two types of prohibitive clauses over the two types of predicates is statistically significant²⁴. This is indicative of a significant attraction between imperative-based prohibitives and uncontrollable events, on the one hand, and optative-based prohibitives and controllable events, on the other. Finally, we note that the indicative, the default mood of neutral assertive clauses, is not used in prohibitive clauses in Gothic.

3.6. *Tocharian*

This section deals with prohibitive clauses in Tocharian. According to Malzahn (2010), the Tocharian verbal system is built on five stems or bases, the present stem, the subjunctive stem, the preterit stem, the imperative stem, and the stem of the preterit participle. As regards finite verb categories, the present stem forms the basis for the present and (past) imperfective, while the so-called subjunctive and optative are derived from the subjunctive stem. The preterit and imperative stems show one category each, the preterit and imperative respectively. Important works dealing with the syntax of the Tocharian verb categories include Thomas (1957, 1958), Krause & Thomas (1960: 173-189) Pinault (2008), Peyrot (2013), and Adams (2015). Thomas (1958) provides a discussion of prohibitive clauses in Tocharian.

A peculiar feature of Tocharian compared to other Indo-European languages is that imperative forms are characterized by a prefix *pä-* which interacts in intricate ways with the root-initial sound (cf. e.g., Pinault 2008: 605-607 for discussion). An important difference between Tocharian A and B is that the former has two negation markers, assertive *mā* and prohibitive *mar*, whereas the latter has a syncretic form *mā*²⁵. Following Thomas' (1958), it therefore seems advisable to first consider evidence from Tocharian A and then proceed with an

²⁴ A chi-squared test of the data yielded a p-value of 0.002235, a chi-square value of 9.3457, and 1 degree of freedom ($\chi^2(1) = 9.3457$). The Cramér's V value is 0.406, indicating a medium effect size. The results were obtained via the `chisq.test()` function in R (R core team 2022) and the `assocstats()` function in the R package `vcd` (MEYER *et al.* 2023).

²⁵ Note that Tocharian AB *mā* is cognate to the Vedic prohibitive marker *mā* and the Homeric Greek prohibitive marker *mē* (cf. e.g., ADAMS 2013: 478).

examination of data from Tocharian B. The examples in (25) illustrate the use of the imperative in positive directive clauses and of the negation *mā* in assertive clauses, respectively²⁶.

- (25) a. *pyām yärk krañcäśši*
do:IMP.2SG honour:OBL.SG good:GEN.PL
'Do honour to the good ones!'
(THT 889, A 256 a4 [Tocharian A])
- b. *mā wäryo sikaṃtär mā läñcā*
NEG water:INS be.overflown:PRS.3PL NEG king:PRL.PL
pärtsi yäteñc
bear:INF be.able:SBJ.3PL
'They are not overflown by water, they cannot be carried away by kings'
(THT 647, A 14 a2 [Tocharian A])

As regards clauses containing the prohibitive negation *mar*, Thomas (1958) identified three main patterns, one selecting the present (26a), one selecting the subjunctive (26b), and one selecting the optative (26cd).

- (26) a. *mar yat mar yat mar slākkär*
PROH do:PRS.2SG PROH do:PRS.2SG PROH sad:ADV
našt yaṃtrācäre
be:PRS.2SG mechanic:VOC.SG
'Don't do (it)! Don't do (it)! Don't be sad, mechanic!'
(THT 642, A 9 b3-4 [Tocharian A])
- b. *āpas päcräśši śāsmunt*
ancestor:OBL.PL father:GEN.PL establish:PRT.PTCP.OBL.SG
slyi cam mar katkat
rule:OBL.SG DEM.OBL.SG PROH cross:SBJ.2SG
'The rule established by (our) ancestors and fathers, don't violate it!'
(THT 889 A 256 a4 [Tocharian A])
- c. *kapšiñño škam omäskem mar yāmiš*
body:INS.SG CONJ evil:OBL.SG PROH do:OPT.3SG
'One should not do evil with one's body!'
(THT 988, A 354 a5 [Tocharian A])

²⁶ The examples follow *A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts* (CEToM). Created and maintained by Melanie Malzahn, Martin Braun, Hannes A. Fellner, and Bernhard Koller <https://cetom.univie.ac.at/>.

- d. *mar tmäyok riñitār-äm*
 proh just.then leave:OPT.2SG-PRON.SUFF.1PL
 ‘Do not abandon us just then!’ (YQ II.6 a7 [Tocharian A])

The examples in (26ab) show that prohibitive clauses with second person addressee characteristically select the present indicative or the subjunctive, whereas prohibitive clauses with the optative typically involve general precepts with third person addressee (26c), even if some examples with second person addressee are attested (26d). Thomas (1958) demonstrated that prohibitive clauses with the present indicative have an inhibitive meaning, whereas prohibitive clauses with subjunctive forms tend to show a preventive meaning, which also seems to be the case with prohibitive clauses with second person optative forms (cf. also Pinault 2008: 355, Peyrot 2013: 242-244). According to Peyrot (2013: 232-244), a central difference between the subjunctive and the optative in main clauses including prohibitives is that the optative has an emphatically modal meaning, whereas the subjunctive denotes a future situation. Thus, examples like (26d) may be interpreted as expressing a somewhat weaker request than examples like (26b). Regarding the dimension of controllable vs. uncontrollable situations there seems to be a slight tendency that the present indicative is preferred with uncontrollable situations²⁷. Finally, prohibitive clauses of the type illustrated in (26ab) select the same mood categories as neutral assertive clauses, a feature distinguishing Tocharian A from the other languages discussed so far in this paper.

Tocharian B has only one negation, *mā*, which is used in assertive as well as directive clauses. The examples in (27) illustrate the use of the imperative in positive directive clauses and the use of *mā* in assertive clauses.

- (27) a. *pi ten nai pkārsa päst*
 PTCL DEM.OBL.SG PTCL know:IMP.2SG ADV
paš ñy ostamem
 go:IMP.2SG 1SG.GEN house:ABL.SG
 ‘Indeed, know this! Get away from my house!’
 (THT 23 b6 [Tocharian B])

²⁷ Cf. e.g., example (26a) and THT 664/A 31 a3 *kāčkāc* ‘rejoice’, THT 699/A 66 a6 *yutkatār* ‘worry’, or YQ I. 10 a8 *klopaśu našt* ‘be sorrowful’.

- b. *pyāmtso säswentse yaitkor*
 do:IMP.2PL lord:GEN.SG order:OBL.SG
 ‘Act according to the lord’s order!’ (THT 589b3 [Tocharian B])
- c. *mā sū ksa nesām*
 NEG DEM.NOM.SG INDF.PRON.NOM be:PRS.2SG
ce šaiṣṣene k_use nīs maiyyasa
 DEM.OBL world:LOC.SG REL.NOM 1SG.OBL strength:PRL
cāmpalle šai cem
 be.able:GER be:PRS.3SG DEM.OBL
erkatñe(ne) kalatsi
 displeasure:LOC bring:INF
 ‘There is no one in this world who could have brought me into this
 misfortune by his power’
 (THT 93b6, after Peyrot 2013: 340 [Tocharian B])

Prohibitive clauses in Tocharian B show essentially identical mood selection patterns as corresponding clauses in Tocharian A. The following examples illustrate prohibitive clauses with the present (23a), the subjunctive (23b), and the optative (23c) (cf. also Thomas 1958 for discussion).

- (28) a. *mā trañko yamas-ne*
 PROH sin:OBL.SG do:PRS.2SG-3SG.OBL
 ‘Don’t blame him!’ (lit. ‘don’t do any sin to him!’)
 (THT 88 b4 [Tocharian B])
- b. *mäkte kca twe ce te-yäknece ike*
 how INDF you DEM such place
mā kātka
 NEG cross:SBJ.2SG
 ‘You mustn’t cross this point on any account’
 (THT1103 b2 after Peyrot 2013: 308 [Tocharian B])
- c. *mā l(āre) yamītār yolaim*
 NEG dear:NOM.SG make:OPT.3SG.MID bad:OBL.SG
waṣamom
 friend:OBL.SG
 ‘One shall not love a bad friend!’ (lit. ‘make oneself dear’)
 (THT 308 a2)

Thus, Tocharian B belongs to the set of languages where prohibitive clauses select a different verb form than positive directive clauses and the same negation as assertive clauses. Just like in Tocharian A, the most salient morphosyntactic patterns found in prohibitive clauses involve the present and subjunctive, two categories representing the default mood choice in neutral assertive clauses. According to Thomas (1958), we find the same distribution of present and subjunctive forms as in Tocharian A, associated with inhibitive and preventive prohibitions, respectively. Taken together, however, Tocharian B represents a type of language not previously met with in this paper, where prohibitive clauses are structurally identical with negative assertive clauses referring to the present and future. This implies that negative directive clauses and negative assertive clauses are distinguished on a primarily pragmatic basis in Tocharian B, the morphosyntactic dimension playing little or no role²⁸. Consequently, the assessment and classification of negative directive clauses as opposed to positive directive clauses must be done on a case-for-case basis, rendering a precise evaluation of the semantic scope of the two main types of prohibitive clauses extremely time-consuming, for instance regarding whether they show any patterns of preference regarding uncontrolled and controlled situations. A more thorough study of prohibitive clauses in Tocharian B will therefore have to be undertaken in future research (cf., however, Thomas 1958).

In this section we have seen that Tocharian A and B have different systems of prohibitive clauses. While both share the characteristic of allowing prohibitive clauses to alternately select present and subjunctive forms, thereby distinguishing inhibitive and preventive clauses, they differ in an important respect, namely that Tocharian A has a special prohibitive negation *mar* beside the assertive negation *mā*, whereas Tocharian B only has a syncretic negation *mā*. The negation particle

²⁸ It is likely that these two clause types were distinguished by some phonological means, for instance different intonation patterns (cf. AIKHENVALD 2010: 89-92). However, apart from the fact that such distinctions are not marked in the available sources and thus cannot be retrieved, the lack of overt morphosyntactic distinction between assertive and directive clauses, positive and/or negative, seems to be rather uncommon across languages (cf. e.g., VAN DER AUWERA *et al.* 2013a, 2013b, VAN DER AUWERA 2010).

mā is inherited, having parallels in Vedic, Homeric Greek, and, as we shall see, Armenian (cf. Adams 2013: 478). The prohibitive negation *mar* in Tocharian A is clearly an innovation, even if its origin remains disputed (cf. e.g., Pinault 2008: 621, Peyrot 2013: 414, fn. 14). However, this difference has significant typological repercussions, Tocharian A belonging to the large class of language where prohibitive clauses and negative assertive clauses are distinguished by some explicit morphosyntactic marker, and Tocharian B representing a different type of language, where prohibitive clauses and negative assertive clauses are distinguished on a primarily pragmatic basis.

3.7. *Celtic*

In this section, we examine prohibitive clauses in Old Irish. The Old Irish verbal system distinguishes five tenses (present, imperfect, preterit, perfect and future), two voice categories (active, passive) and four mood categories, indicative, subjunctive, imperative and conditional (cf. Thurneysen 1946, Stifter 2009: 88). Negation is primarily expressed through verbal prefixation in Old Irish and there are two sets of negative prefixes, one set, *nĩ-*, *nĩcon-*, being primarily used in assertive main clauses and another set, *nā-*, *nāđ-*, *nāch-*, which is used with the imperative and in relative clauses (cf. e.g., Thurneysen 1946: 538-539, Meid 1962, Schmidt 1970, Ó hUiginn 1987)²⁹. The following examples illustrate the use of the imperative in positive directive clauses (29ab) and the use of the assertive negation *nĩ-* as a prefix (29c) and as independent particle in sentence-initial position (29d)³⁰.

- (29) a. *dumem* *se* 7 *deich*
 protect.me:IMP.2SG NA CONJ avenge:IMP.2SG
 tarm *chenn*
 PRP:1SG ADV
 'You protect me and also take vengeance for me!' (MI. 72d.11)

²⁹ THURNEYSEN (1946: 538) notes that the negative marker sometimes occurs independently of the verb in sentence-initial position, with an emphasis on the negative element.

³⁰ The examples from the Würzburg (Wb.) and Milan (Mi.) glosses generally follow STOKES & STRACHAN (1901) with some minor orthographic alterations to enhance readability. Examples from the *Lebor na hUidre* (LU) follow BEST & BERGIN (1929).

- b. *tecmallid dia domnich beos*
 collect:IMP.2PL day:GEN.SG Sunday:GEN ADV
arnap trom lib
 CONJ_NEG_COP:PRS.SBJ.3SG heavy:NOM.SG PRP:2PL
a tecmallad
 POSS.3PL collect:VBN
 ‘Collect on the day of Sunday still so that their collection will not
 be heavy for you’ (Wb. 14a.1)
- c. *ni-denat firtu úili*
 NEG-do:PRS.3PL miracle:ACC.PL all:NOM.PL
 ‘All do not perform miracles.’ (Wb. 12b20)
- d. *ni do fessin dorat-side indocbáil*
 NEG PRP RFL give:PRF.3SG-ANAPH:ACC.SG glory:ACC.SG
 ‘Not to himself has he given this glory’ (Wb. 23c17)

Thurneysen (1946: 539) notes that the negations *nǎ-*, *nǎd*, *nǎch*- are used with the imperative, as illustrated in (30ab). However, he also observes that the so-called jussive subjunctive appears with the negations *nǐ-*, *nǐcon-*, the resulting clause having prohibitive function (cf. also Meid 1962, Schmidt 1970). The latter clause type is shown in (30cd).

- (30) a. *na-ba thoirsech cia*
 PROH-COP.IMP.2SG sorrowful:NOM.SG CONJ
beo-sa hi carcair
 be:PRS.SBJ.1SG-NA PRP prison:DAT.SG
 ‘Don’t be sorrowful because I am in prison!’ (Wb. 29d19)
- b. *na-cuinged a thoil fessin*
 PROH-seek:IMP.3SG POSS.3SG.M desire:ACC REFL.3SG.M
 ‘He shall not seek his own desire!’ (Wb. 11b18)
- c. *ní dene chomgnítm*
 NEG do:PRS.SBJ.2SG joint.action:ACC.SG
frisín pecthach du chuingid
 PRP.DEF.ART.ACC.SG sinner:ACC.SG PRP seek:VN
comsóinmige fris
 equal.prosperity:GEN.SG PRP.3SG.M
 ‘Don’t perform the same deed as the sinner to seek equal prosperity
 as him’ (Mi. 56c15)

- d. *ni-dérsid* *for* *sóiri*
 NEG-leave:PRS.SBJ.2PL POSS.2PL freedom:ACC.SG
ar fognam
 PRP servitude:DAT.SG

The prohibitive clause type illustrated in (30ab) shows the same mood category as positive directive clauses and a different negation than the one used in negative assertive clauses. The type illustrated in (30cd) has a different mood category than positive directive clauses and the same negation as negative assertive clauses. Neither of these categories occur in neutral assertive clauses, thus firmly locating prohibitive clauses in the irrealis realm. Given our findings in previous sections, one would expect that this morphosyntactic distinction correlates with one or more semantic distinctions. According to Meid (1962), the prohibitive clauses with *nǎ̃-* and imperative have inhibitive function, whereas the type with *nĩ̃-* and subjunctive have preventive function (cf. also Schmidt 1970). The examples in (30) seem to be compatible with such a claim but they do not represent favourable evidence of the strongest possible kind, since the glosses usually consist of simple sentences with little or no contextual information. However, Meid (1962) provides examples like those cited in (31), where the distinction is more clearly observable.

- (31) a. *Boí* *Cú Culainn* *immurgu* *oca*
 be:PRT.3SG *Cú Culainn*:NOM ADV PRP.POSS.3SG
chluichiu *oc* *dul* *dochum* *in*
 contest:DAT.SG PRP go:VN PRP DEF.ART
gillai *7* *lam* *Emire*
 young.man:GEN CONJ hand:NOM.SG Emire:GEN
ingine *Forgaill* *tara* *brágaíd*
 girl:GEN.SG Forgaill:GEN PRP.POSS.3SG neck:ACC.SG
Ná téig *sís!* *ol* *sí*
 PROH go:IMP.2SG down say:PRT.3SG 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘However, at his contest *Cú Culainn* was going towards the young
 man, *Emire*, the girl of *Forgaill*’s arm around his neck. “Don’t go
 down there!”, she said’ (Aided Óenfir Aife 8.1-2)

- b. *Óenfer* *rolá* *in* *gabuil*
 one.man:NOM.SG put:PRF.3SG DEF.ART.ACC.SG fork:ACC.SG
cona *óen-láim* 7 *ní* *tessid*
 PRP.POSS.3SG one-hand:DAT.SG CONJ NEG GO:PRS.SBJ.2PL
secce *conda-rala* *nech*
 PRP.3SG.F.ACC CONJ.3SG.ACC-put:PRF.3SG INDF.NOM.SG
úaib *cona* *óen-láim*
 PRP.2.PL.DAT PRP.POSS.3SG one-hand:DAT.SG
 ‘One man has planted the fork with one hand and you shall not pass
 it until one of you has (likewise) planted it with one hand’
 (Táin Bó Cúailnge [U] 4809-4810 after Strachan 1944: 24)
- c. *ná* *hindis* *do* *neoch* *in*
 PROH tell:IMP.2SG PRP INDF.DAT DEM.ART.ACC.SG
ní *atchonnacais*
 INDF.SG see:PRT.2SG
 ‘Don’t tell anyone what you have seen!’ (Ériu 11, 48, 13)

While these and similar examples provide clearer evidence of a distribution of the two types of prohibitive clauses based on the distinction between inhibitive and preventive clauses, Meid (1962: 163-164) notes that the type with the imperative and the negation *ná*- are not restricted to inhibitive contexts, as illustrated in (31c). On the other hand, judging by Meid’s (1962) data and discussion, the type with *ní*- and the subjunctive seem to have consistently preventive meaning.

On the other hand, the type with the negation *ná*- and the imperative to be preferred with uncontrollable situations, as illustrated in example (30a) above and in the examples in (32)

- (32) a. *na* *stíreclaig* *de* *ar* *Día*
 PROH fear:IMP.2SG PRP.3SG.N.DAT PRP God:ACC
 ‘Don’t fear it, for God’s sake!’ (LU 53a19)
- b. *ná* *imdergthar* *imut*
 PROH blush:PASS.3SG PRP.2SG.ACC
 ‘Don’t blush!’ (lit. ‘don’t there be blushing at you!’) (LU 10901)

Examples like these illustrate that uncontrollable predicates tendentially occur in prohibitive clauses with the imperative and *ná*- in Old Irish.

In this section we have seen that Old Irish has two types of prohibitive clauses, one with the negation *nā̃-* and the imperative, and another with the negation *nĩ̃-* and the subjunctive. The former type is characteristically associated with an inhibitive meaning, although it is not strictly limited to this reading. It also tends to be preferred when the predicate denotes an uncontrollable situation. Finally, prohibitive clauses generally do not select the indicative in Old Irish.

4. Discussion

In the previous subsections, we have examined prohibitive clauses, that is, negative directive clauses in representative languages from seven different branches of the Indo-European linguistic family, classifying them according to three pairs of parameters.

The first parameters concern whether prohibitive clauses have the same negation as assertive clauses, and whether prohibitive clauses select the same verb category as positive directive clauses. This results in a typology with four classes of prohibitive sentences, all of which are attested in the languages under scrutiny. While there is considerable variation as to the exact form of prohibitive clauses across these languages, the typology introduced at the beginning of this paper allows for classifying them in a restricted number of types. The results of our survey are given in Table 6.

	Same negation		Same verb form	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Hittite		X	X	X
Vedic Sanskrit		X		X
Homeric Greek		X	X	X
Early Latin		X	X	X
Gothic	X		X	X
Tocharian A		X		X
Tocharian B	X			X
Old Irish	X	X	X	X

Table 6. Prohibitive clauses across some Indo-European branches (I).

Another parameter concerns whether prohibitive clauses employ the neutral assertive mood category or not. Among the languages scrutinised here, only Hittite and Tocharian have prohibitive clauses with default assertive mood forms, although both also show alternative patterns. Table 7 includes these values.

	Same negation		Same verb form		Non-indicative mood only	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Hittite		X	X	X		X
Vedic Sanskrit		X		X	X	
Homeric Greek		X	X	X	X	
Early Latin		X	X	X	X	
Gothic	X		X	X	X	
Tocharian A		X		X		X
Tocharian B	X			X		X
Old Irish	X	X	X	X	X	

Table 7. Prohibitive clauses across some Indo-European branches (II).

A further parameter concerns the distinction between controllable and uncontrollable situations. When two or more mood categories are used, one often sees a tendency that some mood form occurs when the predicate denotes an uncontrollable situation. In Hittite, Homeric Greek, Latin, Gothic, Tocharian, and Old Irish such predicates tendentially co-occur with the imperative in prohibitive clauses. Vedic stands out here, almost exclusively selecting the injunctive in prohibitive clauses and not showing any consistent patterns of variation in the domain of morphological mood. Intriguingly, however, the only example of an imperative form in a prohibitive clause involves such a predicate, namely *hṛṇītām* in example (13a). As we have seen, there is a tendency across all the languages in our sample to distinguish formally between inhibitive and preventive prohibitive clauses, and the former type of clause tends to contain an imperative in Homeric Greek, Early Latin, Gothic, and Old Irish (cf. e.g., Ammann 1929, Meid 1962, Streitberg 1981). In Section 2, uncontrollable predicates were defined

as predicates that seem odd in positive directive clauses and verbs denoting bodily and mental states were identified as core members of this class. The apparent preference of such predicates for the present imperative clearly is connected with its inhibitive function. Specifically, it is reasonable to assume that negated directive clauses with uncontrollable predicates in most cases are used to exhort the addressee to discontinue an ongoing state of being angry, being sad, crying etc. We therefore make a distinction between languages tendentially selecting the imperative with uncontrollable predicates and languages that do not have this property. Table 8 summarises the properties of prohibitive clauses in the languages under considerations.

	Same negation		Same verb form		Non-indicative mood only		Imperative with uncontrollable predicates	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Hittite		X	X	X		X	X	
Vedic Sanskrit		X		X	X			X
Homeric Greek		X	X	X	X		X	
Early Latin		X	X	X	X		X	
Gothic	X		X	X	X		X	
Tocharian A		X		X		X		X
Tocharian B	X			X		X		X
Old Irish	X	X	X	X	X		X	

Table 8. Prohibitive clauses across some Indo-European branches (III).

The survey in Table 8 illustrates the considerable variation regarding the formal and functional differentiation of prohibitive clauses in the Indo-European linguistic family. These observations raise the question what the original system looked like. In Section 2 we noted that directive clauses represent an area of morphosyntax which is particularly prone to change (cf. also Mauri & Sansò 2011: 3489). This tendency has also been observed in several of the languages under examination, perhaps most notably in Early Latin, where there is an incipient grammaticalization of

the imperative forms *noli* and *caue* as prohibitive markers. These considerations suggest that the reconstruction of the Core IE and PIE system of prohibitive clauses may be beyond the limits of the possible. According to the mainstream view, the system found in Early Vedic, with the prohibitive marker *mā́* and the injunctive mood, reflects the PIE and/or Core IE situation (cf. e.g., Delbrück 1897). This assumption entails that the other systems result from independent developments in the different branches (cf. e.g., Delbrück 1897, Ammann 1927, Meid 1962, Tichy 2006: 99 etc.). Based on the data examined in this paper, this would imply that five of the seven languages in our sample have secondarily come to select the imperative as one of the mood categories in prohibitive clauses, a point we shall return to shortly. It should be noted, however, that the traditional hypothesis is not based on comparative reconstruction but on the more general hypothesis that Vedic Sanskrit has particularly archaic morpho-syntactic features. In the present context, one immediate problem with this assumption is that the Vedic system of prohibitive clauses has a suspiciously tidy and unitary character compared with the other languages examined here. This particularly concerns the regularity with which the injunctive appears in prohibitive clauses which might well reflect a secondary reorganisation of the system. The prohibitive negation *mā́*, on the other hand, may at least be reconstructed for the Core IE level, given that it has cognates in Greek *mé* and Tocharian AB *mā*, as well as the prohibitive markers in Armenian *mi* and Albanian *mos*. Since all the languages scrutinized except Gothic and Tocharian B have both an assertive and a prohibitive negation, we conclude that this is an inherited feature and adopt the generally accepted reconstruction of the prohibitive negation as **méh₁* for Core IE (cf. also Tichy 2006: 99). According to Oettinger (1979: 497), the prohibitive marker is a fossilized imperative of a verbal root **meh₁* ‘prevent, hold back’ (cf. also Kloekhorst 2008: 581-582). As noted by van der Auwera (2006, 2010) prohibitive markers in many languages originate from verbal predicates with this type of meaning, confirming the typological plausibility of Oettinger’s (1979) hypothesis. As regards the situation in PIE, we note that Hittite has a prohibitive marker *lē* that cannot originate from the same source as **méh₁*. Various hypotheses have been proposed to account for Hittite *lē* (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 523 for a survey). According to one view, the Hittite prohibitive

marker originates from an imperative form of the Hittite verb *lā́-* ‘let, loosen’, thus reflecting an inner-Hittite development (cf. e.g., Kloekhorst 2008: 523)³¹. This hypothesis has the advantage of being typologically plausible but has limited explanatory potential. A different hypothesis assumes that *lē* has developed from the negation **nē* through nasal dissimilation in contexts where it was followed by the modal particle *man*, the first-person singular pronoun *mu* and similar combinations (cf. Friedrich 1936-37; Oettinger 1994). Under this analysis, sequences such as **nē man*, **nē mu* developed into *lē man*, *lē mu*, from which the form *lē* spread. A parallel case is the Hittite noun *lāman* ‘name’, which originates from **nāman*, cf. Vedic *nāman*, Greek *ónoma*, Latin *nomen* etc. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the other Anatolian languages employ negation markers with initial *n-* in prohibitive clauses, cf. Luwian *nīš-*, Palaic *nī(t)*, Lycian *ni* etc. (cf. Carruba 1970, 1972; Melchert 2003; Kloekhorst 2008: 597). Moreover, it allows for directly comparing the Hittite prohibitive marker with the Latin prohibitive negation *nē*, being suggestive of a PIE situation where different variants of the negation **nē* were employed in negative assertive and negative directive clauses. Under this analysis, the emphatic, long-vowel form would be preferred in prohibitive clauses while the reduced, short-vowel form primarily appeared in negative assertions. We have also seen that all the languages under consideration have prohibitive clauses showing different mood forms than the imperative. It therefore seems justified to reconstruct this as a feature of the Core IE and PIE system of prohibitive clauses. However, in most of the languages we observed systematic alternation in prohibitive clauses between the imperative and one or more other mood forms. Thus, a case could be made for the hypothesis that this was a feature of Core IE and/or PIE as well. This would concord with the observation that Hittite seems to have had this kind of alternation early in its history and that Luwian also show this alternation pattern. Thus, we tentatively reconstruct a prohibitive clause system for Core IE with two complementary types, one characterised by the prohibitive negation **mē* and an imperative or non-imperative form and another characterised by the

³¹ This form has an exact parallel in the Old High German imperative form *lā* from the verb *lāzan* ‘let’ which is ultimately connected with Hittite *lā́-* (cf. e.g., KLOEKHORST 2008: 523).

prohibitive negation **né* and an imperative or non-imperative form. For PIE only the latter type is reconstructed.

This scenario involves a development from a system where prohibitive clauses employed a negation that was rather like the one used in assertive clauses to a system where the prohibitive negation was clearly distinct from the assertive negation. This raises the question whether this kind of development is typologically plausible. van der Auwera *et al.*'s (2013b) survey of prohibitive clauses across languages provides important data for addressing this problem. The data are summarized in Table 9.

		NEGATION (Compared to assertive clauses)	
		Same	Different
VERB FORM (Compared to positive directive clauses)	Same	113 (22,8%)	182 (36,7%)
	Different	55 (11,1%)	146 (29,4%)

Table 9: Cross-linguistic distribution of prohibitive clauses.

These data show that the relative frequency of the different types of prohibitive clause differs considerably across languages. The most frequent type is the one with a different negation than assertive clauses and the same verb form as positive directive clauses. The least frequent type is the one with the same negation as assertive clauses and a different verb form than positive directive clauses. We take cross-linguistic distribution patterns to be indicative of relative typological preference, which in turn is the basis for typological plausibility in reconstruction. For example, it would seem a priori unlikely that a pattern of the most frequent and hence apparently most preferred type has been replaced by a pattern of the least preferred type but not the other way around. However, the raw numbers do not tell us whether the distributional differences are significant or due to chance. To establish this, we performed a chi-square test of the data in Table 9. The chi-square test compares the observed frequencies with the expected frequencies, that is, the frequencies that would obtain if the data were distributed evenly. The more the observed frequencies resemble the expected frequencies,

the greater the probability that the difference is due to chance. In the present context, this tells us what the chances are that we would get the unbalanced distribution in Table 9 if there were no association between the negation type and the type of verb form. This is the null hypothesis of no association. We adhere to the conventional significance level of 0.05 and any probability value below that level is considered significant. The chi-square test yielded a p-value of 0.02 and a chi-square value of 5.9108 with one degree of freedom ($p\text{-value} = 0.02$ $\chi^2(1) = 5.9108$)³². Since the p-value is below the significance level, we may discard the null hypothesis and conclude that the observed differences are significant. The Cramér's V value is 0.114³³, indicating a rather weak association between the negation type and type of verb form. These considerations suggest that the distribution shown in Table 9 is not random.

The method outlined in Janda *et al.* (2013) allows for exploring this hypothesis in more detail. First, we need to establish to what extent the observed distribution of data given in Table 9 deviates from their expected distribution. These are given in Table 10³⁴.

		NEGATION (Compared to assertive clauses)	
		Same	Different
VERB FORM (Compared to positive directive clauses)	Same	[+] 99.9	[-] 195.1
	Different	[-] 68.1	[+] 132.9

Table 10. Expected cross-linguistic distribution of prohibitive sentences.

Recall that expected frequencies are the frequencies that would obtain if the data were distributed evenly³⁵. A comparison between Ta-

³² These values were obtained by means of the `chisq.test()` function in the standard package of R (R core team 2022).

³³ This value was obtained by means of the `assocstats()` function in the additional `vc` package of R (MEYER *et al.* 2023).

³⁴ These values were obtained by means of the `chisq.test()$expected` function in the standard package of R (R core team 2022).

³⁵ The expected frequency of a cell is calculated by multiplying the row sum with the column sum and dividing the product with the total sum.

ble 9 and Table 10 shows that the observed values are greater than the expected values in the case of prohibitive clauses with same negation and same form and clauses with different negation and different form. This means that these two types of prohibitive clauses appear more frequently than expected in the data. In such cases, the prohibitive clauses are said to show attraction towards these two types. In contrast, the clause types with different negation and same verb form and same negation and different verb form show a lower observed frequency than expected. Accordingly, prohibitive clauses are said to show repulsion towards these two types.

We assume that relative attraction and repulsion give a more accurate indication of typological preference than relative proportions, given in Table 9. To establish whether the differences between observed and expected values are significant, we apply the Fisher exact test to each of the cells³⁶. This enables an assessment of whether the patterns of attraction and repulsion are statistically significant, that is, below the conventional level of 0.05³⁷. The results are given in Table 11.

		NEGATION (Compared to assertive clauses)	
		Same	Different
VERB FORM (Compared to positive directive clauses)	Same	[+]0.007254	[-]0.007254
	Different	[-]0.007254	[+]0.007254

Table 11. Relative attraction and repulsion towards different types of prohibitive clauses.

³⁶ This procedure involves several steps. First, one creates a 2x2 contingency table, where the upper left cell comprises the observed cell frequency (e.g., 113, as in the upper left cell in Table 9), the upper right cell comprises the row total minus the observed cell frequency (i.e., $295 - 113 = 182$), the bottom left cell comprises the column total minus the observed cell frequency (i.e., $168 - 113 = 55$) and the bottom right cell comprises the table total minus the values in the three other cells (i.e., $496 - 113 - 182 - 55 = 146$). When applying the Fisher test, it is necessary to specify whether the observed value (in Table 9) is greater or less than the expected value given (in Table 10).

³⁷ These values were obtained by means of the `fisher.test()` function in the standard package of R, specifying whether the observed value is greater or less than the expected value (R core team 2022).

The results given in Table 11 shows that there is a significant cross-linguistic tendency to prefer two types of prohibitive clauses, namely those with the same negation as assertive clauses and the same verb category as positive directive clauses, or those with a different negation than assertive clauses and a different verb category than positive directive clauses. On the other hand, there is a significant repulsion against the two other types of prohibitive clauses, showing different negation and same verb form or same negation and different verb form.

These findings show that there is a typological preference towards two of the clause types, whereas the two other types tend not to be preferred. In the context of the previous discussion, this implies that typologically plausible reconstruction would involve change from a dispreferred pattern to a preferred pattern but not the other way around. Above we suggested that Core IE and PIE prohibitive clauses were compatible with non-imperative mood categories and that the prohibitive negation found in PIE was almost identical to the assertive negation, whereas the Core IE negation was markedly different from the assertive negation. This implies a change from a system where prohibitive clauses had the same negation as assertive clauses and a different mood category than positive directive clauses to a system with different negation than assertive clauses and a different mood category than positive directive clauses. As shown in Table 11, there is significant repulsion towards the former type and significant attraction towards the latter type. Thus, we may conclude that this reconstruction is typologically plausible. Similar considerations apply to the observation that the suspiciously tidy Vedic system of prohibitive clauses represents one of the cross-linguistically preferred types. It is therefore *a priori* unlikely that it should be replaced by a system of the type found in Homeric Greek, where one of the patterns instantiates the typologically dispreferred type with a different negation than assertive clauses and the same verb form as positive directive clauses. A last point concerns the question whether Core IE and PIE had prohibitive clauses with the imperative. The reconstruction of the PIE system of prohibitives involves a negation strongly resembling the

assertive negation. This type of negation shows significant attraction towards the mood category used in positive directive clauses and it is therefore likely that the imperative was in the process of replacing the non-imperative mood in prohibitive clauses already in PIE. This is reflected in some marginal attestations of prohibitive clauses with the imperative in Hittite and Luwian but also in Early Latin where the construction has survived. These observations suffice to show that the method proposed here enables a fairly accurate assessment of the notion of typological plausibility in reconstruction.

5. *Conclusion*

This paper examined prohibitive clauses in a selection of branches of the Indo-European family. Compared with positive directive clauses, which are relatively unitary, prohibitive clauses show considerable variation and may preliminarily be classified into four distinct types, differing along two dimensions: negation and verb form. There is often competition between two or more types of prohibitive clauses, often involving systematic functional distinctions. An important distinction is made between so-called inhibitive and preventive clauses, expressing an exhortation regarding ongoing and future situations respectively (cf. e.g., Ammann 1927, Meid 1962, Hoffmann 1967, Hollenbaugh 2020). Another dimension concerns whether languages are permissive with respect to the use of the neutral assertive mood categories in prohibitive clauses (cf. e.g., Mauri & Sansò 2011, 2012). A further parameter involves the distribution of predicates denoting controllable and uncontrollable predicates. We have seen that in spite of apparent differences between the languages in our sample, there are several points of convergence as well. This allows for reconstructing the prohibitive clause systems at two prehistoric levels, Core IE having a special prohibitive negation **mē* and an alternation between the imperative and a non-imperative mood form, and PIE having a negation **nē* that could be used in assertive and directive clauses alike and the imperative and some non-imperative form. Drawing on a statistical

analysis of the cross-linguistic data presented in van der Auwera *et al.* (2013b), we argued that the hypothesis that a system of the type found in Core IE replaced the PIE system is typologically plausible.

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The *ezāfe*-like construction in Old Iranian: A reassessment*

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the origins of the (proto-) *ezāfe* in Old Iranian, challenging traditional analyses that have classified the '*ezāfe*'-like structures in Avestan and Old Persian as adjectival formations. This hypothesis is primarily based on the case agreement between the relative pronoun and the head noun. This paper presents an alternative interpretation, proposing that these constructions should be viewed as relative clauses (RCs) with omitted copulas. From this perspective, the omission of the copula triggers the so-called *attractio relativi*, a phenomenon observed in various Indo-European languages, thus challenging prior claims. The idea that RCs may have served as precursors to the Persian *ezāfe* and potentially contributed to the formation of definite articles in some Middle Eastern Iranian languages remains compelling. However, in earlier stages, these structures are best understood as reduced RCs, lacking an explicit copula.

KEYWORDS: relative clauses, Iranian languages, relative pronoun, copula

1. Introduction

In Avestan and Old Persian the relative pronoun (= RP) – i.e. Av. *ya-*, OPers. *haya-/taya*¹ – is frequently used to join a nominal group to

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a head noun². From this perspective, the RP is claimed to be as a sort of ‘article’³ or ‘quasi-article’⁴ giving rise to the so-called *ezāfe*⁵. However, these formations tend to closely parallel relative clauses (= RC) and the status of the RP is still a question of interpretation. This paper aims to address this issue. In Section 2, I shall discuss the data in order to provide an overview of the several collocations involving a RP plus a nominal in Avestan and Old Persian. In Section 3, I shall assess the evidence of both Avestan and Old Persian ‘*ezāfe*’-like constructions. In Section 4, I shall put forward a possible historical scenario to account for the emergence of the article in some Eastern Middle Iranian from this special use of the RP in Old Iranian. Finally, I shall summarise the results in Section 5.

in glosses follow Leipzig Glossing Rules (<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>). Abbreviations used for the Avestan texts are as follows: A = Āfrinagān; Aog = Aogamadaēcā; AZ = Āfrin-ī Zardušt; FrW = Fragment Westergaard; H = Hāðōxt Nask; N = Hērbedestān and Nērangestān; P = Pursišnīhā; Vd = Vīdēvdād; Vr = Vīspēd; Y = Yasna; Yt = Yašt. I shall refer to the Avestan and Old Persian texts available on TITUS database (<https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm>) based on GELDNER (1886-96)’s and KENT (1953)’s and SCHMITT (1991)’s edition respectively. For convenience, I quote examples after KENT, but with the current reading of the relative as *haya*, not *hya*, and so on (see fn. 2 below).

¹ Etymologically, the Old Persian stem – graphically written <h^a-y^a> and <t^a-y^a> – is of course not identical to that of Avestan (and Vedic), since the latter goes back to Proto-Indo-European **ǵo-/ǵeh₂*-. It is generally assumed that Old Persian *haya*-/taya- results from the univerbation of the pronominal stem **ha*-/ta- with **ya*- (KENT 1944; ADIEGO LAJARA 2000; SCHMITT 2014: 192-193; BRUST 2018: 194). Conversely, MEILLET & BENVENISTE (1931²: 191-192, 195-196) argue for an extension of Indo-Iranian *sa*- by means of a suffixal **-iya*- (cf. Ved. *s(i)ya*-), which should later be reduced to **-ya*-. Interestingly, in Young Avestan a string *tām yim* (Aog. 77), parallel to Old Persian *tayam*, is found once. But it is disputed whether this formation is due to a persianism or rather to a mere misspelling (KELLENS 1974: 51-52).

² CALAND (1891: 17-28); DELBRÜCK (1900: 303-314); BARTHOLOMAE (1904: cols. 1221-1222); REICHELT (1909: 370-371); KENT (1953²: 84-85); SEILER (1960: 53-206); KELLENS & PIRART (1990: 62-63); SKJÆRVØ (2009: 100-101, 2018a: 163-165, 2018b: 98, 2020: 91-92); WEST (2011: 82-83); JÜGEL (2017: 557-558); MAGGI & ORSATTI (2018: 14-15).

³ DELBRÜCK (1900: 303-310, 314); KENT (1944, 1953²: 84-85); JÜGEL (2017: 557).

⁴ WEST (2011: 82).

⁵ HAIDER & ZWANZIGER (1984); HAIG (2011); KORN (2020: 488-489).

2. Avestan and Old Persian

2.1. As is well-known, both Avestan and Old Persian attest full-fledged copulaless RCs behaving as attributive adjectives⁶:

- OAv. (1) *təm* *daēnəm* *yā*
 DEM.ACC.SG.F religion(F).ACC.SG **REL.NOM.SG.F**
hātəm *vahištā*
 being.GEN.PL best.NOM.SG.F
 ‘That religion which (is) the best of the beings’ (Y 44.10)
- (2) *ahūm* *yē* *vanhəuš*
 existence(M).ACC.SG **REL.NOM.SG.M** good.GEN.SG.N
manəhō
 thought(N).GEN.SG
 ‘The existence which (is) of good thought’ (Y 53.5)
- YAv. (3) *miθrəm* ... *yō* *āsunəm*
 Miθra(M).ACC.SG **REL.NOM.SG.M** swift.GEN.PL.M
āsuš
 swift.NOM.SG.M
 ‘Miθra [...] who (is) swift among the swiftest’ (Yt 10.65)
- (4) *mat* *vispābiiō* *ašaonibiiō*
 together_with all.ABL.PL.F righteous.ABL.PL.F
frauuāšibiiō *yā*
 Fravaši(F).ABL.PL **REL.NOM.PL.F**
mainiiuuuanəm *yazatanəm*
 spiritual.GEN.PL.M god(M).GEN.PL
 ‘Together with all the righteous Fravašis which (are) of the spiritual gods’ (Y 23.2)
- OPers.(5) *Dārayavaum* *haya* *manā*
 Darius(M).ACC.SG **REL.NOM.SG.M** mine
pitā
 father(M).NOM.SG
 ‘Darius who (is) my father’ (XPf 23)

⁶ CALAND (1891: 17-28); KENT (1953²: 84); BENVENISTE (1958: 47-48); WEST (2011: 4); SEILER (1960: 53-206).

- (6) *hacā Sakaṁbiṣ tayaṁ para*
 from Saka(M).INS.PL **REL.NOM.PL.M** beyond
Sugdā
 Sogdiana.ACC.M
 ‘From the Sakas who (are) beyond Sogdiana’ (DPh 5-6)

In these instances, the RP serves to introduce a predicated nominal, though syntactically independent: the RP is in the nominative, as is expected for a subject of a copular clause, while the head is in the case governed by either the main clause verb or by adposition. However, copulaless RCs are not only attributive, but they also involve possession⁷ and perhaps location, such as in (7) (8) and (9), respectively⁸:

- OAv. (7) *mīždām mazdā yehiiā*
 reward(N).NOM.SG Mazdā(F).VOC.SG **REL.GEN.SG.N**
tū daθrām
 you gift(N).NOM.SG
 ‘The reward, Mazdā, of which you (are) the gift’ (Y 34.13)

- YAv. (8) *ahurāi mazdāi ... yeḥbhē*
 Ahura(M).DAT.SG Mazdā(F).VOC.SG **REL.GEN.SG.M**
gāuš aṣəm yeḥbhē
 cow(F).NOM.SG truth(N).NOM.SG **REL.GEN.SG.M**
raocā
 light(N).NOM.PL
 ‘To Ahura Mazdā to whom (belongs) the cow, to whom the truth, to whom the lights’ (Y 12.1)

⁷ Avestan and Old Persian typically use the genitive as possessor in possessive predication (BENVENUTO & POMPEO 2020: 55-61; MOHAMMADIRAD 2020). For Avestan, EDEL’MAN (1975: fn. 3) notices that both the genitive and the dative encode the possessor, but the genitive is understood to refer to ‘belonging’, while the dative to ‘destination’.

⁸ It is notable that copulaless RCs involving either possession or location are attested in Vedic (e.g. VITI 2007: 74-75; JAMISON 2022: 179-180), such as in *īndraḥ svābā pibatu yāsya sōmaḥ* ‘may Indra drink, hail! whose (is) the soma’ (R̥V = R̥gveda 3.50.1) and *gīro yāsmīn anavadyāḥ samīcīr viśvā īndrāya tāviṣīr ānuttāḥ* ‘in whom the flawless hymns (are) united: all powers belong to Indra’ (RV 3.31.13).

- (9) *miθrəm* ... *yahmi* *viiāne*
 Miθra(M).ACC.SG **REL.LOC.SG.M** soul(N).LOC.SG⁹
daēnaiiāi *srīraiīāi*
 religion(F).GEN.SG beautiful.GEN.SG.F
pərəθu.frākaiiāi *maza*
 of_broad_outlook.GEN.SG.F greatness.NOM.SG.N
amauuu *niḍātəm*
 powerful.NOM.SG.N laid_down.NOM.SG.N
 ‘Miθra ... in whose soul the powerful greatness has been laid
 down for the beautiful religion of broad outlook’ (Yt 10.64)¹⁰

Therefore, it seems plausible that copulaless RCs might result from copular RCs by copula ellipsis in a similar way as main clauses¹¹, even if RCs with overt copula are not unattested¹²:

- YAv. (10) *xvarəno* *mazdaḍātəm*
 xvarnah(N).ACC.SG created_by_Mazdā.ACC.SG.N
yazamaide ... *yaṭ* *asti*
 worship.IND.PRS.1PL **REL.NOM.SG.N** be.IND.PRS.3SG
ahurahē mazdā
 Ahura(M).GEN.SG Mazdā(F).GEN.SG
 ‘We worship the xvarnah created by Mazdā [...] which belongs
 to Ahura Mazdā’ (Yt 19.9)

⁹ For *viiāne* as ‘soul’, see BENVENISTE (1935: 37-38). Instead, BARTHOLOMAE (1904: col. 1478 s.v.) interprets it as an infinitive ‘auszubreiten, zu verbreiten’.

¹⁰ This stanza is not easy to interpret and different translations are possible: WOLFF (1910: 208) ‘in den machtvollen Erhabenheit zur Ausbreitung der schönen Religion, der weithin sich verbreitenden, niedergelegt’; LÖMMEL (1927: 74) ‘in dessen Seele für die schöne, weitverbreitete Religion (machtvoller Größe?) niedergelegt ist’; GERSHEVITCH (1959: 103) ‘in whose soul (there is) a great, powerful pledge to the beautiful, far-spreading Religion’; SEILER (1960: 94) ‘in dessen Seele ... machtvoller Größe (?) niedergelegt ist’; SKJÆRVØ (2007: 97) ‘in his “lineage mighty” greatness has been laid down, for the daēnā, beautiful, of broad outlook’; LECOQ (2016: 434) ‘en qui a été déposée une grande force pour la propagation de la religion belle, qui s’étend au loin’.

¹¹ BARTHOLOMAE (1904: cols. 1221-1222); REICHEL (1909: 365); WEST (2011: 3-4). Note also that in other ancient Indo-European languages, such as Vedic and Homeric Greek, copulaless RCs are clearly attested (e.g. LONGOBARDI 1980; KURZOVÁ 1981).

¹² SEILER (1960: 67). Tentatively, HAIDER & ZWANZIGER (1984: 142-143) state that copula ellipsis is constrained, since the copula is used as ‘dummy verb’ only in possessive predication. However, copula ellipsis seems to be also admitted for possessive predication.

2.2. Besides copulaless RCs, for the most part RPs involve agreement in case, at least in Young Avestan and Old Persian, leading to the ‘*ezāfē*’-like construction, where the RP is a sort of connecting particle¹³:

- YAv. (11) *daēuuō* *yō* *apaoša*
 demon(M).NOM.SG **REL.NOM.SG.M** Apaoša(M).NOM.SG
 ‘The demon Apaoša’ (Yt 8.21)
- (12) *vīspəm* *imaṭ* *yaṭ*
 all.ACC.SG.N DEM.ACC.SG.N **REL.ACC.SG.N**
juiiō *aṇhuš*
 living.M.NOM.SG existence(M).NOM.SG
 ‘This entire living existence’ (H 2.2)
- (13) *aoi* *yam* *astuuaitīm* *gaēḍam*
 against **REL.ACC.SG.F** bony.ACC.SG.F world(F).ACC.SG
 ‘Against the material (lit. bony) world’ (Y 9.8)
- (14) *raocābiš* ... *yāiš* *vahištāiš*
 light(N).INS.PL **REL.INS.PL.N** best.INS.PL.N
ahurahe
 Ahura(M).GEN.SG
 ‘With the best lights of Ahura Mazdā’ (Y 58.6)
- OPers.(15) *Gaumāta* *haya* *maguš*
 Gaumāta(M).NOM.SG **REL.NOM.SG.M** magian(M).NOM.SG
 ‘Gaumāta the magian’ (DB 1.44)
- (16) *avam* *kāram* *tayam*
 DEM.ACC.SG.M army(M).ACC.SG **REL(M).ACC.SG**
hamiṣiyam
 rebellious.ACC.SG.M
 ‘That rebellious army’ (DB 2.25-26)
- (17) *xšāyaḍiya* *dahyūnām*¹⁴ *tayaišām*
 king(M).NOM.SG land(F).GEN.PL **REL.GEN.PL.N**
parūnām

¹³ Kent (1953²: 84-85); SEILER (1960: 53-206); HAIDER & ZWANZIGER (1984); SKJÆRVØ (2009: 100-101, 2018a: 163-165, 2018b: 98, 2020: 91-92); JÜGEL (2017: 557-558).

¹⁴ Notably, the term *dahyu-* acquires technical meaning in Old Persian (GNOLI 1993), and is best rendered as either ‘land, country’ (MANCINI 1984; SCHMITT 1999b) or ‘people’ (LECOQ 1997: 136-137). Following SCHMITT (2009: 117), I here translate *dahyu-* as ‘land’.

- many.GEN.PL.N
 ‘King of many lands’ (DPe 3-4)¹⁵
- (18) *tayanā* *manā* *dātā*
REL.INS.SG.N mine law.INS.SG
 ‘According to my law’ (DB 1.20)

The RP is postposed, such as in (11), (12), (14), (15), (16) and (17), but can also be preposed, such as in (13) and (18), regardless of whether or not the RP is contiguous to the head. As is clear from (12) and (16), a correlative pronoun can co-occur, indirectly providing evidence for non-restrictive reading. In addition, this formation is not obligatory. The same expression can occur without the RP:

- YAv. (19) a. *miθrām* *yim*
 Miθra(M).ACC.SG **REL.ACC.SG.M**
vouru.gaoiiaoitīm
 of_wide_pasture-grounds.ACC.SG.M
 (Yt 10.1)
- b. *miθrām* *vouru.gaoiiaoitīm*
 Miθra(M).ACC.SG of_wide_pasture-grounds.ACC.SG.M
 (Yt 10.7)
 = ‘Miθra having wide pasture-grounds’

The same formation is thought to have already taken place in Old Avestan¹⁶, despite some caution¹⁷:

- OAv. (20) *tāng* ... *yāng* *ašahiā*
 DEM.ACC.PL.M REL(M).ACC.PL truth(N).GEN.SG
važdrəbng
 conveyor(M).ACC.PL
 ‘Those conveyors of truth’ (Y 46.6)¹⁸

¹⁵ It is noteworthy that *tayaišām* (N) and *parūnām* (N) apparently do not agree in gender with *dahyūnām* (F) (KENT 1953²: 68), perhaps because of the loss of gender distinction in the class of pronouns (SCHMITT 1999a: 30-32).

¹⁶ WEST (2011: 82-83).

¹⁷ KELLENS & PIRART (1990: 62-63); SKJÆRVØ (2018a: 163-165).

¹⁸ I translate following HUMMACH (1991: 168), while INSLEER (1975: 81) translates as ‘the draft oxen of truth’ together with the form *gā* ‘oxen’ of the following line. On the

- (21) *yām* *mazdām*¹⁹ *ahurām*
REL.ACC.SG.M wise.ACC.SG.M Ahura(M).ACC.SG
 ‘The wise Ahura (= Ahura Mazdā)’ (Y 45.8)
- (22) *tāiš* *šīiaoḡanāiš* *yāiš*
 DEM.INS.PL.N action(N).INS.PL **REL.INS.PL.N**
vahištāiš
 best.STR.PL.N
 ‘By these best actions’ (Y 35.4)

Now, it is commonly assumed that agreement in case should be restricted to the nominative – such as (11), (12) and (15) – accusative – such as (13), (16), (20) and (21) – and instrumental – such as (14), (18) and (22) – as being *Nennkasus* ‘case of quotation’²⁰ or ‘structural cases’^{21,22}. But in Old Persian agreement in case is also found in the genitive, such as in (17)²³. Nevertheless, these formations seem not to be attested outside Old Iranian languages²⁴.

other hand, KELLENS & PIRART (1988: 159) translate ‘alors que ce sont les conducteurs de l’Harmonie’ pointing to a pseudo-relativization (1991: 203), though not convincingly.

¹⁹ Following KELLENS-PIRART (1990: 283), I assume that *mazdā-* is a *nomen agentis* deriving from *maz* ‘mind’ and *ḡdā-* ‘to put’ used here as epithet of *ahura*.

²⁰ SEILER (1960: 164-165).

²¹ HAIDER & ZWANZIGER (1984: 149-154). Traditionally, ‘structural’ cases are assigned for syntactic reasons, while ‘inherent’ cases are more closely aligned with semantics (e.g. BUTT 2006). But this distinction is perhaps too sharp, as NÆSS (2007: 211-213) rightly notices. Therefore, the instrumental is accounted for as a ‘structural’ case, being optionally used for objects and subjects in Avestan (e.g. OETTINGER 1986; BICHLMEIER 2011: 50-52; DE VAAN 2018).

²² This claim is found in the literature. See, for instance, CALAND (1891: 17-28); SEILER (1960: 63-4, 68, 202-3); HAJNAL (1997: 53).

²³ In Avestan the only exception to this is at possibly Yt 12.8 *ahmi arəde yahmi gaēde* ‘in this worldly lawsuit’. Indeed, *yahmi* is likely to agree in case with *arəda-* ‘process, lawsuit’, both forms being locative. Admittedly, the entire stanza is rather obscure (BARTHOLOMAE *apud* WOLFF 1910: 227, fn. 4; LOMMEL 1927: 99, fn. 5; LECOQ 2016: 473, fn. 8). As GOLDMAN (2015: 137) argues, the second-half of the line seems to be even more problematic, since the locative *yahmi* is hard to accommodate. GOLDMAN (2015: 137) suggests, thus, to emend *yahmi gaēde* to **ahmi gaēde* ‘in this existence’ or, more preferably, to *yaḡa gaēde* ‘as in the existence’ according to the testimony of F1. If the latter is true, the stanza should be asserting the Rašnu’s ability to punish equally in the legal case and out in the material world. However, as Goldman himself acknowledges, it should be noted that *yaḡa* has been corrected *secunda manu* to *yahmi* against all extant manuscripts.

²⁴ CALAND (1891: 22, 1897) claims to have found just one occurrence of this type of construction at AVŚ (= Atharvaveda Śaunaka) 19.20.1: *paūruṣeyam* (ACC.) *vadhām* (ACC.)

Moreover, in Young Avestan the subordinate conjunction *yaṭ*²⁵, which is identical to the form of the RP in the neuter, is used in cases other than nominative, accusative and instrumental, but the following nominal agrees in case with the head²⁶:

- (23) *cūuāt* *aētaṇhdā* *āpō* *yaṭ*
 how_much DEM.GEN.SG.F water(F).GEN.SG **COMP**
armaēštaiiā
 standing.GEN.SG.F
 ‘How much of this standing water?’ (Vd 6.30)
- (24) *aēibiiō* *yazataēibiiō* *yaṭ* *aməšaēibiiō*
 DEM.DAT.PL.M god.(M).DAT.PL **COMP** Aməša(M).DAT.PL
spəntaēibiiō
 Spənta(M).DAT.PL
 ‘To these deities, (i.e.) the Aməša Spənta’ (Vr 9.4)
- (25) *apō* *yaṭ* *vairiiaiiā*
 water(F).ABL.SG **COMP** rain.ABL.SG.F
 ‘From rain water’ (Vd 6.50)
- (26) *ahmi* *aṇhuuō* *yaṭ* *astuuaiṇti*
 DEM.LOC.SG.M existence.M.LOC.SG **COMP** bony.LOC.SG.M
 ‘In this material (lit. bony) existence’ (Vd 5.39)

As Caland (1891: 23-26) claims, *yaṭ* is found in place of di- and polysyllabic forms of the RP²⁷, such as genitive (23), dative (24), abla-

yām (ACC.) ‘death caused by a man’, parallel to AVŚ 1.30.1 *paūruṣeyo* (NOM.) *vadhó* (NOM.) *yāb* (NOM.) ‘id.’. However, as I understand from JAMISON (2022: 177, fn. 24), the verse is metrically irregular, so it might be a mere mechanical transposition of AVŚ 1.30.1.

²⁵ MEYER (2017: 216) states that in Old Persian the same allegedly occurs with *taya*. However, there is no more than one occurrence involving *taya* <t-y> instead of the expected *tayām* <t-y-a-m> in A2Sc, being a late Achaemenid inscription. Therefore, SCHMITT (1999a: 112-113) accounts <t-y> *taya* as a misspelling for <t-y-a-m> *tayām* (FEM.SG). Alternatively, FATTORI (2022) convincingly suggests that the misspelling is rather <u-s-t-š-n-a-m> for *ustacanam* (N.SG), which would solve the problem in the agreement. Whatever the explanation for this claim, it is clear that here <t-y> is not to be taken as the subordinate conjunction *taya*.

²⁶ REICHEL (1909: 370); SEILER (1960: 140-141); SKJÆRVØ (2009: 100-101, 2018b: 98).

²⁷ This claim is generally taken for granted (e.g. REICHEL 1909: 370; SOMMER 2016-17: 229-230; JÜGEL 2017: 558).

tive (25) and locative (26). However, *yaŋ* seems to be not restricted to oblique cases²⁸, such as in the following example²⁹:

- (27) *puθrām* *yaŋ* *pourušaŋpahe*
 son(M).ACC.SG **COMP** Pourušaŋpa(M).GEN.SG
 ‘The son of Pourušaŋpa’ (Yt 5.18)

2.3. It should be said that in some instances it is hard to determine the head of this kind of formations³⁰:

- OAv. (28) *daxiiāuš* *yōi* *sāstārō*
 land(F).GEN.SG **REL.NOM.PL.M** tyrant(M).NOM.SG
drəguuuantō
 deceitful.NOM.PL.M
 ‘The deceitful tyrants of the land’ (Y. 46.1)

- YAv. (29) *yō* *yimō* *xšaētō*
REL.NOM.SG.M Yima(M).NOM.SG splendid.NOM.SG.M
hūuqθβō
 having_good_herds.M.NOM.SG
 ‘The splendid Yima with good herds’
 (Y 9.4, Yt 19.34, Vd 2.20)³¹

Here, it is not clear how *drəguuuantō* ‘deceitful’ and *xšaētō* ‘splendid’ should be interpreted. Both (28) and (29) find relevant parallels in poetic formulas that do not imply the RP: (28) is quite similar to *sāsta daiŋhōuš* ‘tyrant of the country’ (Yt 13.18 *et passim*) and *druuā sāsta* ‘the deceitful tyrant’ (Y 65.8, Humbach 1991: ii. 175), while (29) to *yimāi srīrāi hūuqθβāi* (Vd 2.2, Seiler 1960: 87). Nonetheless, Seiler (1960: 125) claims that (29) is to be put in rela-

²⁸ SEILER (1960: 140-141); HAJNAL (1997: 53).

²⁹ HAIDER & ZWANZIGER (1984) argue for the primacy of *yaŋ*. However, this hypothesis is not borne out by the data, as both in Old Avestan and Old Persian there is no invariable form behaving as *ezāfe* particle (fn. 17).

³⁰ SEILER (1960: 87-88).

³¹ Note that the same formula is attested in the accusative at Yt 19.31: *yim yiməm xšaētəm hūuqθβəm* ‘id.’ (SEILER 1960: 87-88).

tion to *yō daδuā² ahurō mazdā²* ‘the creator Ahura Mazdā’ (Vd 2.20) rendering (29) as ‘der König (*xšāētō*) unter dem Aspekt des Zwillings (*yō yimō*) der Herdenreiche’ (‘the king into the shape of the twin’). So, following Seiler, *xšāētō* should be considered as the head, while *yimō* as the dependent.

The same problem arises for further examples in which the head seems to be elided³²:

OAv. (30) *aṭ* *frauuaṣṣiiā* *aṇhābuš*
 then proclaim.FUT.1SG existence(M).GEN.SG
mainiiū *pouruiiē* *yaiiiiā²*
 spirit(M).ACC.DU primordial.M.ACC.DU REL.GEN.DU.M
spaniiiā² *ūitī* *mrauuat*
 more_prosperous.NOM.SG.M PTC say.SBJV.3SG
yām *aṇgrām*
REL.ACC.SG.M harmful.M.ACC.SG
 ‘Then I shall proclaim the two primordial spirits of the existence
 of whom the more bountiful one shall address to the bad one’
 (Y 45.2)³³

OPers.(31) *baya* *tavīyā* *tayam*
REL.NOM.SG.M stronger.NOM.SG.M **REL.ACC.SG.M**
skaušim *naī* *janti*
 weak.ACC.SG.M NEG strike.PRS.3SG
 ‘The stronger one does not strike the weak one’ (DSe 39-40)³⁴

³² SEILER (1960: 86-103).

³³ BARTHOLOMAE (1905: 69) ‘von denen der heiligere also sprach zu dem argen’; INSLEER (1975: 75) ‘of which the virtuous one would have thus spoken to the evil one’; HUMBACH (1991: 164) ‘of whom the more prosperous one shall address to the harmful one’; HUMBACH & FAISS (2010: 128) ‘the more beneficent one of whom shall address the harmful one as follows’; WEST (2011: 115) ‘of whom the Bounteous one speaks thus to the Hostile one’. This analysis is not assumed in KELLENS & PIRART (1988: 155), who translate as follows: ‘[j]e vais proclamer les deux états d’esprit fondamentaux de l’existence (rituelle), (proclamer) quel est celui des deux qu’on dira le plus bénéfique et quel est le mauvais que les pensées, les explications, les intelligences et les choix, que les mots et les actes, que les consciences et les êtres ne suivent en aucun cas’.

³⁴ KENT (1953²: 142) ‘the stronger does not strike the weak one’ (DSe 39-40); SCHMITT (2009: 126) ‘der der stärkere (ist), den Schwachen nicht schlägt’.

In these cases, Seiler (1960: 91) assumes that the head is rather implicit in the text, so that it can be omitted³⁵. Thus, in (30) the noun **mainiiūm* (ACC.) ‘spirit’ could be easily accommodated from the context (*contra* West 2011: 82). On the other hand, Haig (2011: 385) argues that in (31) the RP serves to turn the adjective into a noun behaving as a nominalizer, while Kent (1944: 7, 1953²: 85) states that the RP gives a ‘generic meaning’ to the adjective.

2.4. Although there is a high degree of syntactic variability both in the Avestan and Old Persian corpus, I have attempted so far to provide an overview of that kind of formations similar to the *ezāfe* of later times. The different schemata are given in Table 1 below. As I have argued, it is sometimes difficult however to tell whether or not there is a head, and even if present, it cannot be always determined. In the following I shall develop some of the major observations that can be drawn from the data.

SCHEMA	OLD AVESTAN	YOUNG AVESTAN	OLD PERSIAN	EXAMPLE(S)
$[[N_{1 \text{ Case } \alpha} (...) [RP [N_2]]_{\text{Case } \beta}]]$	+	+	+	(1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9)
$[N_{1 \text{ Case } \alpha} (...) [RP [N_2]]_{\text{Case } \alpha}]$	+	+	+	(13), (18), (21)
$[[RP [N_2]]_{\text{Case } \alpha} (...) N_{1 \text{ Case } \alpha}]$	+	+	+	(11), (12), (14), (15), (16), (17), (20), (22)
$[N_{1 \text{ Case } \alpha} (...) [\textit{yat} [N_2]]_{\text{Case } \alpha}]$	+	+	–	(23), (24), (25), (26), (27)
$[RP N_1 N_2]_{\text{Case } \alpha}$?	?	–	(28), (29)
$\emptyset [RP N]_{\text{Case } \alpha}$	+	+	+	(30), (31)

Table 1. The distributional contexts of the *ezāfe*-like construction(s).

RP = relative pronoun; N_1 = head; N_2 = (predicated) nominal.

³⁵ See, also, DELBRÜCK (1900: 306) and REICHELT (1909: 371).

3. *The status of the ezāfe-like construction in Old Iranian*

In this section, I shall demonstrate that ‘*ezāfe*’-construction is not yet fully developed in Old Iranian times. As so often, the Avestan and Old Persian evidence proves elusive, showing no clear patterning that might allow the adjectival status of these formations. Based on the parallelism with finite RCs, I suggest that in synchronic terms the ‘*ezāfe*’-like construction should be considered as a reduced RC.

Before considering the evidence, it is worth emphasizing that copulaless RCs are widespread both in Avestan and Old Persian, as well as in several ancient Indo-European languages (§ 2.1). For Seiler (1960: 53-260, 118-119), copulaless RCs represent indeed the starting point of the ‘*ezāfe*’-like construction: the head can impose its case over the whole RC, and this is argued to be the most robust criterion for distinguishing the ‘*ezāfe*’-like construction from a copulaless RC. However, even this criterion is not straightforward.

First, it should be noticed that sometimes it is questionable whether there is case assignment through government or rather agreement between the head and the RP. For instance, this is particularly true for (11) and (15): the nominative case of the RP in (11) and (15) might be assigned either through government by a null copula or through agreement by the head, so both (11) and (15) could be translated as reduced RCs³⁶ (i.e. ‘the demon who (is) Apaoša’, ‘Gaumāta who (is) magian’)³⁷.

Second, and more importantly, it is still possible in Old Avestan to take the RP as being ‘attracted’ into the case of the head under cer-

³⁶ From a typological point of view, a reduced RC is less like a full clause, typically having reduced tense-mood marking and greater restrictions on the relativized Noun Phrase and generally occurring in a position shared with ordinary adjectival modifiers (ANDREWS 2007: 211-212).

³⁷ In this regard, BENVENUTO & POMPEO (2020: 23-27) note that some instances require agreement in case on the basis of some parallels in the same passage. This is clear at DB 2.40-41: *vašnā Auramazdāha kāra* (NOM.) *haya* (NOM.) *manā avam kāram* (ACC.) *tayam* (ACC.) *hamiçiyam aja vasaī* ‘by the favour of Auramazdā my army totally defeated that rebellious army’. Here, the second sequence ensures that even the former is to be taken as agreeing in case, despite being formally ambiguous.

tain circumstances, regardless of whether the head is overt or implied (Skjærvø 2009: 157-158, 2018a: 163-164)³⁸:

- (32) *vahištəm* *ʒβā* *vahištā*
 best.ACC.SG.M you.ACC.SG best.VOC.SG.M
yām *ašā* *vahištā*
REL.ACC.SG.M truth(N).INS.SG best.INS.SG.N
hazaošəm *ahurəm*
 of_same_wish.ACC.SG.M Ahura(M).ACC.SG
yāsā
 ask.IND.PRS.1SG
 ‘I ask you Ahura, o best one, who (are) in harmony with the best truth
 for the best’ (Y 28.8)

In (32) the main clause verb *yāsā* follows the RC and may be taken as part of both clauses, with the result that the RP occurs in the same case as the head *ahurəm*.

The same treatment affects the examples at Y 45.2, given in (30), and possibly DSe 39-40, given in (31). However, in (29)-(30) *attractio relativi* can be accounted for by omission of the verb, as is discussed by Skjærvø (2009: 158, 2018a: 163-164)³⁹. For instance, Skjærvø considers the same example in (30) as a RC in which a *uerbum dicendi* – or even a *uerbum putandi* – must be supplied, translating ‘of which two the life-giving one shall tell (him) (whom you know to be) the Evil one’ (Skjærvø 2007: 42). Supporting evidence should come from examples such as (33) below, in which the *uerbum dicendi* is overt. But if the RP is taken to represent the object of the implied *uerbum dicendi*, it is plausible that *attractio relativi* is apparent in these instances.

³⁸ This phenomenon is best known as *attractio relativi*, or ‘case attraction’, and is not without parallel in ancient Indo-European languages (e.g. TOURATIER 1980: 213-238; LEHMANN 1984: 251; BIANCHI 1999: 94-96). In addition, there are some pieces of evidence that in Early Greek case attraction is restricted to verbless RCs (KÜHNER & GERTH 1904: 406-413; WACKERNAGEL 2009: 76-77; VITI 2006-07 [2009]), but is not attested in full-fledged RCs before the 5th c. BC (PROBERT 2015: 167-192).

³⁹ This possibility is taken into account also in Latin (TOURATIER 1980: 214-225; POMPEI 2011: 473, fn. 68).

- (33) *tām* *aduuānəm* *ahurā*
 DEM.M.ACC.SG road(M).ACC.SG Ahura(M).VOC.SG
yām *mōi* *mraoš* *vaṇhāuš*
REL.ACC.SG.M me say.INJ.2SG good.GEN.SG.N
mananḥō
 thought(N).GEN.SG
 ‘(Show us) that way, o Ahura, you tell me (to be that) of good thought’
 (Y 34.13)

It should be added that in some instances the formations involving agreement in case, or better *attractio relativi*, are unambiguously predicative, such as (34). Here, the RP is in the accusative as the head *nisāim*, but introduces a locational predicate in the same way as RCs, such as (35), where the overt copula *asti* is found.

- (34) *nisāim* *yim* *aṇtarə*
 Nisāya(M).ACC.SG REL.ACC.SG.M between
mōurum=ca *bāxδīm=ca*
 Marghu(M).ACC.SG=and Bāxδī(F).ACC.SG=and
 ‘Nisāya which (is) between Marghu (= Margiana) and Bāxdi (= Bactria)’
 (Vd 1.7)
- (35) *auuat* *vərəθraynəm* *yazamaide*
 DEM.ACC.SG.N victory(N).ACC.SG worship.PRS.1PL
yať *asti* *vohuxšaθrəm*
REL.NOM.SG.N be.PRS.IND.3SG Vohu.xšaθrā(F).ACC.SG.
vahištōištīm
 Vahištōištī(F).ACC.SG
 ‘We worship that victory who is between Vohu.xšaθrā and Vahištōištī’
 (Vr 20.2)

As Delbrück (1900: 304-305) notes, all these formations are structurally parallel to finite RCs. This is the case with pre- or postposed RCs, such as in (13)-(18) and probably (20)-(22), but it also applies to other types of RCs. Crucially, in Avestan there are a number of RCs that are head-internal as well as headedless, even without a correlative pronoun⁴⁰:

⁴⁰ KELLENS-PIRART (1990: 60-61); SKJÆRVØ (2009: 156, 158, 2018a: 147-163, 2018b: 98).

- (36) *kaṣā mōi yqm yaoš daēnqm*
 how me **REL.ACC.SG.F** religion(F).ACC.SG
yaoždānē. yqm budānaoš
 purify.SUBJ.1SG REL(F).ACC.SG generous.M/N.GEN.SG
paitiša saṣiiāt xšaṣrahiā
 master(M).NOM.SG announce.OPT.3SG power(N).GEN.SG
 ‘How might the master of power announce to me the religious view
 which I may purify for myself, that of a generous (person)?’
 (Y 44.9)⁴¹

- (37) *rənjaiti haomahe maḍōa*
 quicken.PRS.3SG haoma(M).GEN.SG intoxication(M).NOM.SG
yō yaṣa puṣrəm taurunəm
REL.NOM.SG.M like son(M).ACC.SG young.ACC.SG.M
haoməm vaṇdaēta maṣiiō
 haoma(M).ACC.SG praise.OPT.3SG man(M).NOM.SG
 ‘The intoxication of haoma quickens the man who would honour
 haoma like a young son’
 (Y 10.8)⁴²

⁴¹ This stanza is quite difficult: BARTHOLOMAE (1905: 69) ‘ob mir wohl für die Dana, die ich vervollkommen will, für die des Einsichtigen, der Herr des Reichs Verheissungen auf die sicheren Reiche machen wird?’; INSLEER (1975: 69) ‘how shall I bring to life that vision of mine, which the master of a blessed dominion ... would decree?’; KELLEN & PIRART (1988: 150) ‘comment dois-je preparer ma conscience (pour qu’elle soit) comme la definit celui qui dispose d’une emprise (rituelle) riche en dons?’; HUMBACH (1991: 89) ‘how might the Master of Power announce to me the religious view which I may purify for myself, that of a generous person?’; HUMBACH & FAISS (2010: 123) ‘how would the Lord of Power announce to me which religious view/view-soul – that of a generous (person) – I can purify for my welfare?’; WEST (2010: 107) ‘the religion of mine that I am to perfect, how might the master of a beneficent dominion proclaim it for me?’; SKJÆRVØ (2018a: 155) ‘how shall I make my *daēnā* ritually pure that is mine, which a master (in possession) of command (such as that) of a ‘generous one may then announce?’. As is clear from the translations, it is possible to interpret *yaoždānē* as either the verb of the RC – following BARTHOLOMAE (1905: 69); HUMBACH (1991: 89) and WEST (2011: 66) – or the main clause verb – following INSLEER (1975: 69); KELLEN & PIRART (1988: 150) and SKJÆRVØ (2018a: 155). In addition, *budānaoš* is taken as dependent on *xšaṣrahiā* by INSLEER (1975: 69) and KELLEN & PIRART (1988: 150). Finally, I have deliberately chosen to follow HUMBACH (1991: 89) for the analysis of this stanza. However, this is not relevant for the point at issue.

⁴² The translation is given following SKJÆRVØ (2007: 14). In contrast, PIRART (2004: 95) translates ‘l’ivresse de Haoma donne l’élân au mortel qui, comme s’il chérissait un tendre fils ...’. Whatever the meaning of the line, this is not relevant for our purposes.

- (38) *tām* *aṭ* *yasnanam*
 DEM.ACC.SG.M then sacrifice(M).GEN.PL
pauruuatātā *yazamaidē* *yōi*
 primacy(F).INS.SG worship.PRS.1PL **REL.NOM.PL.M**
gāuš *hacā* *šieinī*
 cow.M/F.ABL.SG from dwell.PRS.3SG
 ‘Then, we worship him with the excellence of the sacrifices of those
 who dwell on the side of the cow’ (Y 37.2)
- (39) *nmānām* *dadāhi* ... *yaša* ... *θβā*
 house(N).ACC.SG give.PRS.2SG **REL.NOM.SG.M** you.ACC.SG
yazaitē ... *ašauna*
 worship.PRS.3SG righteous.NOM.SG.M
 ‘You give the house (to him) who worship you as righteous’
 (Yt 10.30)

In (36)-(37) the head – *daēnām* and *mašiiō*, respectively – appears inside the RC taking the case required by the verb of RC. From a semantic point of view, these RCs refer to a unique entity having something like the meaning of a definite article built in. On the other hand, in (38)-(39) there is no head, while the RP is in the nominative according to its function inside the RC. Traditionally, RCs such as (38)-(39) are claimed to have a head that is implied⁴³. But these RCs pick out a unique referent as well: in (38) people living in accordance with the requirements of cattle-breeding, i.e. the Mazdayasnians (Narten 1986: 176; Humbach 1991: ii. 124; Hintze 2007: 169); in (39) the orderly man⁴⁴. In other words, this kind of RCs are similar to definite noun phrases to the extent that can be in coordination with nominals (Seiler 1960: 185-193), as can be seen in (40), while still remaining RCs.

⁴³ Note that in oblique cases demonstrative pronouns that could serve as heads are often omitted (GERSHEVITCH 1959: 161). This seems to be the case here, but cf. also *haomō aēibiš yōi auruuantō hita taxšənti arənāum zāuuarə.aojāšca baxšaiti* (Y 9.22) ‘Haoma bestows vigour and strength upon those swift ones who run in pairs along the race’.

⁴⁴ It should be added that *ašauna* ‘righteous’ could be the head of the RC, as can be understood in BARTHOLOMAE (*apud* WOLFF 1910: 203)’s and GERSHEVITCH (1959: 89)’s translation, so that the example in (39) could also represent a head-internal RC.

- (40) *narōi* *fərašaōstrāi* *maibiiā=cā*
 hero(M).DAT.SG Frašaōstra(M).DAT.SG me=and
yaēibiiās=cā *īt* *riāṇhaṇhōi*
REL.DAT.PL.M=and it.ACC.SG offer.SUBJ.2SG
 ‘For the hero Frašaōstra, and for me, and for (all those) to whom you
 may offer it’ (Y 28.8)

Given these assumptions, it is possible that examples in (28)-(31) represent reduced RCs corresponding to both head-internal RCs and headedless RCs – if one does not assume the ellipsis of the embedded verb, as suggested above.

This possibility might be invoked for the well-known Avestan formula in (41) below, which Seiler (1960: 91-93) himself considers as challenging:

- (41) *yā* *āpō* *yiās=ca*
REL.NOM.PL.F water(F).NOM.PL REL(F).NOM.PL=and
uruuariā *yās=ca* *ašaonam*
 plant(F).NOM.PL REL.NOM.PL.F=and righteous.GEN.PL.M
frauuāšaiiō
 Fravaši(F).NOM.PL
 ‘The waters, the plants and the Fravašis of the righteous men’
 (Yt 10.100 *et passim*)

The formula mentions followers of Miθra, such as the waters and the plants, as well as the Fravašis of the righteous men⁴⁵, so each of the three *Relativgruppen* – in Seiler (1960)’s terms – selects a member of a collective denoting the group as a whole. While this kind of RCs are distributed in the same way as definite noun phrases, there is, however, no strong reason not to take these formations as reduced RCs. Despite being copulaless, these formations are perhaps to be identified with headedless RCs serving to individualise a referent rather than being definite noun phrases proper⁴⁶. This assumption is proven valid when

⁴⁵ GERSHEVITCH (1959: 249).

⁴⁶ *pace* BENVENISTE (1958); HETTRICH (1988: 5, 518).

the RP is in the nominative, as is expected for the subject of a copular predication⁴⁷.

A more problematic point seems to be that in Young Avestan the invariable form *yať* is in some cases used instead of the RP⁴⁸. But it is perhaps not surprising that an invariable form serve as relativizer in copulaless RCs, as Touratier (1990) points out. This strategy of relativization – in line with typological literature⁴⁹ – is preferred for roles that can be easily recovered in the RC, as is the case with the subject in copular clauses. In this sense, it is easier to recover the subject rather than obliques in a RC, even if the RP is missing. This claim is then entirely appropriate for RCs that are copular clauses, since in that case the RP is necessarily the subject of the RC.

Following Benveniste (1947-1948), it is interesting to note that *yať* is sometimes used in finite RCs as well, though rarely:

- (42) *aiñhiā* *zəmə* ... *yať* *ahmi*
 DEM.GEN.SG.F earth(F).GEN.SG **COMP** DEM.LOC.SG.N
spānas=ca *naras=ca* *para.iriḍiñti*
 dog(M).NOM.PL man(M).NOM.PL die.PRS.3PL
 ‘Of this earth on which dogs and men die’ (Vd 6.1)
- (43) *arəzūrahe grīuuaiia* ... *yať* *ahmiia*
 Arzūra(M).GEN.SG **neck(f).loc.sg** COMPEM.LOC.SG.F
daēuua *haṇduuarəñti*
 demon(M).NOM.PL run_together.PRS.3PL
 ‘On the neck of Arzūra on which the demons run together’ (Vd 3.7)

⁴⁷ For a similar discussion in relation to Early Greek and Vedic, see PROBERT (2015: 128-130) and KLEIN (1985: i. 105-122), respectively. However, it is important to note that the relativization is largely stylistic in this role (KLEIN 1985: i. 105-106), and this makes it possible to occur mainly in formulaic expressions.

⁴⁸ The same is true for Late Vedic explicative clauses (e.g. DELBRÜCK 1888: 566-567, 1900: 5, 309; WACKERNAGEL & DELBRUNNER 1930: 555-556; VERPOORTEN 1977: 332-347), but it is probably an independent phenomenon (JAMISON 2022). It is important to note that in early Vedic prose there are few instances in which the (predicated) nominal is in the nominative, while the head is in a different case, so these formations fail to pattern with Young Avestan (JAMISON 2022: 174).

⁴⁹ For instance, COMRIE (1981: 144-146).

In (42)-(43) *yaṭ* probably introduces a RC instead of the RP **yah-miia*. However, in these circumstances a resumptive pronoun is required in order to mark the role of the relativized item inside the RC, otherwise missing⁵⁰.

To sum up, in Old Iranian the *ezāfē*-like construction implies the same patterns as RCs. Thus, for most if not all cases it is better to interpret these formations as reduced RCs. On the other hand, the distribution of *attractio relativi*, whether it is ascertainable, in connection with the omissibility of the head, or even of the correlative, and with the use of the invariable form *yaṭ*, account for an ongoing process of reanalysis. However, it cannot be taken for granted. It is necessary also to admit that this special kind of RCs is not consistent but rather stylistic.

In the following, I shall argue that Avestan *ya-* evolved into a definite article, as well as an *ezāfē* particle, in some Middle Eastern-Iranian languages surfacing the same configurations for reduced RCs observed throughout Section 2.

4. *The emergence of the definite article in Chorasmian and Bactrian*

If it has been widely held that *ezāfē* in Western Iranian languages has originated in copulaless RCs⁵¹, it has not been equally observed, if rarely, that the same formations might explain the emergence of the definite article in Middle Eastern Iranian languages⁵², such as Chorasmian and Bactrian⁵³. In this section, I shall look at

⁵⁰ It is likely that RPs have changed to subordinators in Indo-European languages due to the loss of the reference noun (LÜHR 2008: 148-155). The distribution of Avestan *yaṭ* as subordinate conjunction, which derives from the *casus rectus* of the RP, should provide more evidence in support of this view (HINTZE 1997). See, also, JAMISON (2022: 177) for a similar suggestion in relation to (Late) Vedic *yád*.

⁵¹ TEDESCO (1921 [1924]); HAIDER & ZWANZIGER (1984); KARIMI (2007); HAIG (2011); KORN (2020: 470, 488-489).

⁵² BAILEY (1945: 18); KORN (2020: 471); *contra* YAKUBOVICH (2020: 105-108).

⁵³ For a brief overview of Chorasmian and Bactrian grammar, see HUMBACH (1989) and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2009) for Chorasmian, and SIMS-WILLIAMS (1989a, 2007: 38-49) for Bactrian.

the data from Chorasmian and Bactrian in the light of the preceding discussion⁵⁴.

Beginning with Chorasmian, the proclitic definite articles m. *ʔ* [ī] fem. *ʔ* [yā] du. m. fem. *ʔ* [yā] pl. m. fem. *ʔ* [ī] is supposed to be connected to the RP stem **ya-* as attested in Avestan *ya-*⁵⁵, whereas the RP (*ʔ*)*k* [ki] results from **ka-* just as for Persian⁵⁶. At a first glance, the definite article can appear in several syntactic positions⁵⁷, as represented in the following examples⁵⁸:

- (44) *ʔ* *ʔsp*
ART.SG.M horse(M).NOM.SG
 ‘The horse’ (Muq 107.2 from Durkin-Meisterernst 2009: 346)
- (45) *ʔ* *ʔwc*
ART.SG.F cow(F).POSS.SG
 ‘Of the cow’ (Muq 51.2 from Durkin-Meisterernst 2009: 347)
- (46) *f=ʔ* *δscy*
 with=**ART.SG.F**⁵⁹ hand(F).ABL.SG
 ‘With the hand’ (Muq 490.3 from Durkin-Meisterernst 2009: 342)
- (47) *ʔ* *ʔzr* *ʔwk*
ART.SG.F old.NOM.SG.F cow(F).NOM.SG
 ‘The old cow’ (Muq 94.8 from Durkin-Meisterernst 2009: 358)
- (48) *f=ʔ* *zβʔk* *f=ʔ*
 in=**ART.SG.M** tongue(M).LOC.SG in=**ART.SG.M**
trkʔnk
 Turkish.LOC.SG.M
 ‘In the Turkish tongue’
 (QR 123 from Durkin-Meisterernst 2009: 358)

⁵⁴ Probably, Digoron Ossetic also attests the definite article from **ya-* (BAILEY 1945: 15-20; THORDARSON 2009: 110-111), while Sogdian definite articles derive from demonstrative stems (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b: 186, 1994; WENDTLAND 2011, *pace* BAILEY 1945: 17). For the sake of brevity, I shall not discuss the evidence for Digoron Ossetic in this paper.

⁵⁵ BAILEY (1945: 18); DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2009: 343).

⁵⁶ ÖHL & KORN (2006 [2008]).

⁵⁷ HUMBACH (1989: 196); DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2009: 358).

⁵⁸ Abbreviations used for the Chorasmian texts quoted are as follows: QR = Qunyat al-Munya and Risāla; Muq = Muqaddimat al-Adab.

⁵⁹ Note that the dual article *ʔ* has given rise to feminine singular forms, as is the case for m. *δst* ‘hand’ (HUMBACH 1989: 197).

- (49) *’y xsr ’y mrcy’n*
ART.SG.M father-in-law(M).NOM.SG **ART.SG.M** man(M).POSS.SG
 ‘The father-in-law of the man’
 (Muq 2.1 from Durkin-Meisterernst 2009: 358)
- (50) *’y b’r y’ ’wdry*
ART.SG.M load(M).NOM.SG **ART.SG.F** belly(F).POSS.SG
 ‘The foetus (lit. the load of the belly)’
 (Muq 106.7 from Durkin-Meisterernst 2009: 358)

The definite article can appear preposed to the head, such as in (44)-(46), or, if the head is modified by an adjective, to the entire noun phrase, such as in (47). But if the adjective follows the head, the definite article is repeated, such as in (48). The last schema is also found in the case of possessives, such as in (49)-(50). The patterns involving the definite article in Chorasmian are summarised in Table 2:

PATTERN	EXAMPLE(S)
article + noun	(44), (45), (46)
article + adjective + noun	(47)
article + noun + article + adjective	(48)
article + noun + article + possessive	(49), (50)

Table 2. The distribution of the definite article in Chorasmian.

If one looks at the distribution of the definite article in Chorasmian, it becomes clear that the positioning of the Chorasmian definite article *’y* is consistent with that of the Avestan RP *ya-*. Also, the marking of *’y* is dependent on the head noun in the same way as *ya-*. However, in Chorasmian the definite article takes the same form as the possessor if the latter is feminine⁶⁰, as is the case for (50), whereas in Avestan the RP systematically agrees in gender with the possessed head noun:

⁶⁰ DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2009: 358).

- (51) *upa tām kahrpām fraṇuharaiti*
 towards DEM.ACC.SG.F body(F).ACC.SG eat.PRS.3SG
yām iristabe mašīiehe
REL.ACC.SG.F dead.M.GEN.SG man(M).GEN.SG
 ‘He eats the dead body (lit. the body of the dead man)’ (Vd 5.1)

Most importantly, the doubling article, such as in (48)-(50), fit into a pattern that is common in both Avestan and Old Persian, in which a demonstrative is combined with the nominal group introduced by the RP⁶¹:

- (52) *imqm daēnqm yqm*
 DEM.ACC.SG.F religion(F).ACC.SG **REL.ACC.SG.F**
āhūrīm zaraδuštrīm
 Ahuric.ACC.SG.F Zoroastrian.ACC.SG.F
 ‘This Ahuric and Zoroastrian religion’ (Yt 8.59)
- (53) *avam kāram tayam*
 DEM.ACC.SG.M army(M).ACC.SG REL.ACC.SG.M
hamiçiyam
 rebellious.M.ACC.SG
 ‘That rebellious army’ (DB 2.25-26)

In this way, a diachronic association between Avestan *ya*- and Chorasmian *ʾy* cannot be excluded⁶². Moreover, *ʾy* is not restricted to common nouns, but it is also found with proper names⁶³, such as in (54)-(55):

- (54) *ʾy zyd*
ART.SG.M Zayd(M).NOM.SG
 ‘Zayd’ (Muq 516.1 from Durkin-Meisterernst 2009: 343)
- (55) *c=y ʾllhʾn*
 from=**ART.SG.M** Allah(M).POSS.SG
 ‘Allah’s’ (Muq 103.5 from Durkin-Meisterernst 2009: 343)

⁶¹ As FILIPPONE (2005: 387-388) notices, this formation is indeed consistent with (possessive) genitives in Old Persian.

⁶² A similar hypothesis has been put forward by HENNING (1955: 425-426) without further arguments.

⁶³ DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2009: 343).

Even in this case, it is not unreasonable that these peculiarities might be historically connected to copulaless RCs: (54)-(55) might derive from a reduced RC such as (56), repeated from (11) above, by means of the omission of the head.

- (56) *daēuuō* *yō* *apaošō*
 demon(M).NOM.SG **REL.NOM.SG.M** Apaoša(M).NOM.SG
 ‘The demon Apaoša’ (Yt 8.21)

Turning now to Bactrian, two forms are used as both articles and demonstratives, ι ⁶⁴ and m. $\mu\omicron$, fem. $\mu\alpha$, pl. $\mu\iota$ respectively⁶⁵. While the latter is thought to derive from **ima*⁶⁶, the first has been tentatively connected with **ya*⁶⁷. Just as for Chorasmian, Bactrian RPs $\kappa\iota\delta\omicron$, $\alpha\kappa\iota\delta\omicron$, $\kappa\iota\delta-$, $\alpha\kappa\iota\delta-$, $\alpha\kappa\iota\delta\alpha-$ result instead from **ka*⁶⁸. However, ι is used not only to mark the definiteness of a reference noun, but also to connect a modifier to its head, thus being labelled as *ezāfe* particle⁶⁹:

- (57) *νατο* ι *χαραγανο*
 Nat EZ Kharagan
 ‘Nat the Kharagan’ (xd6 from Sims-Williams 2007: 145)
- (58) *βαγο* ι *οαχαβο*
 property EZ Wakhš
 ‘The property of Wakhš’ (L2’ from Sims-Williams 2012: 59)

⁶⁴ The article ι has also a feminine counterpart $\iota\alpha$, but it is sporadically attested (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 41, 214; GHOLAMI 2011: 11).

⁶⁵ GHOLAMI (2011: 11).

⁶⁶ SIMS-WILLIAMS (2007: 234). This form is related to Sogdian *m-*, which also serves as definite article (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b: 186; WENDTLAND 2011: 273-303). However, I shall not deal with it in this paper.

⁶⁷ SIMS-WILLIAMS (2007: 214, 2009: 261); GHOLAMI (2011: 17)

⁶⁸ SIMS-WILLIAMS (2007: 222).

⁶⁹ GHOLAMI (2011, 2014: 76-84). The Bactrian texts are quoted following SIMS-WILLIAMS & CRIBB (1996) for Dasht-e Nāwūr inscription, SIMS-WILLIAMS (2004 [2008]) for Rabatak inscription, GERSHEVITCH (1979 [1980]) for the great Surkh Kotal inscription, and SIMS-WILLIAMS (2007, 2012) for Bactrian documents in cursive script. The abbreviation EZ = *ezāfe*, which is not included in Leipzig Glossing Rules, is used indiscriminately for both *ezāfe* proper and article.

- (59) $\kappa\omicron\beta\alpha\nu\omicron$ ι $\rho\alpha\beta\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron$ ι $\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron$
 Kušan EZ righteous EZ just
 ‘The Kušan the righteous, the just’
 (Dasht-e Nāwūr 4 from Sims-Williams & Cribb 1996: 95)
- (60) $\alpha\sigma\omicron$ ι $\nu\omicron\beta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron$
 from EZ seat
 ‘From the seat’ (Surkh Kotal 3 from Gershevitch 1979 [1980]: 64)

As is evident from (57)-(61), the *ezāfe* particle is found across different syntactic contexts: in (57) the *ezāfe* particle serves to connect the patronymic $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron$ to the proper name $\nu\alpha\tau\omicron$; in (58) the apposition $\omicron\alpha\chi\alpha\beta\omicron$ to the common noun $\beta\alpha\gamma\omicron$; in (59) the epithets $\rho\alpha\beta\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron$ and $\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron$ to the proper name of the king $\kappa\omicron\beta\alpha\nu\omicron$; in (60)-(61) the *ezāfe* particle is used as an article⁷⁰ in combination with common nouns (60) and proper names (61). Finally, in contrast to Chorasmian γ , ι is apparently never used for the expression of possession in Bactrian⁷¹. These patterns are summarised in Table 3:

PATTERN	EXAMPLE(S)
noun + <i>ezāfe</i> + noun	(57), (58)
noun + <i>ezāfe</i> + adjective	(59)
<i>ezāfe</i> + noun	(60), (61)

Table 3. The distribution of the *ezāfe* particle in Bactrian.

Once again, it is possible to draw a parallel between the Bactrian *ezāfe* and Avestan reduced RCs. For instance, (57)-(59) are quite similar to the following examples taken from the Avestan corpus:

⁷⁰ It is true that in these uses the form ι might also derive from **ayam* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 214; GHOLAMI 2011: 11). YAKUBOVICH (2020: 106) further proposes that **ayam* also represents the basis of the *ezāfe* proper. But, as YAKUBOVICH (2020: 107) admits, the rare feminine form $\iota\alpha$ (fn. 39) is rather problematic: the feminine counterpart of Old Iranian **ayam* ‘this’ is indeed **iyam*, but the latter could not yield $\iota\alpha$ in Bactrian, unless it is analogically influenced by **yā*. Similarly, the contamination between demonstrative **iyam* and the RP **ya-* might be invoked to explain the Chorasmian article (EDEL’MAN 2008: 30-31). However, it seems more natural to suppose that given the correlations established both Chorasmian and Bactrian article derive from **ya-* without analogical levelling.

⁷¹ GHOLAMI (2011: 17).

- (62) *vistauruš* *yō* *naotairiiqnō*
 Vistauru(M).NOM.SG **REL.NOM.SG.M** Naotaryan.NOM.SG.M
 ‘Vistauru the Naotaryan’ (Yt 5.76)
- (63) *aoi* *āpəm* *yqm* *raḥbqm*
 towards river(F).ACC.SG **REL.ACC.SG.F** Rahā(F).ACC.SG
 ‘Towards the river Rahā’ (Yt 5.63)
- (64) *xarəm=cā* *yim* *ašauuanəm*
 Xara(M).ACC.SG=and **REL.ACC.SG.M** righteous.ACC.SG.M
 ‘Xara the righteous’ (Y 42.4)

It should be noticed that, just as for Avestan, the use of the *ezāfe* proper is not consistent, since the same formations are also found without the *ezāfe* particle *ī*⁷², such as in the following examples:

- (65) *ναοαζο* *χahrugano*
 Nawaz Khahrugan
 ‘Nawaz Khahrugan’ (cd1 from Sims-Williams 2007: 75)
- (66) **king** *κανηῖκι*
king Kaniška.OBL
 ‘King Kaniška’ (Surkh Khotan 1 from Gershevitch 1979 [1980]: 64)

Having considered Chorasmian and Bactrian evidence, it seems reasonable to assume that the definite article in Eastern Middle Iranian has arisen from the reanalysis of former reduced RCs involving no copula as attested in Avestan and Old Persian. As a result, Chorasmian and Bactrian forms, both etymologically deriving from the RP stem **ya-*, syntactically parallel the same patterns established above for the so-called ‘*ezāfe*’-like construction, but Chorasmian has further developed than Bactrian. The Chorasmian definite article, which is inflected for number and gender, is consistently found in several contexts, including possessive. In particular, the innovative doubling of the definite article overlaps the former structure of demonstrative plus RP in Old Iranian, despite some differences. Instead, the Bactrian *ezāfe* particle is mainly used to connect an adjectival modifier to its head noun rather than being a definite ar-

⁷² GHOLAMI (2011: 17).

ticle proper, except in some cases. At the same time, the semantics of head-internal and headless RCs might have contributed to the emergence of the definite article in Chorasmian as well as in Bactrian. This kind of RCs typically select a unique referent behaving as definite noun phrases, as discussed in Section 3. Thus, it seems not unlikely that Old Iranian **ya-* could have developed into a definite article in these languages.

5. Summary

This paper has addressed the issue of the beginning of the (proto-) *ezāfe* in Old Iranian. The traditional analysis of the *ezāfe*-like construction of Avestan and Old Persian treats it as an adjectival formation at least from the Young Avestan period onwards. In contrast, it is preferable to consider these formations as RCs omitting a copula, as the close parallel with full-fledged RCs proves. It has also been shown that the prime criterion of agreement in case is not unambiguous, while some pieces of evidence point to the phenomenon traditionally called *attractio relativi*, which is widespread among several Indo-European languages. Therefore, there is no hint yet at this stage of the development of RCs in the (proto-) *ezāfe*, as argued in the previous literature. On the other hand, under certain circumstances this kind of RCs expresses definiteness. For this reason, it seems plausible that these formations not only developed into *ezāfe*, but also into definiteness strategies in Eastern Middle Iranian. Finally, the result of this research supports the idea that RCs are the starting point of the *ezāfe*, and – in my view – the diachronic source for definite articles in (at least) some Middle Eastern Iranian languages, but outside this period such formations are merely reduced RCs, that is RCs with a non-overt copula.

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New epigraphic and exegetical remarks on Paragraph 70 of the Bisotun Inscription, Old Persian version (DB/OP IV ll. 88-92)

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to provide a new edition of paragraph 70 of the Old Persian version of the Bisotun inscription (DB/OP IV ll. 88-92). Although this badly preserved passage received an enormous scholarly attention, only a few researchers could directly examine the inscription, and their editions differ significantly from one another. In absence of good published photographs, it is currently impossible to critically evaluate the reliability of these editions and propose new readings based on a first-hand inspection of the stone. To overcome this inconvenience, this article includes a full photographic documentation of the passage and a detailed discussion of each reading. Since this new examination of the inscription resulted in the improvement of several readings, the edition is followed by a commentary where a possible interpretation of the newly read words is offered.

KEYWORDS: Old Persian, Bisotun Inscription, Paragraph 70

1. *Introduction*

The last lines of the fourth column of the Bisotun inscription preserve what is probably the most famous and debated passage in the whole Old Persian corpus¹. The main reason for that is surely its great historical significance, because therein Darius talks about the drafting of his own inscription and the diffusion of its political message across

¹ It is not the aim of this article to discuss in depth the interpretation of this passage and the vast amount of literature dealing with it. A complete bibliography on DB § 70 can be found in ROSSI (2000) and ROSSI (forthc.). Among the most important contributions on the subject, one may also cite HINZ (1952); HARMATTA (1966); LECOQ (1974: 66-84); GERSHEVITCH (1982: 102-109) and HUYSE (1999), all representing different stages of the scholarly discussion.

the empire. However, beside the existence of different views on the historical consequences of Darius' claims, a major source of disagreement among scholars has always been the actual reading and restoration of this portion of text, which is extremely damaged. Since the Bisotun inscription is located in an impervious place, only few people had the chance of examining the monument at close distance until recently, and nobody has ever published good photographs. So, the whole discussion mentioned above had to rely on the few editions based on a fresh inspection of the stone, which are the following:

- a) King & Thompson (1907: 77-78), who studied the inscription on site (*ibid.* xxi-xxii) and published the text in typesetted cuneiform characters.
- b) Cameron (1951: 52), who studied the inscription on site and took some paper squeezes on which he could work subsequently. He did not publish reproductions of the stone or the squeezes, but in his article and in some private letters published in Lecoq (1974: 77-79) he offered a detailed description of the traces he saw.
- c) Schmitt (1991: 45, pl. 25), who worked on some photographs taken during a mission of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (1963-64). In a preliminary study he also provided a critical discussion on selected passages of DB, including some sections of § 70 (Schmitt 1990: 56-61 and pl. 11). Schmitt's edition is the only one where a selection of photographs is included, and is currently regarded as the standard edition of the Old Persian version of DB.

Although Schmitt's work represents a major step forward in the documentation of this passage inasmuch as it contains some reproductions of the inscription, it cannot be regarded as definitive. The photographs published there are of low quality and too small to allow a proper study of the traces on the stone. This makes them of little help in improving the text of DB § 70, and Schmitt himself admitted that he considered his edition of this passage as still provisional: «As a last remark I would like to add that I myself regard neither the restoration nor the translation given here for this last paragraph as final»

(Schmitt 1991: 74). Despite this explicit statement, Schmitt's text has been mostly accepted as reliable and nobody has tried to discuss critically his readings and restorations.

As one will clearly see by comparing his transliteration with the one given below, this confidence was not fully justified, since Schmitt's edition of this passage is essentially a restoration based on previous scholars' accounts rather than a new reading. In addition, he made a quite optimistic use of critical signs, marking as completely preserved (with no brackets) signs which were already unreadable to Cameron and, on the other hand, putting between full square brackets signs for which clear traces still exist on the stone and do not match his restoration.

This being the state of the facts, I believe that the most obvious way to allow progress to be made in the study of this text is to provide a proper photographic documentation of it, which is the main purpose of the present article. In what follows, I will present my own reading of the passage, confining my notes to the explanation of my interpretation of the traces on the stone and to a linguistic commentary of the new words resulting from my attempt of edition (see the Commentary). This article does not have the ambition of discussing the overall translation of the passage in comparison to the corresponding Elamite text (DB/Elam. L), nor that of giving a full account of the earlier positions on the textual and exegetical problems posed by DB § 70 (see fn. 1 above). My aim is simply to provide a solid philological basis on which to build the future debate on the subject.

The fulfillment of this work would not have been possible without the kind help of Salman Aliyari Babolghani, who gave me permission to study and publish some photographs taken by Amin Mirzaee. To him goes my utmost gratitude².

² I wish to thank also A. V. Rossi, who put me in contact with Dr. Aliyari Babolghani in the framework of the DARIOSH project and expressed to me his views on my new readings. I am also very grateful to M. Mancini, M. Maggi, A. Del Tomba, F. Michetti, Ph. Huyse and W. F. M. Henkelman for providing me with useful advice and criticism. All responsibility for the opinions expressed in this article, including errors and omissions, is only mine.

2. Edition and translation

Here follows my transliteration of ll. 88-92 of DB/OP IV. Although the beginning of l. 88 does not belong to § 70, I included it as well taking the opportunity to correct an erroneous reading accepted in former editions. The symbol <ø> is employed to indicate a space of the size of at least one sign deliberately left empty by the engraver (usually to avoid a pre-existing crack on the stone), and the symbol <+> is employed to represent an unidentified character (unrecognizable or totally lost). The criterion for the placement of brackets in the text is the following: if traces of all the wedges of a sign are preserved, however faint, no square brackets are used, whereas half square brackets are used when traces of at least one wedge compatible with the sign are preserved. Question marks are used only to indicate readings which I regard as possible but highly conjectural. My translation choices will be discussed in the Commentary below.

[88]-[m : t¹-u-m-a-m : [a]-[v¹-a-¹m¹ [:] p-r-¹i-b-r¹-a øø : ¹θ¹-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-¹y¹-v-u-š : ¹x-š-a¹-[y-θ-i]-¹y¹ : v-ø-¹š¹-n-a : ¹a-u¹-[89]-[r-m-z]-d-a-¹h¹ : i-[m] : d¹-i-p-i-¹ç¹-i-¹y-m¹ [:] t-¹y¹ [: a]-¹d¹-m : a-k^u-u-n-v-m : p-t-i-š-m : a-¹r¹-i-¹y-a : ¹øø u-t-¹a : p¹-v-s-t-[90]-[a : u-t-a] : ¹c-r¹-[m]-a : g-r-¹š¹-ø-¹i²-y-t-i-y¹ : ¹p-t¹-i-š-m-š-i-y¹ : n¹-i-p-i-θ-n-m : a-k^u-u-n-v-m : ¹p-t¹-i-¹š¹-[+ +](-)v²-a-c²-a-[91](-)¹+¹-[+ + - + - +]-m : ø ¹u¹-t-a : ¹n-i-y-p¹-i-θ-i-[y : u]-¹t-a : ¹p-t-i-¹y-f-r-θ-i¹-y : p-i-š-i-y-a : m-a-[m :] ¹p¹-s-¹a-[v] : i-m : d¹-[92]¹i¹-[p-i-ç-i]-¹y¹-m : ¹f-r¹-a-s-t-a-¹y-m¹ : ¹v¹-i¹-[s-p-d-a] : a-t-r : d-h-y-a-[v] ¹ k-a-r : h-m-a-u-x-θ-t-a |

(§ 69 ... *tayām imaišām martiyānā*)m *taumām*, [a]*vām paribarā*. § 70 *ḏāti Dārayavauš xšā* [yaḏi]ya: *vašnā Au*[ramaz]*dāba i*[ma] *dipiçiyam taya* [a]*dam akunavam patišam ariyā. utā pavast*[ā utā] *carmā gr*[š¹]iyatai (?). *patišamšai nīpaišanam akunavam patiš*[... ? ...]m. *utā niyapiḏiya utā patiyafrāḏiya paišiyā mām. pasāva ima di*[piçī]*yam frāstāyam vi*[spadā] *antar dahyā*[va]. *kāra hamāuxḏatā*.

‘... protect the family (of these men). Proclaims Darius the king. With the help of Auramazda, this is the text which I made additionally in Aryan. It is filed (?) both on clay tablets and parchment. I added to it a “signature” ... and it was written and read aloud before me. Then, I sent this text everywhere across the countries. The people repeated/learned it.’

3. Epigraphic notes

The whole transliteration presented above will be divided into small sequences accompanied by photographs. Each photograph is given in two copies: the upper one is the bare image and the lower one includes a tracing of the expected shape of the signs based on other occurrences taken from DB. A red tracing is used for signs of sure identification whereas a blue tracing is used for uncertain or fully reconstructed signs. No tracing has been given for long segments lacking any recognizable trace.

88a: <-ṛm : t¹-u-m-a-m : [a]-ṛv¹-a-ṛm¹ [:]^{fig. 1} p-r-ṛi-b-r¹-a øø^{fig. 2}>



Figure 1.

This segment belongs to the end of DB/OP § 69. Schmitt (1991) adopted the traditional restoration <[u-b-<r>]-t-a-m> which requires to postulate an error in the lacuna. The correct reading is rather <[a]-ṛv¹-a-ṛm¹>, as the traces after the crack are clearly the three horizontal wedges of <v>. This restores the correspondence with the Elamite version, where no equivalent of **ubrtām* is found (^{DIŠ}NUMUN^{MEŠ} *appa* ^{DIŠ}LÚ^{MEŠ} *appini kuktaš*, ‘protect the family of these men’).



Figure 2.

88b: <ʿθ¹-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-ʿy¹-v-^{fig.3}u-š : ʿx-š-a¹-[y-θ-i]-ʿy¹^{fig.4} : v-ø-ʿš¹-n-a : ʿa-u¹-^{fig.5}>

Here begins § 70. This section does not need any comment, as it is totally predictable.



Figure 3.

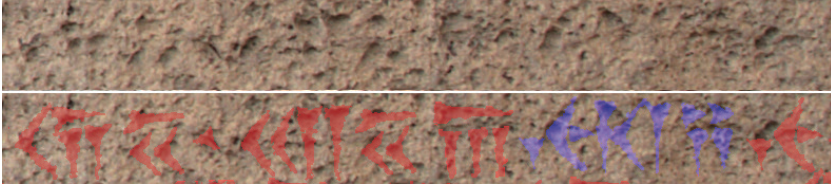


Figure 4.



Figure 5.

89a: <[r-m-z]-d-a-ʿh¹ : i-[m] : ^{fig.6}d¹-i-p-i-ʿç¹-i-ʿy-m¹ [:] t-ʿy¹^{fig.7} [: a]-ʿd¹-m : a-k¹-u-n-v-m : ^{fig.8}>

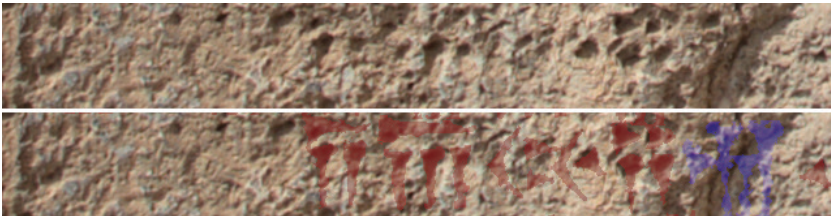


Figure 6.

The first three signs in Figure 6 are completely lost, then the end of *Auramazdāha* is clear. There follows the neuter demonstrative *ima* <i-[m]>: note that the <m> was already lost at the time of King and Thompson, but Cameron, followed by Schmitt, printed it without square brackets.



Figure 7.

The following word (Figure 7), corresponding to Elam. *tuppime* ‘text, content of an inscription’, is crucial. The first four signs are unproblematic, but the following sequence is severely damaged. Schmitt (1990: 57-58) rightly rejected the previous attempts to read the fifth sign of the word as <m>, <v> or <vⁱ> and described the traces he saw in his photograph as follows: «Für das fünfte Zeichen, das unmittelbar auf *dⁱ-i-p-i-* folgt, erscheinen mir jedoch sowohl *v-* wie auch *vⁱ-* ausgeschlossen; es kann dort nur eines der Zeichen vorliegen, die links oben den ‚Kopf‘ eines Keiles haben, denn der Eindruck von einem solchen ist überdeutlich vorhanden. Am besten wird den Spuren, die auszumachen sind, sicher *c* gerecht». This is partially correct: there surely is the trace of an upper horizontal wedge, but neither in Schmitt’s picture (1990, fig. 33) nor in Figure 7 here I can see a trace corresponding to the small horizontal wedge expected on the right side of <c> (see below Figures 10 and 15). In fact, there is not enough space for that. The traces rather point to <ç>: the two upper traces would belong to the first horizontal wedge, the central trace on the right would be the tip the second horizontal wedge³, and the lower

³ Normally, one expects the head of a wedge to be preserved better than its tip, as it was usually carved in more depth, but in these heavily eroded portions of stone it is likely that the surface was damaged unevenly – note that also the upper wedge survived only in its head and tip but not in the middle. To be completely sure one should check in person the depth of each trace and of the surroundings.

left trace would be the head of the first vertical wedge, which is exactly the same height and shape as the previous <p>, as expected. After this <ç> there is certainly a <i> and then another difficult sign. Schmitt (*ibid.*) saw «drei Keil-,Köpfe'» which he read as <ç> whereas from our photograph it is clear that there is but one. Comparing his photograph with the one published here, it seems that he took for traces the shadow projected by some sediment on the upper left side. In my view, the best possible reading for this sign is <y>, the single central trace on the right being its small horizontal wedge (which is usually the only surviving part of this character in damaged passages, see below). If one observes carefully the color of the surface on the left, a faint V-shaped halo left by the Winkelhaken is visible. The small point in the center of that halo could actually be part of the tip of the Winkelhaken. Moving to the next sign, the heads of the two long vertical wedges of <m> are visible, and their identification is confirmed by the occurrence of the same word at l. 92. The whole reading of this word is then <dⁱ-i-p-i-^ʀç^ʀ-i-^ʀy-m^ʀ>, on which see the Commentary below.

There follows quite clearly <t-y>: note the remarkable unevenness with which the traces of <y> are preserved. The following words (Figure 8) do not pose any problem.

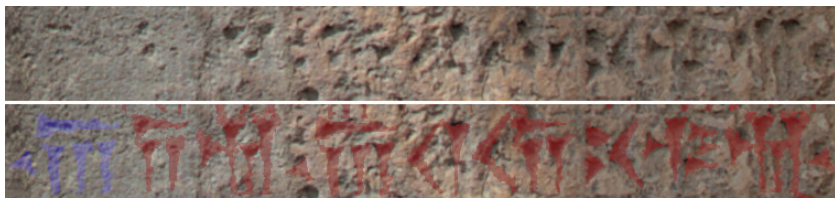


Figure 8.

89b: <p-t-i-š-m : a-^ʀr^ʀ-i-^ʀy-a :^ʀ øø^{fig. 9} u-t^ʀa : p^ʀ-v-s-t^{fig. 10}>

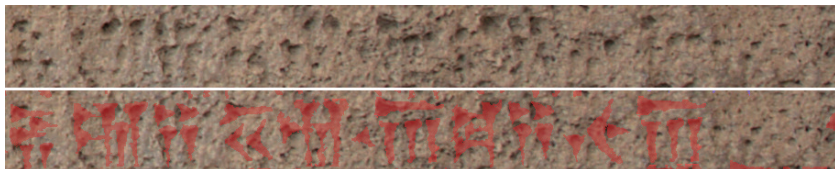


Figure 9.

This segment (Figures 9-10) is well readable, and, as rightly observed by Schmitt (1991: 45, in the apparatus), between *ariyā* and *utā* there is a blank space. I shall draw attention for the last time on the deceptive shape often assumed by the damaged traces of <y>, which stands out as one of the least recognizable signs of the syllabary in these contexts.



Figure 10.

90a: <-[a : u-t-a] : ʿc-rʿ-[m]-a : ^{fig. 11}g-r-[šʿ]-ø-ʿiʿ-y-t-i-yʿ : ^{fig. 12}>

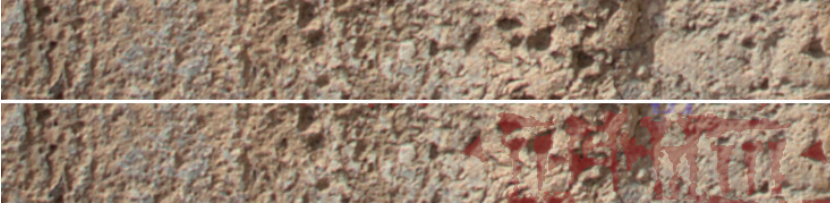


Figure 11.

The first half of l. 90 is very difficult (Figure 11). The beginning of the line is completely lost, and the first visible thing is unrecognizable traces, which could correspond to what King and Thompson interpreted as a damaged <y>. However, the whole surface is extremely damaged, so it cannot be decided whether these are actually traces of writing or holes caused by erosion. For the same reason, I cannot follow Cameron in his reading <a-ʿyʿ-[a :] u-t-a>. On the contrary, I regard as certain that such a reading/restoration exceeds the available space by approximately two signs. My sensation is that all scholars overinterpreted the damages on the stone as traces of writing, almost nothing being extant already at King and Thompson's time. Since *pavāsta-* is a neuter noun in Vedic, I would simply restore <p-v-s-t-|90|[a : u-t-a]>, taking OP *pavastā*

as a neuter Instr.Sg. (rather than a feminine **pavastāyā* as was always assumed), which fits perfectly the space on the stone.

The first readable word represents OP *carmā* <c-r-m-a> ‘on parchment’, which matches quite well the visible traces but surely cannot be regarded as fully preserved as appears from Cameron and Schmitt’s edition. If the restoration of *pavastā* (Instr.Sg.Nt.) proposed above is accepted, one should abandon Benveniste’s idea that this word is an archaic proterodynamic locative **carmān* (to be compared with OAv. *cašmaq̄m* ‘in the eye’ <**cašmān*) and take *carmā* as an instrumental⁴.

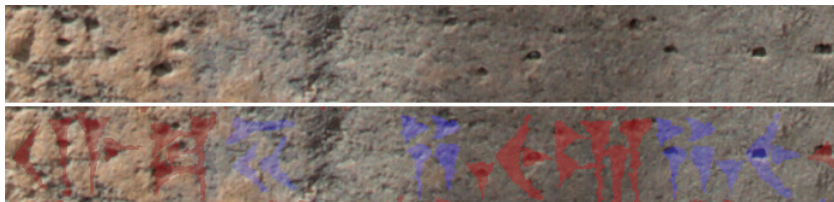


Figure 12.

What follows (Figure 12) should be the verb describing what action has been performed ‘on clay and parchment’ having as object the Bisotun text. The first two signs are either <g-r> or <d^u-v> (so already Cameron *apud* Lecoq 1974: 78, mentioning also the impossible <g^u>). Since the second option implies an irregular spelling, it seems preferable to accept the first one, and to assume that the first vertical wedge of <g> is damaged so as to seem divided into three small wedges. The rest has always been regarded as unreadable. Schmitt’s text <g-r-[f-t-m] : ‘a-h’> requires that the first visible trace is a word divider,

⁴ Cf. BENVENISTE (1951: 41). The expected Loc.Sg. of this word would be OP **carmani* or **carmaniyā*. The preservation in Old Persian of an archaic form of Loc.Sg. with zero ending and proterodynamic inflection, which is already residual in Old Avestan and unattested in Vedic (cf. BEEKES 1988: 122), seems unlikely in light of the tendency towards innovation and simplification shown by OP morphology. One should then resort to the explanation proposed by BRUST (2018: 179) who takes *carmā* as an Instr.Sg.Nt. from <**carmnā*. As an alternative, one could postulate a thematization of Ir. **carman-* to OP *carma-*, with regular thematic Instr.Sg.Nt. *carmā*. A similar problem is posed by the word *taumā* ‘strength’ in XPI, which could be seen as a thematic Nom./Acc.Pl.Nt. rather than an archaic proterodynamic form **taumān* (to be compared with OAv. *damān* ‘creatures’ etc.) as proposed by SCHMITT (1999: 40-41).

which is hardly the case. Also, there is nothing to suggest that the following traces belong to <a> and <h>. I have formulated my reading proposal starting from the only sign I regard as certain, i.e. <t> (the third-to-last in Figure 12): the traces correspond to both the external vertical wedges and the upper horizontal one on the left. Moving to the left, the traces are placed in a way which is only compatible with <y> (the horizontal wedge on the right and the vertical one on the left, the Winkelhaken having completely disappeared). The remaining traces have been interpreted *a posteriori* in light of what I consider a plausible restoration for a verbal form such as <g-r...-y-t...>, namely *gršiyatai* ‘it is tied’, a passive present of the verb **graš-* ‘to tie’ (see the Commentary for further discussion). Admittedly, this requires postulating a gap between <š> and <i> in <g-r-[š]-ø-^ri-y-t-i-y^l>, but I could not think of an easy way to fit three meaningful signs in the lacuna. Thus, I am inclined to interpret the first visible thing after <r> as a pre-existing rupture of the stone which was avoided by the engraver.

90b: <^rp-^ti-ⁱ-š-m-š-i-y^r: n^l-i-p-^{fig. 13}i-θ-n-m: a-k^u-u-n-v-m^{fig. 14}: ^rp-^ti-^rš^l-[+ +](⁻)v²-a-c²-a-^{fig. 15}>

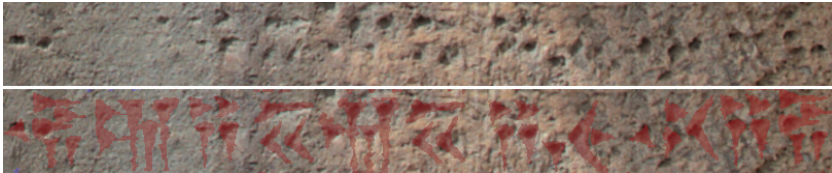


Figure 13.

As can be seen from the red drawing, for space reasons the first trace in Figure 13 must be interpreted as a word-divider and not as part of <p>⁵. The rest of *patišam* is quite clear. After <m> one can easily read <š> in the photograph: the enclitic attached to the previous word is then the 3rd person pronoun *-šai* <-š-i-y> rather than *-mai* <-m-i-y> or *-ci* <-c-i-y>, as previously proposed. This has some weight in clarifying the meaning of *patišam* + *kar-* because it shows that, unlike the

⁵ CAMERON *apud* LECOQ (1974: 78) has probably understood the first two traces as part of <p>, reconstructing a *vacat* before <t>.

simple verb *kar-*, it can be construed with an indirect object (see the Commentary). This sign can clearly be read as such in fig. 34 published in Schmitt (1990), so one cannot but be puzzled by the author's choice of restoring <-[c]-i-y> as if no traces were visible (*ibid.* 60-61).

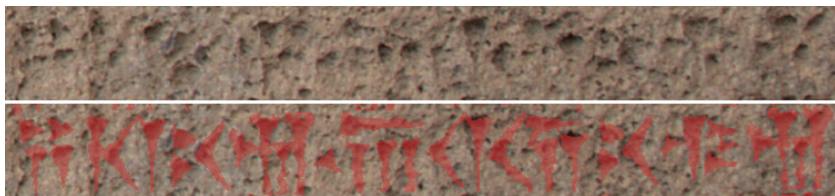


Figure 14.

The following word (here split between Figures 13 and 14) had been partially read as <[dⁱ]-i-p-i-[+ -]-n-m> by King and Thompson. The fact that neither Cameron nor Schmitt could read any trace here tells a lot about the insufficient quality of their reproductions. With a good photograph it is not difficult to read <n-i-p-i-θ-n-m> every single wedge of which is at least partially preserved. This word can be transcribed as *nīpaiθanam* lit. 'act of writing' (see the final Commentary). Accordingly, the ghost-word † *nāmanāfa-* should be deleted from the Old Persian vocabulary.

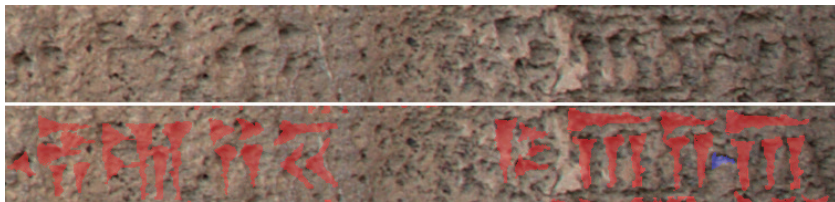


Figure 15.

The segment reproduced in Figure 15 is another difficult one. Cameron first read <[p-t¹-i-š-[m : +]-v-a-d-a> but then (*apud* Lecoq 1974: 79), after re-examining his squeezes, commented again on this passage «I regret that this reading cannot be considered as certain». In fact, the traces of <p-t> are very scanty, but the required signs fit the space and the reconstruction is supported by the other occurrences of *patišam* in the text. What is certainly wrong is the restoration of two signs plus

a word-divider after <š>. As can be seen, the space is very small and it can fit at most one sign plus a word divider or two medium sized signs without any word divider. Therefore, I believe that the restoration <[-m : u-]>, hitherto accepted by all scholars (see the apparatus in Schmitt 1991: 45), can be safely discarded as impossible. The most likely option in my view is that the lacuna contains only one sign plus a word divider, the sign being either <m> or <a> (for an Acc.Pl.) if *patiša-* is not an adverb but an inflected adjective (see the Commentary).

The first sign of the following word could either be <v> or <s> and the third sign, always read as <d>, shows a small horizontal trace which could be taken as the small wedge of <c>. So, the options are <s-a-d-a>/<v-a-d-a>/<s-a-c-a>/<v-a-c-a>. It should be pointed out that, if one reconstructs the verb *akunavam* at the beginning of the next line, there is no space left, so the word represented by these four signs must be regarded as whole. I have no plausible interpretation at hand for this word, which is usually seen as the counterpart of Elam. *eppi* (for earlier *aiappi*). In earlier Elamite texts *aiappi* is often attested together with *hiš* ‘name’ in contexts where a meaning ‘royal titulature’ or the like could fit (cf. Hinz 1952: 31 ‘Name und Art, Protokoll’), but its exact meaning is not certain⁶. However, since the newly established OP *nipaiḡanam* does not translate exactly as ‘name’, it is not clear to what extent the Elamite version should be taken as a basis to explain this technical expression in Old Persian (see the Commentary below).

91a: <[(?)¹⁷]-[+--+--+]-m : ø¹-t-a^{fig. 16} : ‘n-i-y-p’-i-[θ]-i-[y : u]-‘t-a :^{17fig. 17}>

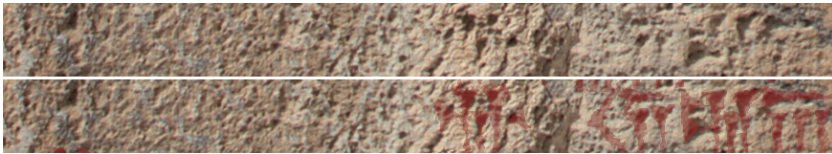


Figure 16.

⁶ This word – I read <a-ap-pi> and <a-ha-pi> as *aiappi* and <ah-pi> and <e-ip-pi> as *aippi/eppi* with syncope – is mainly attested in theophoric anthroponyms, which are of little help in clarifying its meaning. By examining the few (and obscure) attestation of the bare word, GRILLOT & VALLAT (1984: 23) translate it as ‘nom, renom, célébrité, gloire’ and HINZ-KOCH (1987: 16, 35) as ‘Abstammung’, but many other options are conceivable.

As was said above, if one reconstructs the verb *akunavam* ‘I did’ at the beginning of this line (so Cameron *apud* Lecoq 1974 and Schmitt), there is only space for a word-divider, which could correspond to the first visible trace: so maybe <𐎠𐎡 [a-k^u-u-n-v]-m>. No doubt, the previous attempts to restore one or two letters belonging to the preceding word (e.g. <[u]-v-a-d-a-[m]> or <[u]-v-a-d-a-[t-m]>) plus *akunavam* must be discarded and, consequently, the ghost-words † *uvādā-* and † *uvādāta-* must be deleted from the Old Persian vocabulary.

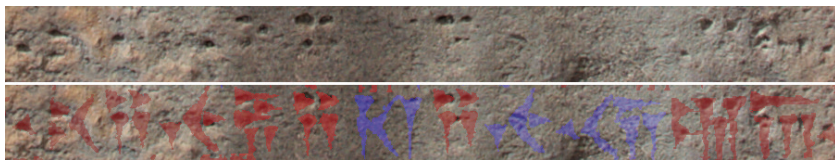


Figure 17.

The following passage (Figure 17) is badly damaged, but the traces match very well the generally accepted restoration, which is assured by the Elamite version.

91b: <p-t-i-^{fig. 18}𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫



Figure 19.



Figure 20.

92a: <[i¹]-[p-i-ç-i]-[y¹-m : [f-r¹-a-s-t-fig. 21a-[y-m¹ : [vⁱ-i¹]-[s-p-d-a] :fig. 22>



Figure 21.

The traces of <y> in *dipiçiyam* are uncertain (Figure 21): perhaps what is visible corresponds to part of the vertical wedge below, part of the horizontal one on the right and immediately to its left a rest of the Winkelhaken. These two small traces, very close to one another, could be what was read as <i> by King and Thompson, then as <d> by Cameron and finally as <ç> by Schmitt. In any case, it is apparent that Schmitt's <i-p-i-¹c-i-ç¹-m> is not a fair representation of what is visible at the beginning of this last line either here or in the photographs published in his edition.

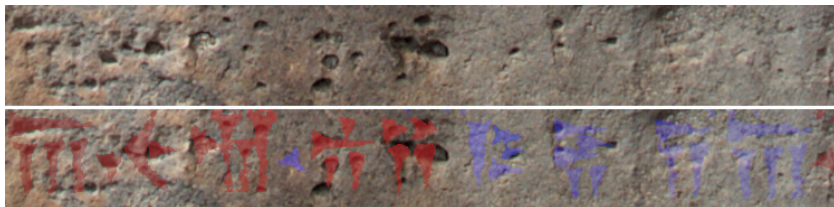


Figure 22.

As can be seen in Figure 22, the adverb *vispadā* ‘everywhere’ is mostly restored. One can only spot the traces of the initial <vⁱ-i> and something which could belong to a <p> in the middle of the lacuna.

92b: <a-t-r : d-h-y-a-[v] ^{fig. 23} k-a-r ^{fig. 24} : h-m-a-u-x-θ-t-a ^{fig. 24} >

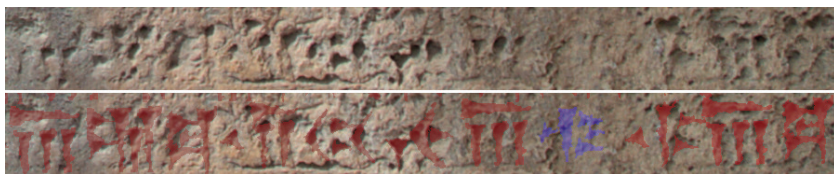


Figure 23.

This last segment (Figures 23-24) is unproblematic apart from the last word, corresponding to Elam. *sapiš* ‘they repeated’ or ‘they copied’.



Figure 24.

Taking a look at the previous reading proposals, it is immediately clear that the editors saw plenty of traces, but they could not interpret them correctly. King and Thompson read <h-m : a-m-x-m-t-a> and Cameron (*apud* Lecoq 1974: 79) <h-m-a-t-x-š-Ø-t-a>, observing that after <a> there could be a word-divider. Both these readings

partially correct, as appears from our picture: Cameron's word-divider is the Winkelhaken of <u> and the third-to-last sign, read as <m> by King and Thompson because of the two vertical wedges on the sides, is rather a <θ> (<š> is certainly wrong instead). It is also true that before <t-a> there is a small *vacat*, correctly identified by Cameron. By a careful examination of the traces visible in our photograph, it should be clear that the correct reading is <h-m-a-u-x-θ-t-a> *hamāuxθatā*, which I explain as an inchoative verbal form from a root *vac-* or *auc-* meaning 'to repeat' or 'to learn' (see the Commentary for further details).

4. Commentary

4.1. *dipiçiyam* <dⁱ-i-p-i-ç-i-y-m> 'text', 'Inschriftfassung'

This is the best reading I can propose according to the visible traces on the stone. The word can be read as *dipiçiyam* (or *dipiçaiyam*), a compound of OP *dipi-* 'inscription' and the verb OP *çay-* 'lean, lay down' (IIr. **çray-*, Av. *sraii-*, Ved. *śray-*)⁷. The meaning of this word suggested by the context and by its Elamite counterpart *tuppime* is something like 'content of an inscription'⁸, which in my opinion corresponds more or less to what we would call 'text' today⁹. A solution to match this

⁷ Cf. CHEUNG (2007: 354-355).

⁸ Elam. *tuppime* is an abstract formation derived from *tuppi* 'inscription' (cf. LECOQ 1974: 67-73 for a discussion of the relevant occurrences). A perfectly parallel example of the value of *-me* found in *tuppime* is now attested in the administrative document Fort. 2045-101 where the sentence *haltapme inni turnaš* 'he did not know the content of the *haltap*' is found. Elam. *haltap* is a noun referring to a kind of document (maybe *haltap* < **hal(a)t-tuppi-*, as suggested by Günther Korbel *apud* HINZ-KOCH 1987: 609) and is normally employed in its basic form with concrete verbs (e.g. *haltap inni tinkiš* 'he did not send a *haltap*' quoted by HINZ-KOCH 1987), but as the object of the abstract verb *turna-* 'to know' it takes the suffix *-me*, as one can 'know' only the content of a document, and not the document itself.

⁹ So HENKELMAN (2008: 349-350 fn. 819). I shall not come back on the old theory upheld especially by W. Hinz (see e.g. HINZ 1952) and formerly accepted by several scholars, including R. Schmitt himself, according to which Elam. *tuppime* and the corresponding OP word should refer to the newly invented Old Persian cuneiform script. Today, this idea has been universally given up: cf. HUYSE (1999: 46b) «Regarding the meaning of Elam. *tup-pi-me*, it is now obvious that the word cannot mean "script" in the sense of "writing system"», and SCHMITT (2014: 169) who translates his † *dipiciça-* as 'Inschriftfassung, -version' (see also the literature quoted in fn. 1).

meaning with the semantic value of the root *çay-* is to reconstruct a deverbal compound with *-ya-* suffix having abstract or gerundive meaning¹⁰. In the latter case *dipiçiya-* would literally mean ‘thing to be laid down in an inscription’, which might sound a counter-intuitive way to describe a text from a modern perspective, but seems understandable in a widely non-literate society where the inscription could be more readily perceived as a concrete object than as a text-carrier. In the case of an abstract noun ‘act of laying down in an inscription’ the focus would be rather on the concept of ‘Inscripfassung’, with reference to the new updated version of the Bisotun text in comparison to the first monolingual Elamite version. Cross-linguistic parallels for the employ of the metaphor of ‘laying down’ in the context of writing are found in several modern languages: cf. French ‘coucher sur le papier’, English ‘to write down’, German ‘Niederschrift’, Italian ‘stesura’ etc.

4.2. *patiša-* (adj.) or *patišam* (adv.) <p-t-i-š-m>, <p-t-i-š-[+]>
‘additional(ly)’

As to the translation of this word, I agree with the commonly accepted idea that in DB § 70 *patišam* construed with the verb *kar-* ‘to do’ should mean something like ‘to add’ (so Lazard 1976: 182-184). The new reading *patišam-šai nipaīdanam akunavam* ‘I added a “signature” to it’ further confirms this assumption, as it shows that this expression can take an indirect object, as expected from a meaning like ‘to add’ rather than ‘to do’.

As Schmitt (2014: 232) has rightly remarked, the formal analysis of this word is more problematic. It is still unclear whether *patišam* is the inflected form of a predicative adjective or an adverb. Unfortunately, the only attestation which could provide an answer to this question is fragmentary (end of l. 90, see above). Even though it is not crucial to the overall interpretation of DB § 70, I shall take the opportunity to offer a brief discussion on this word and its possible Avestan counterpart.

¹⁰ On deverbal compounds with *-ya-* suffix cf. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN (1936: 107-108) and DEBRUNNER (1954: 827-841, § 664 on «neutrale Nomina verbalia auf *-ya-* als Hinterglieder», especially point f. for a comparison with Iranian).

Bartholomae (1904: 836 s.v. *paitiša*-) provides a somewhat misleading presentation of the Avestan occurrences of this word, giving the impression that all of them belong to an adjective. In reality, two sharply distinguished morphological treatments for this stem can be identified, each one endowed with a different semantic nuance:

On the one hand, there is an invariable adverb YAv. *paitiša* (Bartholomae: «nur IS *ša* als Adv.»), meaning ‘in front’ (as opposed to *pasca* ‘behind’ in Vd. 8.41ff.) or ‘towards’, used prepositionally with the accusative case (e.g. Yt. 12.3 *paitiša hū adβanəm* ‘towards the path of the Sun’, see also Yt. 5.62). In this latter usage, the word is closely comparable to OP <p-t-i-š> ‘towards, against’ (with the accusative), and I would be inclined to consider YAv. *paitiša* and OP *paitiša* – read so rather than **patiš* – as reflexes of the same Iranian form¹¹.

On the other hand, there are but two significant occurrences of *paitiša*- with an inflectional ending (the third one being the name of a *daēuua*- in Vd. 19.43), for which the meaning ‘contrarius, widrig’ assumed by Bartholomae seems quite unfounded. Actually, it seems to me that both could work with a meaning ‘additional’, in the way described as follows:

N.83.7-8 *yezi paitišā uruuarā upa dadāiti ratufriš*
 parō upa.dātā frastərante aratufriš

‘if he puts (on it) **additional** plants, he acts correctly. (If) he spreads the ones placed before, he acts incorrectly’ (Pahlavi: *agar urwar drūnēd [kū barsom ī nōg bē kunēd] radīhā. ān ī pēš abar *drūd frāz wistarēd aradīhā* ‘if he collects plants [i.e. he makes a new *barsom*] he acts correctly. (if he) spreads the ones collected before, he acts incorrectly’)¹².

¹¹ This was already proposed by NYBERG (1974: 157a). The reason why already BARTHOLOMAE (1904: 835) read OP <p-t-i-š> as *patiš* («s-Erweiterung von *pati*», SCHMITT 2014: 232) lies probably in the final vowel, because YAv. *paitiša* can only go back to Ir. **paitišā*, and the expected outcome of the latter would be OP **<p-t-i-š-a> paitišā*, with long *-ā*. However, the supposed instances of Av. *paitiš* (see BARTHOLOMAE, *ibid.*) are scanty and probably corrupt, whereas a slight irregularity in the correspondence between the Avestan and OP word-end would not be unparalleled: compare the case of OP *cašma* <c-š-m> ‘eye’ Nom./Acc.Sg.Nt. of Ir. **cašman-* instead of expected OP **cašmā* <c-š-m-a> from Ir. **cašma*.

¹² Cf. KOTWAL & KREYENBROEK (1992-2009/4: 74-75) with minor adjustments.

Far from being «une phrase obscure du Neyrangestân, dont on ne peut rien tirer» (Lazard 1976: 183), this sentence makes full sense, and its interpretation is supported by the Pahlavi translation, which was surely produced by people who had first-person knowledge of the rituals dealt with.

Yt. 19.58 *vaēm hqmraēθβaiieni*
 vispa taršuca xsūdṛaca [...]
 **θβqzjaiti ahurō mazdā*
 paitišā dāmān daḏānō

This passage reports the words of the evil Fraṇrasiian who is trying to seize the *xvarənah*. Translators usually apply in this passage Bartholomae's meaning 'contrarius, widrig': Hintze (1994: 294) «Beides will ich durcheinandermengen, alles Feste und Flüssige [...] In Aufregung gerät Ahura Mazdā beim Schaffen der **widrigen** Geschöpfe»; Humbach-Ichaporita (1998: 139) «I will mix up both kinds of things, all that is solid and all that is liquid [...] Ahura Mazdā is in action, engaging (His) creatures **against** (me)».

In my view, neither of these translations is convincing: Humbach and Ichaporita simply force the syntax to make sense out of the expression, whereas Hintze has to call into play the slippery notion of "irony" in order to justify the fact that Ahura Mazdā's creation is called 'hostile'¹³. If one applies to *paitiša-* the same meaning witnessed by N. 83.7-8 a more straightforward translation is possible: 'Ahura Mazdā will be distressed [on the odd indicative present cf. Hintze (1994: 295-296)] creating **additional** [i.e. other, new] creatures', because if Fraṇrasiian mixes up everything Ahura Mazdā will have to perform another creation to restore the world.

If this interpretation is correct, the adjective YAv. *paitiša-* 'additional' can represent a good parallel for OP *patisa-* in § 70, suggesting that the latter could be an adjective as well. In this perspective, the first two instances of *patisām* should be interpreted as a predicative adjective agreeing in case and gender with *dipiçiyam* and *nipaiḏanam*,

¹³ Cf. HINTZE (1995: 284-285).

and the third *patis̥*[...] at the end of l. 90 should be inflected according to the following noun.

In conclusion, from a purely comparative point of view, two different word-forms can be identified: an adverb ‘in front, towards’ Av. *paitiša*, OP *patis̥a* and an adjective ‘additional’ Av. *paitiša-*, OP *patis̥a-*. Both meanings are conceivable developments within the semantic sphere of the Iranian particle *pati*: cf. OP *pati*¹⁴ ‘zu, bei, an’ and *pati*² «Adverb mit weiterführender und steigender Bedeutung» (Schmitt 2014: 230-231). However, in absence of an assured etymology, it is difficult to clarify the relationship between the two forms¹⁴.

4.3. *gršiyatai* (?) <g-r-[š̥]-ø-ʾiʔ-y-t-i-yʾ> ‘(it) is filed’

This is the best reading and restoration I could think of based on the available traces, but I do not regard it as totally satisfactory. In what follows, I will attempt to illustrate the reasoning behind the choice of this solution, which should be considered as a mere working hypothesis.

I regard as quite sure, in light of the new reading discussed above, that we are dealing with a passive present rather than a past form. In fact, the absence of an augment has always puzzled interpreters, and most of them tried to avoid the problem by postulating a construction with a past participle and the verb *āha* ‘it was’ (cf. Schmitt 1991: 74 mentioning earlier proposals and accepting Hinz’s *gr*[*ftam*]). Actually, the traces on the stone are rather compatible with a present ending *-tai*. We could be dealing with a passive present used instead of the imperfect to indicate a condition which was already true when § 70 was being written. Unfortunately, the Elamite version lacks a counterpart for this verb, so that the identification of the exact OP form is highly conjectural¹⁵.

¹⁴ The connection with Av. *paitiianc-* proposed by BARTHOLOMAE (1904: 836, so Av. *paitiša-* < **patīc-ya-*, cf. HUMBACH & ICHAPORIA 1998: 139) is disproved by the fact that the expected OP outcome would be **patis̥iya-*. One should not exclude a proto-form **patis̥a-* from a verbal root **aiš-* ‘to move towards’ or ‘seek, desire’ (e.g. Ved. *gav-iṣā-* ‘wishing for cows’). On the verbal stem *paiti-iṣa-* in Avestan cf. KELLENS (1976 *passim*).

¹⁵ This omission could be due to an error, cf. LECOQ (1974: 74) «Il se pourrait bien que le graveur élamite ait omis un terme en copiant son modèle. Le mot *kudda* ‘et’ est en effet répété six fois en l’espace de trois lignes [...] et il est le dernier de la ligne [...]: le scribe s’est alors trompé de *kudda* et a omis un mot, probablement un verbe».

From a purely logical point of view, a plausible perspective is that the text refers to the fact that the narration carved in Old Persian on the rock of Mt. Bisotun ‘is (also) kept’, by means of parchment scrolls and clay tablets, in the royal archives. This would have ensured its preservation and would have discouraged anybody from trying to destroy or alter Darius’ inscription, which is in line with the admonition to posterity contained in the previous section of DB/OP IV.

In light of the initial <g-r> (if this is really the correct reading instead of <d^u-v>!), the solution I propose is the Ir. root **graṣ-* ‘to tie’ (Ved. *grath-* ‘id.’), already taken into consideration by Kent (1952: 14b) and Harmatta (1966: 277-278). In this case **graṣ-* can hardly mean ‘to compose (a literary work)’ as proposed by Kent, and I am inclined to accept Harmatta’s idea that somehow it refers to the *realia* involved in the filing procedure of documents, though not in the way envisaged by him (*ibid.* 258). The passive stem *gr̥šiya-* would represent the OP counterpart of MP *giših-* <gyšyh> ‘to be tied’ (Ppt. *gišt* < **gr̥šta-*), better attested in the prefixed form *hangiših-* ‘to be connected, to immediately follow’ (cf. Henning 1933: 181; Henning-Ghilain 1937: 377)¹⁶. In the Persepolis administrative texts there are some occurrences of the Elamite verb *rabba-* ‘to tie, to bind’ with reference to documents, but the context is not clear enough to decide whether it means ‘to attach’ a document to another one – which would not work well in DB § 70 – or ‘to close with a knot’ for sealing¹⁷. It is worth mentioning

¹⁶ In M 28 I R i 31 *čē-tān Ahrimen u-š bazzagih hangiš pus ī yazdān* SKJÆRVØ (1995: 245) translates ‘why to Ahrimen and his sin did you *assign the son of god(s)?’ and proposes for *hangiš* a different etymology (< **kaiš-*, Av. *cinasti* ‘assign’) «which would make sense in our passage, although it does not quite fit the cosmological passage [i.e. the other attestation of the same verb where it means ‘to follow immediately, to be connected’, M.F.]» (*ibid.* 248). The solution adopted by DE BLOIS (2020: 162) ‘for the son(s) of the gods bound your devil and his sin’, where ‘yours’ refers to the followers of the religion criticized in this strophe, seems better to me.

¹⁷ The verb occurs in two contexts. The first is the sentence *haltap hi battiziknuš-e rabbaka ŠĀ-ma dak* (PF 231, PF-NN 1871, Fort. 607-101), found at the end of some “memoranda” and variously translated as ‘the copy of this *haltap* was “bound”, and the ŠĀ-mi was deposited’ (HALLOCK 1969: 128), ‘was diese Tonurkunde (betrifft): ihre Abschrift is zusammengebunden worden und wurde [mit der Tontafel] zusammen abgelegt’ (HINZ-KOCH 1987: 609), ‘this tablet was tied to its copy and deposited together (with it)’ (HENKELMAN 2008: 162 fn. 352), ‘the tablet, including its bound copy (or: its copy bound [to it])’

that the practice of folding and tying documents with a string before sealing them is well attested for Aramaic parchments and papyri from the Achaemenid period¹⁸. So, in DB § 70 ‘it is tied’ could refer by extension to the fact that the new version of the Bisotun narration, in the moment when Darius ideally talks to the future reader, is safely filed and sealed both on clay tablets (closed in their *pavasta*-, lit. ‘cover, envelope’) and on parchment scrolls¹⁹.

Another option is that the verb ‘to tie’ acquired the technical meaning of ‘to store, to archive’ because, when a group of consistent documents were deposited in an archive, they were tied together. A very nice parallel for this semantics is found in English ‘to file’ < French *filer* lit. ‘to string’, i.e. to string documents on a thread or wire to keep them in order.

4.4. *nipaiḏanam* <n-i-p-i-ḏ-n-m> lit. ‘act of writing’

This new word, which is perfectly readable in the expression *patiṣam-šai nipaiḏanam akunavam* ‘and I added a “signature” to it’, can easily be analysed as a neuter deverbative noun with *-ana-* suffix from the verb *ni-paiḏ-* ‘to write’, according to a very common pattern of nominal derivation well attested in OP (*ā-yad-ana-* ‘place of worship’, *ham-ar-ana-* ‘battle’, *ā-vah-ana-* ‘village’) as well as in Avestan

was deposited (i.e., submitted or filed for later compilation?)’ (AZZONI & STOLPER 2015: 45 fn. 39). A literal translation could be ‘this tablet, a copy of it was “tied” and deposited in/with it’, without it being clear what ‘in/with it’ refers to (the original? the load of goods the text is about?). Anyway, I do not see the point in binding the exact copy of a document to the original one, so either *battiziknuš* refers to an Aramaic copy of the Elamite text or *rabbaka* means something different than ‘to attach’. The second kind of attestation is found in “journals”, where one encounters simply *halmi inni rabbaka* (PF 1954) ‘a sealed document was not attached [?]’ (HALLOCK 1969: 558) or *halmi inni rabbaka kudda inni Daddama inni nuku tiriš kuš nuku marriut* (Fort. 2046-102) ‘no sealed document was attached [?], and so they told neither Daddama nor us until we took it’ (so M. Stolper in a note to the edition on the OCHRE platform). Again, the context is unclear, and STOLPER (2017: 753) referred to the sentence in Fort. 2016-102 as problematic and put a question mark on the translation ‘attached’.

¹⁸ Cf. NAVEH & SHAKED (2012: 38) and GARRISON & KAPTAN (2020: 1-8 *passim*, especially fn. 10).

¹⁹ For a similar semantic development compare Khot. *pajsiṭh-* ‘to store away’ < **patijarḏya-*, from the same root **graḏ-* (cf. EMMERICK 1968: 66).

and Vedic (cf. Debrunner 1954: 185-186). So, *nipaiḡana-* would literally mean ‘act of writing’ or ‘written thing’. However, the Elamite version in this point has the words *hiš* and *eppi*, usually interpreted as ‘name and titulature’ (see above the notes to l. 90b), neither of which corresponds to the expected meaning of *nipaiḡana-*. The most obvious conclusion is that we are dealing with a technical term, elliptically referring to an especially prototypical act of writing. This could either be the writing of one’s name, only corresponding to Elam. *hiš*, or the writing of the royal protocol (so *nipaiḡana-* = ‘title, epigraph’), rendering the whole Elamite expression *hiš kudḡa eppi*. The choice between these two alternatives, representing two equally plausible semantic developments, depends on the identification of the following word of the OP version, for which I have no solution (see again above). In this article, I chose the provisional translation of “signature” between quotes, simply because the English word underwent a comparable semantic evolution (ultimately from Lat. *signare* ‘to mark with a sign’), but it should be considered as a non-committal solution awaiting a more valid proposal.

4.5. *hamāuxḡatā* <h-m-a-u-x-ḡ-t-a> ‘repeated’ or ‘learned’

This new reading settles once and for all the matter of the correspondence between the Elamite verb *sapi-* ‘to copy, to repeat’ and its OP counterpart, for which several restorations have been proposed (cf. Baghbidi 2009: 52-53 for a synopsis of earlier proposals). I take the verb as an inchoative present from the root *vac-* ‘to say’ or *auc-* ‘id.’, with double preverb *ham-* and *ā-*: so IIr. **ham-ā-a-uk-sḡ-atā* (Impf. Mid.3.Sg.). Apparently, this formation was continued in MP, where a stem *hamōxs-* ‘to learn’ (or *hamuxs-*, MPM <hmwx>) is attested as the passive counterpart of the more common *hamōxtan* ‘to teach’²⁰.

²⁰ The discovery of the OP form reveals that the commonly accepted etymology for MP *hamōxtan* is wrong. The most widespread view (cf. GHILAIN 1939: 80; WEBER 1970: 97; MACKENZIE 1971 s.v. *hammōz-* and CHEUNG 2007: 270) is that *hamōxtan* derives from an Iranian root **mauc-*. However, the OP verb proves that this cannot be the case, because the augment placed before a root **mauc-* should give a spelling such as **<h-m-m-ḡ>*. An etymology **ham-vac-* was accepted by HENNING (1933: 170), quoting earlier literature whereas a derivation from **ham-auc-* was proposed by CANTERA (1995: 563; cf. especially

The semantic development ‘to repeat’ > ‘to learn’ is straightforward, but it cannot be decided whether OP *hamvac-/hamauc-* had already taken the meaning of MP *hamōxtan* ‘to teach’/*hamōxs-* ‘to learn’ or still preserved the idea of ‘saying repeatedly’, which would work better with Elam. *sapi*-²¹.

The identification of this new OP word confirms N. Sims-Williams’ sharp intuition (Sims-Williams 1981: 7) that the OP verb *rax-ḡatu* (DNb, l. 60), attested in a very fragmentary context, should be regarded as an inchoative formation with OP *-xḡ-* < Ir. **-x-sć-* from the same root as Sogd. *āraxs-* ‘to take refuge’ (cf. Cheung 2007: 190 s.v. **Hrak-*) or Khot. *ārīs-* ‘to decrease’, *pārīs-* ‘to diminish’ (cf. Cheung 2007: 191-192 s.v. **Hranj-*). The establishment of the OP outcome of the IIr. **-sć-* suffix in post-consonantal position allows to confirm and complete the currently accepted reconstruction of the development of this cluster²². The outcome *-ḡ-* alternates with *-s-* according to the position within the word, the latter being restricted to the sole intervocalic context. As was rightly understood by Nyberg (1931: 214, see fn. 22 above), this distribution suggests that at some point the two variants were distinguished by a simple vs. geminate opposition. In particular, the intervocalic position was the only context where a geminate conso-

Sogd. *ywc-* ‘to teach’ and *ywx-* ‘to learn’ and Khot. *nyūj-* ‘to teach’ and *nyūs-* ‘to learn’, linked to the same root IIr. *Hauč-* by CHEUNG, 2007: 216-217, 270). The simplification of the double prefix *ham-ā-* to *ham-* alone in the MP form has a parallel in the pair OP *pati-ā-vah-* ‘to pray’ > MP *paywāh-* ‘id.’ (cf. FATTORI 2023: 703-704).

²¹ A translation ‘lernen’ for Elamite *sapi-*, still upheld in HINZ-KOCH (1987: 1064), is hardly acceptable. It is quite clear from attestations in administrative context that *sapi-* means ‘to reiterate, to copy’, that its nominal derivative *sapsap* means ‘copy’ and that the *pubu parsippe tuppime sapimanpa* attested in several texts (see HINZ-KOCH 1987 *ibid.*) are ‘Persian “boys” (who) are copying texts’ (so HALLOCK 1969) rather than ‘Schriftlerlerner’.

²² Cf. LUBOTSKY (2001: 49), quoting an old reconstruction proposed by NYBERG (1931) according to which one should postulate for common Iranian a sound-change IIr. **-č-* > Ir. **-s-* and IIr. **-sć-* > Ir. **-ss-*, followed by a specific OP development Ir. **-s-* > OP *-ḡ-* in some contexts «which is perfectly understandable in view of the fact that PIIr. **s* yielded Ir. **h* in most positions» (so LUBOTSKY 2001 *ibid.*). In my view, it is more economic to skip an intermediate stage passing through **s* and recognize that a palatal phoneme **č* survived until the common Iranian stage. On this subject cf. also GERSHEVITCH (1964 *passim*), who refuted Nyberg’s hypothesis and defended the idea of a synchronic co-existence of *s* and *z* beside *ḡ* and *ḍ* as outcomes of Ir. **č* and **j* in Achaemenid Old Persian (*ibid.* 13).

nant (here tentatively represented by *-ćć-) could survive, whereas in initial, pre- and post-consonantal position, where gemination is impossible, the sequence merged with the simple *-ć- and regularly developed into OP -ǧ-, as shown in the following scheme:

IIr. *-VśćV-	> Ir. *-VććV-	> OP -s-	e.g. IIr. *yasća- > Ir. *yaćća- > OP <i>yasa-</i> 'to take', Ved. <i>yaccha-</i>
IIr. *#śćV-	> Ir. *#ćV-	> OP -ǧ-	e.g. IIr. *śadaya- > Ir. *ćadaya- > OP <i>ǧadaya-</i> 'to appear', Ved. <i>chadaya-</i>
IIr. *-CśćV-	> Ir. *-CćV-	> OP -ǧ-	e.g. IIr. *°uksća- > Ir. *°uxća- > OP ° <i>uxǧa-</i>
IIr. *-VśćC-	> Ir. *-VćC-	> OP -ǧ-	e.g. IIr. *tusćyá- > Ir. *tućyá- > OP * <i>tuǧiya-ka-</i> > MP <i>tuhīg</i> 'empty', Ved. <i>tucchyá-</i>

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The long history of a syncretism in Italo-Romance and Ladin verb morphology

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ABSTRACT

This study traces the history of a syncretism in the verb morphology of two Romance varieties. It explores the origin, in medieval Tuscan and elsewhere, of a morphomic pattern of identity between the second person singular present indicative and some cells of the present subjunctive. It shows that this syncretism was originally an accidental effect of sound change, but that subsequent morphological changes replicated that pattern with a result today familiar in the grammar of modern Italian. It then explores a peculiar morphological change which happened almost ‘overnight’ in the recent history of the Val Badia dialect of Ladin, and argues that the only plausible explanation is a ‘calque’, involving the redistribution of native inflexional material in imitation of the aforementioned morphomic pattern in standard Italian. The theoretical implications of this conclusion are briefly considered. The findings of this study suggest that speakers prefer predictability of patterning over transparent signalling of grammatical meaning and that, most surprisingly, morphomic patterns can actually be borrowed from one language into another.

KEYWORDS: syncretism, morphemes, borrowing, Italian, Ladin

1. *A neglected syncretism and its implications*

There is an aspect of the inflexional morphology of Italian which ‘hides in plain sight’¹. The facts are perfectly familiar, yet the pattern involved is never acknowledged. At issue is the syncretic paradigm-

¹ I am very grateful to the following colleagues for their helpful comments at various stages of the development of these ideas: Chiara Cappellaro, Hans-Olav Enger, Livio Gaeta, John Charles Smith, Nigel Vincent. My thanks also go to two anonymous reviewers for their insightful remarks.

ic distribution such that identical morphological material is uniquely shared by a set of cells comprising: 2SG present indicative, 1SG, 2SG, and 3SG present subjunctive, and 3PL present subjunctive (Table 1):

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
present indicative						
present subjunctive						
future						
conditional						
imperfect indicative						
imperfect subjunctive						
preterite						

Table 1. A syncretism in Italian first conjugation verbs.

This syncretism is the fortuitous result of sound change and the set of paradigm cells implicated is irreducible to any significant, distinctive, shared functional denominator. The arbitrariness of its distribution is magnified by the fact that it is restricted to the *first conjugation*. It is ignored in synchronic descriptions of Italian morphology presumably because synchronically, too, it is assumed to be a matter of chance resemblance, of ‘accidental’ not ‘systematic’ distribution (cf. Baerman 2009: 220-221; Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 174-176; Stump 2019: 293). However, a different story is told by its very early history and by its very recent history. Both historical phases show that speakers can and do detect arbitrary, historically accidental, patterns of syncretism, and that their knowledge of those patterns can guide the course of morphological change to the extent of overriding and obscuring established, transparent, mappings between form and meaning. The more recent phase also bears a novel implication for morphological theory: abstract syncretic patterns can be ‘borrowed’ from one language into another.

Syncretisms involving functionally arbitrary patterns of paradigmatic distribution are staple examples of what Aronoff (1994) called ‘morphemes’. Morphemes by definition lack synchronic phonological or functional motivation, and they are, typically, recurrent patterns of

formal identity defined across sets of paradigm cells which lack any distinctive common characteristic. They are also the kind of phenomenon on which Maiden (e.g., 2018) bases most of his analyses of the role of morphomic patterns in the history of the Romance languages. Among the morphomic phenomena which Maiden discusses are, for example, cases in which if the cells of the present subjunctive have a stem allomorph (whatever its phonological nature) then that same allomorph will be shared by the first person singular present indicative, and vice versa, or in which the occurrence of an allomorph, whatever its form, in the stem of any one cell of the preterite, imperfect subjunctive (and certain other parts of the paradigm) implies the presence of that same allomorph in all the others. Despite the fact that the paradigm cells affected form a heterogeneous set, there is ample evidence from subsequent diachronic morphological changes (see Maiden 2016b, 2018: 19) that speakers are aware of these abstract, morphomic, distributional patterns, and actually prefer them over apparently more ‘natural’ form-meaning relationships. The Italo-Romance facts discussed here throw further light on such phenomena in diachrony. However, Maiden (2018) also strongly asserts the idiosyncratically ‘language-specific’ nature of individual morphomic structures, predicting that they will only be found in the languages (or their descendants) in which the historical accidents which gave rise to them occurred. The evidence presented below that morphomic structures are borrowed – or more accurately ‘calqued’ – will force us re-examine that claim.

2. *‘Iotic’ syncretism in modern Italo-Romance and its origin*

2.1. *The syncretism and its dialectal distribution*

In the modern Italian present tense of the first conjugation an identical form occurs – exclusively – in 2SG (indicative and subjunctive) and 1SG, 3SG, and 3PL subjunctives. The singular forms are perfectly identical, while the modern 3PL is differentiated from the singular by also having the ending -no. It is quite likely, however, that ‘kanti was also originally the form of the 3PL, as well as that of the singular, the ending

-no having been introduced at a later date: for some relevant arguments see, e.g., Maiden (1995: 130-132)². Table 2 contrasts an example of the Italian first conjugation present (*cantare* 'sing') with a non-first-conjugation verb (*vendere* 'sell') where no such syncretism exists³:

1st CONJ	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	<i>canto</i> 'kanto	<i>canti</i> 'kanti	<i>canta</i> 'kanta	<i>cantiamo</i> kan'tjamo	<i>cantate</i> kan'tate	<i>cantano</i> 'kantano
PRS.SBJV	<i>canti</i> 'kanti	<i>canti</i> 'kanti	<i>canti</i> 'kanti	<i>cantiamo</i> kan'tjamo	<i>cantiate</i> kan'tjate	<i>cantino</i> 'kantino

NON-1st CONJ	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	<i>vendo</i> 'vendo	<i>vendi</i> 'vendi	<i>vende</i> 'vende	<i>vendiamo</i> ven'djamo	<i>vendete</i> ven'dete	<i>vendono</i> 'vendono
PRS.SBJV	<i>venda</i> 'venda	<i>venda</i> 'venda	<i>venda</i> 'venda	<i>vendiamo</i> ven'djamo	<i>vendiate</i> ven'djate	<i>vendano</i> 'vendano

Table 2. Present indicative and subjunctive of first conjugation and non-first conjugation verbs in modern Italian.

The pattern characterized by inflexional *-i*, illustrated in Table 2, is not restricted to Italian or to Tuscany. This syncretism (henceforth, 'iot-ic' syncretism) recurs in Lazio, Umbria, and Corsica (see *ALS* map 1685; Rohlf's 2021b: 248; 296; *ALEIC*⁴; Chiodi-Tischer 1981). It further appears in fourteenth-century Abruzzese (Haumer 1934: 74) and fifteenth century Assisan (Sestito 2004: 197). It is also possible to discern the original presence of the desinence *-i* through the phenomenon of metapho-

² VANELLI (2014: 144) suggests a phonological explanation for the [i] of the third person plural. But what she invokes is a sound change peculiar to Tuscan, while the iotic third person plural subjunctive is found outside Tuscany, as mentioned below.

³ These are the only cells whose ending is a syllabic [i]. The status of the 1PL and 2PL forms (where orthographic *i* is [j]) is different, because they are common to all conjugations. Only in the first conjugation is the 2SG present indicative distinctively homophonous with forms of the present subjunctive.

⁴ Compare *ALEIC* maps 31, 34, 115, 215, 223, 338, 360, 361, 362, 371, 380, 487, 520, 598, 900, 924, 1124, 1264, 1334, 1337, 1495, 1507, 1570, 1618, 1734, 1764, 1776, 1779, 1821, 1830.

ny: just as in numerous Italo-Romance dialects the *-i* of the 2SG triggers metaphonic assimilatory raising of the preceding stressed vowel, the *-i* of our syncretistic present subjunctive forms appears to have had the same effect. Thus old Aquilano has metaphonized 3SG.PRS.SBJV *perduni* vs non-metaphonized 3SG.PRS.IND *perdona* (Haumer 1934). In some dialects of Romagna, final **-i* has long been deleted (and locally replaced by *-a*)⁵, but leaves a trace of its former presence in a metaphonic vowel – not only in 2SG, as expected, but also in 1SG, 3SG, and 3PL present subjunctive⁶. Schürr (1974: 54-55) gives the following from Forlì (Table 3)⁷:

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	kāt 'sing'	kēt	'kāta	kan'tē	kan'tej	'kāta
PRS.SBJV	'kēta	'kēta	'kēta	kan'teja	kan'tiva	'kēta

Table 3. Distribution of metaphony in the Forlivese present tense.

For Lugo, Pelliciardi (1977: 115-21) gives the forms in Table 4⁸:

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	lev ⁹ 'wash'	lev	'leva	la'vën	la'vi	'leva
PRS.SBJV	'leva	'leva	'leva	la'veja	la'viva	'leva

Table 4. Distribution of metaphony in the present tense in Lugo.

⁵ In the examples given here, the present subjunctive ends in *-a*. Apparently, the original first conjugation subjunctive marker *-i* was replaced, after triggering metaphony, by the non-first conjugation present subjunctive marker *-a*. This sequence of events was first mooted by MUSSAFIA (1871: 67-68). He was worried, however, that a scenario in which *-i* was first extended (causing metaphony) then ousted by *-a* (leaving the effects of metaphony behind), was too contrived ('zu künstlich'). I think that this explanation is simply the only one available. First, *-i* was generalized as a subjunctive marker in all conjugations, with metaphonizing effects, but later some surviving, more archaic, remnants of the original non-first conjugation desinence *-a* returned to prevail over *-i*. HAUMER (1934: 74) also reveals an apparent tussle between subjunctive *-i* and *-a* in old Aquilano. See WENDRINER (1889: 71) for rivalry between first and non-first conjugation subjunctive markers in sixteenth-century Paduan.

⁶ In these dialects this pattern is found in all conjugations. Extension of the *-i* of the present subjunctive from the first conjugation to other conjugations is widely attested in central Italo-Romance (see, e.g., ROHLFS 2021b: 298-299).

⁷ See also SCHÜRR (1919: 133, 140, 146, 151).

⁸ I offer an IPA approximation of Pelliciardi's transcription: the more closed vowels are metaphonic outcomes.

Schürr (1918: 57-58, 60-61, 63, 65-66) provides older Romagnolo examples from texts such as the sixteenth century *Pulon Matt*, for the singular and third person forms of the present subjunctive. For example, metaphonic *e* for historically underlying *[a] in 1SG.PRS.SBJV *fezza* ‘do’, 3SG.PRS.SBJV *tretta* ‘treat’, 3PL.PRS.SBJV *bella* ‘dance’. Compare *fezza* with modern dialectal Tuscan *facci*, and the last two forms with Italian *tratti*, *balli*(no). In sum, the iotic syncretism familiar from Italian exists, or once existed, both south and north of the Apennines. *How* did that syncretism originate?

2.2. Origins of iotic syncretism

The Latin antecedents of the (modern Italian) forms given in Table 2 are in Table 5:

FIRST CONJUGATION						
	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	CANTO	CANTAS	CANTAT	CANTAMUS	CANTATIS	CANTANT
PRS.SBJV	CANTEM	CANTES	CANTET	CANTEMUS	CANTETIS	CANTENT

NON-FIRST CONJUGATION						
	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	UENDO	UENDIS	UENDIT	UENDIMUS	UENDITIS	UENDUNT
PRS.SBJV	UENDAM	UENDAS	UENDAT	UENDAMUS	UENDATIS	UENDANT

Table 5. Present indicative and subjunctive of Latin first and non-first conjugation verbs.

One cannot arrive at the first conjugation forms in Table 2 from the Latin first conjugation forms in Table 5 entirely by regular sound change; in particular, the ending -i cannot be explained phonologically. The expected changes would be⁹:

- (i) word-final nasals and dentals fall
- (ii) word final -s after a vowel becomes *-i
- (iii) the diphthongs arising from (ii) become raised monophthongs, so that:

⁹ For more detailed arguments in support of (ii) and (iii) see MAIDEN (1996).

-as	>	*-a _i	>	*-e
-es	>	*-e _i	>	*-i
-is	>	*-i _i	>	*-i

The predicted results of these sound changes appear in Table 6:

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	'kanto	'kante	'kanta	kan'tamu	kan'tati	'kanta(n)
PRS.SBJV	'kante	'kanti	'kante	kan'temu	kan'teti	'kante(n)

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	'vendo	'vendi	'vende	ven'demu	ven'deti	'vendo(n)
PRS.SBJV	'venda	'vende	'venda	ven'damu	ven'dati	'venda(n)

Table 6. Phonologically predicted outcomes of Latin verb forms in early Italo-Romance.

The predicted forms in Table 6 already involve a syncretism almost identical in its distribution (not yet in form) to that of modern Italian: as an accidental result of sound change, the 2SG present indicative of the first conjugation has become identical to the 1SG, 3SG, and 3PL present subjunctive. The 2SG present subjunctive is slightly different, in that it already ends in -i by (iii) above. The pattern of syncretism characterized by final -e illustrated in Table 6 and 7 still survived in old Tuscan (Rohlf 2021b: 248; 296), although the modern pattern of syncretism in -i was already well established alongside it.

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
present indicative						
present subjunctive						
future						
conditional						
imperfect indicative						
imperfect subjunctive						
preterite						

Table 7. Early Italo-Romance syncretism in the present tense of the first conjugation.

Somehow, the syncretic set of forms in *-e* has been replaced by a set of forms in *-i* (making them identical to the established 2SG present subjunctive form in *-i*). How did this come about? There is simply no phonological mechanism relevant here¹⁰ by which final unstressed [e] raises to [i]. Nor can the change we observe be a reanalysis such that speakers simply replace the verb ending *-e* with *-i* ‘across-the-board’. In medieval Tuscan final *-e* was also found in the 3SG present indicative of non-first conjugation verbs and of rhizotonic preterite forms, the 1SG and 3SG forms of all imperfect subjunctives, all 2PL forms, and the infinitive. Yet, within the present-tense, the replacement of forms in *-e* by those in *-i* occurs *only* in the 1SG, 3SG, and 3SG.

There have been divers attempts to explain this replacement. Meyer-Lübke (1895: § 145) invokes analogical generalization of the already existing 2SG present subjunctive ending *-i* to other present subjunctive forms, but this explanation is completely unmotivated, and spread of the 2SG form is otherwise unparalleled in the system. Tekavčić (1980: 288) curiously claims that it is a change principally motivated by a need to distinguish the first conjugation subjunctive forms from the 2SG imperative in *-a*, but this explanation ignores the fact that these forms were already perfectly distinguished, and that no differentiation was ever necessary. It is Rohlf (2021b: 296) who discerns what seems to me the only plausible explanation, namely that what happens in the present subjunctive is connected with the replacement of *-e* by *-i* in the 2SG present indicative¹¹: ‘È chiaro che quest’*i* è di origine analogica, e si dovrà riportare agli stessi motivi che hanno causato la desinenza *-i* nella seconda persona dell’indicativo’.

Rohlf does not explain further, but what he seems to be invoking as the motivation of our change is the so-called ‘Humboldt’s Universal’, formulated by Vennemann (1978: 259), which states that ‘[s]upple-

¹⁰ NIELSEN WHITEHEAD (2012: 294-302) shows that Latin *long* final *-e* could yield *-i*, but the *-e* at issue was short. See also VANELLI (2013: 465-466) for arguments against a phonological explanation.

¹¹ LAUSBERG (1966: 277) invokes analogical spread of the first conjugation 2SG subjunctive ending, but fails to motivate such a change.

tion is undesirable, uniformity of linguistic symbolization is desirable: both roots and grammatical markers should be unique and constant'. The ending -i was already¹² the inflexional marker of 2SG in the present indicative of non-first conjugation verbs (e.g., *vedi* 'see', *vendi* 'sell', *dormi* 'sleep'), in the present subjunctive of first conjugation verbs (e.g., *canti*), in fourth conjugation¹³ imperatives (e.g., *dormi*), in imperfect subjunctives of all conjugations (e.g., *vedessi*), and in the preterite and conditional of all conjugations (e.g., *vedesti*; *vedresti*). In Italian, in fact, all 2SG verbs forms have come to end in -i, except for the first conjugation 2SG imperative. It is therefore unsurprising that a minority 2SG ending -e was replaced by the far more widespread 2SG ending -i. It should be added, by the way, that replacement of -e by -i was not limited to the 2SG present indicative of the first conjugation: -e was also the regular ending of 2SG non-first conjugation present subjunctives and of all imperfect indicatives¹⁴, and here too it was eventually replaced by -i¹⁵.

In many Italo-Romance dialects, replacement of -e by -i indeed stops in the 2SG. Table 8 shows a typical pattern for a dialect of Liguria (Azaretti 1982: 200)¹⁶, while Table 9 illustrates the same pattern for the first conjugation in Ascrea in Lazio (Fanti 1939):

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	'kantu 'sing'	'kanti	'kanta	kan'tamu	kan'te	'kanta
PRS.SBJV	'kante	'kanti	'kante	'kantimu	'kanti	'kante

Table 8. Replacement of -e by -i just in the 2SG in Ventimiglia (Liguria).

¹² ROHLFS (2021b: 248) appeals implausibly (cf. HAASE 1999: 171) to the analogical influence of the fourth conjugation 2SG present indicative ending -i. Haase's own appeal to what he calls an 'Alteritätsanalogie' involving a reversal in the first conjugation of the alternation pattern characteristic of the fourth conjugation (indicative *i* vs subjunctive *a*), seems equally problematic.

¹³ Possibly also in second conjugation imperatives such as *vedi*; for a different, phonological, explanation, see NIELSEN WHITEHEAD (2012: 294-302).

¹⁴ For further phonological evidence of original 2SG -e in southern Italy, see MAIDEN (2016: 220).

¹⁵ Modern Italian 2SG present subjunctive (*tu*) *venda* is a recent innovation: see, e.g., ROHLFS (2021b: 296-297, 299-301); MAIDEN (1995: 129, 2007: 161, forthc.).

¹⁶ The 1PL and 2PL forms in this dialect are later formations, irrelevant here.

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	'manno 'send'	'manni	'manna	man'nemo	man'nete	'mannanu
PRS.SBJV	'manne	'manni	'manne	man'nemo	man'nete	'mannenu

Table 9. Replacement of -e by -i limited to the 2SG in Ascrea (Lazio).

Dialects such as those illustrated in Tables 8 and 9 have something close to a 'superstable' marker of 2SG: almost all 2SG forms end in -i, and -i expresses almost exclusively 2SG. For instance, in Ascrea (Fanti 1939) – with a few exceptions in some very high frequency verbs with vowel-final roots in the present indicative, and with the systematic exception of the 2SG imperative in the first conjugation – all 2SG forms end in -i, but almost no¹⁷ non-2SG form does so.

In Italian an 'ideal', i.e. maximally transparent, near-biunique matching between the 2SG and its desinential marker could also have been installed. What actually happens looks rather like a 'misreading of the instructions': the replacement of -e with -i in the 2SG seems to have been reanalysed as a rule replacing -e with -i wherever in the paradigm there are forms identical to the second person singular. In short, the innovation is sensitive not to a person-number specification, but to a pattern of syncretism which had accidentally arisen in the early Italo-Romance first conjugation present indicative. It replicates that pattern and, in so doing, gives rise to the slightly different pattern familiar from modern Italian and re-presented in Table 10, one which includes the 2SG present subjunctive, already in -i:

	1SG	2SG	3SG	3PL
PRS.IND	<i>canto</i>	<i>canti</i>	<i>canta</i>	<i>cantano</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>canti</i>	<i>canti</i>	<i>canti</i>	<i>cantino</i>

Table 10. Modern Italian first conjugation syncretism.

¹⁷ The exception is the preterite, which has 1SG -i, a form inherited from Latin.

I come back to the theoretical significance of the emergence of this pattern later. I first turn to a much later development of the Italian iotic syncretism. This development is remarkable in that it does not actually occur in Italian at all, or even within Italo-Romance as usually defined, but in the recent history of the Ladin dialects of the Val Badia. Yet I shall argue that what we observe there is a direct consequence of the Italian syncretism.

3. *The Badiot Ladin ‘sigmatic’ syncretism*

3.1. *The nature of the Badiot syncretism*

The modern Ladin of the Val Badia shows a pattern of syncretism which is that of modern Italian, albeit quite different in phonological content. It is unlike its Italian counterpart¹⁸ in that it is ‘sigmatic’, the inflexional ending involved being *-(e)s*¹⁹, not *-i*.

In the Val Badia²⁰, the sigmatic pattern occurs at San Martin de Tor, La Valle, S. Leonardo, S. Cassiano, Corvara, Colfosco (*ALD* points 83, 84, 85, 91, 90, 89). Table 12 presents examples from S. Martin de Tor and Corvara (gaps reflect lack of information for specific forms). For further extensive illustration of this pattern, see the ‘*schemi verballi*’ provided in Moling (2016).

¹⁸ It is also unlike Italian in not necessarily involving whole-word syncretism. In Italian, first conjugation verbs do not normally show root allomorphy, but in Ladin (for reasons explained later) the phenomenon is not restricted to the first conjugation and affects many verbs with already existing root allomorphy.

¹⁹ As examples in Table 12 show, Ladin *-es* sometimes manifests as *-əs*, or as *-js* (*-is*) postvocally. This is a matter of phonetic variation.

²⁰ There is one, isolated, case outside the Val Badia. This is *si:bəs*, the present subjunctive forms of the verb ‘be’ in the Gardenese dialect of S. Cristina (*ALD* point 87; *ALD-II* maps 114, 117). Its historical status is unclear: I find nothing like it in nineteenth century descriptions of Gardenese, although data from *TALL* confirm it for modern Gardenese. It is unclear whether the Gardenese form is influenced by Badiot, or whether the presence of the sigmatic subjunctive in Gardenese indicates that somehow the phenomenon *originated* in the verb ‘be’, in both varieties. This seems unlikely, because it is precisely ‘be’ which in the Val Badia sometimes lacks the sigmatic form (cf. note 28).

San Martin de Tor²¹

	1SG	2SG	3SG	3PL
PRS.IND	'ma:ndʒi 'eat'	'ma:ndʒes	'ma:ndʒa	'ma:ndʒa
PRS.SBJV	'ma:ndʒes	'ma:ndʒes	'ma:ndʒes	'ma:ndʒes
PRS.IND	krɐj 'believe'	'krɐjes	krɐj	krɐj
PRS.SBJV	'krɐjes	'krɐjes	'krɐjes	'krɐjes
PRS.IND	o:j 'want'	'o:s(te)	o:(l)	o:(i)
PRS.SBJV	o:js	o:js		
PRS.IND	pɔ 'can'	pɔ:s	pɔ	pɔ
PRS.SBJV	'pɔ:js		'pɔ:js	'pɔ:js
PRS.IND	do:rmi 'sleep'	'do:rmes	do:rm	do:rm
PRS.SBJV	'do:rmes	'do:rmes	'do:rmes	'do:rmes
PRS.IND	suŋ 'am'	ɛs	ɛ	ɛ
PRS.SBJV	'si:dəs	'si:dəs	'si:dəs	'si:dəs
PRS.IND	a 'have'		a	a
PRS.SBJV	a:js	a:js	a:js	a:js

Corvara

	1SG	2SG	3SG	3PL
PRS.IND	'ma:ndʒe 'eat'	'ma:ndʒes	'ma:ndʒa	'ma:ndʒa
PRS.SBJV	'ma:ndʒes	'ma:ndʒes	'ma:ndʒes	'ma:ndʒes
PRS.IND	'kraje 'believe'	krajs	kraj	kraj
PRS.SBJV	'krajəs	'krajəs	'krajəs	
PRS.IND	o:i 'want'	'o:s(te)	o:(l)	o:(i)
PRS.SBJV	'o:jes	'o:jes		
PRS.IND	pɔ 'can'	pɔ:s	pɔ	pɔ
PRS.SBJV	'pɔ:jes		'pɔ:jes	'pɔ:jes
PRS.IND	do:rm 'sleep'	do:rmes	do:rm	do:rm
PRS.SBJV	'do:rmes		'do:rmes	'do:rmes
PRS.IND	suŋ 'am'	es	eɪ	eɪ
PRS.SBJV	'si:dəs	'si:dəs	'si:dəs	'si:dəs
PRS.IND	a 'have'		a	a
PRS.SBJV	'a:jes	'a:jes	'a:jes	'a:jes

Table 12. Sigmatic syncretism in dialects of the Val Badia.

²¹ Data from: *ALD-I* maps 52, 201, 257, 258, 259, 627, 628; *ALD-II* maps 114, 117, 372, 378, 380, 482, 483, 488, 491, 492, 493, 497, 596, 597, 598, 604, 606, 722, 723, 727, 728, 925, 929, 930, 998, 999, 1000.

3.2. *Origins of the Badiot syncretism*

The sigmatic syncretism is very recent. Final *-s* in the 2SG is inherited from Latin, but its presence elsewhere is novel. There is absolutely no sign of it in the detailed morphological descriptions produced in the late nineteenth century (e.g., Alton 1879; Gartner 1883; also Mair 1978: 138-139)²², and no examples in nineteenth century Ladin prose texts²³. Yet by the 1960s it is firmly established²⁴. Indeed its presence is perhaps the most remarkable difference in Vittur's reworking and expansion (Alton-Vittur 1968) of Alton (1879). Alton was mainly describing his native dialect of Colfosco (cf. Kramer 1989: 757), yet gave no indication of our syncretism. In Colfosco today, however, the sigmatic subjunctive is firmly established, and Alton-Vittur (1968: 36, 41, 43-44, 49, 51-55) lists only sigmatic subjunctive forms for upper Val Badia²⁵. How and when did this happen?

Kramer (1976: 78) assumes that the sigmatic endings of the first and third persons of the present subjunctive originate in 2SG forms in *-s* (see also Salvi 2020: 81). In fact there is no other plausible origin for this ending. It is also significant that present subjunctive *-(e)s* and 2SG present indicative *-(e)s* are mutually exclusive: we have only 2SG. PRS.SBJV 'ma:ndʒes, never **'ma:ndʒeses. All other tenses and moods (except singular imperatives), in almost all other Badiot varieties, show sigmatic 2SG forms²⁶. The fact that the sigmatic subjunctive ending cannot itself be combined with a 2SG desinence clearly suggests that the sigmatic subjunctive was itself originally a 2SG form. Kramer (1976: 78) derives subjunctive *-es* specifically from historically underlying **-as*, the ending of the 2SG present subjunctive of non-first conjugation verbs. In most Ladin varieties the distinction between con-

²² The *AIS* data, gathered in 1921, provide scant information on the present subjunctive, but Colfosco (point 314, map 1639) has 'mani ('I send'), with no *-s*.

²³ See for example the nineteenth century material in 'grafia antica' for the Val Badia in the *TALL* database. It should be noted that material provided there in 'grafia moderna' introduces into the writings of Alton sigmatic subjunctives which are certainly not there in the original texts.

²⁴ See further MAIR (1973); KRAMER (1976); MOLING (2016).

²⁵ Although the 1968 reworking 'stützt sich [...] auf das Badiot und zwar des Oberlandes, St. Kassian-Stern-Abtei [...]', rather than Colfosco (ALTON-VITTUR 1968: 8).

²⁶ Cf. *ALD-II* maps 118, 375, 484, 485, 491.

jugation classes has been neutralized in the present subjunctive, and the prevailing forms always originate in the *first* conjugation (see, e.g., Mair 1978: 138), so it seems doubtful that the sigmatic subjunctive would originate in non-first conjugation verbs. Actually, there is another source for -es, namely the 2SG present *indicative* of first conjugation verbs, also historically in *-as (cf. *'mand(u)kas > 'ma:ndʒes), and this is a point to whose significance I return later.

There are no good explanations of *why* this has happened. Kramer (1976: 78) merely indicates that what we observe is *plausible* because similar things happen elsewhere: he claims that there are parallels in French for 2SG desinences being extended into the 1SG. Yet this happens in the French *indicative* not in the subjunctive (e.g., UENDO UENDIS UENDIT > *vend vend vend* > *vends vends vend* but UENDAM UENDAS UENDAT > *vende vendes vende*). The French facts also have a specific motivation, namely that in certain verbs, by sound change, both 1SG and 2SG came to end in -s (cf. Pope 1952: § 899). As for the extension of 2SG -es into the third person as well as into the 1SG present subjunctive, Kramer invokes a parallel with an assumed generalization of -i from the 2SG of the first conjugation present subjunctive in Italian, as proposed for Italian by Lausberg (1966: 277)²⁷. Mair (1978: 142) does not really explore the cause of the sigmatic subjunctive, but focuses interestingly on its paradigmatic distribution, noting that the distribution of -s in Val Badia is exactly the same as that of a present subjunctive ending -i in the dialect of Marebbe. I suggest later that this parallel with Marebbano, and the parallel with the Italian iotic present subjunctive mentioned by Kramer, have real significance for understanding the phenomenon.

What kind of inflexional pattern existed in Badiot present indicatives and subjunctives before the emergence of the sigmatic present subjunctive? Broadly, the endings of the present subjunctive had in some localities the (originally first conjugation) marker -e, and else-

²⁷ Kramer additionally invokes the influence of the imperfect subjunctive, in whose singular and third person 'ein -s im Auslaut steht'. But the -s of the imperfect subjunctive does not stand 'im Auslaut' in the 2SG, while the -s of the imperfect subjunctive is present in 1PL and 2PL as well (KRAMER 1976: 84-85). These are clearly two different kinds of -s.

where -i. Alton (1879: 102; 105; 107; 113) illustrates the following (Table 13) pattern from first conjugation verb ‘love’. There is complete neutralization of inflexion class distinctions in the Ladin present subjunctive, in favour of originally first conjugation forms, so that present subjunctive endings are generally²⁸ identical for all conjugations.

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	<i>ame</i>	<i>ames</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>amon</i>	<i>amès</i>	<i>ama</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>ame</i>	<i>ames</i>	<i>ame</i>	<i>amonse</i>	<i>amèse</i>	<i>ame</i>

Table 13. Present tense first conjugation morphology
in late nineteenth century upper Val Badia.

What Alton transcribes as final -e (apparently a weakly articulated schwa: see also Alton-Vittur 1968: 39) is a reflex of the first conjugation subjunctive marker *-e. The modern dialect of Rina (*ALD* pt 82), illustrated in Table 14 has a clear -e (*ALD-II* maps 482, 483, 488, 491, 492, 493, 497):

	1SG	2SG	3SG	3PL
PRS.IND	'mandʒi 'eat'	'mandʒes	'mandʒa	'mandʒa
PRS.SBJV	'mandʒe	'mandʒes	'mandʒe	'mandʒe

Table 14. Present tense morphology in modern Rina.

Elsewhere, we find -i. Gartner (1883: 131) records in the first conjugation in San Leonardo an ending -i that appears in the 1SG, 3SG and 3PL present subjunctive (Table 15):

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	'po:rte 'carry'	po:rts	'po:rta	pur'tuŋ	pur'taɪs	'po:rta
PRS.SBJV	'po:rti	po:rts	'po:rti	pur'tuŋze	pur'taɪze	'po:rti

Table 15. Present tense morphology in late nineteenth century
San Leonardo.

²⁸ Exceptions are the present subjunctive of the verbs ‘be’ (1SG si: 2SG si:s 3SG si: 3PL si:), and ‘give’ (specified as having an optional set of forms 1SG di: 2SG di:s 3SG di: 3PL di:).

That the marker *-i* was characteristic of present subjunctive is also indicated in Gartner's data from Marebbe and S. Vigilio (see also Mair 1973: 90), presented in Table 16:

Marebbe						
	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.SBJV	'pwarti 'carry'	pwartis	'pwarti	pur'tiŋ	pur'tai̯s	'pwarti

S. Vigilio						
	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	'po:rte 'carry'	'po:rtəs	'po:rta	por'tuŋ	por'te̯i̯s	'po:rta
PRS.SBJV	'po:rti	'po:rti	'po:rti	por'tuŋze	por'te̯i̯ze	'po:rti

Table 16. Present tense morphology in late nineteenth century Marebbe and San Vigilio.

The present subjunctive pattern with *-i* reported by Gartner for S. Vigilio is repeated in modern data (*ALD-II* maps 488, 491, 492, 493, 497) for Pieve di Marebbe (point 81), presented in Table 17:

	1SG	2SG	3SG	3PL
PRS.IND	'manji 'eat'	'manjes	'manja	'manja
PRS.SBJV	'manji	'manji	'manji	'manji

Table 17. Present tense morphology in modern Pieve di Marebbe.

Overall, then, it seems that much of the Val Badia once had a present subjunctive characterized, in the singular and 3PL, by inflexional *-i* (or *-ə* or *-e*). Now, the fact is that the singular and 3PL forms of the present subjunctive of first conjugation verbs should not have any kind of final vowel at all. The regular and predictable fate of final unstressed *-e* in Ladin (as extensively found in northern Italo-Romance varieties as well: cf. Rohlfs 2021a: 180-181) is for it to be deleted, the only unstressed final vowel that regularly survives in these varieties being *-a*. Nonetheless, Romance languages for which one would predict on historical phonological grounds a zero ending in the present subjunctive rarely actually show this predicted result; rather, a final inflexional vow-

el of some kind is usually present, usually -e or -i in the Ladin area (see, e.g., *AIS* maps 1685, 1686; *ALD-II* maps 491-493, 497; Rohlfs 2021b: 299-300). Mair (1978: 138-139) is probably right in suggesting that -i is a local reflex of unstressed final -e²⁹. It is more difficult to say where this latter vowel comes from. One possibility is that it was analogically extended from a subset of first conjugation verbs in which final -e was widely preserved after clusters /Cr/ or /Cl/ (cf. Rohlfs 2021a: 181-182; Lausberg 1965: 299)³⁰. A further problematic detail is that the 2SG ending of the present subjunctive is reported by Gartner as -i, rather than -is, for S. Vigilio, a pattern which seems to have spread in the modern dialects of Marebbe and the lower Val Badia. The cause of this resemblance with Italian is unclear. It is true that in these dialects -s is often lost for phonological reasons after a stem-final sibilant, and notably in the imperfect subjunctive/conditional (Mair 1973: 90-91, 143), but that particular phonological environment is not systematically encountered in the present subjunctive. Gartner (1883: 151) shows that in the 1880s -s was still retained in the 2SG present subjunctive forms of the verbs 'be' and 'have', even though -i appeared in other verbs. The disappearance of -s, then, is a detail which seems to have a non-phonological motivation, and one wonders whether this might already be the imitation of the modern Italian (first conjugation) present subjunctive. However we seek to explain these facts, the crucial point is this: that -i is, or was, the prevalent present subjunctive marker in Badiot by the nineteenth century, and that this present subjunctive ending, of native origin, will have been homophonous with the standard Italian present subjunctive ending (especially so in those Badiot varieties where even the 2SG present subjunctive ended in -i, as in Italian). How, though,

²⁹ Mair is discussing Marebbano, but raising of final unstressed -e to -i is more widespread (cf. reflexes of *'sempre' 'always' in *AIS* map 1534; *ALD-I* map 722; *ALD-II* map 208). It is, however, difficult to identify other clear examples of this development specifically for the Val Badia. KRAMER (1976: 78) attributes -i to the influence of the fourth conjugation thematic vowel [i], but this is implausible both on historical phonological grounds (final unstressed *-i is regularly deleted) and on morphological grounds (-i is not a marker of present subjunctive in the fourth conjugation).

³⁰ This phenomenon similarly affects the 1SG present indicative, originally in -o. See further LAUSBERG (1966: 273; 277); ROHLFS (2021b: 246-247); ELWERT (1972: 283); SALVI (2020: 80). Also KRAMER (1976: 71, 79).

did Badiot get from this situation to the modern sigmatic present subjunctive?

The sigmatic present subjunctive ending in the Val Badia has a paradigmatic distribution (2SG present indicative + 1SG present subjunctive + 3SG present subjunctive + 3PL present subjunctive) of a kind for which there is – so far as I can detect – no parallel anywhere else in the the Val Badia dialects or in any other Ladin variety. It therefore cannot be analogically modelled on any indigenous distributional pattern. However, it displays exactly the pattern of syncretism found in Italian first conjugation verbs, where the relevant desinence is ‘iotic’ (2SG.PRS.IND *canti* ~ 1SG.PRS.SBJV *canti* ~ 2SG.PRS.SBJV *canti* ~ 3SG.PRS.SBJV *canti* ~ 3SG.PRS.SBJV *canti(no)*). We have seen that by the late nineteenth century the singular and 3PL present subjunctive forms of all verbs had -i in the Val Badia, thereby also presenting an accidental resemblance with the desinences found in the Italian first conjugation. My claim is that the Italian iotic syncretism is the model for the Badiot sigmatic syncretism³¹.

The situation in the Val Badia in the nineteenth century was that Italian was taught in elementary schools, and had been so since the seventeenth century the language favoured in preaching, confession, and liturgy (for the ideological motives for this preference see, e.g., Palla 2020: 255; 258; Fiorentini 2020: 456). That the inhabitants of the Val Badia knew at least some Italian is confirmed by Alton and by Gartner (see Alton 1879: 3; Gartner 1882: 9; 11; also Belardi 1994: 68). Alton states that Ladin speakers esteemed Italian and actively sought to learn it (as well as German)³². Until the early 1870s, priority tended to be given to Italian in schools, but thereafter the Austrian authorities sought to exclude it in favour of German (Palla 2020: 254–255), and teaching in Italian in schools was suppressed during the First World War (Salvioni 1917: 28; Coletti, Cordin, and Zamboni 1992: 208; Goebel 2020: 49). After incorporation of the South Tyrol

³¹ From what I can observe, the contexts in which the (present) subjunctive in Badiot is *used* are not fundamentally different from those of Italian.

³² To the best of my knowledge, there is no parallel phenomenon in German (or Bavarian dialects).

into the Italian state, Italian was reintroduced, and introduced into public administration (Coletti, Cordin & Zamboni 1992: 208-209). During the Fascist period Italian became the sole language used in schools. Belardi (2003: 35) identifies the twentieth century as the period when Ladin monoglottism disappeared and all Ladin-speakers came to master at least one other language (German or Italian), with interference effects both by and on Ladin.

It is perilous to try to motivate a change in a detail of verb morphology by appeal to Ladin-speakers' attitudes towards Italian, but we should not ignore the import of Palla's observation (2020: 259) that «[i] ladini, nonostante la vicinanza linguistica all'italiano, percepirono l'annessione al nuovo Stato come qualcosa che andava contro la loro storia, cultura, tradizione, come qualcosa di così diverso da sé da cui la comunità doveva tutelarsi per poter sopravvivere, e di conseguenza la coscienza ladina crebbe, si diffuse, si radicò tra la gente molto di più che nel secolo precedente». Might this have been a context in which 'Ladinization' of a fundamentally 'Italian' morphological phenomenon was favoured? Where Italian was becoming increasingly influential but a sense of distinctive 'Ladinity' was also growing, might the 'compromise solution' have been that speakers of Badiot sought to 'Ladinize' an Italian inflexional pattern by replacing -i (predominantly the marker of 2SG) with the native 2SG marker -(e)s?³³ What they did, I suggest, was to implement an Italian *pattern* of paradigmatic distribution, but one that uses native Ladin morphological *matter*³⁴. This is a *calque* of the Italian pattern of syncretism.

³³ There is at least one other respect in which Badiot morphology shows a 'nativizing' reaction to Italian morphological influence. ALTON (1879: 106-107), for Colfosco, gives imperfect indicative forms in -v- (a'mava, ba'tova, al'diva; cf. Italian *amava, batteva, udiva*) but also alternatives without -v-. Yet corresponding forms in the late twentieth century lack -v- (e.g., 3SG.IPF.IND man'dga:, doŋ'mi:; cf. ALTON-VITTUR 1968: 40; *ALD-II* maps 484-86, 601, 725, for point 89, Colfosco). For Pieve di Marebbe (Pfarre), GARTNER (1883: 132; 139; 144) gives imperfect indicative forms in -v-, yet the *ALD* data from the 1990s only show forms without -v-. In these cases morphological material shared with Italian seems to have been rejected in favour of more locally distinctive forms. For some other Italian influences on Ladin morphosyntax, see VIDESOTT (2006: 1749).

³⁴ Cf. SAKEL (2007).

4. *Some theoretical implications. Syncretism, ‘naturalness’, and ‘morphomic calquing’*

4.1. *‘Naturalness’*

My claim is that a pattern of syncretism which arose in early Italo-Romance as an accidental consequence of sound change, has been replicated at least³⁵ twice, in different ways and independently, in the Romance languages of Italy. In central Italy, including Tuscan, an analogical change originally affecting just one member of the relevant syncretic set of cells (the 2SG) comes to affect the whole of that set, thereby preserving (but also slightly modifying) an existing syncretic pattern in the first conjugation. Perhaps a millennium later, dialects of the Val Badia replicate the Italian syncretism, using native morphological material.

It is striking that more than once, and centuries apart, the ‘price’ of replicating the syncretism has been the blurring of a previously sharply defined correlation between form and meaning. In Tuscan and elsewhere in central Italy, a change whose very motivation appears to have been the generalization of -i as sole marker of 2SG ‘overshoots’, so to speak, so that the newly created form also appears in specific non-second-person cells of the present subjunctive. In Badiot, the calquing of the Italian pattern has meant that -s, formerly a desinence uniquely associated with 2SG, now also systematically occurs in some non-second-person cells of the present subjunctive. The ‘natural’ relationship such that -i, or -s, is sole exponent of 2SG is not in fact compromised:

³⁵ Badiot is not, in fact, the only case of a sigmatic present subjunctive. A similar phenomenon appears in certain north-eastern Lombard dialects, where there is -s in the 1SG, 3SG and 3PL present subjunctive, in all conjugations. More rarely, -s also appears in the 2SG present subjunctive. The phenomenon is described with great clarity by RÜHRLINGER (2015), principally on the basis of material from *ALD*. Space will not allow me to offer a properly detailed analysis of the facts here (for which see MAIDEN 2022). I do not believe that this sigmatic subjunctive is *directly* connected with what we see in the Val Badia, but I believe that it does reflect contact with the same pattern of syncretism, in a different Italo-Romance dialect. As argued in MAIDEN (2022), while in Badiot the change is motivated by contact with Italian, in the north-eastern Lombard dialects it is probably due to contact with northern Italo-Romance dialects which had inherited the same pattern of syncretism as that found in early Tuscan.

almost³⁶ all 2SG forms came to end in -i, in Tuscan, and continued to end in -s, in Badiot. What changes is that the innovatory syncretisms undermine the *biuniqueness* of the form-meaning relationship: the meaning ‘second person singular’ is still solely expressed by -i or -s, but -i or -s no longer solely expresses the meaning ‘second person singular’. This chimes with the observation of Maiden (2018: 312-313), who suggests, broadly, that the diachronic replication of morphomic patterns resolves what might be described as the ‘paradigm distribution problem’, the problem of knowing where in the paradigm to distribute alternative variant forms when they arise in a language. Faced with variation in morphological exponents, speakers favour stable and predictable patterns for distributing them within inflexional paradigms³⁷. In early Tuscan a situation arose (and endured over some time) in which, for example, *cante* coexisted with *canti* in the 2SG, as a consequence of the analogical generalization of -i as 2SG marker. In this situation, not only did two forms correspond to one meaning, but an existing syncretic pattern was disrupted (that between 2SG.PRS.IND *cante*, 1SG.PRS.SBJV *cante*, 3PRS.SBJV *cante(no)*). The ultimate outcome allowed the language producer to have the ‘best of both worlds’: -i was generalized as a 2SG marker, but the existing syncretic pattern was also ‘saved’ by generalization of -i to all relevant cells. The same appears to be true for Badiot: here speakers have kept -s as their stable and recurrent 2SG marker, but have also stably and predictably redistributed that marker according to a syncretic model acquired from Italian (and possibly favoured by some internal factors, as we have seen). From the point of view of the hearer, the result is ‘unnatural’ to the extent that the relevant forms become ambiguous with regard to person, number, and mood. In practical terms, the effects are probably negligible. In both Tuscan and Badiot, mood – and specifically selection of the subjunctive – is often independently predictable from the broader syntactic and semantic context, as more generally in Romance (see, e.g., Quer 2016: 957-965). As for the person and number of the

³⁶ Some Tuscan, and nearly all Badiot, imperatives are exceptions.

³⁷ An anonymous reviewer suggests that one might speak of a (paradigmatic) ‘template’.

subject, the linguistic context frequently serves to remove ambiguity³⁸, and in any case the ‘problem’ in Tuscan is (originally) limited to the first conjugation. In Badiot the person and number of the subject tend to be distinguished by clitic subject forms (see, e.g., Salvi 2016: 159; 165) so that, in effect, the inflexional ending is functionally redundant and the communicative disruption caused by the syncretism therefore minimal. In short, the morphomic changes addressed in the present study reflect a maximalization by speakers of predictability of distribution in which violation of ‘naturalness’ is actually minimal and which apparently comports a minimal increase in cognitive effort for hearers.

4.2. Morphomic calquing and the language-specificity of morphomic patterns

While it is widely acknowledged that morphomic patterns in inflexional paradigms are able to be replicated in diachrony from generation to generation (see, e.g., Esher 2014; O’Neill 2014; Maiden 2018), it seems *a priori* unlikely that morphomic patterns could ever be ‘borrowed’ from one language into another one. After all, morphomic patterns are the diametrical opposite of the most common (or most detectable?) type of linguistic borrowing, that involving loanwords. With these, a form denoting a clearly defined, and often culturally novel, referent is taken from one language into another: one thinks, for example, of the borrowing into English from Spanish, and there from Nahuatl, of *tomato* or *chocolate*. Quite unlike loanwords, morphomic patterns exist independently of the phonological forms which manifest them, and may be assigned no referential or functional meaning. They therefore seem the most improbable candidates for any kind of ‘borrowing’, and the general assumption in the literature seems to be that they are not borrowed (cf. Kossman 2015; Gardani 2018)³⁹. Good evidence for the borrowing of morphomic patterns under contact conditions has certainly hitherto been lacking. It is true that Elson (2017)

³⁸ Indeed, in Tuscan the the 2SG subjunctive is generally accompanied by a disambiguatory explicit 2SG subject pronoun. See also VANELLI (2014: 143n16).

³⁹ GARDANI (2018: 4-5, 10-12) does identify ‘abstract’ morphological patterning in borrowing, but what is principally involved is the ordering of constituents in compounds.

gives an example of an alleged morphological borrowing from middle Bulgarian into Romanian verb morphology, and his labelling of the relevant phenomena as ‘realizational’ seems to correspond very closely to the notion ‘morphomic’. If Elson’s analysis of the facts were correct, we would indeed have a case of morphomic borrowing. However, Maiden (2021b) demonstrates that the relevant facts are unlikely to have anything to do with language contact, because – among other reasons – exactly the same paradigmatic pattern is found in numerous other Romance varieties which were never in contact with any Slavonic language. The developments we have seen in Badiot perhaps, at last, really do provide evidence that borrowing of a morphomic pattern is possible.

If this is true, it tends to contradict a criterion developed to test, cross-linguistically, whether some assumed morphomic phenomenon really is ‘morphomic’ – i.e., whether it is a matter of ‘morphology by itself’, and is not synchronically determined by any functional or phonological factor. Maiden (2018: 2, 22) proposes language-specific ‘uniqueness’ as a negative test of ‘morphomicity’: if some putative morphomic pattern exists in some language, it is unlikely to be genuinely morphomic if that same pattern can be shown also to exist in some other language (and shared inheritance can be excluded). The types of morphomic structure in Romance languages surveyed by Maiden (2018) are by and large the fortuitous, idiosyncratic, result of accumulated changes in the history of the relevant languages which are inherently unlikely to have occurred in the same manner and order in other languages. The same morpheme, it is argued, is therefore highly unlikely to recur in other languages. If some putatively morphomic pattern turns out not to be ‘unique’ in this way, that should prompt the suspicion that the phenomenon is not morphomic at all, but motivated by some universally available extramorphological factor which the investigator has simply failed to detect. Maiden’s ‘uniqueness’ criterion has been criticized by Herce (2019: 130) who believes that it is an unnecessary and unwelcome deterrent to typological and comparative research on morphomic structures. While Herce’s objection is overstated (see Maiden 2021a: 94–95 for discussion), and the uniqueness

criterion can be defended as a handy general negative diagnostic of morphomhood, the evidence from Badiot that morphomic patterns actually can be ‘calqued’ from one language into another (albeit into a closely cognate language with a very similar overall morphological structure) weakens that criterion and adds to arguments that morphomic patterns can indeed appear in languages which are unrelated to each other in any relevant sense, due to borrowing. Maiden (2021a: 95n7) also considers some other possible cases of ‘non-unique’ morphomes.

5. *Conclusion*

This study of the ‘long’ history of a syncretism has made some surprising connexions and reached some surprising conclusions. An aspect of the morphological structure of modern Italian which had seemed so trivial as to have passed basically unnoticed by linguists, turns out to have a complex history shared with many other Italo-Romance varieties, and one which suggests a significant disregard on the part of speakers for transparent signalling of grammatical categories in favour of robust predictability of paradigmatic patterning. And a puzzling, recent and abrupt, change in the morphology of some Ladin dialects appears to have been triggered by exposure to that very same phenomenon in the morphology of a different language, Italian. It thereby flies in the face of what may seem to be common-sense assumptions about what can be ‘borrowed’ between languages, and invites a more nuanced appreciation of the value of ‘uniqueness’ in typological studies of morphomic structures.

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Come è mutato il mutamento (con esemplificazione dall'ambito romanzo)

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ABSTRACT

The article addresses the four historical steps concerning our understanding of phonetic change: (1) The sound laws of the Neogrammarians, who, in accordance to the model of natural sciences, conceived sound change exclusively on the diachronic dimension; (2) The change according to the Geolinguists, who conceived language change not only on the diachronic ordinate, but primarily on the diatopic abscissa; (3) The change in the language, understood as a diasystem (a “systems’ system”), rather than a monolithic system; (4) The diasystemic consequences of a change which starts in a subsystem of the diasystem. Examples for each point from the Italo-Romance area are provided.

KEYWORDS: linguistic change, Neogrammarians, geolinguists, diasystem, Italo-Romance

Riprendo da Romano Lazzeroni (2018 e 2020) la periodizzazione dei diversi modi, così come si sono succeduti, di intendere gli *change-ments phonétiques*: la riprendo, preciso, senza nessuna pretesa di trattazione sistematica (per la quale ben altro spazio sarebbe stato necessario) e tuttavia con l’apporto di una casistica esemplificativa piuttosto variegata, tratta essenzialmente dall’ambito italo-romanzo, e con alcune riflessioni suggerite dalla pratica dialettologica.

1. *I neogrammatici e la “linguistica pre-scientifica”*

Mutamento monodimensionale: concepito esclusivamente interno alle lingue, è, in verticale (o, se vogliamo, sull’ordinata diacronica), il mutamento dei neogrammatici, visualizzabile nel modello dell’albe-

ro genealogico e concretamente caratterizzato da una “chiusura” pressoché ermetica a tutte le sollecitazioni che, alla lingua / alle lingue, possono arrivare dall'esterno, eccezion fatta per quelle provenienti dal sostrato; la qual chiusura si situa alla confluenza di più condizionamenti. Intanto c'è, da parte della giovane disciplina linguistica, l'ineliminabile esigenza di affrancarsi dalle astruserie non soltanto medievali del tipo di, ad es., lat. *flos* ‘fiore’ come acrostico di *fundens late odorem suum* o di fr. *chemise* ‘camicia’, così detta perché *sur chair mise*¹ (è noto, e spesso ripetuto, l'adagio attribuito a Voltaire, secondo cui l'etimologia, in definitiva la “linguistica” pre-scientifica, è quella scienza nella quale le consonanti valgon poco e le vocali non valgon nulla). E l'esigenza di un tale affrancamento porta la nuova disciplina a modellarsi sul rigore metodologico delle scienze naturali (August Schleicher, per dire, non era solo linguista, era anche botanico), che, fra l'altro, proprio nell'Ottocento venivano rivoluzionate dall'opera di Ch. Darwin – di qui, le lingue viste non come un prodotto (anche) storico ma come un oggetto anzitutto naturale, le cui leggi devono pertanto avere la stessa inderogabilità delle leggi naturali. Per altro verso, durante tutto l'Ottocento le lingue sulle quali la nuova scienza forma la sua metodologia sono in sostanza le lingue antiche: ossia lingue non più parlate e non osservabili nel loro divenire, ma a noi note solo grazie a più o meno ampi *corpora* altamente formalizzati e standardizzati, lingue cioè che si direbbero “perfette” *ab origine*, a modo di Atena uscita già con lancia e scudo direttamente dalla testa di Zeus. In un quadro del genere, il mutamento, concepito esclusivamente interno alle lingue, è analogo al mutamento che porta le famiglie (animali o vegetali) a differenziarsi in generi e i generi in specie – altrimenti detto: una innovazione che sia condivisa da due o più “lingue-figlie”, in termini naturalistici due o più “specie”, non può essere sorta indipendentemente nelle lingue che la condividono né può essersi trasmessa da una lingua all'altra, ma va riguardata come eredità comune di una fase più antica, in termini naturalistici assimilabile al “genere”. Ne viene, per fare un esempio, la necessità di postulare

¹ Su ciò, specificamente ZAMBONI (1976: 25-26); ma si veda anche BAGLIONI (2016: 28-30).

una fase comune (= “genere” in termini naturalistici) che raggruppi, mettiamo, le lingue italiche, parte delle lingue celtiche e la *diálektos* eolica, perché accomunate tutte dalla labializzazione delle labiovelari: la qual labializzazione, nella diacronia dall’indoeuropeo ricostruito alle lingue i.e. concretamente attestate, sarebbe avvenuta una volta e una sola. Sarà il caso, a questo punto, d’esser chiari: può anche darsi che proprio così sia stato, ovvero che la labializzazione si sia prodotta una volta e basta; ma sull’unicità del processo di labializzazione getta più d’un dubbio il fatto che, se volessimo trasferire il ragionamento e collocarlo in un contesto per noi meglio controllabile, mettiamo fra lingua-madre latina e lingue-figlie romanze, dovremmo postulare, fra l’una e le altre, una tappa intermedia ad es. “proto-sardo-rumena” per giustificare la labializzazione delle labiovelari latine solo in sardo (*báttoro* QUATTUOR) e rumeno (*patru*); o, anche, dovremmo postulare una tappa intermedia “proto-italo-spagnola” per giustificare la comparsa di un apparentemente medesimo inserto velare /g/ in certi paradigmi verbali dello spagnolo (*vienes ~ vengo: venir; tienes ~ tengo: tener*) e dell’italiano (*vieni ~ vengo: venire; tieni ~ tengo: tenere*).

Gli unici mutamenti per condizionamento esterno che, nella visione mono-dimensionale, siano ammessi sono quelli previsti dalla teoria del sostrato, quelli cioè dovuti alla *Lingua*₁ che, al momento del cambio di codice (e purché, ovvio, non ci siano state “pulizie etniche” o simili), “trasferisce” parte delle sue caratteristiche, fonetiche *in primis*, alla sopraggiungente, e vittoriosa, *Lingua*₂. Anche in questo caso, però, le scienze naturali forniscono l’opportuno parallelo: trasferito ad es. al mondo vegetale, l’episodio di sostrato si configura come vero e proprio innesto, con la nuova pianta che vegeta su un tronco diverso (si consideri ad es., da Merlo (1927: 91): «il toscano di tipo fiorentino [...] quale risuona oggi nella parte estrema settentrionale orientale di quella che fu l’antica Etruria, altro non è [...] che *un bel ramo nato dal felice innesto, sul miglior tronco etrusco, di latino schietto*» – corsivo aggiunto). Come che sia, fra Ottocento e primo Novecento e in Italia soprattutto, la teoria del sostrato, “scappatoia”, in qualche modo, alla rigidità del mutamento filogeneticamente inteso, finisce per ciò stesso col godere di amplissima fortuna; il che porta a non poche esagerazioni. Sta

di fatto che soprattutto la seconda delle tre prove richieste dall'Ascoli perché un certo fenomeno sia attribuibile a effetto di sostrato (ossia: il fenomeno della *Lingua*₂ che si vuole far risalire al sostrato deve ovviamente essere presente nella *Lingua*₁ che ha funto da sostrato) – questa seconda prova viene, nella pratica, addirittura capovolta; e ci si basa su caratteristiche (per lo più fonetiche, benché non esclusivamente) insolite o inaspettate che siano presenti in una determinata varietà linguistica non solo per attribuire – in automatico, si direbbe – tali caratteristiche a una certa lingua di sostrato (anche se della lingua di sostrato nulla sappiamo)², ma addirittura per sospettare sostrati sull'esistenza dei quali non abbiamo informazioni di alcun tipo ma di cui tali caratteristiche sarebbero sicuro indizio. In merito, si può ricordare la posizione assunta dal Merlo (1920: 242) a proposito di certi dialetti lucani, che negli esiti delle occlusive sorde latine mostrano «condizioni che possiamo dire italiane settentrionali» (esiti cioè sonori): si tratta ovviamente dei non ancora riconosciuti, quando il Merlo scrive, dialetti lucani di origine galloitalica; e questa è la posizione dello studioso: «[m]eglio ritenere la sonora basilisca una anomalia, un caso sporadico, e dichiararla singolarmente, indipendentemente. *Forse là, in quel punto, non v'eran Sanniti, ma altre genti, e chi sa quali genti!*» (*ibid.* 242-243; corsivo aggiunto). Del Merlo sono per altro sintomatiche, ancora nel 1946 (= 1959: 181), le parole:

Per individuare e circoscrivere i gruppi etnici stanziati in Italia al tempo della conquista romana, noi, neo-latinisti, possediamo [...] un mezzo sicuro, quale nessun'altra disciplina possiede: le alterazioni che i suoni latini subirono sulla bocca delle popolazioni soggiogate e incivilite da Roma. [...] A individuare, a circoscrivere, i singoli gruppi bastano poche alterazioni fonetiche tipiche, caratteristiche, che, a tanti secoli di distanza, continuano le abitudini orali delle singole stirpi.

² Come fa ad es. l'ALESSIO (1954-55), che, basandosi su etrusco *zixu-ce* 'scripsit' e simili e su *-κ-* come morfema di perfetto greco (ad es. *λέ-λυ-κ-α* perfetto di *λύω* 'io scioglio'), conclude che **k* doveva essere morfema di perfetto (o comunque di tempo passato) nella lingua / nelle lingue pre.i.e. mediterranee, delle quali ovviamente non conosciamo nulla.

Si noti l'inciso «a tanti secoli di distanza», che va a toccare un altro aspetto di questa fase a forte imprinting naturalistico: i tempi delle lingue sono concepiti, se non uguali ai, tuttavia non troppo diversi dai, tempi delle scienze naturali. Significativo, e chiarissimo, è ad es. G.I. Ascoli, quando, a proposito del contrapporsi fra lat. \ddot{O} (> it. $\mu\phi$) e lat. \ddot{O} (> it. ϕ), annota:

la brevità o la lunghezza della vocale latina non proviene [...] da un capriccio, o da una convenzione, del popolo de' Quiriti, ma sì è un accidente che ha le sue ragioni organiche e ancora si vede difilatamente risalire a tale antichità, rispetto alla quale sono avvenimenti moderni le storie più remote [e dunque] la distinzione [...] tra *nuóvo* (növus) [...] e *lôro* (illōrum) [...] è [...] un fenomeno storico, il quale, connaturato e saldo nell'uomo odierno, rivaleggia d'antichità col mondo fossile. (Ascoli 1873: VI-VII)

2. La “linguistica spaziale” e i neogrammatici

La seconda fase nella concezione del mutamento è quella, bidimensionale, inaugurata dalla geografia linguistica, di cui oggetto non sono più lingue senza parlanti, vale a dire lingue a noi note grazie a *corpora* più o meno ampi ma irrimediabilmente chiusi, sì lingue osservabili *in vivo* nei loro parlanti e nei relativi comportamenti linguistici – i quali comportamenti rendono ben chiaro che, a quello filogenetico, cioè quello sull'ordinata diacronica, occorre aggiungere il mutamento sull'ascissa spaziale: il mutamento, in altre parole, non nasce esclusivamente dall'interno, ma è concepito *anche*, se non soprattutto, come trasmissibile per contatto da lingua a lingua (e indipendentemente dall'essere, le lingue a contatto, imparentate oppure no). Un primo, ovvio corollario ne è che mentre nella fase monodimensionale il mutamento è concepibile esclusivamente quale applicazione ineccepibile (in termini naturalistici: come, in natura, un mutamento che porta un genere a scindersi in due specie diverse – una contraddistinta da quel mutamento e una no – deve di necessità interessare tutti gli individui che rientrano nella nuova specie, allo stesso modo un mutamento qualsivoglia che interessi un punto x dell'organizzazione linguistica e così determini una scissione dialettale deve necessariamente colpire tutti gli x presenti nel

dialetto che innova³); nella fase invece bidimensionale l'ineccepibilità dell'applicazione non è più *conditio sine qua non*: in quanto non più (esclusivamente) filogenetico ma, a seconda dei casi, frutto di imitazione, il mutamento può presentarsi in qualche sorta caotico, colpendo, e facendolo a prima vista "a casaccio", solo una parte degli *x* teoricamente assoggettabili⁴. Altro corollario è la contrazione, per così dire, dei tempi delle lingue: se il mutamento può propagarsi anche per imitazione / contatto, vale a dire può comportarsi *anche* come una qualunque moda, ne viene che certi assestamenti che abbiamo sotto gli occhi, non c'è bisogno di proiettarli nelle nebbie della preistoria. Paradigmatiche in questo senso le due diverse letture che C. Merlo e O. Lurati danno della geografia nord-italiana della "acutissima tra le spie celtiche" (formulazione ascoliana), ossia del palatalizzarsi di -Á- in sillaba libera: fenomeno che si ritrova bene nella piana al di sotto del Po (ad es. emiliano *èla* 'ala', *fè* 'fare') ma non anche nella piana al di sopra (e il milanese ha infatti *àla* 'ala', *fa* 'fare'). Se si vuole, come il Merlo, attribuirla a sostrato celtico, tale distribuzione geografica risulta in sé contraddittoria (perché a sud del Po sì e a nord no?); ed ecco la "lettura" del Merlo:

Delle orde di Celti [...], calate in Italia attraverso i valichi alpini tra il sec. V e il sec. IV a. Cr., soltanto una parte, la parte minore, dovette rimanere di là dal Po, nella *Transpadana regio* [...], mescolandosi, confondendosi, con la popolazione, qua ligure, là eugànea o veneta, scampata dall'invasione. La parte maggiore, scacciatine i prischi abitatori, si insediò verisimilmente di qua dal Po, nella *Cispadana regio* [...], nella lunga distesa di terra ferace, protetta a settentrione dal gran fiume, a mezzodì dalla catena dell'Appennino, ad oriente dal mare Adriatico. (Merlo 1955 = 1959: 173)

³ Un mutamento che si avvicina a questa tipologia è, nel centro d'Italia, lat. -RJ- > -[j]- (così, -ĀRJU > -*ajo* ecc.): il mutamento è sostanzialmente categorico e separa nettamente le parlate toscane (che lo presentano) da tutte le altre, in cui si riscontrano esiti vari ma caratterizzati sempre dalla presenza di [r] – si veda però oltre.

⁴ Un esempio può esserne la sonorizzazione toscana / italiana delle occlusive sorde latine, che colpisce tuttavia una parte soltanto degli elementi suscettibili di mutamento: in *luogo* ma non in *fuoco*, in *lido* ma non in *lato*, in *riva* ma non in *rapa*. A ben vedere, però, il mutamento non è del tutto caotico: è caotico per quel che concerne i lessemi, lo è molto meno per quel che concerne i morfemi derivativi (in *corridore*, ad es., ma non, per contro, in *intenditore* o *inquisitore*) ed è categoricamente escluso dai morfemi flessivi (nei verbi, ad es., solo -*ate*, -*ete*, -*ite*, cioè [voi] *parlate*, *vedete*, *udite*, e non anche *-*ade*, *-*ede*, *-*ide*; e lo stesso vale per -*ato*, -*ito*, -*uto*).

Detto diversamente: la moderna corografia del fenomeno per un verso non solo non contraddirebbe alle sedi degli antichi celti ma, sulle modalità di insediamento di questi (che si sarebbero concentrati al di sotto del Po per motivi latamente strategici), ci darebbe quelle informazioni che altre discipline, come la storia, non ci danno; per l'altro, non potrà non risalire quanto meno ai tempi della romanizzazione. Diversa affatto la "lettura" di O. Lurati, che invece non è alla ricerca di nessun sostrato: di contro al milanese attuale, che ignora la palatalizzazione, il milanese meno recente la conosceva (ad es., C. M. Maggi, scomparso nel 1699, usa forme come *prae* 'prati', *aera* 'ala', *taevera* 'tavola'); e la circostanza, gettando un ovvio ponte fra la palatalizzazione della -Á- in sillaba libera che troviamo nei dialetti lombardi della val Leventina (in Svizzera) e di Bormio a nord e nei dialetti emiliano-romagnoli a sud, «suggerisce l'esistenza di un'antica, unitaria area di *á* > *é*», che si estendeva dalle Alpi fino alla grande pianura padana, e che in processo di tempo (ma in età ampiamente post-medievale!) è stata spezzata da Milano, il cui dialetto, sempre più orientato verso modelli italiani, si è sbarazzato della palatalizzazione della -á- (Lurati 1988: 491) – in altre parole: l'attuale dislocazione del palatalizzarsi di -á- non riflette vicende prelatine ma risulta da accadimenti in pratica moderni.

D'altra parte, la considerazione (anche) delle aree finitime, insomma del contesto geografico, può contribuire a risolvere in modo meno meccanico e assai più sfumato problemi per i quali il mutamento monodimensionale disponeva invece del solo passe-partout sostratistico: donde la drastica riduzione dell'importanza euristica di questo (non per caso nasce e si radicalizza la contrapposizione fra i cosiddetti "sostratmani" e i cosiddetti "sostratofobi", con ricadute che arrivano fino a noi⁵). Riprendiamo qui, dalla nota 3, l'esito [-j-] da -RJ- (ad es., -a[j]o

⁵ Sta di fatto che a inizio del nuovo millennio, un secolo cioè dopo l'avvento della geografia linguistica, non pochi linguisti, e forse i più, continuano a considerare ascientifico il parlare di sostrato, mostrando così di confondere il sostrato = ineludibile sottosettore della linguistica del contatto (un esempio minimo: nessun parlante italofono scambierebbe la parlata di Matteo fiorentino con quella di Matteo milanese, e questo perché i due tipi di italiano, quello fiorentino e quello milanese, si sono sovrapposti a tipi dialettali diversi – o, se vogliamo, hanno sostrati dialettali diversi) col sostrato = specifica teoria del mutamento linguistico nata nell'Ottocento e variamente continuatasi nel secolo successivo (su ciò rinvio a FANCIULLO 2018a, 2022a, 2022b).

< -ĀRJU, *ghia*[j]a < GLAREA *-RJ-, *cuo*[j]o < CÖRJU ecc.), così caratteristicamente ed esclusivamente toscano da averlo fatto riguardare, pur in assenza di indizi concreti, come un etruschismo, alla stregua della gorgia – quel che è sicuro è che, se spostiamo lo sguardo o a nord o a sud della Toscana, vediamo sempre conservata la vibrante, mentre il legamento, a seconda delle zone, può restare nella posizione originaria o trasferirsi prima della vibrante (eventualmente combinandosi con la vocale che precede) o cancellarsi del tutto (Rohlf, GrammStor. § 285). In realtà, caratteristicamente toscano, d'accordo, ma l'esito [-j-] < -RJ-, con cancellazione totale, questa volta, della vibrante, non è senza paralleli: in Corsica, l'esito normale di -RJ- è [-j-] (così *-aghju* = *-aio*); «[i]n alcune zone della provincia di Lucca (contado di Lucca stessa, Versilia)» da -RJ- si è avuto [-ʎʎ-] (*-aglio* = *-aio*, ad es. in *solaglio* 'solaio', ivi § 284; o *buglio* 'buio', da *BŪRJU, anche nella microtoponomastica: *Al buglio*, presso S. Concordio a Moriano, località così detta perché posta a bacio, Ambrosini 1978: 17); ancora, stesso esito ([-ʎʎ-]) si ha in parte del sardo (ad es. Bitti *aula*[ʎʎ]u 'bugiardo' < *FABUL-ĀRJU, o anche *ke*[ʎʎ]o 'io voglio' < *QUAERJŌ; Fanciullo 2018: 123, su segnalazione di S. Pisano); ed è chiaro che, pur diversi nella forza, tutt'e tre gli esiti, [-j- / -j- / -ʎ-], sono articolazioni medio-palatali. Difficile dunque non collegare questi esiti con gli esiti ugualmente palatalizzati di lat. -LJ- (> [-ʎʎ- / -j(j)- / -j(j)-], a seconda delle aree: Rohlf, GrammStor. § 280) e di lat. -NJ- (> [-ɲ(ɲ)-] su tutta l'Italo-romania; ivi § 282), ma anche con l'esito, che in larga misura è [-ɲ(ɲ)-], di lat. -MJ- (ivi § 281) – in altre parole, è difficile non far rientrare i casi di [-j / j / ʎ-] < -RJ- nel più generale fenomeno della palatalizzazione delle liquide e nasali seguite da legamento palatale: fenomeno articolatoriamente del tutto pacifico per -LJ- e -NJ- (rispetto a [l] e a [n], la [ʎ] e la [ɲ] sono semplicemente [-anteriore] e [+alto]); già meno "automatico" per -MJ-, visto che la palatalizzazione (in [ɲ(ɲ)]) "snatura" la labialità della [m]⁶; e non poco

⁶ E infatti, la palatalizzazione, se è normale nei dialetti centro-meridionali (ad es. *signa* SĪMIA), in Toscana ha convissuto con l'altro esito [-mmj-] (*bestegna* ~ *bestemmia*; esito, [-mmj-], che ha poi preso il sopravvento ed è quello standard dell'italiano) e nel nord convive con [-mj-] e il semplice [-m-] (Rohlf, GrammStor. § 281). Per altro, un ignoto revisore mi segnala, «come termine di confronto» su un piano non solo romanzo, il caso «n[eo]gr[eco] colloquiale» dell'articolo *μῆ* 'una', che «protonico (quindi deaccentato) passa a [ɲa]».

difficile per -RJ-, visto che la necessità di conciliare la vibrazione della punta con l'innalzamento della massa della lingua fa della vibrante palatalizzata un'articolazione non poco problematica, cioè parecchio marcata, in ogni caso rara nelle lingue del mondo. Ma se così stanno le cose e la vibrante palatalizzata ([r(r)']) è articolazione di per sé (parecchio) complessa, ci si può aspettare che questa tenda a semplificarsi in suoni articolatoriamente non altrettanto marcati: nella semplice [r] non palatalizzata (esito della maggior parte dell'italo-romanzo centro-merid. ma anche nord-orient.), o in [rj] (ad es. nel meridione estremo), o, con metatesi del legamento, in [jr] (saltuariamente tanto nel nord d'Italia quanto nel sud), il cui [j] va poi spesso a legarsi alla vocale precedente (cfr. Rohlfs, *GrammStor.* §§ 284-285) – oppure, possiamo aggiungere, in suoni che restano mediopalatali, come la [r(r)'], ma di articolazione certo più semplice: dunque, nella [j] del toscano, nella [ʝ] del corso, nella [ʎ] del lucchese / versiliese e di parte del sardo. In definitiva: idiosincratico quanto si voglia, però l'esito tosc. [j] < -RJ- si inserisce perfettamente in una cornice intrinsecamente romanza⁷.

In qualche modo, la svolta impressa dal modello geolinguistico al modello neogrammatico si direbbe un più che ovvio aggiustamento, nel senso che un modello troppo “potente”, e in ogni caso visto operare “al di fuori” del parlante (si ricordino le parole ad es. di Salvioni [1906 =] 2008: 16-17: «Si potrà discutere e si discute perché e come s'inizi il moto evolutivo, ma è certo che una volta ricevuto l'impulso, l'evoluzione debba procedere ciecamente, come una forza elementare, e tutto travolgere nel suo fatale andare»), viene riportato, in fondo, entro i confini d'un più ragionevole pragmatismo; ma, per chi ha vissuto l'avvicendamento del metodo, le cose si ponevano in tutt'altri termini. La svolta metodologica, se, per un verso, viene vissuta come «*förmliche Revolution*» (così Rohlfs 1925: 279 – dove si noterà anche l'ironia dello studioso nei confronti di C. Merlo e dei suoi scolari, orgogliosi, questi, di concentrare la loro acribia in una vieta esposizione dei dati secondo «*unzähligen Kapiteln, Paragraphen und Unterparagraphen*»); dall'altro, vien vista come una ricerca del caos da parte di, detto senza mezzi termini, «*menti malate*», giusta l'incipit di Merlo (1922):

⁷ Su questa problematica rinvio a FANCIULLO (2018b: §§ 10-11).

Quando, nella primavera del 1909, il MONACI mi invitò cortesemente a illustrare per gli *Studj Romanzi* uno dei dialetti della regione laziale che a lui era particolarmente cara, accettai con animo grato, ma a una condizione, che altri, non io, raccogliesse sul luogo il materiale. E questo perché *dai negatori della ineccepibilità delle leggi fonetiche, dagli assertori del caos che solo esiste nelle loro menti malate*, non si potesse dire un giorno che le voci me le ero foggiate io a mio beneplacito. (Merlo 2022: 1; corsivo aggiunto)

– parole che rincarano la dose di quanto già si legge nella nota 1 a p. 127 di Merlo (1920): «Gli esempi [a documentazione degli esiti fonici del dialetto di Sora] non paian soverchi: ai sostenitori della eccepibilità delle leggi fonetiche è bene opporre ognor sempre la falange degli esiti normali». Par quasi d'avvertirne l'*arrière pensée*: poiché la fonetica è «la base granitica su cui deve poggiare, il cardine infrangibile su cui va imperniata ogni ricerca linguistica» (Merlo 1924: 2), allora, se, *à la* Gilliéron, ci si attiene alla *faillite de l'étymologie phonétique*, i progressi scientifici dell'Ottocento sono stati vani e non si può che ricadere nelle astruserie medievali.

3. *Il diasistema*

Terza fase nella concezione del mutamento è quella marcata, socio-linguisticamente, dalla raggiunta consapevolezza della profondità diastratica che caratterizza la comunità dei parlanti e che fa sì che gruppi sociali diversi, o situazioni comunicative diverse, possano presentare, in sincronia, alternative linguistiche diverse. Cito da Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1977):

La chiave ad una concezione razionale, non solo del cambiamento linguistico ma della lingua stessa, consiste nella possibilità di descrivere ordinatamente la differenziazione esistente all'interno di una lingua che serve una comunità. [...] la padronanza di strutture eterogenee da parte del parlante nativo non è un fatto di plurilinguismo o di mera esecuzione, ma parte di una competenza monolingue. [...] in una lingua che serva una comunità complessa, ossia reale, sarebbe proprio l'assenza di eterogeneità strutturata a compromettere la sua funzionalità. (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1977: 104; l'originale inglese è del 1968)

Esemplificativamente, Lazzeroni (2020: 194) ricorda ad es. come, nella Francia post-rivoluzionaria e post-napoleonica, Luigi XVIII si ostinasse ad articolare *çe mue le rue*, rifiutando, di *ue*, l'ulteriore sviluppo in [wa], che, prima del via libera concessogli dalla Rivoluzione, era proprio del solo ceto parigino più popolare. Un po' più complesso, invece, il caso che segue. I dialetti salentini sono fra quelli, sud-italiani estremi, che si caratterizzano per una (relativa) "impopolarità dell'infinito", ossia per un (relativo) uso di completeive con verbo di modo finito (ad es., *ku vvaj e kku vvjèni nć-òle nn-ura*, propriamente 'che vai e che vieni ci vuole un'ora'⁸) lì dove l'italo-romanzo in genere, compresi i dialetti sud-italiani non estremi, ha l'infinito (ad es., (*ad*) *andare e venire, ci si mette un'ora*)⁹. Ebbene: non saprei dire oggi, ma ancora intorno alla metà del '900 nel Salento circolava il detto che segue:

le jjèrte su ppe kkòggyere le fike
 'le [donne] alte sono [buone] per cogliere i fichi'
le vašše su ppe ffà le maññe ttsite
 'le basse sono [buone] per fare le belle spose';

il qual detto con ogni evidenza attesta costrutti (*pe kkòggyere le fike* e *pe ffà le maññe ttsite*) costituiti da *pe* 'per' + infinito lì dove l'attesa normale sarebbe stata senz'altro per costrutti del tipo di *su bbòne ku kkòggyinu le fike* / *ku ffannu le maññe ttsite*¹⁰. In realtà, il detto è quanto mai probabile che non sia di origine salentina, visto che, sia pur con variazioni, lo si riscontra ad es. nel Cilento:

le femmene aute so bbone pe coglie le ficu
 'le alte sono buone per cogliere i fichi'
*le vascie so bbone per li mariti*¹¹
 'le basse sono buone per i mariti (= per andare a marito)',

⁸ In una situazione foneticamente più arcaica: *ku bbaj e kku bbjèni* ecc.

⁹ Tradizionalmente, e notoriamente, tale "impopolarità" è stata collegata alla presenza del greco come lingua parlata (residualmente ancor oggi) nelle medesime aree.

¹⁰ Per ulteriori dettagli rinvio a FANCIULLO (in stampa).

¹¹ Dal sito: <comune.piaggine.sa.it/Vivere-Piaggine/Cultura-e-Tradizioni/I-proverbi> (proverbio registrato s.v. *le*).

nonché a Napoli:

'a corta è bona p' 'o marito,
'la corta (= bassa) è buona da marito,'
*a longa pe' cògliere 'e fìche*¹²
'la lunga (= alta) per cogliere i fichi';

ed è ovviamente assai più verosimile ipotizzarne una diffusione da Napoli verso le periferie dell'antico regno che non il contrario. Ma se questo è vero, sarà anche vero che, nel Salento, possono convivere costrutti appartenenti a *sotto*-sistemi differenti. Nello specifico: se, in un'oralità che "non guarda" lontano, ci sono situazioni in cui l'uso dell'infinito può risultare addirittura agrammaticale; quando invece l'interscambio fra sistema salentino e sistema romanzo sud-italiano si presenta particolarmente pressante (in caso cioè di accoglimento di forme "esterne": nel Salento il nostro testo sarà arrivato contenendo costrutti di *pe* + infinito¹³), la necessità di volgere in pretta sintassi salentina (= completiva con verbo di modo finito introdotta da *ku*) quello che viene da fuori può scontrarsi con la necessità di mantenere un più ampio e immediato rapporto linguistico con tutto quello che non si trova all'ombra del campanile.

Quali poi le conseguenze del tenere nel conto dovuto la profondità diastematica, lo mostra bene il caso che segue, che riprendo da Lazzeroni (2003: 35-36). Se *non* conoscessimo il latino, non avremmo eccessive difficoltà ad accettare l'interpretazione che dà il Bartoli del contrapporsi fra comparativo analitico con PLUS (ad es., it. *più alto* e fr. *plus haut*) e comparativo analitico con MAGIS (port. *mais alto*, sp. *más alto*, rum. *mai înalt*): poiché compare nelle aree laterali della Romania, il comparativo con MAGIS andrà inteso come più antico del comparativo con PLUS, viceversa attestato nell'area centrale (e arrivato perfino in Sardegna: *prus artu*). Sennonché, il latino noi lo conosciamo; e siccome lo conosciamo, sappiamo che, in questo sistema, il comparativo con MAGIS emerge con Plauto (nato nel 250 ca. a.C.) e quello con PLUS emerge con Ennio (nato nel 239 a.C.): che è quanto dire che i tipi comparativi analitici sono

¹² Dal sito: <napolinpillole.it/modi-di-dire-napoletani> (proverbio registrato s.v. *'a*).

¹³ E si aggiunga che, nel salent. *pe ffà* 'per fare', si osserva la cancellazione di *-re* di infinito, che è circostanza, anch'essa, "anti-salentina".

coevi. In realtà, una differenza c'è, ma è di natura, in origine, diafasica: il tipo con MAGIS è proprio del latino elegante, quello con PLUS è del latino colloquiale; ne viene che, in questo caso, la norma bartoliana delle aree laterali non identifica il tipo *intrinsecamente* più antico ma il tipo del quale è più antico l'uso giudicato standard – in altre parole, abbiamo qui l'assestamento diatopico di due varianti uguali quanto a cronologia ma differenti quanto a uso; il che basta a gettare più d'un'ombra sulle tante, possibili interpretazioni *à la* Bartoli di vicende linguistiche di cui manchi concreta documentazione.

4. *Riverberi del mutamento nel diasistema*

Circa la quarta fase, riporto le parole di Lazzeroni (2020: 194): «se alla rappresentazione del mutamento nel tempo, nello spazio e nella società aggiungiamo quella del suo inserimento nel diasistema, l'orizzonte si allarga a una quarta dimensione: quella dei percorsi che il mutamento segue e delle reazioni che provoca nel diasistema», dove per *diasistema* si intenderà ovviamente «un insieme di sottosistemi appartenenti alla competenza del parlante». In altri termini: un certo fenomeno che prenda forma o un certo percorso che cominci in uno dei *sottosistemi* a disposizione del parlante, cosa produrrà nel *diasistema*? Qui, in realtà, è la vera sfida: trovare, se c'è, il filo conduttore che tiene insieme quella che, a una prima occhiata, si presenta come una congerie di accadimenti non solo disparati ma – e ciò succede forse le più volte – tali da svilupparsi in conseguenze che, a giudicarle dai rispettivi *input*, si configurano come senz'altro imprevedibili. L'invito del Lazzeroni (cit.) è di muoversi fra:

- i) mutamenti che si collocano «fuori dalla storia per il loro carattere universale o almeno tendenziale» e mutamenti riconducibili a «circostanze contingenti, storicamente determinabili»;
- ii) memoria dichiarativa (= insieme degli *elementi* che devono essere immagazzinati uno per uno nella memoria) e memoria procedurale (= insieme delle *regole* che invece permettono di produrre automaticamente le forme da usare).

Senza, a dire il vero, nessuna presunzione di novità eclatanti; e senza per altro dimenticare che le nostre informazioni, ma anche le modalità in base a cui le informazioni ci procuriamo (internet, ad esempio), si sono impensabilmente accresciute rispetto a cinquanta o cento anni or sono (in altre parole: non siamo noi ad essere “più bravi” dei nostri predecessori, è la quantità di informazioni, che, per un verso, ci costringe a cambiare il nostro angolo di visuale e, per l’altro, ci consente di farlo); qui di seguito intenderei fermarmi su qualche esempio a illustrazione dell’infinita casistica degli effetti che il mutamento può provocare nel diasistema; e partirei nello specifico dal diasistema con cui hanno piena familiarità ancora non pochi italiani, quello, cioè, italiano ~ dialetto. Prendo l’*essort* da de Falco (1985), che, come annota De Blasi (2022), raccoglie un insieme di testi sul napoletano «nati come conversazioni in un programma televisivo trasmesso dall’emittente Canale 21», ciò che, per altro, «spiega in generale l’andamento del discorso, spesso caratterizzato da un tono colloquiale brillante, segnato anche da incisi, curiosità, affermazioni non dimostrate» (2022: 37; preciso che da De Blasi 2022 dipendo interamente per quel che riguarda il de Falco):

Si è detto fin troppe volte che per rendere appieno il senso icasticamente espresso da un solo verbo, o sostantivo, o aggettivo napoletano, l’italiano deve ricorrere ad ampio e talvolta improprio giro di parole. Ed è vero: con l’aggravante che la circonlocuzione, oltre a snaturare l’essenzialità del concetto, ne diluisce – talvolta alterandola – la stessa portata. (citazione da de Falco 1985 in De Blasi 2022: 37)

Ora, al netto dell’orgoglio campanilistico, che fa ritenere il napoletano (in questo caso; ma il discorso potrebbe valere, è ovvio, per qualunque dialetto) addirittura superiore all’italiano, ci si può chiedere se qualcosa, e nello specifico che cosa, si celi dietro l’idea che l’icasticità propria del dialetto venga inesorabilmente diluita e banalizzata ove si volga dal dialetto appunto in lingua standard. Per farlo, consideriamo qui di seguito un passo di P. V. Mengaldo:

Quando a una forma unica del tale dialetto corrispondono in italiano standard (o anche nell’italiano regionale della zona) due – difficilmente più – si-

nonimi, l'uno uguale l'altro diverso da quella, le auto-traduzioni dei [poeti] dialettali tendono fortemente a privilegiare questo secondo, come il più o il solo italiano: con un atteggiamento in fondo non dissimile da quello che detta il fenomeno dell'ipercorrezione, (Mengaldo 2012: 321)

– gli esempi portati dallo studioso sono quelli di «‘parere’ tradotto per lo più con ‘sembrare’ che se non sbaglio è estraneo ai dialetti» (322; anche 340), di *pigliare* / *ripigliare* reso con *prendere* / *riprendere* (338), di *pure*, che «[n]ei [poeti] meridionali è di regola cassato [...] a favore di anche o di perfino» (322), nonché (stessa pagina) di quelle «[f]orme del participio» selezionate «di regola a sfuggire la coincidenza col dialetto» (così, *përdù* o *pirdùt* > *perso* ovvero *pers* > *perduto* / *dispèrs* > *sperduto*...).

Il Mengaldo, il cui lavoro cit. è certo di taglio assai più letterario che linguistico, si sta occupando dei poeti dialettali che accompagnano ai loro testi (in dialetto) una traduzione italiana, ad es. di servizio, e dei meccanismi che s'instaurano nel processo di auto-traduzione; ma quanto meno in parte tali meccanismi non sono poi così diversi da quelli che, più “prosaicamente” se vogliamo, s'instaurano (e ne sono facili sia la constatazione dall'esterno sia l'auto-constatazione) presso chiunque, pur senza aspirazioni letterarie, sia però ancora, e lo sia attivamente, dialettòfono e italòfono insieme. Esemplificando qui sulla base della mia esperienza personale (e per quanto non abbia attività di poeta...), a dispetto del più di mezzo secolo trascorso in terra toscana nel mio italiano c'è scarso posto per *parere* e per *pigliare* (troppo simili al salentino dialett. *paríre* e, rispettivamente, *piggyáre*, e dunque sostituiti da *sembrare* e *prendere*) e, aggiungo, non c'è posto affatto per *cacio* ‘formaggio’, pur omoradicale, questo, del salent.dialett. *casu* nel senso appunto di ‘formaggio’ (il qual *cásu*, a sua volta, era sentito come “volgare” già intorno alla metà del Novecento e sostituito, in linea di massima, dall'italianizzante *formággju*). Il Mengaldo, dunque, parla di «atteggiamento in fondo non dissimile da quello che detta il fenomeno dell'ipercorrezione»: e questo sarà vero in non pochi casi; tuttavia, e meno di rado di quanto si potrebbe pensare, sono possibili altre considerazioni.

Cominciamo col dire che, talvolta, la scelta del corrispettivo italiano che si allontana da quello del dialetto può esser motivata non

da più o meno esagerata ricerca di distanziamento (in altri termini, da manovra ipercorrettiva) ma, più banalmente (o più sottilmente?), da una diversa estensione semantica della voce dialettale e dell'omoetimologia italiana. Un esempio minimo può esserne il caso di Albino Pierro che, nota Mengaldo (2012: 27), auto-traduce il dialettale *citte* non – ciò che sarebbe atteso in automatico – con *zitto* ma con *silen-zioso*. In realtà, il merid. *ċitta* / *ċittu*, se condivide con l'omoetimologico it. *zitto* il senso di 'chi / che non parla per necessità o per imposizione' nonché l'uso come ordine per imporre il silenzio, a differenza però dell'it. *zitto* ha anche il senso di 'silenzioso non per imposizione ma per carattere', insomma di '(soggetto) di poche parole'¹⁴; ed è ovvio che, in questo caso, la traduzione di *ċitta* / *ċittu* come 'zitto' non "renderebbe l'idea". Qualche altro esempio lo traggo dal lessico salentino di Sandonaci (in provincia di Brindisi) di Cavallo Conversano (2012). Qui, l'aggettivo *pinzirùsu* è registrato come 'pensieroso' = 'perso dietro a un qualche pensiero', non diversamente che in italiano, ma vi è registrato anche come 'premuroso' = 'che si dà pensiero / che si adopera (per venire incontro alle necessità altrui)'; ed è ovvio che quando *pinzirùsu* ha questo secondo senso, una sua traduzione come 'pensieroso' risulterebbe intrinsecamente errata. Ancora: *càsa* f. vi è spiegato «abitazione, ma principalmente la grande stanza d'ingresso (oggi la definiremmo soggiorno) della casa», in quanto «*casa*, *càmmara* e *cucina*, ingresso, stanza da letto e cucina, era l'abitazione del ceto sociale medioalto nei tempi passati» – ed è ancora una volta ovvio che tradurre come 'casa' quel che è invece l'«ingresso» sarebbe né più né meno che sbagliato (aggiungo che, fin oltre la metà del Novecento – oggi occorre fare i conti con la pressione dell'italiano – nel dialetto di Cellino San Marco la *kása* era genericamente la 'stanza', che, se specificata come *kása te nántsi*, alla lettera 'stanza di davanti', era l'«ingresso», mentre per indicare l'«abitazione nel suo complesso» si usava il pl. *káse*: *s-à ffátte* [o *s'è ffátte*] *le káse nòe* 'si è costruito / fatto costruire una nuova casa' / *se nd-a ššutu alle káse nòe* '[se n'è andato =] si è trasferito nella nuova casa').

¹⁴ Ad es. salentino *nnu piććinnu ċittu ċittu* 'un bambino di poche parole' – ciò che, per altro, emerge poco e male dagli usuali lessici dialettali.

Ma le cose non si presentano sempre altrettanto lineari. Allargando il discorso, il salentino dialettale *parite* ‘parete’¹⁵, ad es., nell’italiano regionale omotopico viene reso non, come ci si aspetterebbe in automatico, con il chiaramente omoetimologico it. *parete* ma, e categoricamente, con l’it. *muro*¹⁶. In realtà, non a livello semantico, ma una differenza fra salent. *parite* e it. *parete* c’è, ed è che la voce salentina è maschile mentre quella italiana è femminile: adoperando gli allotropi omoetimologici, allora, il parlante diglottico potrebbe avere qualche difficoltà nell’organizzazione della frase, poniamo nel far corrispondere al dialettale

nnu_M parite_M luèngu_M e jèrtu_M

l’it.

una_F parete_F lunga_F e alta_F

– la selezione invece dell’it. *muro*, maschile (*un_M muro_M lungo_M e alto_M*) come il dialettale *parite*, elimina questa difficoltà¹⁷. Detto in altro modo: è forse più facile (diciamo pure più remunerativo) memorizzare, nell’“altra” lingua, una stringa del tutto diversa da quella della lingua di partenza ma dotata delle stesse proprietà morfosintattiche (= in questo caso, genere maschile in entrambi i sistemi) che memorizzare una stringa in chiara corrispondenza omoetimologica (*parite* = *parète*) ma dotata di proprietà morfosintattiche divergenti (*lu parite* m. ~ *la parete* f.)¹⁸. Naturalmente, la difficoltà di cui sopra va inquadrata non

¹⁵ A Cellino San Marco anche, toponimicamente, *lu paritòne*, in riferimento al lunghissimo (-òne) muro, un tempo a secco, che cinge completamente l-òsku, ‘il bosco’, cioè, nel territorio comunale, il maggior frammento superstite dell’originaria macchia mediterranea.

¹⁶ Che invece, e a parte il toponimo *Muru* ‘Muro Leccese’ («chiamato così per gli avanzi di mura megalitiche» messapiche, VDS), è tipo che non appartiene alle parlate salentine (cfr. VDS, s.v. *murru*: «Il vocabolo popolare e indigeno è *parite*»).

¹⁷ M in pedice = maschile, F in pedice = femminile.

¹⁸ Stesso discorso vale ad es. per il salent. *kapu* ‘testa’, cui nell’italiano regionale omotopico corrisponde invariabilmente non il possibilissimo *capo* ma l’alternativa *testa*. Anche in questo caso, sarà stata la comunanza di genere (a dispetto della -u, il dialettale *kapu* è femm., esattamente come *testa*; it. *capo* ‘testa’ è invece masch.) a spingere per la selezione categorica di it. regionale *testa*: ad es., *pòrta la_F kapu_F tòšta_F = ha la_F testa_F dura_F*, al contrario del teoricamente possibile (ma concretamente inattestato) it.region.salent. *ha il_M capo_M duro_M*.

nell'*hic et nunc* sincronico (attualmente, molti salentini, come molti italiani meridionali, sono in effetti solo italòfoni) ma in un contesto di spiccata diglossia (col dialetto come lingua primaria e l'italiano, in sostanza, L2) quale poteva essere ancora fin oltre la metà del Novecento – va da sé, infatti, che tutte le idiosincrasie che, per condizionamento anche dialettale, sono entrate nell'italiano regionale (non solo, è ovvio, salentino), queste sono rimaste e continuiamo a trovarle anche nell'italiano (regionale) di parlanti ormai soltanto italòfoni¹⁹.

Torniamo ora al caso, cui abbiamo accennato sopra riprendendolo dal Mengaldo, dell'it. dialett. *parére*¹ → it. regionale *sembrare*. Inutile andare alla ricerca di inesistenti, in questo caso, motivazioni semantiche o di tipo latamente sintattico; semmai, le vicende di dialett. *(il) paréte*¹ m. → it. regionale *muro* m. (≠ it. *[la] paréte* f.) o dial. *(la) kapə / kapu*¹ f. → it. region. *(la) testa* f. (≠ it. *[il] capo* m.) possono suggerire motivazioni latamente “mnemo-morfologiche” (se così si può dire) anche nella sostituzione di dialett. *parére*¹ con it. region. *sembrare*; motivazioni, che andranno cercate nella complessità morfologica dell'it. *parére* rispetto al *parére*¹ dialettale – quanto meno quello salentino: di contro al presente indicativo *páru / pári / páre / parímu / paríti / párinu* di quest'ultimo, con un solo lessema /par-/, il presente indicativo dell'italiano *paio / pari / pare / pariamo / parete / paiono*, presenta alternanza allomorfica /paj-/ ~ /par-/; ancora, al passato remoto, lì dove il verbo salentino ha il

¹⁹ Che, nel Salento, il mancato corrispondersi del genere grammaticale potesse costituire, per il parlante diglottico, un problema reale, può essere indiziato dalla difficoltà che, ancora a metà Novecento o poco oltre, bambini diglottici dialetto ~ it. regionale salentino avevano nel rendere correttamente in italiano il dialettale *káwce* ‘calcio = pedata’, che, femminile (!; si parte da lat. CALX, CALCIS ‘calcagno’, EM), è omoetimologico dell'it. *calcio*, viceversa maschile (!). In questo caso, infatti, non si danno scelte italiane alternative: all'adozione, mettiamo, dell'it. *pedata* (femminile come il dialettale *káwce*) ‘colpo dato col piede’ quale possibile traduce di, appunto, dialettale *káwce* f. ‘id.’ avrà ostato il fatto che l'italianismo *pedata* ‘colpo dato col piede’ sarebbe entrato in collisione con l'omoetimologico dialettale *pedata / petata / pitata*, che è invece solo ‘orma sul terreno, traccia lasciata dal piede’ (cfr. VDS s.v. *pedata*¹; e anche CAVALLO CONVERSANO 2012, s.v. *pitata*). Si aggiunga che il dialettale *káwce* f. ‘calcio = pedata’ è formalmente (anche se, ovvio, non etimologicamente né semanticamente) sovrapponibile al dialettale *káwce* ‘calce = tipo di calcare’ (da lat. CALX, CALCIS ‘calce’, EM), femminile come il traduce italiano *calce*: di qui, la spinta a modellare sulla corrispondenza (corretta!) dialett. *la káwce* ~ it. *la calce* ‘la calce (calcare)’, anche, ma scorretta, una corrispondenza dialett. *la káwce* ~ it. **la calce* ‘il calcio = pedata’ (*né tèse nna káwce* ~ *gli ha dato una calce*).

morfema /-s-/ (*parsi*, ..., *parse*, ..., *pársera*), il verbo italiano ha /-v-/ (*parvi*, ..., *parve*, ..., *párvero*). Si può allora assumere che l'uso di un verbo come *sembrare*, di prima coniugazione e dunque prevedibilissimo nel suo paradigma, abbia concretamente levato dall'imbarazzo il parlante diglottico, soprattutto se incerto nella sua L2.

5. *Ancora riverberi fra sottosistemi*

I meccanismi che si innescano (e sovente “grattano” nel tentativo di reciproca armonizzazione) fra due sistemi in contatto, meccanismi fin qui esemplificati a livello lessicale, li ritroviamo ovviamente a qualunque altro livello. Per fare un solo esempio, mi è capitato in un paio d'occasioni (Fanciullo 2014a e 2020) di segnalare, nell'italiano regionale salentino posto a confronto con l'italiano standard, un uso che si direbbe sovraesteso del clitico pronominale con certi verbi quali *mangiare*, *bere*, *vendere*, o *comprare*. Se, nello standard, le due frasi

- 1) *la mangi, la carne?*
- 2) *te la mangi, la carne?*

sono in sostanza equivalenti (sia che vogliano dire qualcosa come ‘hai preclusioni alimentari nei confronti della carne?’ sia che vogliano dire più banalmente ‘la mangi la carne (che hai nel piatto)?’ o simili), ché la 2) si distingue dalla 1) solo, in relazione al soggetto, per un certo grado di *affectedness* in più e per un uso in ogni caso inferiore a quello di 1); nell'italiano regionale del Salento l'interpretazione “normale” di 1) è, ed è soltanto, ‘hai preclusioni alimentari nei confronti della carne?’, dove invece l'interpretazione automatica di 2) è, ed è soltanto, ‘la mangi tutta / la finisci di mangiare, la carne (nel piatto)?’ (o simili). In altre parole: mentre nell'italiano standard la 1) e la 2) possono, a seconda del contesto, avere la medesima interpretazione tanto atelica (‘hai preclusioni alimentari...’) quanto telica (‘la mangi tutta...’), e dunque sono frasi interscambiabili (fermo comunque restando che la 2., stilisticamente più “pesante”, conosce un uso più limitato rispetto all'altra); nell'italiano regionale salentino, l'interpretazione in automatico della

1) è, ed è soltanto, atelica ('la carne rientra nella tua dieta alimentare?'), quella in automatico della 2) è, ed è soltanto, telica ('la carne che ti hanno servito, la mangi o no?'). Ne consegue che le due frasi non possono considerarsi interscambiabili, né la presenza ~ assenza del clitico pronominale può essere ricondotta a un diverso grado di *affectedness* riguardo al soggetto: l'interpretazione telica comporta di necessità, in funzione per l'appunto "telicizzante", la presenza del clitico pronominale, mentre l'interpretazione atelica esclude di necessità la presenza del clitico pronominale (che, se presente, "telicizzerebbe" l'azione). In realtà, la presenza ~ assenza del clitico per dar valenza rispettivamente telica ~ atelica al verbo, rappresenta, nell'italiano regionale salentino, una risalita dal dialetto, nel quale a 1) corrisponde

3) (*ma tîe,*) *la mangi, la karne?*

con lettura intrinsecamente atelica ('[ma tu,] di solito la mangi, la carne?')²⁰, mentre a 2) corrisponde

4) (*ma tîe,*) *te la mangi, la karne?*,

con lettura intrinsecamente telica ('[ma tu,] la finisci la carne che hai davanti?'); giusta un modulo più prettamente dialettale, si consideri anche:

5) *e nnu tte la mangi, la karne?*,

alla lettera 'e non te la mangi, la carne?', che, sotto forma di domanda, è in realtà un invito pressante (ad es. a qualcuno che, nel mangiare, "fa cerimonie") a finire quanto c'è nel piatto – in questo caso, un

6) *e nnu lla mangi, la karne?*,

senza clitico, risulta, se non incomprensibile, comunque decisamente inappropriato. Ancora più sottilmente, nel dialetto possono contrastare

²⁰ In alternativa si potrebbe avere (ma sempre senza clitico!): *ma tîe, nde mangi karne?*, in questo caso secondo un modulo decisamente più vicino allo standard italiano.

7) *mò, kriti tìe ka nu ss'è ffàttu jjutàre te niššúnu,*

parafrasabile all'incirca come 'adesso, [credi tu =] trovi ragionevole il fatto che (dica che) non si è fatto aiutare da nessuno?' (risposta implicita: no), dove di *trovare ragionevole* è chiaramente assumibile lettura atelica, e

8) *ka ccè tte kriti, l-ággü puru bbútu jjutàre,*

parafrasabile più o meno come 'e [che ti credi, cioè] guarda / mettilo nel conto: l'ho dovuto anche aiutare', dove *mettere nel conto* ha al contrario lettura telica.

Gli esempi 7) e 8) in particolare hanno un duplice interesse. Per un verso servono a confermare quanto detto più su, e cioè che, in determinati casi, una resa "immediata" dialetto > italiano usando le corrispondenze omoetimologiche è, nella sostanza, ingannevole: in effetti, l'opposizione che c'è (o, meglio, che ci può essere a seconda della situazione) fra i dialettali 'credere' e (col clitico) 'creder-si', a meno di non volerla appiattare o far scomparire del tutto, in italiano può essere esplicitata solo per il tramite di giri di parole all'apparenza "esagerati" (col che recuperiamo l'«ampio e talvolta improprio giro di parole» di cui, apetto della "secchezza" dialettale, l'italiano sembra non poter fare a meno, e del quale parla, abbiamo visto sopra, il de Falco). Per l'altro, queste differenze di interpretazione basate unicamente sulla presenza ~ assenza di elementi in qualche modo "volatili" come appunto i clitici pronominali, ci si può chiedere se o fino a che punto siano realmente trasportabili al di fuori del sistema che le ha prodotte – a maggior ragione, poi, se nel sistema di partenza non sono state supportate da una adeguata riflessione metalinguistica, così che anche il parlante accorto di solito non ne ha esplicita consapevolezza. Una prima, immediata conseguenza è che la tenuta delle costruzioni dialettali più lontane dall'italiano viene inevitabilmente messa in crisi dalla pressione di quest'ultimo; che è il motivo per cui, ad es., a proposito della 6), cioè *e nnu lla mangi, la karne?* (senza clitico ma con interpretazione telica), non ho detto che la frase è agrammaticale (come in effetti è dal punto di vista della grammatica del dialetto) ma mi sono limitato a dire che è

inappropriata: perché può essere pur prodotta sotto l'incalzare dell'italiano (anche se, va detto, in questo caso risulterebbe preferibile un *e nnu lla mangi, šta karne?*, col dimostrativo, *šta* = 'questa [carne che hai nel piatto]', a meglio "telicizzare" l'evento)²¹. Una seconda conseguenza (ma in qualche modo opposta, questa volta, a quanto emerge dalle parole del de Falco) è, talora, l'impressione di "povertà" espressiva del dialetto ove messo a confronto con l'italiano: in effetti, se la 7), atelica, e la 8), telica (e nelle quali la (a)telicità, che in italiano ha bisogno d'essere espressa con giri di parole diversi, è tutta correttamente giocata sulla presenza ~ assenza del clitico), vengon rese in lingua standard usando pezzo per pezzo gli stessi elementi omoetimologici (la 7.: *adesso, credi tu che...*; la 8.: *e che ti credi, l'ho dovuto...*), è chiaro che le differenze, esprimibili in italiano come: *secondo te, è ragionevole...?* (7.) ~ *e aggiungi / metti nel conto che...* (8.), risultano inevitabilmente livellate e banalizzate.

6. Imitazione o reimpostazione d'un modello allotrio?

Fin qui siamo rimasti all'interno di un tipo di diasistema (dialetto ~ italiano) in cui l'interazione è fra membri che, pur fortemente squilibrati fra loro, sono comunque sistemi a tutti gli effetti; di seguito, invece, l'interazione è non fra due sistemi ma fra un sistema e un *modello* allotrio (giudicato superiore). Rinviamo per una trattazione più distesa a Fanciullo (1994a, 1997); che, a partire dalle forme latine in -ĀTE e -ŪTE, i tipi ossitoni toscani, quindi italiani, in -à e -ù risultino da mera apocope della sillaba finale dei segmenti -āte / -āde e -ūte / -ūde (allotropi parossitoni oggi desueti ma variamente presenti fino a tutto

²¹ A scanso d'equivoci preciso che, in un dialetto non interferito dall'italiano, le due realizzazioni: i) *e nnu tte la mangi, la karne?* e ii) *e nnu tte la mangi, šta karne?* sono perfettamente regolari e tuttavia non perfettamente equivalenti: la prima (col clitico ma senza il dimostrativo) è la realizzazione (telica) di *default*, la seconda (col clitico e col dimostrativo insieme) è anch'essa, ovviamente, realizzazione telica, ma con messa in rilievo di *karne*, come si dicesse 'proprio questo po' di carne (che hai nel piatto), perché non lo finisci?' – conferma, se ce ne fosse bisogno, del fatto che le conversioni dialetto ~ italiano che privilegiano le corrispondenze omoetimologiche possono essere non poco problematiche.

l'Ottocento e l'inizio del Novecento), è spiegazione tradizionale (cfr. ad es. Rohlf, GrammStor. § 321), e, come argomentato da L. Tomasin (1996: 90-91), presente *in nuce* già nel Bembo – ma è spiegazione che mostra la sua debolezza quando, ad es. di *beltà*, consideriamo le prime attestazioni. In effetti, se il tosc. / it. *beltà* è attestato dal 1288, il genovese ant. *beutà* risulta attestato già nel 1180 ca., il piemontese ant. *beltà* è del 1200 ca. e il veronese ant. *beltà* risale alla metà circa del '200; detto altrimenti:

- i) il tipo *beltà* è attestato nel nord d'Italia, e lo è in modo non desultorio, con un anticipo di più d'un secolo rispetto al toscano;
- ii) per arrivare dall'antecedente latino *BEL[LI]TĀTE a *beltà*, se in Toscana abbiamo bisogno d'una regola (cancellazione della sillaba finale) *ad hoc*, nel nord d'Italia, invece, non abbiamo bisogno di nessuna regola speciale: rientra nella norma settentrionale, infatti, che, via cancellazione di -T-, lat. -ĀTE vi possa dare -*ae* / -*à*;

dal che consegue:

- iii) assai più che forma apocopata dei tipi tosc. / it. *beltate*, attestato dalla prima metà del Duecento, e *beltade*, dalla seconda metà dello stesso secolo (*beltate* e *beltade* essendo i “regolari” esiti tosc. / it. di *BELLITĀTE; il primo, veramente, esito più “regolare” del secondo), il tipo tosc. / it. *beltà* si configura come prestito dalle, o quanto meno rimodellamento sulle, varietà d'oltre-appennino.

Ora: sulla base delle alternanze *beltate* ~ *beltà* e simili, anche per, ad es., it. *abate* ‘superiore di una comunità monastica’ ci si aspetterebbe un possibile avvicendamento tosc. / it. *abate* ~ **abà*; che è invece circostanza non confermata: nel toscano / italiano, *abate* non mostra né ha mai mostrato propensione alcuna a riformularsi come **abà*, diversamente da quel che si ha ad es. in veneziano, con un *abao* d'inizio Trecento e un *abà* del 1424, o in torinese, con un *abbà* del 1446²²; e considerazioni analoghe valgono a proposito, mettiamo, di tosc. / it. *salute*: il tipo, pur

²² Dati in LEI 1, 48, 45-50.

formalmente appaiabile a *virtùte* / -*ùde*, *gioventùte* / -*ùde* e simili, non ha mai mostrato propensione a riformularsi come tosc. / it. **salù*, nonostante forme it. sett. antiche quali *salù* (sec. XIII, Parlamenti ed Epistole; fine sec. XIV, Codice dei Servi di Ferrara) o *salue* (sec. XIV, S. Giovanni Crisostomo volgar.)²³. Per converso, però, si noterà come le forme toscane e italiane a profilo ossitono (*beltà*, *bontà*, *civiltà*, *semplicità*..., *gioventù*, *servitù*, *virtù* ecc.) presentino tutte, e invariabilmente, un'occlusiva dentale sorda all'attacco della sillaba accentata, abbiano cioè tutte configurazione -*tà* / -*tù*²⁴: e non può trattarsi, è chiaro, d'un caso. Piuttosto, si richiamerà una certa analogia col meccanismo (rimasto per altro confinato al toscano, ossia senza accesso alla lingua standard) che ha esteso *dièdi* (normale esito di DEDĪ ma anomala forma di preterito) come morfema di, per l'appunto, preterito prima «a verbi foneticamente simili il cui tema terminava con -*d* (*vendiedi* [...]), quindi anche ai verbi in occlusiva dentale sorda (*mettiedi* [...])» (Lazzeroni 2017: 56) – in altre parole, «muovendo da *diedi*, forma anomala [...] e come tale da mandare a memoria», il parlante «crea le condizioni per un automatismo: se la base è in occlusiva dentale, allora il preterito è in -*edi* / -*iedi*», così trasformando l'anomalia di *diedi* in regolarità presso una specifica sottoclasse di verbi, quelli il cui lessema esce in dentale (ivi: 57). In modo, in fondo, non troppo diverso, nel caso di -(*t*)*àte* / -(*t*)*àde* ~ -*tà* e -(*t*)*ùte* / -(*t*)*ùde* ~ -*tù* l'indecodificabile (per il toscano / italiano) episodio di fonologia diacronica allotria, cioè nord-italiana (-*t* > zero), che, nella ricezione fattane dal sistema imitante, sarebbe stato sicuramente applicato “a casaccio”, portando a una produzione imprevedibile di forme con ~ di forme senza sillaba postonica e, per ciò, da memorizzare ad una ad una (forme, dunque, a carico della memoria dichiarativa), viene reimpostato erigendo a categorica una circostanza certo frequente, e anzi molto frequente, ma (come mostrano i citati casi di tosc. / it. *salute* o *abate*,

²³ Le forme sono in B, s.v. *salute*.

²⁴ Il discorso vale, è ovvio, per i continuatori di lat. -(T)ĀS -(T)ĀTIS e -(T)ŪS -(T)ŪTIS; altrettanto ovviamente dal discorso sono escluse voci più o meno recenti come *cincillà*, *cauc-ciù*, *tabù*, *zulù* (di varia origine, amerindiana le prime due, polinesiana la terza, bantu la quarta, ma tutte mediate dal francese), anche *tribù* (questa, in ultima analisi, da lat. TRIBUS ma giusta una trafilata poco chiara e che comunque esclude la tradizione diretta), nelle quali l'ossitonia è etimologica o, comunque, *non* deriva da cancellazione di un -*te* / -*de* seguente.

sottratti all'ossitonia) non esclusiva, ossia: nelle sequenze *-àte* / *-àde* e *-ùte* / *-ùde* la sillaba postonica (con attacco in dentale) viene cancellata solo se la vocale tonica si trovi a sua volta preceduta da un'altra dentale (sorda), giusta quelli che, nella reimpostazione toscano-italiana, finiscono col configurarsi come i termini di una scelta fonetica di maggiore "agilità", che coniuga dissimilazione e aplogia insieme, e va in ogni caso a carico non della memoria dichiarativa sì della memoria procedurale: se i seguiti *-àte* / *-àde* e *-ùte* / *-ùde* sono preceduti da una /t/, allora *-tâte* / *-tâde* e *-tùte* / *-tùde* passano a *-tâ* e *-tù* rispettivamente²⁵.

7. *Il ruolo dei suffissi nella dialettica innovazione ~ conservazione*

E ora, in via di chiusura, qualche osservazione relativa ai suffissi.

Mi è ripetutamente capitato di segnalare come questi possano farsi testa di ponte per le novità linguistiche:

- se prendiamo ad es. il dialetto lucano orientale di San Fele, che, fra quelli meridionali, è un "dialetto-*s*" (ossia un dialetto in cui l'esito normale di lat. (-)J-, (-)DJ-, -G^{c.i.}- è dato dalla sibilante prepalatale scempia: (s)f^ušⁱ '(s)fuggire', frⁱš^a 'friggere', m^andáš^ana MENTA + -AGĬNE 'menta selavtica', š^attá 'gettare', šⁱ *JĬRE 'andare')²⁶, l'adeguamento al modello napoletano, che in continuazione dagli stessi start point esibisce una [j]²⁷ (adeguamento, per altro, in prosieguo bloccato dalla pressione dell'italiano, che, nelle stesse condizioni, esibisce, a seconda del contesto, o [dʒ] o

²⁵ Circa poi *estate*, patente e isolata eccezione a quanto sin qui argomentato (ma si noti – dati in LEI I, 1139, 36-38 – che un desultorio *està* è pur documentato tra fine '500 e '800), il suo generalizzarsi secondo il modulo parossitono (*-tâte*) può essere reattivo a uno **stâ* (ben possibile da *estâ*, così come *spedale* da *ospedale*) che sarebbe risultato omofono della 3a sg. del verbo *stare* (cfr. TOMASIN 1996: 93-94).

²⁶ È l'esito tipico della fascia dal Gargano (in parte) all'Ofanto e a Santa Maria di Leuca, con ampia inclusione della zone lucane contermini (Rohlf, GrammStor. §§ 156, 158, 182, 218, 220, 278).

²⁷ Esito della maggior parte del meridione, dall'Abruzzo alla Sicilia. L'esito [j] va talora incontro a cancellazione.

- [-dɔʒ-]), è stato veicolato anzitutto dai succedanei del suffisso lat. -IDJĀRE, che compare come -*aśá* nelle poche (e tutte “campagnole”) forme indigene (*karāśá* ‘carreggiare’ = ‘trasportare’, *skarpāśá* ‘scarpeggiare’ = ‘calpestare’, *vāndaśá* ‘del vento, soffiare leggero’ ecc.) ma come -*ijá* nelle molto più numerose forme (e di tipo, per dir così, più “cittadino”) *passijá* ‘passeggiare’ e *pattsijá* ‘pazzeggiare’ cioè ‘scherzare’, assieme a *gaddijá* ‘fare il gallo = fare il gradasso’, *subbārbijá* ‘superbeggiare’ = ‘rimproverare con voce alterata’, per finire con *mattsijá* o *palijá* ‘percuotere, bastonare’ (rispettivamente da *mazza* e da *palo*) e *škaffijá* ‘schiaffeggiare’ (Fanciullo 1994b = 1996: 131-134);
- in quei dialetti salentini (a vocalismo siciliano) che si sono sensibilizzati all’alternanza metafonetica delle vocali medio-alte ([é ~ í], [ó ~ ú]), l’alternanza è “scivolata” eminentemente attraverso certi suffissi (ad es. -*ése* ~ -*ísi* < -Ē[N]SE ~ *-Ē[N]SĪ, -*tore* ~ -*turi* < -TÖRE ~ *-TÖRĪ)²⁸;
 - sempre attraverso certi suffissi si va facendo largo nel dialetto di Potenza (galloitalico ma ampiamente meridionalizzato), la sensibilizzazione alla metaforia indotta anche da -*u* (come in genere nei dialetti meridionali) di contro alla sola metaforia indotta da -*i* (come in genere nei dialetti settentrionali): se, nel lessico potentino, *tēmbə* ‘tempo’ e *kòdda* ‘collo’ (senza metaforia da -*u*: modulo settentrionale), ad es., si affiancano a *pjéttsə* ‘pezzo’ e *fwóɣə* ‘fuoco’ (con metaforia da -*u*: modulo meridionale), invariabilmente metafonetico (modulo dunque meridionale) si presenta invece il suffisso -*jédda* < -ĒLLU: *poverjédda* ‘poverello = -etto’, *vekkjarjédda* ‘vecchiarello = vecchietto’, *čərvjédda* ‘cervello’, *čutarjédda* ‘stupido’ (Fanciullo 2002: 766).

²⁸ FANCIULLO (1995, 2012, 2014b). È da notare che le alternanze suffissali legate al numero (singolare non-metafonetico ~ plurale metafonetico) sembrano aver avuto maggiore efficacia delle alternanze suffissali legate al genere (maschile metafonetico ~ femminile non-metafonetico): nel dialetto salentino centrale di Sandonaci (dati da CAVALLLO CONVERSANO 2012), ad es., se *vagnòne* ‘ragazzo’ (= ‘guaglione’) ha plurale *vagnùni* (e cfr. *migliòne* ‘milione’ ~ *migliùni* ‘milioni’; con adeguamento cioè al modello alternante nord-salentino), il femminile continua ad essere *vagnùna* al sg. (= ‘guagliona’) e *vagnùne* al pl., con conservazione della -*u*- tonica “siciliana”.

Fin qui, dunque, i suffissi si configurano come veicolo privilegiato delle innovazioni – ciò che è comprensibile: per un verso, questi sono diasistemicamente assai bene identificabili; per l'altro, una volta che si sia legata a uno specifico suffisso, l'innovazione può essere applicata in automatico a tutte le voci che presentano quel suffisso senza, in pratica, rischio d'errore.

In altri casi, però, le cose stanno diversamente.

Se consideriamo ad es. il moderno viterbese²⁹, varietà in origine centro-merid. ma successivamente toscanizzata (e non importa, qui, se direttamente o con la mediazione di Roma e del romanesco di seconda fase), la toscanità dei pochi derivati in *-ajjo* (e, con ampliamento, *-ajjòlo*) quale succedaneo di *-ĀRJU* (*erbajjo* 'erbaio = coltivazione foraggera', *vivajjo* 'vivaio', anche *ferrajjòlo* 'ferraiolo = operaio specializzato nelle armature in ferro per costruzioni col cemento armato') risulta certo infrenata dalla persistente meridionalità dei ben più numerosi derivati in *-áro* (nonché *-aròlo*; *bbijjettaro* 'bigliettaio', *callararo* 'calderaio', *cappellaro* 'cappellaio' / *-ara* 'cappellaia = modista', *fioraro* 'fioraio', *tabbaccaro* 'tabaccaio', *ovaròlo* 'venditore ambulante di uova' e simili; o anche *ajjaro* 'luogo piantato ad agli' e *seneparo* 'campo di senape'), così che, invece di farsi veicolo dell'innovazione, come nei casi visti sopra, il suffisso si configura, su una posizione chiaramente di retroguardia, come ultimo scampolo di fedeltà linguistica a un sistema – nello specifico, il viterbese "di prima fase" – ormai da tempo scomparso.

Ancor più radicale, poi, è, nei dialetti romanzi stati a più lungo contatto col greco d'Italia (dunque, i siciliani di nord-est, i sud-calabresi, e i salentini), il caso del suffisso atono *ˈVd̥.du* / *-a* (= *ˈVl̥.lu* / *-a*)³⁰, a profilo prosodicamente "anti-romanzo" in quanto "anti-latino" (pur proparossitone, infatti, le voci che lo presentano hanno penultima sillaba "pesante"; v. *infra*), il quale, non di rado, può sostituire: anzitutto,

- a) il succedaneo, che di norma è *ˈVlu*, del lat. *ˈŪLUS*: ad es., calabrese *m(i)érud̥.du* 'merlo' come fosse da **MĚRŪLLUS* e non *MĚRŪLUS*,

²⁹ I dati che seguono, già analizzati in FANCIULLO (2009a: 278-281 e 284-285), sono desunti da PETROSELLI (2009).

³⁰ Qui e *infra*, V = vocale qualunque e punto in basso = confine sillabico.

fěruḍ.da ‘ferula’ come fosse da *FĚRŮLLA e non FĚRŮLA, salentino *spátuḍ.da* ‘tipo di gladiolo’ come fosse da *SPÁTŮLLA e non SPÁTŮLA;

quindi:

- b) qualunque sequenza postonica in grecismi proparossitoni contenenti un -λ- ad attacco dell’ultima sillaba: ad es., calab. *munu-* / *mulustrófudḍu* ‘turbine di vento’, da ἀνεμοστρόφιλον (LGII 38); o *céntropidḍu* / *-puḍḍu* ‘terreno compatto e argilloso’, da *κεντρό-πηλος (LGII 233)³¹;

infine:

- c) qualunque altra sequenza postonica di voci proparossitone, che siano grecismi, ad es., calab. *čěradu* ‘corno’ (‘-aḍu < *‘-allu) < κέρατον ‘id.’³², o *děfiḍa* / *-fira* / *-fija* (‘-iḍa, ‘-ira, ‘-ija = ‘-illa’) e *liěfiḍa* ‘vespa’ < δέλλιθα (LGII 122-123), ma non soltanto: cfr. calab., nella zona di Capo Vaticano, *scándaju* / *scándazḥu* (‘-aju e ‘-ažḥu = ‘-allu’) ‘baco da seta che incatorzolisce senza fare il bozzolo’, elaborazione di una base lessicale ‘(s)cánt-ar’, in ultima analisi da lat. CANTHARIS ‘cantaride’³³.

Ora: in latino era ammesso un profilo

-V.C(C)Ų.CV(C),

come ad es. in *fá.bŭ.lus* ‘fava’ e ‘buccia delle fave’ (EM s.v. *faba*) o in *cá.tŭ.lus* ‘cucciolo’ (con, vale a dire, ritrazione dell’accento sulla ter-

³¹ Propriamente, un composto di gr. πηλός ‘fango’ e κέντρον ‘nodo (in legno, pietre ecc.)’, *ibid.*

³² In LGII 231, *čěradu* è collocato sotto la base “di comodo” *κέλλαρων; per il riconoscimento dell’origine da κέρατον, si rinvia specificamente a FANCIULLO (1991: 26).

³³ Base che, nei dialetti italiani, ha originato forme dialettali semiculte del tipo ‘cantarello’ / -a, *cantarena*, *cantaleña* in riferimento a vari tipi di insetto (i dettagli, in FANCIULLO 2007; v. anche LEI 10, 1404-1410).

ultima sillaba se la penultima era leggera, ossia era una sillaba aperta *e* conteneva una vocale breve), ma era tassativo il profilo

$$-V.C(C)\overset{\circ}{V}C.CV(C),$$

come ad es. negli antroponimi *Fa.búll.lus* o *Ca.túll.lus* (con, vale a dire, conservazione dell'accento sulla penultima sillaba se questa conteneva una vocale lunga *o* era una sillaba chiusa); e, come notano Marotta & Vanelli (2021) a proposito delle restrizioni concernenti l'accento dell'italiano (ma il discorso si può allargare grosso modo all'intero sistema italo-romanzo, dialetti compresi), «[u]n residuo dell'antico algoritmo che vigeva in latino è ancora presente in italiano, perlomeno nel lessico a derivazione latina: nelle parole polisillabiche non accentate sull'ultima sillaba, se la penultima sillaba è pesante, l'accento cade su di essa; ad esempio, *ritàrdo*, *incóntro*, *capéllo*, non **ritardo*, **incontro*, **capello*» (183-184), mentre «[l]e poche eccezioni che si possono riscontrare [...] sono toponimi (*Tàranto*, *Àgordo*, *Òtranto*, *Lèpanto*, *Lèvanto*), o parole di prestito da altre lingue, perlopiù dal greco (ad esempio, *àrista*, *màndorla*, *pòlizza*), oppure sigle di recente formazione (*Fininvest*, *internet*)» (185).

Così stando le cose, allora, la particolare conformazione del suffisso sic. di nord-est, calab. merid. e salent. $\text{'}V\dot{d}.du / -a$ (= $\text{'}VL.lu / -a$) < lat. $\text{'}\ddot{U}LUS$ andrà cercata nell'altra faccia della medaglia, ossia nel greco, col quale siciliano, calabrese e salentino hanno convissuto e nel quale l'accentazione proparossitona può accompagnarsi senza alcun problema alla "pesantezza" della penultima sillaba (un solo esempio: gr. Ἀλέξανδρος ~ lat. *Alexán.der*). Esponendo qui telegraficamente una vicenda con non pochi attori (per una trattazione più distesa si rinvia ad es. a Fanciullo 1991: 15-27), nel greco medievale d'Italia una crisi della facoltà distintiva delle vocali atone non finali ha fatto sì che più suffissi greci proparossitoni e caratterizzati dalla presenza di una sola liquida fra penultima e ultima sillaba (στροβ-ίλος 'trottola; pigna; turbine', ἀσφόδ-ελος 'asfodelo', φάσ-ηλος 'fagiolo', δάκτ-υλος 'dito' ecc.) si siano neutralizzati in $\text{'}\text{'}\text{'}V.lo\text{'}$ (V = vocale qualunque). D'altra parte, questo greco, se è vero che è fra le (poche) varietà neogreche non-dege-

minanti (ché nel grosso del dominio neogreco si è notoriamente avuta semplificazione delle consonanti geminate etimologiche), è pur vero che, nel corso del medioevo, ha conosciuto una non trascurabile crisi delle geminate; dalla quale tuttavia (e quali che ne siano i motivi: il più verosimile, il contatto con l'italo-romanzo meridionale, sistema a preservazione delle geminate appunto) è uscito non solo conservando in linea di principio le geminate ereditarie ma, per reazione ipercorretta, creandone anche di nuove (ad es., greco di Calabria *apriddi* 'aprile'³⁴ ~ neogr. ἀπρίλης, LGII 52). In questa "esagerazione nella conservazione" non stupirà troppo che il segmento (pseudo)suffissale gr. $\text{r}'\text{V}.\text{los}$ sia stato trattato spesso come fosse $\text{r}'\text{VL}.\text{los}$, donde ad es. gr.-calab. *monostrofiddo* 'turbine di vento' (< ἀνεμοστροφίλον; LGII 38), (a)*pètudda* 'farfalla' (da un *πέτουλα, retroderivazione del tipo neogr. πεταλούδα; LGII 397), finanche *éndrópiddo* 'terreno compatto e argilloso' (dove $\text{r}'(\pi)\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ non è un suffisso ma è il gr. $\pi\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 'fango' divenuto atono in composizione con κέντρον 'nodo (in legno, pietre ecc.)': *κεντρόπηλος, v. nota 31) – trattamento per altro già antico, come mostra ad es., in due documenti greco-calabresi del 1269, il nome (*Carolus*) di Carlo I d'Angiò, registrato (al genitivo) come *καρολλου* [sic] in un documento e *κάρουλλου* nell'altro (Fanciullo 2009b: 52). Ma non stupirà neppure il fatto che, in una situazione di ampio bilinguismo greco ~ romanzo (e tanto più in un periodo, diciamo alto-medievale, in cui il greco sud-italiano godeva certo di maggior prestigio del romanzo), l'"esagerazione" che ha portato gr. $\text{r}'\text{V}.\text{los}$ a divenire $\text{r}'\text{VL}.\text{los}$ sia stata estesa anche ai succedanei romanzi del lat. $\text{r}'\text{ULUS}$, di per sé evolutosi in un romanzo $\text{r}'\text{V}.\text{lu}$, casualmente affatto ma sorprendentemente simile alla sequenza (pseudo-)suffissale italo-gr. $\text{r}'\text{V}.\text{los}$.

Nello specifico, quel che è stato trasferito (indotto) è non un morfema, sì una regola in base alla quale, a parità di condizioni, cioè in presenza dell'apparentemente medesimo suffisso (gr. $\text{r}'\text{V}.\text{los}$ congruato a rom. $\text{r}'\text{V}.\text{lu}$), anche nella lingua B (romanza) è scattato lo stesso fenomeno (cioè geminazione della laterale scempia) la cui ragion d'essere risiede invece nella lingua A (greca). Sennonché, il processo,

³⁴ Forma, si badi, anticipata da un $\mu\eta\gamma\iota\ \Lambda\pi\rho\iota\lambda\lambda\iota\omega$ in documenti calabro-bizantini del 1144 e 1155 (FANCIULLO 1996: 35).

che nell'italo-greco produce un risultato che è sì in contrasto con la degeminazione della massima parte del dominio ellenofono, ma *non* è in contrasto col profilo prosodico della lingua (ossia, accentazione proparossitona pur con penultima sillaba pesante: it.-gr. *monostròfid.do*, da ἀνεμοστρόφι.λον, non diversamente da, mettiamo, it.-gr. (a) *grú.stad.do* / *krú.stad.do* 'resina di mandorlo o ciliegio', da κρύσταλλ.ον 'gefrerenes Wasser', LGII 280, e non meno che it.-gr. *é.xen.dra* 'un serpente', da ἔχενδρα, LGII 162) – questo processo, si diceva, nel romanzo produce al contrario una configurazione ($\text{'}\text{'}Vll\text{'}$) che è in aperto contrasto col profilo prosodico di esso romanzo (cfr. infatti il "normale" it.merid. estremo ad es. *pe-* / *pitruḍḍa* f., e *-uḍḍu* m. 'sassolino' e 'uovo di uccello', non **pé-* / **pitruḍḍa*, **pé-* / **pitruḍḍu*); e dunque necessita di spiegazione il fatto che, ancor più di quel che faccia $\text{'}\text{'Vll\text{'}}$ nell'italo-greco, nel romanzo il suffisso $\text{'}\text{'Vll\text{'}}$ possa rimpiazzare qualunque stringa postonica di voce proparossitona, tanto nei grecismi lessicali quanto nei romanismi di qualunque origine (v. ess., sopra, in c.). Una possibile risposta è allora che, nella coscienza del parlante bilingue, il *template* "pesante"

$$-\dot{V}.C(C)VC.CV(C),$$

intrinsecamente estraneo al romanzo ma specificamente associato alla lingua greca, nel momento del cambio di codice linguistico (greco → romanzo) si sia configurato come ultimo scampolo di fedeltà al sistema linguistico che scompariva, ossia come ultima caratteristica formale greca sopravvivenza nel nuovo monolinguisma romanzo, entro cui può aver funzionato da "ancoramento paretimologico". In effetti, se la paretimologia è il meccanismo per cui quello che è nuovo e non ancora ben memorizzato, ovvero quello che tende a cadere dalla memoria, viene collegato a un *pivot* attivo e, in tal modo, consente un più facile accesso alle novità o a quel che si ricorda male – se, dunque, la paretimologia è questo, la sostituzione di sequenze postoniche proparossitone di qualunque sorta con la sequenza $\text{'}\text{'Vll\text{'}}$ si configura come processo agevolativo (nella sostanza: trasferimento delle sequenze dalla memoria dichiarativa, cioè quella che accumula, alla memoria procedurale: se è

sequenza postonica di voce proparossitona, allora è tendenzialmente $\text{r}^{\text{'}}\text{-Vlllu}^{\text{'}}$) nelle manovre di riorganizzazione dal bilinguismo al monolinguisimo³⁵.

Un'osservazione in coda.

Un anonimo revisore mi ha suggerito di collegare l'“anti-romanità” / “anti-latinità” dello sviluppo lat. MERŪLUS / FERŪLA / SPATŪLA ecc. → romanzo it.merid. estremo *m(i)éruddu* / *férudda* / *spátudda* ecc. con, anche, l'eccezionalità accentuale dei «noti esempi di Òtranto – *Utràntu* ecc.», cioè della tipologia toponimica rappresentata, oltre che da Òtranto, dai già citati *Tàranto*, *Àgordo*, *Lèpanto*, *Lèvanto*, cui si possono aggiungere, poniamo, *Sòlanto* o *Òfanto*. La mia impressione, però, è che l'analogia fra la “pesantezza” sillabica di rom. $\text{r}^{\text{'}}\text{-Vl.lu}^{\text{'}}$ < lat. $\text{-}\dot{\text{U}}\text{LUS}$ (con mediazione greca) e quella dei toponimi non vada più in là del lascito “allotrio” – lascito, tuttavia, che, nei due casi, funziona diversamente, e cioè:

- come eredità in qualche modo “passiva” nel caso dei toponimi, i quali, a parte *Lèpanto* (che è da un adattamento veneziano di (neo) gr. [nafpaktos] = *Ναύπακτος*³⁶, di cui conserva il profilo accentuale), sono tutti, con maggiore o minor grado di certezza, prelatini e pregrecci, perdendosi nelle brume del sostrato detto mediterraneo³⁷, e sono attestati anche in aree ben lontane (*Lèvanto* in Liguria³⁸,

³⁵ Ciò non toglie che, in prosiegua (ossia quando il romanzo è rimasto l'unico protagonista linguistico), l'“eterodossia” del profilo $\text{-}\dot{\text{V}}\text{C}(\text{C})\text{VC.CV}$ sia stata sovente corretta, ad es. con la metatesi $\text{-}\dot{\text{V}}\text{C}(\text{C})\text{VC.CV} > \text{-}\dot{\text{V}}\text{C.C}(\text{C})\text{V.CV}$, cfr. calab. romanzo *'èraddu* > *'èddaru* ‘corno; cavicchio dell'aspo’, LGII 231, s.v. $\bullet\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho\upsilon\upsilon$) o semplicemente spostando l'accento (salent. romanzo *krükuddu* > *krukúddu* ‘cavalletta’, LGII 98, s.v. $\bullet\beta\rho\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$).

³⁶ Cfr. MIGLIORINI (1957: 51).

³⁷ Basta un'occhiata alle spiegazioni di *Lèvanto*, *Àgordo*, *Òfanto*, *Òtranto*, *Tàranto* offerte dal DizTopon. (nel quale non sono compresi invece i toponimi *Lèvanzo* e *Sòlanto*) per rendersi conto che, al di là di più o meno facili accostamenti o suggestioni, si tratta, nella sostanza, di *non liquet* etimologici (sul caso specifico di Òtranto, rinvio alla messa a punto in FANCIULLO 1993: 459-462). *Specimen* esemplificativo: che, come sostenuto in DizTopon., la variante antica *Aufentum* (da intendersi evidentemente **Aufentum*) sia alla base di *Òfanto*, è contraddetto dal fatto che, come mostra ad es. la carta 1041 (‘il toro’) dell'AIS, nei dialetti dell'area geografica attorno a questo fiume il lat. AU si conserva.

³⁸ Circa *Lèvanto*, la spiegazione del DizTopon. (e cioè che, considerando sia l'accento dialettale, che è *Levántu*, sia la collocazione geografica della località, che è a est di Genova, si parta da *'levante*’ – l'accentazione ufficiale proparossitona sarebbe allora di «origine dot-

Àgordo nel Veneto) dal sud estremo d'Italia, dove si è giocata l'altra vicenda;

- nel caso di -ŬLUS > ¹[-Vllu], invece, il lascito funziona come interazione fono-morfologica stata viva e operante fra (neo)greco e romanzo del sud d'Italia estremo e, in definitiva, come sorta di “cicatrice linguistica” lasciata nel romanzo dal progressivo dissolversi, in questo, del (neo)greco d'Italia.

Che, poi, accanto ad *Òtranto* si trovi *Utràntu* o accanto a *Tàrantu* si trovi *Taràntu* (o anche *Levàntu* accanto a *Lèvanzo* – ammesso e non concesso che *Lèvanzo* sia da appaiare a *Lèvanzo*), si tratterà di casi di adeguamento (diciamo pure di banalizzazione) in chiave “più” romanza dell'ereditato modulo prosodico, in sé “anti-romanzo”: come, del resto, nel caso del salent. romanzo *krúkud̥du* → *krukúḍḍu* ‘cavalletta’ (ricordato qui nella nota 35), o nel caso (uno fra i molti possibili) del sic. nord-or. *zzi-* / *zzalùpid̥du* / *zzalòpid̥du* ~ *ziripùḍḍu* (accanto alla soluzione alternativa *zzirùbbitu* / *zzalùbbisu* ecc., con scambio (pseudo)suffissale), tutte forme per ‘ramarro’, da un gr. *ψαυρόπουλλον ‘giovane esemplare (-πουλλον) di lucertola / ramarro’ (a sua volta da σαῦρος + ψαφρός ‘fragile’, con allusione alla fragilità della coda), su cui Fanciullo (2013).

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ta») non tiene conto della quasi perfetta omofonia di *Lèvanzo* con *Lèvanzo* nelle Egadi, e di altre concordanze “mediterrane” fra Sicilia e Liguria, ad es. *Segesta* in Sicilia e, in Liguria, *Sestri (Levante)*, cioè la latina *Segesta* (evidentemente, **Ségesta*, con accentazione proparossitona) *Tigulliorum*. Quanto invece a *Sestri (Ponente)*, s.v. *Sestri Levante* il DizTopon. lo spiega come toponimo miliario, da [ad] *sextum* [lapidem], con riferimento alla distanza da Genova.

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Sulle condizioni etnografiche dell'Europa. Vicende di una conferenza tenuta da Ascoli a Gorizia nel 1861 e non pubblicata

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ABSTRACT

The eve of Ascoli's move from Gorizia to Milan where he was to teach at the Accademia scientifico-letteraria was the setting for the conference *Sulle condizioni etnografiche dell'Europa* held in Gorizia on 25 February 1861 in an event that had great resonance in his city both because of the authoritativeness of the speaker and because his words fell during a period of great nationalist ferment. Although we do not have the full printed text, the concordant testimonies and the autograph text of the conclusions preserved in the Ascoli Archive of the Accademia dei Lincei give us a convergent orientation on the contents of the lecture. For the part concerning the aspirations of the Italian and Slovenian communities, Ascoli confirms his idea of peaceful coexistence within the Habsburg monarchy under the banner of the request for greater spaces of freedom but without encouraging separatist thrusts; looking then at the development of Ascoli's linguistic thought, one can discern the first signs of that broad European vision prefiguring the positions that would be fully manifested in the season of the *Proemio*.

KEYWORDS: history of linguistics; lecture by Graziadio Isaia Ascoli given in 1861; language and nation; Italian and Slovenian linguistic communities in Gorizia in the 19th century

1. *Premessa*

I primi mesi del 1861 rappresentano un periodo importante e decisivo per Graziadio Isaia Ascoli. È in quell'anno, infatti, che maturano le scelte destinate a segnarne l'esistenza personale e 'professionale'. Declinata la prima proposta del ministro Mamiani di ricoprire la cattedra di Lingue semitiche a Bologna, Ascoli è sul punto di fare il grande passo che lo avrebbe portato da Gorizia a Milano, dove, appena trentaduenne ma già figura autorevole negli ambienti scientifici

internazionali, va ad occupare la cattedra di *Grammatica comparata e di lingue orientali* creata per lui nella neoistituita Accademia scientifico-letteraria milanese. Da allora sarebbe vissuto ininterrottamente nel capoluogo lombardo, dove insegna fino al 1902 per spegnersi il 21 gennaio 1907.

Nello spazio temporale collocato tra i due decreti ministeriali che sanzionano la nomina a docente dell'Accademia (3 gennaio e 21 marzo), e dunque all'immediata vigilia del trasferimento, si colloca un evento di grande impatto sul territorio, un "vero avvenimento" come fu definito, che segna il suo commiato dalla terra di origine, da quell'*estrema lembo del Paese* in cui si era formato. Alludo alla conferenza *Sulle condizioni etnografiche dell'Europa* tenuta a Gorizia il 25 febbraio 1861.

Anche se non si dispone del testo integrale a stampa, le concordi testimonianze (v. il § 3) e il manoscritto delle conclusioni (la 'chiusa' conservata tra le carte lincee su cui v. il § 4.2) rendono conto dei contenuti della conferenza che, per la parte relativa alle aspirazioni delle comunità italiana e slovena, si collocano tra l'opuscolo giovanile *Gorizia italiana tollerante, concorde* (Ascoli 1848)¹ e i più tardi interventi in materia di irredentismo², mentre, nella traiettoria del pensiero linguistico ascoliano, lasciano scorgere i prodromi di quella visione di più ampio respiro europeo prefiguratrice delle posizioni che si manifesteranno compiutamente nella stagione del *Proemio*.

2. *La notizia di una Conferenza tenuta da Ascoli a Gorizia il 25 febbraio 1861. I riscontri bibliografici*

A quanto si desume dalla bibliografia stesa nell'immediatezza della scomparsa del maestro da Pier Enea Guarnerio (1907), la

¹ Su cui cfr. BRAMBILLA (1999, 2003).

² Sulla posizione di Ascoli, in rapporto all'irredentismo italiano e al delicato equilibrio dei rapporti tra Italiani e Slavi nella Venezia Giulia, segnaliamo la dettagliata ricostruzione degli interventi ascoliani che dobbiamo a STUSSI (2014: 178-187) e l'inquadramento di LUCCHINI (2002: 91-99). Si vedano anche gli accenni in COVINO (2019: 29-30, 66-68). Cfr. anche SCHIRRU (2022: 1273-1286).

conferenza tenuta nel 1861 da Ascoli si sarebbe tradotta in un testo scritto intitolato *Sulle condizioni etnografiche dell'Europa e dell'Italia in ispecie*. Il Guarnerio fornisce questo dato, privo peraltro di qualsiasi riferimento bibliografico e oltretutto impreciso nel titolo (v. § 3.2), segnalando che l'informazione gli era giunta dal figlio minore del glottologo goriziano, Moisè³. Riportiamo qui di seguito l'annotazione del Guarnerio che riproporremo nell'Appendice documentaria.

Mentre correggo le bozze, il prof. Moisè Ascoli mi dà notizia di alcuni minori scritti. Credo bene qui ricordarli: *Sulle condizioni etnografiche dell'Europa e dell'Italia in ispecie*, conferenza tenuta in Gorizia il 25 febbraio 1861 [...]. (Guarnerio 1907: 255)⁴

3. *Gli antefatti dell'evento e la sua risonanza.* *Le testimonianze*

Tutto nasce dall'idea maturata sul finire del 1860 tra alcuni esponenti del mondo culturale goriziano di promuovere, in una sorta di Circolo letterario (v. § 3.1), un ciclo di *Prelezioni* (ossia Prolusioni) programmate nella sede della Oberrealschule (Istituto di Scienze tecniche), anche allo scopo di raccogliere fondi da devolvere alla biblioteca di quella scuola. Quarta di una serie avviata dall'esponente liberale e poi irredentista Carlo Favetti (1819-1892), la conferenza tenuta da Ascoli rappresentò per la cittadinanza goriziana un autentico evento sia per la personalità del relatore, la cui riconosciuta autorevolezza era stata potenziata dalla notizia della recente nomina a Milano, sia per le

³ Comunicata da Moisè Ascoli con lettera del 23 marzo 1907, l'informazione fu travisata dal Guarnerio la cui annotazione fa pensare a una pubblicazione quando invece Moisè Ascoli aveva precisato che della conferenza «non esiste né manoscritto né relazione alcuna stampata. Solo ho trovato la chiusa ms.», per poi ricordare che «la conferenza fece un certo rumore per ragioni politiche» (il passaggio è riportato da LUCCHINI 1997: 408).

⁴ Il dato ritorna, completo di tutti gli elementi informativi utili, nella organica e completa sistematizzazione bibliografica che dobbiamo a Domenico SANTAMARIA (2018: 86, con n. 4).

aspettative che l'uditorio riponeva in un intervento che ricadeva nella transizione storica delicata segnata dall'epilogo del processo di unificazione italiana: mancavano infatti pochi giorni alla prima seduta del Parlamento del Regno (17 marzo).

3.1. *L'eco della conferenza a distanza di tempo. Il ruolo di Carolina Coen Luzzatto*

La risonanza dell'intervento ascoliano dovette essere vasta e duratura; infatti, se ne conserverà vivo il ricordo, che emergerà in più momenti celebrativi e commemorativi dedicati ad Ascoli. Da questo punto di vista si impone come 'memoria storica' la figura di Carolina Coen Luzzatto che avrebbe fatto parola della conferenza in due successivi momenti: la prima volta firmando con lo pseudonimo Arcolani un articolo scritto in occasione del 25° anniversario del percorso accademico di Ascoli e pubblicato sul «Corriere di Gorizia» del 25 novembre 1886 (Coen Luzzatto 1886) e la seconda nell'ambito della commemorazione stesa dopo la scomparsa di Ascoli (Coen Luzzatto 1907)⁵. Riportiamo qui di seguito alcuni passaggi significativi del primo testo, non privi di accenti appassionati.

Verso la fine del 1860 e il principio del 1861 alcuni egregi goriziani ... divisarono di fondare una specie di Circolo letterario, dandovi delle prelezioni ... la sera del 25 febbraio 1861 ne venne tenuta una anche dall'Ascoli ... Quella prelezione costituì per Gorizia un vero avvenimento. L'Ascoli si scelse come tema *Sulle condizioni etnografiche dell'Europa*, e lo svolse con meravigliosa profondità di dottrina, condita dalla più brillante facondia. Egli non lesse; teneva dinanzi a sé alcuni appunti, vi gettava appena un'occhiata, e dalle sue labbra fluivano tesori d'insegnamenti nuovi, si schiudevano agli occhi abbarbagliati degli astanti, verità scintillanti, nuovi orizzonti.

⁵ Sulla personalità di Carolina Coen Luzzatto (1837-1919), definita una «protagonista della società goriziana», rimando al profilo monografico di BOZZINI LA STELLA (1995). In particolare sui contenuti e sui motivi ispiratori dello scritto, che era maturato da tempo nell'ambito di «peregrinazioni pensose e pazienti attraverso il passato» ma che vide la luce solo nel 1907 nell'ambito delle onoranze tributate ad Ascoli subito dopo la sua morte, cfr. pp. 93-98.

Quando l'Ascoli ebbe finito, fu uno di quegli entusiasmi che non si descrivono. Fu come una rivelazione. (Coen Luzzatto 1886)⁶

3.2. *Le travagliate vicende del titolo*

La conferenza era stata fissata con il titolo esteso *Sulle condizioni etnografiche dell'Europa e dell'Italia in ispecie*. La parte conclusiva del titolo insospettisce le autorità austriache e per qualche tempo il meccanismo organizzativo si inceppa fino a quando Ascoli, *obtorto collo*, si adegua alle pressioni cancellando il riferimento all'Italia.

La vicenda è verificabile sia nel documento linceo 17/49 che registra i contatti con i funzionari locali di Vienna sia soprattutto nelle testimonianze d'epoca fornite ancora una volta da Carolina Coen Luzzatto: i materiali riportati nel profilo commemorativo del 1907 ci permettono di ripercorrere passo dopo passo le obiezioni opposte al titolo e il successivo sofferto negoziato attraverso passaggi virgolettati di due lettere datate 15 e 18 febbraio 1861 e indirizzate da Ascoli a un non meglio precisato destinatario⁷. Ascoli è in un primo tempo tentato di sottrarsi all'impegno ma poi è convinto dal *Consigliere governiale* il quale gli aveva detto «che era male se parlassi, e peggio se taceessi». La salomonica soluzione escogitata è quella che, riferisce Ascoli al suo corrispondente, «nel manifesto il tema è mutilato, ma è inteso ch'io abbia a riguardar come non avvenuta la mutilazione» (Coen Luzzatto 1907: 23-25; le citazioni sono tratte dalla p. 25).

A margine vale la pena segnalare che il titolo contiene una delle prime attestazioni dell'aggettivo *etnografico*⁸, destinato a diventare il dispositivo prediletto da Ascoli per evocare i fenomeni di sostrato e più in generale, come in questo caso, lo sfondo storico-culturale dei fatti linguistici.

⁶ Il testo sarebbe stato riproposto con varianti in MORPURGO (1886: 153) e in BOZZINI LA STELLA (1995: 97).

⁷ Inventariate tra quelle prive di destinatari certi da SANTAMARIA (2018: 94).

⁸ Occorrenze contemporanee sono quelle documentate in ASCOLI (1861a), p. 303 (*induzione etnografica*) e p. 314 (*additamenti etnografici e storici*). Per un quadro della terminologia ascoliana resta ancora valido il repertorio di DE FELICE (1954).

4. *L'assenza di una pubblicazione a stampa e la ricostruzione del testo*

Stando a quanto mi ha confermato lo storico goriziano Sergio Tavano⁹, i risultati della ricerca di un eventuale testo a stampa negli annuari dell'Istituto in cui si tenne l'iniziativa sono stati negativi. Non si va infatti oltre la semplice notizia della conferenza, che si dice tenuta da «Hr. G. J. Ascoli, Professor der orientalischen Sprachen» il 25 febbraio nella Oberrealschule di Gorizia con il titolo che suona così: *Sulle condizioni etnografiche dell'Europa*; la menzione ricorre nelle «Schulnachrichten von dem prov[isorischen] Direktor F[ranz] Villicus» comparse nel primo numero dell'annuario di quella Scuola: «Erster Jahresbericht der K. K. [Kaiserlich-Koeniglichen] Staats-Oberrealschule in Goerz, Veroeffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1861». Anche se nel periodico non mancano testi di simili lezioni straordinarie («Ausserordentliche Vorlesungen»), né nel fascicolo del 1861 e nemmeno in quello dell'anno seguente figura il testo della *Prelezione* di Ascoli.

Ma, pur in assenza di una pubblicazione a stampa, è in qualche modo possibile ricostruire, se non il testo, i contenuti e i passaggi cruciali della conferenza incrociando una serie convergente di fonti, ognuna delle quali punta su un singolo aspetto dell'intervento ma che nel loro insieme concorrono a comporre un quadro indicativo dei punti toccati da Ascoli.

4.1. *Il resoconto di un giornale di lingua slovena* («Novice» 20 marzo 1861: 98-99)

Disponiamo innanzitutto di una fonte pubblicistica, su cui aveva richiamato a suo tempo l'attenzione lo storico sloveno Branko Marušič (1976: 295, 1986: 6 e n. 7): alludo all'articolo apparso pochi giorni dopo la conferenza nel giornale in lingua slovena «Novice» a firma di Josip Furlani, esponente della comunità slovenofona del Gorizia-

⁹ Ringrazio il collega per le accurate ricerche dei cui risultati mi ha reso partecipe con mail del 20 febbraio 2008.

no¹⁰: in sede di appendice documentaria ne riproduciamo il testo originale accompagnato dalla traduzione di Laura Sgubin. Si tratta di una testimonianza cui va attribuito notevole peso documentario in quanto formulata per così dire in presa diretta sull'evento. Il focus di questa 'cronaca' è un commento, piuttosto enfatico, su quella parte della conferenza in cui Ascoli manifesta una attenzione legittimatrice verso la comunità di espressione slovena auspicandone l'elevazione di status attraverso la valorizzazione della sua lingua letteraria. Ci ritorneremo nel § 6.

4.2. *La 'chiusa' manoscritta di Ascoli conservata nell'Archivio ascoliano dell'Accademia dei Lincei*

Preziose, soprattutto per il versante relativo alla posizione assunta da Ascoli sulle aspirazioni e prospettive della comunità italiana (v. § 7), le indicazioni che emergono dalla 'chiusa', ossia dalle conclusioni stese di pugno dallo stesso Ascoli in data 20 giugno 1861 conservate tra le carte dell'Archivio linceo e qui catalogate come documento 17/40 (poi 184/10). Il testo autografo e la relativa trascrizione (riportata anche in Coen Luzzatto 1907: 27) figurano in Appendice.

Desidero qui ringraziare per la preziosa collaborazione la dott.ssa Susanna Panetta, che mi ha messo a disposizione i documenti dell'*Archivio Graziadio Isaia Ascoli* utilizzati nel presente lavoro.

5. *I nuclei tematici della conferenza ascoliana*

Va innanzitutto premesso che l'Ascoli della conferenza è figura ben diversa da quella che emergerà negli anni milanesi, nel corso dei quali si sarebbe allontanato dai temi collegati con il suo retroterra territoriale sia per concentrarsi sulle pertinenze linguistiche sia per aprirsi a nuovi orizzonti che l'ambiente progressista di Milano gli dischiudeva. L'Ascoli che parla nel 1861 è invece ancora pienamente immerso nel

¹⁰ Sulla figura di Josip Furlani, sacerdote, attivo esponente della comunità nazionale slovena, cfr. MARUŠIČ (2022: 16).

contesto in cui si era formato, nitidamente tracciato da questo illuminante inquadramento di Roberto Gusmani:

Già l'esser nato (per usare le sue parole) in «quell'estremo lembo del bel Paese» in cui «un governo pseudo-tedesco viene a inceppare le natie favelle e la civiltà con esse» [citazione tratta dalla *Prolusione* letta a Milano il 25 novembre 1861 = Ascoli 1862: 289], era circostanza destinata ad aver notevole peso sulla sua formazione: collocata ai margini di un secolare impero sovranazionale e abitata da parlanti idiomi diversi (dall'italiano allo sloveno, al veneziano, al friulano, oltre al tedesco diffuso attraverso la scuola), la città era infatti un luogo di osservazione privilegiato, in grado sia di stimolare un precoce interesse per i fenomeni linguistici in generale, sia di richiamare l'attenzione sul delicato problema della convivenza di popolazioni di tradizioni e culture diverse. (Gusmani 2004: 200)

Nel prendere la parola davanti ai suoi concittadini, in definitiva, Ascoli non può esimersi dal prendere posizione sulle nazionalità che convivevano nella Gorizia asburgica e sulla condizione delle rispettive lingue. E lo fa con piglio autorevole e solenne ma nello stesso tempo equilibrato, da linguista e studioso.

6. *L'apertura alle istanze del mondo sloveno*

A desumere dalla testimonianza del giornale in lingua slovena *No-vice*, la conferenza comprendeva un passaggio molto forte in termini di attenzione alla componente nazionale slovena, che nella città di Gorizia e soprattutto nell'hinterland era numericamente importante anche se gravata da uno status più debole rispetto a quella italiana e in ogni caso oscurata e marginalizzata dalla dominante cultura germanica di orientamento imperiale.

A correzione di quanto affermato da Cronia (1962)¹¹ Ascoli, pur non potendo essere definito uno slavista, aveva conoscenze di prima mano sulle lingue slave meridionali e sulle loro espressioni letterarie;

¹¹ Le affermazioni piuttosto nette di Cronia sono state comunque temperate da REZZI (1962: 109-112).

proprio quell'anno, all'atto di 'recensire' il saggio del Biondelli (cfr. Ascoli 1861b; su cui rimanderei a Orioles in stampa), si sarebbe tra l'altro misurato con le varietà diffuse nella penisola istriana. Non sorprende perciò che il resoconto giornalistico apparso a ridosso dell'evento dia atto al relatore della sua dimestichezza con caratteristiche dello sloveno (parla ad esempio del duale) e con la sua letteratura. Ma il focus su cui punta la testimonianza di Josip Furlani è l'appello a una sorta di risveglio identitario. Ascoli sollecita l'orgoglio di appartenenza esortando quella comunità a riconoscersi nella propria lingua letteraria comune¹²: evocando il paragone con le secolari tradizioni linguistiche nazionali di Francia e Germania (si coglie qui *in nuce* la più articolata comparazione che avrebbe sviluppato nel *Proemio* tra le condizioni dell'Italia e quelle ben più avanzate delle civiltà francese e tedesca), il Goriziano auspica in definitiva che gli sloveni innalzino lo status del proprio idioma mettendo in secondo piano le pratiche dialettali a favore della lingua comune.

Anche se il ragionamento di Ascoli, inserito oltretutto in un panorama europeo, era squisitamente linguistico e culturale, lontano da rivendicazioni indipendentistiche, l'accento non poteva non suscitare quel plauso e quel consenso dell'uditorio di cui si fa portavoce Josip Furlani.

7. *Che cosa dice Ascoli sull'italianità di Gorizia*

Anche se la parola *Italia* era scomparsa dal titolo della conferenza goriziana del 25 febbraio, Ascoli non poteva certo eludere il tema che stava a cuore agli ambienti liberali della sua città, in fermento di fronte all'incalzare degli eventi che stavano profilandosi nella penisola. Come uscirne?

Ascoli lo fa da par suo con un potente affresco sul ruolo esercitato dall'italiano in Europa orientale e nel bacino mediterraneo come lingua veicolare¹³ (sotto l'aspetto terminologico Ascoli mostra inso-

¹² Si scorge in questa sollecitazione la convinzione tipicamente ascoliana circa «l'importanza della lingua letteraria comune come fondamento e motore dell'unità nazionale» (così MORGANA 2010: 112).

¹³ Per il «ruolo comunicativo, anche orale, dell'italiano come lingua di transazioni commerciali e giuridiche impiegata internazionalmente (e indipendentemente dalla partecipazione al negozio di soggetti italiani) nel Mediterraneo» cfr. BRUNI (2008; la citazione è

spettata familiarità con il glottonimo *lingua franca* che sarebbe stato popolarizzato solo nel 1909 nel celebre saggio di Schuchardt)¹⁴. Come emerge dalla chiusa autografa, l'esaltazione dell'italianità è ancora una volta in primo luogo culturale.

Il messaggio, in linea con le posizioni espresse nel 1848 e con quelle che si sarebbero manifestate negli ultimi decenni del secolo, non è quello di immaginare improbabili secessioni ma di rivendicare spazi a tutte e due le componenti nazionali che insistevano nel territorio, per favorire la loro pacifica convivenza nella trama istituzionale e nei delicati equilibri plurinazionali dell'Impero. Se cioè l'Austria si fosse impegnata a garantire le libertà di manifestazione e di espressione identitaria alle nazionalità comprese nell'Impero, non ci sarebbe stato motivo per pensare a spinte indipendentistiche: è quanto fa capire Ascoli evocando la condizione affine dei cantoni italofoeni della Svizzera i cui abitanti, lungi dal nutrire mire separatiste, si riconoscono nell'appartenenza elvetica.

Del resto dov'è libertà vera, come in Austria si promette, né i cittadini possono esser impediti dal darsi a quella civiltà cui si sentono chiamati, né v'ha pel Governo certo pericoli a lasciarli fare. Il Canton Ticino italiano per lingua e per civiltà, non ha mai pensato a staccarsi dalla Svizzera, poliglotta anch'essa, ma sinceramente libera.

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tratta dalla p. 98) e BRUNI (2013). Importanti elementi sull'influenza dell'italiano in questa regione troviamo anche in due saggi di BANFI (2014: 49-146, 2017: capp. 3 e 4). Si legge con profitto anche la voce enciclopedica di BRINCAT (2011).

¹⁴ Sull'articolo di Schuchardt si rimanda all'approfondito saggio di VENIER (2012), comprensivo della traduzione del testo in italiano. A partire anche da tale lavoro emerge che il glottonimo *lingua franca* era in circolazione tra i linguisti già molto prima del 1909; si vedano le testimonianze offerte dal carteggio Ascoli-Schuchardt (<http://schuchardt.uni-graz.at/id/letter/1249>), dove viene citato l'articolo di GRION (1890-91: 181-186), e dal carteggio Monaci - Schuchardt (<https://gams.uni-graz.at/o:hsa.letter.7227/sdef:TEI/get>), in una lettera del 1883 dove S. parla già delle sue ricerche sulla "lingua franca". Per lo statuto del tipo terminologico cfr. CIFOLETTI (2011: 15-23).

Appendice

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- 111) *Lettera sulla morte di Lombroso in "Materia - Secolo" 24.4.04*
1904. 166. Relazione sul concorso al Premio Reale di Filologia e Linguistica del 1902, estr. dai *Rend. Accad. Lincei*, 5 giugno 1904. — Roma, 1904.
- 107) 1905. 167. In memoria di Adolfo Mussafia. — Milano, Rebeschini, 1905, estr. dai *Rend. Ist. Lomb.*, v. XXXVIII, p. 712.
- 106) » 168. Intorno ai continuatori còrsi del lat. *rsu*. — Perugia, Unione tip. coop., 1905, 8°, p. 10, estr. dagli *Studi Romani* della Società Filologica Romana, ed. dal Monaci, nr. 3.
- 109) » 169. Ricordi concernenti la Toponomastica italiana. — Perugia, Unione tip. coop., 1905, 8°, p. 12, estr. id.
- 1906 *Il dialetto dell'alto Adige e dell'alto Piave - Arch. dell'alto Adige di Tolomeo*
- Mentre correggo le bozze, il prof. Moisè Ascoli mi dà notizia di alcuni altri minori scritti. Credo bene qui ricordarli:
- 10) 1861. Sulle condizioni etnografiche dell'Europa e dell'Italia in ispecie, conferenza tenuta in Gorizia il 25 febbraio 1861.
- 1892. Due lettere intorno ad un'epigrafe di Capua in un Bollettino dell'Italia meridionale. *Comm. Letteraria di Monaco*.
- » Gli inciampi della "Dante Alighieri", brani di una lettera a proposito del 3° Congresso della Società D. A. a Venezia; nel *Secolo* del 9 agosto 1892.
- 1897. Lettera su Antonio Cesari a Giuseppe Guidetti, dal Monte Generoso 29, 8, '97, nell'opera: *Elogi italiani e latini di A. Cesari*, con giunte di Prose e Poesie, ad onore dell'autore. — Reggio-Emilia, tip. Artigianelli, 1897.
- » Lettera su Niccolò Tommaseo; in un volume pubblicato dal Comitato pel monumento a Tommaseo in Sebenico.
- 1903. "Il resto del carlino", chiusa inedita di una lettera pubblicata altrove Milano 16 luglio 1903 (stampata non si trova dove), è come un'appendice a quella sull'Università italiana in Trieste, v. nr. 162.
- 1905. In morte di Tullo Massarani, discorso pronunciato per l'Accademia de' Lincei, nei funerali il 7 agosto 1905.
- » Parole pronunciate nel trasporto delle ceneri di Cesare Cantù a Brivio; nel *Secolo* dell'11 novembre 1905.
- *Intorno al progetto di legge concernente le Facoltà di Fil. e Lett. nell'Univ. di Pavia.*
- 1907 (postuma)
- *metonymy metonymy, "flamy" Suppl. A. J. J. v. 71*
- *Intorno un passo dell'opuscolo di Tolomeo " " " 75*
- *Adblam e adblahog " " " 81*
- 112) *Glossario palaeo-italico* *Arch. vol. II* pag. CCCIX-CCCLIV e fogli a stampa invec. det. CCCCV-CCCLII

— Tretjega govora se je krepko poprijel gosp. Ascoli, jed, izvoljen profesor modraslovja in literature v Turinu, 25. svečana. Govoril je »o etnografskih evropskih zadevah«, — po talijansko. Čvrsti govornik nastel je evropske narode, njih plemena, njih jezike, njih narečja, dežele, v katerih prebivajo, meje, s katerimi se slikaajo. Po tem takemu spomnil je tudi tistega volkana, kateri na eni strani mraza trepeče in zmerzuje pri ledenem morji, v tem, ko na drugi strani pod toplim nebom v zahodnji Evropi, v Aziji si pot v čelu briše in lupi žlahtnega sudja pod senco cvetečega drevja. Spomnil je namreč Slavenov, naroda največjega v Evropi, toda žalibog malo spoštovanega od tujca in to gotovo zato, ker so je prezašpan pravičnemu gospodarstvu po zasluhkosti odgovoril, ter hiane ključ v žep potisnil plitjim, ki mu sedaj v njegovo škodo kot umestjeni gospodarji borbaajo po njegovih škrinjah, omarah in zakladih in ga pihajo z njegovih ognjišča. In omenjen gosp. Ascoli, kaj je nek rekel o tem učečem zasedanju? Po tem, ko je marškal opravil o njegovem raznom narečji, o slovenskem dualu, o literaturi, je rekel nekako taku-to: »Narod slovenski, v Evropi narod največji, ako bi posedal edino literaturni jezik po zgledu Talijanov, Francozov in Nemcev, bi užgajal in prekosil vse druge sosedne narode«. Kteremu domorodcu se ne širijo pomno peser pri taki pravični besedi! Toda gosp. govornik pristavi v sklep svojega govora še naslednjo opazko: »Narod slovenski se je zbadil prepozno in prehitro; prepozno — ker se je prodolgo mudil to s ptujo literaturo; prehitro — ker namesto poprijeti se edinega vzajemnega literarnega jezika, se je razcepil izobraževajo svoje razne narečja«. Pač obžalovanja vredni narod! Nesrečni narod, kteremu do zdaj ni bilo še dano toliko duševne moči, da bi se bil v literaturi zedinil! Al vprašam: Ču se je Slovan prepozno in prehitro zbadil, ali se ima tedaj zopet vleči, terdenje zaspati izročilvi tako plitvu nož, da mu izteče mod ugovornim slivkim toda eramotnim spanjem vsa ostala slovanska kerv? Nočemo dorzno ugibati, ako nam je gosp. Ascoli, sicer poštenega serca, ravno kaj takega svetovati hotel s svojo opazko »prepozno, prehitro«. To pa vemo, boremo in eljamo, da Slovan ima obilno sovrážnikov več ali manj v vseh narodih, s katerimi se stika, ki bi ga radi z lepo ali s silo poprijčili. Bog ne daj te sramote doživeti no nam, ne našim potomcem! Mi toga tudi nismo nikoli mislili, nikakor še ne obupali, najmanj v poslednjih časih, odkar se je jel naš narod čvrstejše zbijati. Mi smo jo vedno terdno vero, da bo prej ali pozneje napočila tudi nam zlata doba. Po jugoslavenski akademiji, utemeljeni v Zagrebu po prvaku jugoslavenskem, preuzvičenem vladiku Josipu Strossmayer-u, so nam je vsam Slavenom zbudila svila zvezda na vzajemnom literarnem obnobi. Ako Bog dá in neobhodno potrebna je, odločnost, bomo z njeno pomočjo v kratkih toih raj mi Jugoslaveni edini literarni jezik imeli za učno predmeto, za izobraženo Slovence. Tega potrobu-jemo — »poznamo raj enkrat prav živo — kot riba vodo. Poleg tega naj bi bila naša vsakdanja naloga, svojo vzajemno bratstvo ljubezen zmiraj bolj oživljati, priporočevajo slovenske časopise jo zmiraj bolj krepčati in se po poštenih poti poznanjati za pravico, ki nam grejo po volji osarjevi, za pravico, ki so bile in so vsakemu narodu temelj napredovanja. To jo, prizadevati si moramo neutrudljivo, da ubelja naš jezik v uradnih in šolah. Pri tej priči spomnim se deželnih zborov, ki bodo mnogo odločili imeli v naši prihodnji moči. Bodo v blager ali nesrečni Slavenov. Galuvo v naš blager, če nas bodo nadomestovali pravični domorodci. Upamo, da se se že prizadeli domoljubi posebno čč, g. duhovni s svojim upljam tako mož v prihodnje deželno zboru spraviči, ki se bodo neustrahljivo potegovali za našo pravico in se upirali vsakemu sovrážnemu duhu. Kolikor jo

previditi, bo v goriskem deželnom zboru laska s stran ka močuo nadomestovana. Mi Slovenci goriski utegnemo tudi še dalje praznih rok ostati, ako bodo naše pravice, naš jezik, naše sole zagovarjali imeli ptuji, ali poprijčeni ali plahi zajci, ki si ne bodo upali še dhati no. — Tudi vemo, da ne manjka takih, ki nam bodo zagovarjali in nam jo zagovarjajo: »Čmu se vi Slovenci toliko trudite za vaš jezik? saj ga učemo ne v uradnje ne v više šole, ker je še preokoren, zarabljen, nikar prilica učenim spisom in predmetom«. Mi bi takim in enakim besedovavcem brez ovinkov tako-to odgovorili: Res je, da naša slovenščina ni tako olikana kakor je laščina ali nemščina, ni res pa, da je naš jezik še tako okoren, da bi se v njem spivati no dale opravila zadevajoče naše ljudstva, ali da bi se v njem nikar učiti no dali tudi učeni predmeti. Nasprotnega nas uči že zadosti naša mala literatura, propirčujejo nas naši učni možjo, ki no že maršakale učeno knjigo na naš jezik zložili, čeravno zbog okolnost ne še vso belema duova izročili. Okorna in zarabljena jo slovenščina, veste k a m u? — tem, ki se je učiti nočejo, ki jo zatreti lačajo, — tem, kateri v šole nepraktično grešiče na cento in, colu francosčine ali angleščine, vpeljujejo in jo pripravčajo z večo groččnostjo kakor pa jezik, ki ga govori narod v deželi. Vem sicer, da kolikor jezikov kilo zna, toliko ljudi on velja; pa tudi terdimo, da taki človek malo velja, ki najpotrebniši doželni jezik zaničuje in pljučino namesto svoje vpeljuje. In ako bi tudi res bilo, kar naši nasprotniki o našem jeziku kvaajo, ali sledi iz tega, da so mu še dalje vsa poštena priložnost v njegovo otesanje jomije? Ali jo šlo nek talijansčini ali nemščini v začetku v šolah in uradnih ravno tako čvrsto spod rok, kakor ji zdaj grč? Gotovo da ne; vsak začetek je težak. Protivniki naši nikar pa se so opušče po našem tirjanju. Kot vselej smo tudi sedaj, posebno mi Slovenci, z malim zadovoljni. Sperva naj grč, kakor more; ne bomo vas pisano gledali, če tudi kako ptujo besedo vpletete. Al naše serce bo veselo izralo, viditi, da ste nam vi Lahjo in Nemci poštini prijatli, ki kot enoljubni, keršauki sosede in bratje nam serčno radi privoščite in dajete kaj nam po pravici grč: sploševanje našega nilega jezika, našega verlega naroda! Pa oji: kje sem? kam sem začel? Poslojjo realke, govorniki kjo sto? Glejto kam človek zabredu, komur kri ni voda! Pa toj opazki se versem usaj v šolo realke se so poslovit o govorniku jado. Gosp. Ascoli je še mlad človek, takaj možo sploševan zaštran njegove učnosti, posebno v jezikih. Kako goriko mu je serce do naroda ojkovoga, jo bila očino pri tem, kako se mu jo serce zadosti zibalo pri omeni Jeruzalema, okoli kterega si je z močnejšim glasom najal zedinjenje po celom svetu razkropljenega hebrejskega naroda. Na manj pa so je pokazal iskrenost, evobodoljubnega Talijana. Zauij katerih preuspetih opazk jo zapopadek cologa njegovtega govora dopadi, dopadi pa ni njegova narokovanje prehitro in preenoglasno.

Josip Furlani

J. Furlani, «Novice» 20 marzo 1861, pp. 98-99:
articolo sulla Conferenza di Ascoli, originale in lingua slovena.

*J. Furlani, «Novice» 20 marzo 1861, pp. 98-99:
traduzione italiana (a cura di Laura Sgubin)*

Il terzo intervento è stato tenuto il 25 febbraio dal sig. Ascoli, ebreo, eletto professore di filosofia e letteratura a Torino. Egli ha parlato di “questioni etnografiche europee” – in italiano. Questo solido oratore ha elencato i popoli europei, le loro stirpi, lingue e dialetti, le loro aree di insediamento, le regioni con le quali confinano. Quindi ha ricordato anche quel gigante che da un lato patisce il freddo e trema intirizzito lungo le sponde del Mar Glaciale Artico e dall'altro lato, sotto il cielo caldo dell'Europa occidentale e dell'Asia, si asciuga il sudore dalla fronte e sbuccia nobili frutti all'ombra degli alberi in fiore. Ha ricordato dunque gli slavi, il più grande popolo d'Europa, benché poco rispettato dagli stranieri, sicuramente perché – ancora troppo sopito – ha rinunciato per sciatteria a un'onesta economia e ha messo in tasca a degli estranei le chiavi di casa propria, lasciando che questi, insediatisi come padroni, rovistassero rovinosamente nei suoi bauli, armadi e tesori, allontanandolo dal suo stesso focolare. E il citato sig. Ascoli, cosa ha detto a proposito di questo infelice addormentato? Dopo aver parlato a lungo dei suoi vari dialetti, del duale sloveno, della letteratura, ha pronunciato qualcosa del genere: “Il popolo slavo, il più grande popolo d'Europa, se solo possedesse una lingua letteraria sull'esempio degli italiani, dei francesi e dei tedeschi, avrebbe molto da dimostrare agli altri popoli vicini travalicandoli tutti.” Al suono di queste giuste parole, a qualsiasi patriota si sarebbe gonfiato il petto dall'orgoglio! Tuttavia l'oratore a conclusione del suo intervento ha aggiunto anche le seguenti osservazioni: “Il popolo slavo si è destato troppo tardi e troppo rapidamente; troppo tardi, perché per troppo tempo si è occupato solo di letteratura straniera; troppo rapidamente, perché anziché scegliere un'unica lingua letteraria comune, si è frammentato dando voce ai suoi vari dialetti”. *Un popolo dunque degno di compassione! Un popolo sfortunato, che ad oggi non ha ancora dimostrato forza spirituale sufficiente per perseguire l'unificazione letteraria! Ma mi chiedo: se gli slavi si sono destati troppo tardi e troppo rapidamente, allora potrebbero anche decidere di ritornare a coricarsi, abbandonarsi a un sonno ancora più profondo e consegnare così il coltello allo straniero per far scorrere via, durante il suo dolce, seppur vergognoso sonno, tutto il sangue slavo ancora rimasto? Lungi da noi supporre che fosse questo ciò che il sig. Ascoli, uomo in realtà dal cuore onesto, avesse voluto suggerire con la propria osservazione “troppo presto, troppo rapidamente”. Ma noi lo sappiamo, lo leggiamo e lo sentiamo in continuazione che gli slavi hanno molti nemici*

tra pressappoco tutti i popoli con i quali confinano e che vorrebbero snazionalizzarli con le buone o le cattive. Dio ci salvi, noi e i nostri discendenti, da una simile vergogna! Noi non lo abbiamo mai pensato né ci siamo mai arresi, specialmente negli ultimi tempi in cui il nostro popolo ha iniziato a risorgere con maggiore convinzione. Siamo ancora fermamente convinti che anche per noi prima o poi arriveranno tempi d'oro. Dopo l'Accademia jugoslava, fondata a Zagabria dall'illustre vescovo jugoslavo Josip Strossmayer, per tutti noi slavi è apparsa una stella luminosa al nostro comune orizzonte letterario. Se Dio vorrà, e grazie a un'irrinunciabile unità, con il suo aiuto in pochi anni almeno noi jugoslavi avremo un'unica lingua letteraria per le materie dotte, per gli slavi istruiti. Di questo abbiamo bisogno, riconosciamolo una volta per tutte, come il pesce ha bisogno dell'acqua. Questo dovrebbe essere per altro il nostro compito quotidiano, risvegliare sempre più il nostro comune amore fraterno, consolidarlo raccomandando la lettura di quotidiani slavi, e impegnarsi onestamente per i diritti che ci sono riconosciuti per volere dell'imperatore, per i diritti che sono stati e sono alla base del progresso di tutti i popoli. Di questo si tratta, dobbiamo impegnarci instancabilmente per affermare la nostra lingua negli uffici e nelle scuole. A tal proposito desidero ricordare i parlamenti regionali [Landtag] che molto avranno da decidere del nostro destino futuro. Questi andranno a vantaggio o svantaggio degli slavi. A nostro vantaggio certamente, se saremo rappresentati da onesti nazionalisti. Ci auguriamo che i nostri patrioti, in particolare sua eminenza grazie al suo ascendente, si siano già impegnati a nominare nei futuri parlamenti regionali persone di questo tipo, che si prodigheranno con coraggio per i nostri diritti e si opporranno a qualsiasi spirito ostile. Secondo le previsioni, nel parlamento regionale goriziano il partito italiano sarà ben rappresentato. Noi sloveni goriziani rischiamo di restare ancora una volta a mani vuote se a rappresentare i nostri diritti, la nostra lingua, le nostre scuole saranno dei conigli estranei, estraniati o pavidì, che non avranno il coraggio neanche di respirare. — Sappiamo inoltre che non sono pochi coloro che avranno da obiettare e già obiettano dicendo: "A che scopo voi slavi vi preoccupate tanto per la vostra lingua, dato che non la vogliamo né negli uffici né nelle scuole superiori, perché è ancora troppo goffa, rozza, per niente adatta agli scritti e alle materie erudite." Noi a simili cialtroni risponderemmo senza mezzi termini così: È pur vero che il nostro sloveno non è così educato come l'italiano o il tedesco, ma non è vero che la nostra lingua è ancora tanto goffa da impedirci di usarla per scrivere degli affari che riguardano la nostra gente e che in essa non si possano insegnare anche materie erudite. Al contrario, la nostra piccola letteratura ci insegna già molto, come dimostrano i nostri intellettuali che

hanno prodotto già diversi libri dotti nella nostra lingua, anche se date le circostanze non li hanno ancora esposti alla luce del sole. Lo sapete per chi è goffo e rozzo lo sloveno? – per coloro che non lo vogliono studiare, che lo vogliono reprimere, per coloro che introducono nelle scuole il greco – poco pratico, e addirittura il francese o l'inglese e li raccomandano con maggiore convinzione rispetto alla lingua parlata dalla popolazione della regione. Si sa, tuttavia, che quante più lingue uno sa tanto più vale; e secondo noi poco vale colui che disprezza l'utilissimo idioma regionale e sostiene invece le lingue straniere. E anche se fosse vero ciò che i nostri nemici sostengono della nostra lingua, allora ciò significa che dovremmo continuare a privarla di ogni onesta opportunità di affermarsi? Perché con l'italiano o il tedesco all'inizio nelle scuole e negli uffici era andato tutto liscio come adesso? Sicuramente no; ogni inizio è difficile. Voi detrattori! Non dovete temere una nostra tirannia. Ora come sempre noi sloveni in particolare ci accontentiamo di poco. All'inizio vada come vada. Non vi guarderemo di traverso se utilizzerete qualche parola straniera. Ma il nostro cuore sarà lieto di scoprire che voi italiani e tedeschi siete nostri amici sinceri, che da buoni vicini e fratelli, pacifici e cristiani, desiderate il meglio per noi e riconoscete ciò di cui abbiamo diritto: il rispetto per la nostra bella lingua, per il nostro popolo coraggioso! Oh cielo! Dove sono? Dove mi sono perso? Edificio del liceo, oratori! Dove siete? Guardate dove rischia di finire chi come me crede che il sangue non sia acqua! Dopo questa osservazione ritorno nell'aula del liceo a salutare l'oratore, l'ebreo. Il sig. Ascoli è ancora giovane e qui è molto rispettato grazie alle sue conoscenze, specialmente nelle lingue. Quanto frema il suo cuore per il suo popolo è emerso chiaramente al suono delle parole Gerusalemme, intorno alla quale ha auspicato a voce alta che il popolo ebraico disperso in tutto il mondo possa unificarsi. Tuttavia egli non si è dimostrato meno sincero e amante della libertà come italiano. Al di là di alcune osservazioni troppo dirette, il tenore del suo discorso è piaciuto, non è piaciuto però il suo dettato troppo veloce e monotono.

Trascrizione della *Chiusa* ascoliana:

Nella chiusa del discorso era detto che male si apponeva chi credeva favorire gl'interessi austriaci conculcando l'italianità nostra, la quale aveva messo ne' mari dell'Europa meridionale sì profonde radici, che persino i consolati austriaci d'Oriente trovavansi in perfetta italianità, anzi in perfetta toscanità. E di fatti bastava un'occhiata per convincersi di questa verità:

Odessa il grande porto russo del mezzodì, è italiana ne' suoi commerci ed ha gazzetta italiana. In città greche stampan le leggi in italiano ed in greco, e non ha guari sentimmo Gladstone, innanzi agli Ionii accolti in Parlamento, tentare colla lingua di Dante la riconciliazione tra quei Greci ed il Governo inglese; sulla costa barbaresca si balbetta una *lingua franca* la quale è italiano; l'albanese, il neo greco, son pieni di reminiscenze italiane; il vocabolario marinairesco degli arabi ribocca di parole nostre.

Di guisa che se l'Austria avesse lasciato nel levante l'italiano per il tedesco, sarebbe diventata di provetta novizia e avrebbe dovuto soccombere di fronte alla concorrenza prussiana; essa aveva quindi bisogno, stringente bisogno, d'alimentare l'italianità per prenderne gli stromenti indispensabili alla conservazione della sua potenza.

Del resto, dov'è libertà vera, come in Austria si promette, né i cittadini possono esser impediti dal darsi a quella civiltà cui si sentono chiamati, né v'ha pel Governo certo pericoli a lasciarli fare. Il Canton Ticino italiano per lingua e per civiltà, non ha mai pensato a staccarsi dalla Svizzera, poliglotta anch'essa, ma sinceramente libera.

Gorizia, 20 giugno 1861

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Я

Léxeis



ON *jóð* n. ‘new born child, descendant’

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ABSTRACT

It is argued that ON *jóð* ‘child, descendant’, Gmc. **eud/pa-*, is related to the root PIE **h₁eu_h_{1/3}-* ‘to give milk, to suck’, either as a substantivized verbal adjective **h₁eu_h_{1/3}-to-* ‘nourished, fed’ comparable to **génh₁to-* ‘child’ (Germ. *Kind*) regarding the word formation, or as a noun **h₁eu_h_{1/3}d^ho-* based on the root shape **h₁eu_h_{1/3}d^h-* underlying Gr. οὔθαρ, Lat. *ūber* ‘udder’, etc.

KEYWORDS: Old Norse, etymology, vṛddhi, substantivization

1. *Status quaestionis*

Earlier etymological proposals for ON *jóð* ‘child’ have proved unsatisfactory on the formal and semantic level: as the discussion will show (section 2), the Gmc. evidence does not allow connections with words in other languages continuing PIE **d* such as Greek ὕδρία ‘water vessel’, and a link with words meaning ‘to feel’ and ‘delicate’ (Lith. *jaūsti*, *jautrūs*) is neither semantically compelling nor corroborated by further material in other languages. After a review of the Germanic evidence (section 1), the paper attempts to connect the word with the PIE root **h₁eu_h_{1/3}-* ‘to (breast-)feed, give milk’ and a possibly enlarged variant **h₁eu_h_{1/3}d^h-* (section 3). If correct, the Old Norse form might provide further indirect evidence for this verbal root.

2. Old Norse *jóð* and cognates

The Old Norse neuter noun *jóð* ‘new born child, descendant’ occurs, e.g., in the *Rígsþula* and the *Atlamál* of the poetic Edda, cf.¹

- (1) *Jóþól Edda,*
jósu vatni,
... hétu Þræl.
 ‘Edda gave birth to a son,
 they sprinkled him with water,
 ... they called him Thræll.’ *Rígsþula* 7

- (2) *Jóþól Amma,*
jósu vatni,
... kolluþu Karl.
 ‘Amma gave birth to a son,
 they sprinkled him with water,
 ... they called him Karl.’ *Rígsþula* 11

- (3) *Sáll es hverr síþan,*
es slík getr fǫþa
jóþ at afreki,
sem es ól Gjúki.
 ‘He shall be very happy afterwards,
 who gets to father
 offspring as gallant
 as the one that Gjuki begot.’ *Atlamál* 99

Jóð also occurs in the compound *jóð-ungr* ‘young’ (Sigurðarkviða 3.37), in the adjective *jóðligr* ‘blooming, thriving like a baby’ and the PN *Jóðgeirr*, *-björn*, *-arr*, *-hildr*². It is usually connected with a Gmc. protoform **euþa-/ *euða-* assumed to occur also in a number of Germanic personal and tribal names (*Iuthungi*, *Eudusii*)³ which have been

¹ Cf. also GERING (1903: 538).

² Cf. VRIES (1977: 292).

³ Cf. NEUMANN (1989), who argues that *Eudusii* could mean ‘zur Jungmannschaft gehörend’, ‘belonging to the young warriors’, and NEUMANN (2000).

discussed in detail by Wagner (2013): regarding the quality of the fricative, ON *jóð* is ambiguous due to the neutralization of the voicing distinction in intervocalic position in Old Norse, and also Runic *Iuþing-aR* on the stone of Reistad (Norway, ca. 450-500 CE)⁴, which is usually assumed to belong to the same root, may show an early spelling of the voiced fricative as <þ>⁵. In contrast to this, OHG *Eodo* (*n*-stem, Freising a. 824), *Eodunc* (between 758 and 804/6), *Eodolt/Hiodolt*, and probably also Goth. **Iupareiks* in Lat. *Eutharicus* (Theoderic’s son-in-law), presuppose **eupa-* ‘child, descendant’, while OHG *Eoto/(H)Ioto* and *Eotheri* go back to **eūða-*. The same variation occurs in OHG *Iud* and *Iudo* (in the *Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuch*, 9th c.) from **iupi-* – since *u*-stems are not productive, a form **iupu-* seems unlikely – with *Umlaut* from **éuþ-i-*, beside which a form **eūð-t-* is presupposed by OHG (*H*)*Iuto*, quasi **eūð-ōn*.

3. *Grammatischer Wechsel*

The variation **eupa/i-* / **eūða/i-* seems to favour an interpretation as *grammatischer Wechsel* of a single paradigm with an originally mobile accent. This is impossible in the case of the *a*-stem and unlikely for the *i*-stem, since there do not seem to be similar cases in Germanic. It seems more likely that there is a derivational relationship between the two forms⁶. If **-ða-* continues the suffix PIE **-tó-* forming verbal adjectives, **eupa-* could derive from a form **uḏá-* in the same way as OHG *kind* goes back to Gmc. **kenþa-*, virtually from **génh₁to-*, beside the zero-grade oxytone adjective **génh₁tó-* found, e.g., in ON *regin-kunnr* ‘of divine descent’ < **kunþa-*. The root **génh₁-* may also provide a parallel for the unexpected full-grade in the oxytone form, if OS *kind* goes back to **kenða-* < **génh₁tó-*. The identical OFr. form is certainly borrowed from High German, as it lacks the expected

⁴ Cf. KRAUSE (1971: 159); BAMMESBERGER (1996); EYTHÓRSSON (1999).

⁵ Cf. *fapur* on the stone from Skåän, Södermanland, Sweden, dated between 375-570. Cf. <https://app.raa.se/open/runor/inscription?id=2c6c108c-851b-4cd6-a140-675afaa098f4>.

⁶ Cf. also the discussion in NEUMANN (1989: 619).

palatalization of the velar stop as, e.g., in OFr. *szin*(bake), OE *cinn* vs OHG *kinni* ‘chin’. Schaffner (2001: 235-238) and *EWAh*d 5.515 discuss this question without a final decision, and the former points out a possible parallel case in Ved. *márta-* m. ‘mortal, man’ < **mérto-*, Av. *marəta-* ‘id.’ if from **martá-* < **mertó-* (for **márta-* one would expect Av. ***maša-*). He further assumes that the oxytone accent in such full-grade forms could be caused by analogy to zero-grade verbal adjectives in *-tó-* substantivized as such, e.g., ON *kundr* m. ‘son’ < **kundā-* < **ǵn̥h₂tó-*, whence also **ǵen̥h₂tó-*. In any case, derivational accent shift and Verner variation was productive in Germanic, and forms such as Gmc. **stapa-* m. n. ‘river bank, beach’ < **stā₂to-* beside **staðā-* ‘standing, stable’ < **stā₂tó-*, might have provided a basis for an adjective **euðā-* beside a noun **euþa-*, although it is usually assumed that the derivation works in the opposite direction⁷. Since the discussion has shown that the Gmc. forms contain either **-þ-* or **-ð-*, etyma with PIE **d* are excluded. Hence, the old explanation which connects ON *jóð* with Lat. *ūtēr* ‘leather bag’ and *uterus* ‘womb, belly’ is impossible⁸: the former probably belongs to OIr. *otre* ‘goatskin bottle’ and Gk. *ὕδρῐα* ‘water vessel’, the latter to Skt. *udāra-* n. ‘belly’, Gk. *ὕδερως* ‘dropsy’, *ὕστερα* ‘womb’ (< **ud-terā*) and Lith. *vėderas* ‘sausage; intestines, stomach’, OCS *vědro* n. ‘barrel’⁹. As an alternative, Magnússon (2008: s.v. *jóð*) proposes a link with Lith. *jaūsti* ‘to feel, perceive’, *jautrūs* ‘emotional, delicate, subtle’ which is not compelling semantically and lacks further corroborating data.

4. PIE roots

If, as pointed out above, **euþa-* continues an earlier form derived from a verbal adjective, a possible root to connect it with might be PIE **h₁euḡh₁/₃-* ‘to give milk, suckle’ assumed by Melchert (1986) for

⁷ Note also oxytone Gmc. **jungā-* ‘young’ (in contrast, e.g., to the comparative form **iún̥h₂izan-*).

⁸ Cf., e.g., MUCH (1893: 206-207) and SCHÖNFELD (1911: 81).

⁹ On the Latin development of **-dr-* > *-tr-* whence *utero-* cf. DE VAAN (2008: 647).

Hitt. *uua-* interpreted as an agent noun **h₁ouh_{1/3}-ó-* 'nurse, nourishing mother'¹⁰. If ON *jóð* goes back to this **euþa-*, its transposed antecedent would have the form **h₁éuþ_{1/3}-to-* 'suckling, breastfed', derived in the same way as Gmc. **kinþa-* 'child' from PIE **ǵenh₁*¹¹:

<i>*ǵnh₁tó-</i> 'born'	→ <i>*ǵénh₁to-</i> 'child'	> Gmc. <i>*kinþa</i> ⁿ
<i>*h₁uh_{1/3}tó-</i> 'suckled'	→ <i>*h₁éuþ_{1/3}to-</i> 'child'	> Gmc. <i>*euþa</i> ⁿ

Since, as shown by **kinþa-*, this is apparently a productive process in Germanic, an early Germanic derivation from the verbal adjective **(H)uHðá-* → **(H)éuHþa-* may be conceivable. However, extra-Germanic data opens up another possibility: as discussed by Vine & Yokoyama (2010), the PIE word for 'udder' found in Germanic OE *ūder*, OHG *ūtar* (< **ūdra-*) and ON *júgr* (< **eudur*)¹², and further Skt. *údhār-/an-* (**HuHd^b-*), Gk. *οὔθαρ* (**Houð^b-*) and Lat. *ūber*, i.e., PIE **H(e/o)uHd^b-r/n-*, is likely to derive from a root **HeuHd^b-* found in dialectal Russ. *údit* 'to ripen (of grain); to swell up with liquid'¹³ which could continue a CoC-*éie/o-* formation transposable as **HouHd^b-éie/o-*. Beside this, Vine & Yokoyama (2010) have drawn attention to a dialectal Russian form 3PL *udut* which may go back to the primary simple thematic form **h₁euþ_{1/3}d^b-onti*. If so, *udut* might be a direct trace of the primary verb underlying the PIE word for 'udder'. Vine & Yokoyama (2010) further assume that this root could be the result of a univerbation of **h₁euþ_{1/3}-* with **d^beh₁-* 'to put'. Given that this putative base root probably meant 'give milk, suckle, excrete liquid', one might even speculate that the complex form **h₁euþ_{1/3}-d^b-* goes back to a *dvandva*-compound with **d^beh₁(i)-* 'to suckle', i.e., **h₁euþ_{1/3}-d^b(h₁[i])-* 'to nurse-suckle', or a verbal governing compound, if the first member was a root noun 'milk, nourish-

¹⁰ Attested only in the Soldier's Song in the Puḡanu-chronicle. Various other proposals for its interpretation have been made, *inter alia* 'son', 'forefather', 'grandfather', cf. KLOEKHORST (2008: 934-935).

¹¹ Cf. on this type of word-formation SCHAFFNER (2001: 334-335).

¹² Cf. KROONEN (2013: 120).

¹³ Cf. ДАЛЪ (1909: s.v.): «о зернѣ, ... наливаясь, толстѣть, набирать тѣло» ('about grain, ... to ripen/become juicy, to become fat, to gain in body').

ment', i.e., 'to milk-feed' or 'to put milk'¹⁴. For the Germanic forms presupposing $*eu\delta a-$, this could imply a PIE *transponat* $*h_1eu\dot{h}_{1/3}d^bo-$. A neuter of the type $\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$ (PIE $*uérǵ-o-$) probably meant 'suckled being, nursling' (Germ. *Säugling*) that could be the substantivization of an adjective $*h_1eu\dot{h}_{1/3}d^b\acute{o}-$ 'fed, nursed' in the sense of Nussbaum (2017). Since the more complex root $*h_1eu\dot{h}_{1/3}d^b-$ is better attested in general, but Germanic $*eu\beta a-$ is irreconcilable with it, one may either assume that Germanic inherited both $*h_1eu\dot{h}_{1/3}-$ and $*h_1eu\dot{h}_{1/3}d^b-$ or that it only inherited the simpler variant and that, as discussed above, $*eu\delta a-$ is an inner-Germanic creation. In any case, if the etymology proposed here is correct, it would provide further data for a PIE root $*h_1eu\dot{h}_{1/3}-$ 'to swell up with liquid, excrete liquid, give milk'.

$*h_1eu\dot{h}_{1/3}- : *h_1u\dot{h}_{1/3}-t\acute{o}- (\rightarrow *h_1eu\dot{h}_{1/3}to-) > \text{Gmc. } *HuH\delta\acute{a}- \rightarrow *H\acute{eu}\beta a-/Heu\delta\acute{a}-$
 $*h_1eu\dot{h}_{1/3}d^b(eh_1\acute{e}) : *h_1eu\dot{h}_{1/3}d^bo- > \text{Gmc. } *Heu\delta a-$

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¹⁴ On the question whether the apparent homonyms PIE $*d^beh_1(i)-$ 'to put' and 'to suckle' are ultimately the same root cf. DE VAAN (2019).

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Medio persiano 𐭥𐭭𐭮 *kōy* ‘strada’

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ABSTRACT

The Pahlavi lexeme *kōk* ‘migration’ was allegedly identified by Antonino Pagliaro on the basis of single passages from the Gr. *Bund.*, the *Dēnkard* and the *Nērangistān*. Walter Belardi suggested that this Iranian word was at the origin of the word family testified by Arm. *kox* ‘trampling’, etc. The article demonstrates that the aforementioned Middle Persian passages require different readings and that Middle Persian *kōy* ‘road, street’, from which Modern Persian *kuče* ‘alley’ is derived, is widely attested in various modern Iranian languages.

KEYWORDS: Pahlavi lexicography, Middle Persian *kōy* ‘road’, Modern Persian *kuče* ‘alley’

1. Dovendo proporre una breve nota in occasione della rinascita delle *Ricerche Linguistiche*, non potevo non ricordare le leggendarie *Lexeis* firmate da Antonino Pagliaro e Walter Belardi nei numeri dei primi anni Cinquanta e i commenti che intorno ad esse si facevano negli ambienti dell’Istituto di glottologia, dove la mia frequenza era piuttosto assidua nella seconda metà degli anni Sessanta e primi anni Settanta. Mentre dalle due pagine premesse in corsivo da Pagliaro al primo fascicolo del 1950 – il manifesto della rivista – non si ricaverebbe nulla sul tema, i frequentatori dell’Istituto nei decenni successivi ricordano bene i ripetuti ritorni di Belardi sul tema dello spazio necessario a trattare con completezza e ricchezza stilistica gli argomenti scelti dagli studiosi per la pubblicazione, spazio che le *Lexeis* ideate da Pagliaro normalmente non concedevano. In almeno un caso, Belardi ha lasciato una traccia scritta di questa sua visione:

Questa lezione di rigore rimase a lungo impressa in Pagliaro. Di ciò mi accorsi ancora vent’anni dopo, a mie spese, quando, terminato un lavoro, mi si consi-

gliava sovente con insistenza, se non in modo perentorio, di comprimere e di ridurre la stesura a poche pagine dense, e mi si additava come modello ideale di pubblicazione scientifica l'assurda brevità dei «Lese Früchte» che apparivano nei corti scampoli di spazio tipografico di «K.Z.», di solito fondi di pagina. La sezione delle «léxeis» della rivista «Ricerche Linguistiche» risentì di questo convincimento, che però si esaurì negli anni, a mano a mano che Pagliaro andava rendendosi conto che a una verità nuova e notevole si addice una argomentazione sostanziosa e quindi un congruo contorno di parole. (Belardi 1992: 84-85)

La circostanza, poi, che al termine di queste mie riflessioni non possa trovarmi d'accordo con le proposte avanzate da Pagliaro (e, indirettamente, per connessione con esse, da Belardi) si spiega bene con questo insegnamento ricordato da Belardi nella *Premessa* a *Studi mithraici e mazdei*:

Antonino Pagliaro mi soleva dire che i progressi nell'iranistica risultano più marcati che altrove (intendi: gli studi invecchiano con maggiore rapidità) perché è più facile cadere nell'errore, così che uno frequentemente può dire di se stesso come il Suo Maestro di Heidelberg diceva con onestà e frequenza: «falsch Bartholomae...». (Belardi 1977: 12)

2. Nelle prime due annate delle *Ricerche Linguistiche* apparvero tre brevi note di Antonino Pagliaro e Walter Belardi che contenevano espliciti riferimenti incrociati, e che è possibile che derivassero da scambi di opinioni dei due studiosi avvenuti intorno al 1950 che avevano trovato una provvisoria forma scritta in attesa, forse, di successivi approfondimenti, che però non mi risulta siano più avvenuti.

Pagliaro (1950) aveva creduto di poter analizzare il demònimo Kūyōne (kwγwnʔk, qwγwny)¹, oggi letto Kuyōne (Lurje 2010: 216 n. 576) o Kughōnē (Grenet 2010: 283), che appariva nei due frammenti sogdiani manichei (TM 393 e TM 549) pubblicati da Henning nel

¹ Nella trascrizione del nome del dèmone Pagliaro seguiva le scelte di Henning, primo editore dei testi. Il dèmone Kuyōne è esplicitamente definito «the son of Ahriman, who [...] spoilt the Magian religion» (kwγ-wnʔkw ZK ʔtōrmnw z-ʔtʔk ky ZKw mwγʔnch ðynh nštwðʔrty, TM 393, 27-29, cf. PAGLIARO 1950: 253).

1944, in una testa nominale *kwγ* e un suffisso d’agente *-wnyy*, come *xšywnyy* ‘sovrano’ da *ʔxšy-* ‘dominare’². Per il primo elemento questa è la spiegazione proposta da Pagliaro:

A me pare che nel personaggio in questione si debba riconoscere una personificazione del nomadismo delle steppe e che la parola *kwγwnʔk* significhi per l’appunto ‘nomade’; trattandosi di una personificazione si scriverà ‘il Nomade’. Infatti, il primo elemento di essa, cioè *kwγ-*, non si potrà certo tenere staccato dal mediopersiano dei libri *kōk* ‘migrazione, strada’, pers. mod. کوی *kōy* ‘Heerstrasse, Strasse’ (Wolff).

Giacché nelle righe successive Pagliaro aggiunge che «[n]ei testi pahlavici *kōk* è abbastanza documentato», e giacché, a prima vista, non si era presentata alla mia memoria alcuna attestazione del termine in questione, ho effettuato un preliminare controllo sui quattro passi citati, constatando quanto segue:

(1) nel passo del Gr. *Bund.* 147, 7 (= cap. 23, 1), che Pagliaro leggeva *gannāk mēnūk ān duž gurk dāt kōk vat-māričānīktom +ziyānaktom* «lo spirito malvagio creò quel malfattore del lupo, il più esiziale alla migrazione, il più dannoso», oggi si legge *Gan(n)āg-Mēnōg ān duz(d) gurg dād kūk ud tom-arzānīg ud tom-zahag* «l’Esprit Mauvais a créé ce loup voleur, petit, adapté à l’obscurité, à la sombre progéniture»³, quindi con un’occorrenza di *kūk/g* ‘piccolo’ invece che del **kōk* ipotizzato da Pagliaro;

(2) nel passo del *Dēnkard* vi (Madan 517,4), dove secondo Pagliaro «come penitenza (*pāt_o-frās*) per colui che volendo vivere secondo la legge (*ān ī dātīk*) commette peccato, si prescrive la regola della vita ramminga (*kōk-zīvišn dēn*)», si deve leggere *pad wināh ī kunēnd kūg zīwišn ud *nihang rōz pādefrāh* «[t]he punishment for sins which they commit is a short life and a brief day»⁴, quindi di nuovo con un’occorrenza di *kūk/g* ‘piccolo’ invece che del **kōk* ipotizzato da Pagliaro;

² GERSHEVITCH (1961: 166 § 1086).

³ AZARNOUCHE (2016: 3); similmente AGOSTINI & THROPE (2020: 117): «The Evil Spirit created the wolf-thief small, of dark worth, of dark birth».

⁴ SHAKED (1979: 80-81).

(3) il passo del *Nērangistān* (Sanjana 169, 25 = cap. 74 Kotwal & Kreyenbroek) dove Pagliaro aveva creduto di individuare il composto *kōy-tāčik* ‘arabo nomade, beduino’: *ō-šān kē + nihumbēnd + parr ēvtāk parzman* [*i*] *kōy-tāčik* «quelli che indossano una schiavina in un pezzo, il costume del beduino» è inteso nell’ultima edizione del *Nērangistān*: *Awēšān kē nihumbēnd *warr ī ēw-tāg ud *parzagmōg ī tābīg* [*dārēnd*] «[t]hey who cover themselves with [(i.e.) have] a garment [in one piece] of shiny velvet»⁵, con una diversa segmentazione e la scomparsa di un ipotetico **kōy* davanti a *tābīg*.

3. I primi due passi citati da Pagliaro contengono quindi l’aggettivo *kūk/g* ‘corto, piccolo, breve’⁶, che peraltro Shaked, generalizzando le regole fonologiche di MacKenzie, trascrive *kūg*, parola che sembrerebbe etimologicamente connessa a prs. mod. *kudak* (classico *kōdak*)⁷: si noti la sillaba finale **ak* conservata in prs. mod. *kudak* che giustifica indirettamente la trascrizione mackenziana di pahl. /*kūk*/ contro quella shakediana /*kūg*/; l’interpretazione del terzo passo è invece dovuta alla fantasia filologico-interpretativa di Pagliaro, e non incrementa la reale documentazione del lessico pahlavico.

Il composto *kōy-pān* che Pagliaro legge nel *Mādayān i hazār dādestān* A 29.6, dove a suo parere «sembra indicare il capo della polizia stradale, responsabile dei furti che avvenivano nelle vie carovaniere»⁸, è più interessante per la nostra *lexis*.

Perikhanian (1997: 298-299) interpreta A 29.6 *kōybān pad ēn kū-m ō tō guft u-t āšnūd ud pad-iz ēn kū guhrīg ō tō mad ēstēd ēwar* come «[a]

⁵ KOTWAL & KREYENBROEK (2009: 44-45). Qui Pagliaro aveva emendato, senza segnalarlo, <plzmkw> di HJ in *parzman* [*i*] *kōy*, per poter interpretare il successivo *tāčik* come ‘cavaliere’ (*kōy-tāčik* ‘cavaliere nomade’) invece che come *tābīg* ‘lucente’, in riferimento al tessuto della veste.

⁶ Sulla semantica di *kōk* (o *kūk*) cf. BAILEY (1931: 598-599); cf. anche l’osservazione di SHAKED (1979: 271) ad 206.7: «On the word *kōk/kūk* cf. Bailey [...] The word occurs in the passages adduced by Bailey qualifying concrete objects, but it is evidently used here to describe time».

⁷ Cf. già BAILEY (1931: 599): «Pahl. *kūčak* is NPers. *kūčak* ‘small’. Av. *kutaka* ‘small’, Pahl. *kōtak*, Arm. loanword *kotak*, NPers. *kōtāh* [...] belong to the same group».

⁸ PAGLIARO (1950: 254).

supervisor of a town quarter/of a major highway (?) is competent to (give evidence such as): “I said to you and you heard/learned”, and also to (give evidence such as): the capital/?equivalent?⁹ shall go to you»; anche in *Dēnkard* viii (Madan 733.10) peraltro si parla in un contesto non chiaro di compiti non precisati del *mazdēs-nān* + *kōy-bān*.

Anche se non siamo in grado di comprendere con esattezza di quale funzionario si parli nei due passi citati, è innegabile che in essi appaia, come primo elemento d’una composizione nominale ben nota (*grīwbān* ‘proteggi-collo, gorgiera’, *puštībān* ‘gaurdia del corpo’, *marzbān* ‘custode dei confini, marchese’, ecc.), la parola 𐭮𐭩 *kōy* che, come Pagliaro aveva ben visto, è la stessa di prs. *kōy* nello *Šāhnāme*, vale a dire ‘strada’.

La migliore testimonianza di phl. *kōy* ‘strada’ o forse meglio ‘vicolo, stradina’, che Pagliaro tuttavia non cita tra i suoi esempi (per cui non sappiamo se la conoscesse o no), è contenuta nel *Draxt ī asūrīg* al verso 107, che molto verosimilmente si deve leggere così:

dān ud astag tō šawēd frāž ō kōy murdān, cioè

‘may your seeds and stones end up in (lit. go forward to) the alley of the dead’¹⁰.

⁹ La traduzione alternativa deriva dalla lettura alternativa dell’autrice di *guhriḡ* come «*gōhrak* (*guhariḡ* ?)». Sul termine tecnico si veda PAGLIARO (1935: 303-315) e PAGLIARO (1947: 60-61).

¹⁰ La traduzione è quella di HENNING (1950: 645 n. 2), accettata da BOLOGNESI (1953: 181), che propone la interessante comparazione della espressione phl. *kōy murdān* con il sintagma prs. *kuče-ye xāmušān* ‘cemetery’; ivi si veda pure l’ironico giudizio sulla proposta di Unvala. Altre più recenti interpretazioni propongono la lettura di 𐭮𐭩 come *gand* ‘fetore della morte’, cf. NAVVABI (1967: 77-78), con nota a v. 107, e *kōd* ‘mucchio di escrementi’, cf. SHAKI (1975: 73-74), il quale obietta che piuttosto che phl. *kōy* avremmo dovuto trovare qui phl. *darrag* ‘valle’ in corrispondenza dell’espressione persiana *vādi-ye xāmušān*, se l’intenzione dell’autore fosse stata l’allusione al cimitero; BOLAND EQBAL (2011) ripete l’interpretazione di Shaki, con minimi elementi di variazione. Non è chiaro come BRUNNER (1980: 294) legga 𐭮𐭩 per poter poi pervenire alla sua traduzione ‘the graves of the dead’. Devo all’amico Domenico Agostini, che ha gentilmente controllato nell’archivio del dizionario del MPDP (Middle Persian Dictionary Project) precedentemente diretto dal compianto Professor Shaul Shaked all’Università ebraica di Gerusalemme, la segnalazione di questo passo del *Draxt ī asūrīg* e i riferimenti al *Widēwdād*, e all’amico Salman Aliyāri aiuti bibliografici e una stimolante discussione sulle incongruenze del passo del *Draxt ī asūrīg*.

Da questo *kōy* deriva evidentemente phl. *kōyag*¹¹ ‘street, lane’ che compare nel *Widēwdād*, due volte come glossa di *widarag* ‘passaggio’ (2.30, 2.38) e una volta nel contesto *xānag pad kōyag ēdōn bawēd čiyōn jud-kardag* ‘a house in a small road is just like a separate (division)’ (5.44)¹². Mentre phl. *kōyag* non sembra continuato in alcun dialetto moderno¹³, il diminutivo (*mosaqqar*, così Dehxodâ) prs. classico *kūyčē* è attestato fin dalla prima letteratura nel senso moderno di ‘stradina, vicioletto’¹⁴, e una sua variante grafica, che ne tradisce la formazione diminutiva in *-čē*, è stata registrata nei principali dizionari (Haim, Alavi-Junker, Moin) fino alla metà del Novecento, prima che prevalesse nella lingua standard la forma *kučē*.

4. Mentre è ampiamente giustificato, come scrive Mansouri, continuare a ritenere l’etimologia di phl. *kōy* «unknown»¹⁵, possiamo entro certi limiti ricostruirne la storia linguistica successiva. Oggi *kuy* sembra limitato a un uso tecnico nel persiano standard, in riferimento a settori o quartieri di una città o di una regione, e/o a giurisdizioni areali¹⁶. La parola però si è conservata nel tagico *kūy* dove indica tuttora (Raximi-Uspenskaja, Sajmiddinov) ‘via, strada’ (ma anche ‘quartiere’), e anche in numerose lingue iraniche centro-occidentali, come behdinani *ki*, gazi *ku*, kafrani *ko*, kurdo *ku*¹⁷, nonché in qahrudi, abyane, hanjani *kō*¹⁸, tutti nel senso di ‘alley’.

Dovremmo quindi dedurre (anche da composti pahlavi come *kōybān*), che la semantica originaria ‘strada’ si sia specializzata verso ‘stradina’ se estesa con morfema di diminuzione, e anche, senza estensioni morfemiche, verso ‘insieme di strade, zona, quartiere’, apparen-

¹¹ Secondo MANSOURI (2019: 592) «the *kōyīg* form is also possible».

¹² Le tre occorrenze rispettivamente in MOAZAMI (2014: 60-61, 64-65, 150-151).

¹³ Ma si veda forse kurdo *koye* ‘magazzino’, se < ‘(quartiere) magazzino’ (Kendal), con lo stesso sviluppo semantico di *mahalle*.

¹⁴ Sa’ di ha *kūčā/e* in questo senso.

¹⁵ MANSOURI (2019: 592), nonostante il suo successivo rinvio a una ipotetica base a.ir. **kaudya-*, √ **kau-* ‘make holes’; la voce manca nell’etimologico di Hasandust.

¹⁶ Cf. SOXAN, s.v.

¹⁷ Tutti citati in HASANDUST (2011: 614).

¹⁸ ASATRIAN 2011 s.v.

temente sia in Iran che più a oriente: l'epoca dell'estensione si potrebbe forse dedurre confrontando la definizione principale del *Borhan-e Qāte'* 'râh-e farâx va gošâd râ guyand ke shâhrâh bâšad' (con una definizione secondaria 'be ma^cni-e gozar va mahalle ham âmade ast'), con quella dell'*Ānanderâj* 'kuče mosaqqar-e ân ast'.

5. Mentre prendo atto che studi recenti¹⁹ sembrano piuttosto propensi a vedere nella prima parte del nome demoniaco sogdiano *kwγwn*^{2k} una occorrenza del formativo *ka-/ku-* peggiorativo citato frequentemente nella linguistica indo-iranica d'inizio Novecento, quindi, nel caso specifico, 'one of bad colour' (con **gauna-* secondo elemento)²⁰, il dilemma relativo alla circostanza se la storia linguistica e semantica sopra delineata sia compatibile con l'ipotesi avanzata da Belardi²¹, negli stessi anni in cui Pagliaro prospettava la sua idea sulla lessicalizzazione iranica del concetto di nomadismo, secondo cui arm. *kox* '(1) sost. calpestamento; (2) agg. calcato, frequentato' possa essere venuto in prestito dalla serie lessicale di phl. *kōy*, è quindi da risolvere oggi nel senso negativo.

Il ragionamento di Belardi secondo cui «[d]al lato formale la somiglianza di [arm. – AVR] *kox* con pahl. *kōk* e sogd. *kwγ-* [...] è innegabile»²² si basa infatti su una forma pahlavi che – ma lui non poteva saperlo – non esiste effettivamente nei testi, e conseguentemente nel ragionamento belardiano viene meno proprio il versante fonologico che avrebbe dovuto sorreggere la non del tutto perspicua ricostruzione dell'evoluzione semantica delineata dallo studioso.

Scrive infatti Belardi:

Negli imprestiti armeni l'occlusiva velare sorda iniziale si mantiene [...] la vocale lunga *-ō-* viene sostituita con *-o-*, data la mancanza di un'opposizione di quantità nel sistema fonologico delle vocali armene [...] Anche in posi-

¹⁹ ÈDEL'MAN (2002: 190-193); RASTORGUEVA & ÈDEL'MAN (2008: 244-245); GRENET (2010: 275).

²⁰ Soluzione peraltro guardata con considerevole scetticismo da LURJE (2010: 216 n. 576), che si limita a definire l'etimologia «unclear».

²¹ BELARDI (1950, 1951: 203.5)

²² BELARDI (1950: 255).

zione finale *-k* iranico è conservato [...] e d'altra parte una spirante velare sonora è mutata in occlusiva (arm. *mog*, pahl. *may*) [...] Dunque la forma mutuata doveva terminare con una spirante velare sorda (che viene appunto conservata in armeno). È noto che il tipo dialettale, a cui sono riportabili la maggior parte degli imprestiti, non è meridionale, bensì nordoccidentale; pertanto porremo una variante dialettale **kōχ*, fonte diretta di arm. *kox*, così come arm. *marax* 'cavalletta' risponde a una forma settentrionale con *-χ* (cf. av. *maḍaxa-*, bal. *maḍaχ*, pers. mod. [imprest.] ملح)²³ mentre il sudovest continua **madika-* (cf. pers. mod. میگ [...]) ...²⁴

Rileggendo Pagliaro e Belardi settanta anni dopo, perdiamo quindi la possibilità di identificare un ulteriore elemento iranico in armeno²⁵, ma guadagniamo una serie di nuove interconnessioni all'interno di un'intera famiglia lessicale iranica relativa alla viabilità, che finora era passata inosservata e che manca nei principali dizionari etimologici.

Anche questo è un modo per onorare due grandissimi e indimenticati maestri dell'iranistica italiana del Novecento.

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²³ Belardi riporta in sostanza, senza citarle, le considerazioni di SZEMERÉNYI (1951: 739-741). In realtà oggi è chiaro dall'assai più ampio quadro dialettale disponibile che il persiano non è isolato, e che le forme del tipo *malax* sono diffuse in una vastissima area del *continuum* iranico occidentale, cf. ASATRIAN (2018: 300). La fricativa finale di bal. *maḍaχ* inoltre è dovuta a sviluppo autonomo del baloci orientale, giacché tutte le altre forme baloci hanno *ag.

²⁴ BELARDI (1950: 255-256).

²⁵ Cf. anche OLSEN (1999: 292): «the etymologically more obscure [...] *koxan* 'treating' (vb. *koxem*)».

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Recensioni

Malzahn, Melanie, Fellner, Hannes A. & Illés, Theresa-Susanna (2022, eds.), *Zurück zur Wurzel. Struktur, Funktion und Semantik der Wurzel im Indogermanischen. Akten der 15. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft von 13. bis 16. September 2016 in Wien*, Wiesbaden, Reichert, ISBN 978-3-7520-0642-1, pp. 339 + vii.

As said in the subheading, the volume gathers the proceedings of the fifteenth Conference of the *Indogermanische Gesellschaft* (Wien, 13th-16th September 2016) and comprises 23 articles, a short introduction and a rich index (of subjects, words and morphemes, and text passages). The aim of the work is overtly declared in the introduction (p. vii): «Back to the root was a programmatic choice. [...] Despite the prominence of the root concept [...] the properties of the root have received little attention in the way of detailed investigation [...]. Our goal for this Fachtagung was to present a first step in this direction and we believe that the paper in the volume collectively achieved this goal».

The anthology comprises two main thematic cores, depending on the perspective from which the prominence of the root concept is analysed. The first thematic core – by far the most explored – comprises 21 case studies concerning the formal or semantic properties of specific PIE roots or groups of PIE roots and their historical outcomes. The root properties that attracted most attention are suppletivism and verbal aspect or actionality, which featured in many papers in the anthology. A wide interest in adjectival roots and their relation with Caland suffixes can also be mentioned as a qualifying feature of this *Fachtagung*. The second thematic core comprises two papers that critically discuss the *Natur der Wurzel*, that is, the descriptive utility and the function of the root concept and its status in our contemporary theory of language.

Since the papers of the first thematic core are numerous, they can be divided into four groups depending on the type of property and the type of root discussed in each of them. The first group of works focuses on the formal properties of PIE roots in general. Adiego discusses the syllabic law that forbids the presence of two non-syllabic resonants at the end of the root (e.g. **kelm-*, **d^heyr-*, etc.): the law explains forms such as **ph₂tér-m* (acc.) > **ph₂tér-ṛ* > Gk. πατέρα, with the vocalisation of the *nasalis sonans*, or **dyéw-m* > **dyém* > Skt. *dyám* and PIE **g^wów-m* > **g^wóm* > Skt. *dyám*, with assimilation **-wm* > **-mm*, simplification **-mm* > *-m* and compensatory lengthening. Melchert analyses the PIE roots of structure **(C)aC*, arguing that, despite Lubotsky's traditional claim (1989), there is a quantity – though limited – of Hittite materials that ensure the presence of PIE roots with primary **a* and quantitative ablaut **a/ā/Ø*: e.g. PIE **kwas-* 'to kiss' > Hitt. *k(u)wašš-*, but **kus-* > Gk. κυνέω, or PIE **math₂-* > scr. *pra-mat^h-* 'to steal', but Gk. Προμηθεύς 'Prometheus', lit. 'thief' from **māth₂-*. Not as certain as the former, though possible according to Melchert, is also the presence of PIE roots of type **CaC* with qualitative ablaut **a/o/ē*: e.g. PIE **kaput-* 'head, horn' > Lat. *caput*, long grade in Hier.Luv. (CORNU) *ki-pu-tā-/ki-pu+ra/i-* 'horn' < **képut-o-*. Zair reconstructs a new PIE root with primary **a*: PIE **h₁aw-* 'to perceive' > Hitt. *auⁱ-* 'to see', Ved. *uvé* 'I see', O.Ch.Sl. *umъ* 'mind' and Lith. *aumuō* 'understanding, intellect' < **h₁aw-mōn-*; with enlargement **-d^hh₁-*, see Gk. ἡσθόμεν 'I perceived' and Lat. *audio* 'I hear' (on this word, see also Giura 2016); with **-o-* grade, see Gk. ὁτομαι 'I believe', Lat. *omen* 'omen'. According to Zair, the terms 'bird' in the IE languages (Lat. *avis*, Arm. *haw*) can be traced back to this root, given the close relation between birds and omens in PIE culture. The results of both articles are convincing and the sections on PIE primary **a* and on the outcomes of **h₃-* in Anatolian (Melchert, p. 197; Zair, p. 306) question Klockhorst's traditional view (i.e. absence of root initial primary **a-* in PIE, see Klockhorst 2006), arriving at results fairly similar to those in Alfieri (2010) and Pooth (2015: 122-124) – on the topic see also Di Giovine (2006). Steer discusses the so-called *Parallelwurzeln*, that is, PIE roots that show the same meaning and similar forms which diverge by one phoneme, typ-

ically the sonority of the root final stop or the alternate presence of an **y*-diphthong: e.g. **h₂eng-* ‘to bend’ vs. **h₂enk-* ‘id.’ and **b^bleg-* ‘to shine’ vs. **b^bleyg-* ‘id.’ In the first case, the allomorphy is imputed to the voice assimilation of the root final stop to the first consonant of the suffix: e.g. **h₂ep-b^bis* ‘in waters (loc.pl.)’ > **h₂abb^bis* > O.Pers. *abiš* with degemination and Skt. *adb^bis* with dissimilation, but also **nog^w-t-* ‘night’ > Lat. *nox, noctis*. In the second case, the allomorphy is supposed to depend on the presence of an infix **ey/y-* or **ye/y-*, which might originate from the metathesis of the verbal suffix **ye/o-* in the roots ending in laryngeals: i.e. **CeH-ye-* > **CeyH-e-*.

The second group of works focuses on the formal properties of some groups of roots in PIE or in historical IE languages, rather than on the structure of the PIE root in general. Bock and Ziegler discuss Germanic roots in *-p*, which can arise from PIE roots ending with the rare phoneme **b-*, or – but less likely according to the Authoresses – to PIE roots ending in **p-* or in **b^b-* through the so-called Kluge’s law (i.e. **Cn-’* > **CC-’*, see PIE **h₁erb^b-nó-* > PGerm. **erpp^a-* ‘red-brownish’ > O.Nor. *jarpr*, O.H.G. *erpf*): two interesting examples of PGerm. **p-* < PIE **b-* are found in PGerm. **χupi-* ‘hip’ < PIE **k/^kewb(h₂)-* ‘to lie down’ and PGerm. **χrōpe-* ‘to call’ < PIE **k/^kreh_{2/3}b-*. Kim proposes an insightful review of Tocharian verbal roots with internal *a*, which can be traced back to PIE roots with a primary or secondary internal laryngeal: see PT **t^aaka-* ‘to pierce, bite’ < PIE **d^beyHg^w-* and PT **(s)taka* ‘to be’ < **sth₂-k-* < PIE **steh₂-*. The model for this phonetic change is represented by Tocharian roots with final *-a*, which can derive from PIE roots *ultimae laryngalis* (e.g. TB *śala*, md. *klāte* ‘he led, brought’ < PIE **kelh₁-*), but also from analogical changes that took place within the Tocharian verbal system (e.g. TA *rāpā* ~ *rāpā* ‘to dig, plough’ with secondary *a* restored in the preterit to distinguish it from the *ə*-present). Plötz addresses the reconstruction of PIE *tenues adspiratae* and especially the so-called Siebs’ law (i.e. PIE **sb^b-* > **sp^b-* > Arm. *p^b-*) and the Armenian outcomes of PIE **p-* > Arm. *h/zero*, PIE **sp-* > Arm. *sp-*, PIE **sb^b-* and **(s)p^bh₂-* > Arm. *p^b-*. The discussion is detailed and well conducted, but recalling the results obtained by the other scholars who discussed the outcome of PIE voiceless aspirated stops

in Armenian (Belardi 2006: II, 234-235 and 221-223), Indo-Iranian (Joseph 2013) and Greek (De Decker 2015) could have made the research even more far-reaching. Svensson analyses the ablaut of PIE roots of structure **TReT*, **(T)REH-* and **RET* in the Balto-Slavic verbal system, especially the restructuration of the PIE ablaut that characterised the PIE roots with this phonological structure in single Slavic or Baltic languages, with special regard for the outcomes of the zero grade **TRT*.

The articles on the suffixes **-went-* and **-b^ho-* are thematically more peripheral than the other works in this group, but they are highly insightful for the specialist. Oettinger is concerned with the suffix **-went-*, which is thought to arise from the merger of two homophone suffixes: the possessive suffix **-went-* (only rarely **-wont-*), which originated from the merger of the suffixes **-wen-/ *-w_{n̥}-* and **(e)t-* (see Lat. *locuplēs* ‘rich’, lit. ‘whose place (*locus*) is full (cf. *plē-nus*)’); and the comparative suffix **-wont-*, held to arise from the merger of the pronominal suffix of contrastive meaning **-wo-* and the “individualising” suffix **-ent-*. Suffix etymologies are never as certain as full word etymologies, given the small phonological body of suffixes, but Oettinger’s proposal is insightful and further elaborates on the sound results obtained in the analysis of the suffix **-wo-* (Oettinger 2017a). Pinault discusses the PIE suffix **-b^ho-* which occurs in names of animals and colours and arose from the grammaticalisation of two PIE root nouns: **-b^ho-* ‘having the look of X’ from the root **b^heh₂-* ‘to shine’ (see Ved. *b^hā-* ‘shining, light (fem.)’), and **-b^hwh₂-ó-* ‘which is (become) X’ from the root **b^hewh₂-* ‘to be, to become’ in the form **-b^hwh₂-ó- > *-b^hwó- > *-b^hó-*. According to the Author, quite a few Tocharian roots in *-p* arose from old compounds with **-b^hó-* as second member, which underwent lexicalisation and were stored in the lexicon as non-compositional wholes: e.g. TA, TB *tsälp-* ‘to pass away, be released, be redeemed’ < PIE **dlh₁-b^hó-*, a governing compound meaning ‘becoming distant, remote → moving to a different place or status, passing away to the released status’. A further case of this compound type is TB *kwīpe*, TA *kip* ‘shame, modesty’ < TC **kwäyipa* < **kwäñi-pa* ‘having regard, watching for penalty, atonement’: a former governing compound built on the abstract noun

**kwi-néy*- ‘expiation, punishment’ and the suffix **b^hó-*, or at least the suffix **ph₂ó-* arisen from the grammaticalisation of the *Wurzelnomen* **ph₂ó-* < PIE **peh₂-* ‘to watch, to protect’. Pinault’s research idea is original and the new etymologies proposed are convincing.

The third group of works analyses the morpho-semantic properties of PIE roots and of their outcomes in single IE languages, rather than their formal properties. Becker and Roth discuss the suppletive roots **derǵ-* and **speǵ-* and their outcomes in Vedic, suggesting that Skt. *darś-* refers to a more phenomenal seeing, similar to Engl. ‘to see’ and It. ‘vedere’, while Skt. *paś-* refers to a more intentional seeing, similar to Engl. ‘to watch’ and It. ‘guardare’. García Ramón studies the PIE roots **ǵ^her-* ‘to enjoy, desire’ and **ǵ^hews-* ‘to taste’, which are both defective but have a different destiny in Greek and in Vedic: namely, both roots remain defective in Vedic (pres. *hárya-*, aor. *juṣá-*, pf. *ju-jós-*), while each root develops a full, independent paradigm in Greek (χαίρε/o- vs. γέυε/o-). The philological analysis of the passages – especially of collocations – is commendable and the idea that two roots must not only share the same meaning to be considered as suppletive, but they also have to be in complementary distribution and show a single constructional pattern is sound. Ittzés offers an insightful study on the Vedic root *kr-* ‘to do, make’ in the typological perspective of “generalised action verbs”, that is, pro-verbs (or light verbs) used in contexts in which the nature of the event is underspecified or is referred to by a complementing noun phrase: e.g. Engl. *What have you done?* or NPers. *goft kardan*, lit. ‘to make speech → to speak’: starting from Schultze-Berndt’s semantic map of generalised action verbs (2008) and an in-depth analysis of Vedic passages, the Author discusses the functions of the Sanskrit root *kr-* (e.g. verb of manufacturing and creation, causative marker, verbaliser with ideophones, quotative verb, etc.). Jasanoff investigates the PIE root **ǵ^{wh}en-* ‘to kill’: unlike most PIE roots, which build root presents if durative and atelic (e.g. **h₁ey-* ‘to go’ > ved. pres. *éti*), but root aorists if punctual and telic (e.g. **ǵ^{wh}eh₂-* ‘to go’ > ved. aor. *ágāt*), the PIE root **ǵ^{wh}en-* builds the root present **ǵ^{wh}én-ti* > Skt. *hánti*, but also a series of non-present root-based formations (e.g. reduplicated aorist *ǵ^{wh}e-ǵ^{wh}ne/o-* > Gk. ἔπεφνον, perfect **ǵ^{wh}eǵ^{wh}(ó)n-* > Skt. *jag^hāna*,

etc.). Rieken and Yakubovich discuss the Anatolian outcomes of the PIE pronominal-like root **al-*, which is continued in different forms: the form **al-yo-* ‘other’ is found in many IE languages (Lyd. *alā* ‘other’, Lat. *alius*, Gk. ἄλλος, Goth. *alja*), while **al-o-* is continued only in Anatolian and Tocharian (Luw. *ala/i-* ‘far’, TB *aletstse* ‘enemy, stranger’, *ālo* ‘differently’); and **al-wo-* and **al-osyo-* appear only in Anatolian (H.Luw. **alwann(i)-* > *alunn(i)-* ‘enemy’, Luw. *alašša/i-* ‘wild’) – to the forms discussed in the paper also **al-i-* > Skt. *arī-* ‘stranger’, Lat. *alis* ‘other’ might be added (LIPP 21-27). Inglese applies Croft’s cognitive-constructionist approach (2001, 2012) to the study of lexical aspect in Hittite verbal roots with middle inflection: while some Hittite verbs are compatible with a single aspectual value (e.g. *ar-ta(ri)* ‘to stand’, *iya-tta(ri)* ‘to march’, etc.), others are compatible with several values (e.g. *lāizziye/a-tta(ri)* ‘to be/become good’, *zāb-i* ‘to hit (act.)’, to fight (md.)’, etc.). The presence of lexical roots that are compatible with more aspectual values (that is, “labile verbs” in Kulikov 2014 or verbs “a doppia inzializzazione” in Benedetti 2002) represents an important feature of the Hittite lexicon and a possibly productive standpoint for studying causative alternation in PIE and Vedic discussed by Lazzeroni (2004, 2014, 2017). Luraghi tackles the relation between valency and diathesis in PIE, based on a selection of Greek, Hittite, Gothic and Sanskrit data: according to the Authoress, after a first phase in which diathesis was lexically determined and PIE was basically a “transitivising” language (that is, a language with mainly intransitive roots, which can be transitivised through derivational processes), the middle voice developed the new function of “detransitivising” transitive-causative predicates (i.e. “oppositional middle”). In this second phase, neither diathesis was primary, as happens in Classical Greek or post-Vedic Sanskrit, where the middle voice is often derived from the corresponding active. The hypothesis underlying Luraghi’s paper is certainly stimulating. However, discussing the presence of quite a few PIE roots with transitive meaning in LIV² or considering the results obtained by Lazzeroni in his works on the PIE middle (1990, 2002) could prove useful with a view to future research. Zorman analyses the PIE root **deh₃-* ‘to give’ and its Anatolian reflexes in Hitt. *da-*, which is usually glossed as ‘to

take' in dictionaries, but is also compatible with the meaning 'to give', according to the Author (see, e.g., KBo 8.35 iii 6 and KUB 3.1 ii 49).

The fourth group of works focuses on adjectival roots, that is PIE roots which refer to a quality meaning and may or may not show a verbal component. Höfler offers a rich and detailed analysis of the PIE roots **mewk-* '(to be, become, make) slimy' and **dlewk-* '(to be, become, make) sweet' and their derivational structure, which is largely based on the use of Caland suffixes. Lühr analyses adjectival roots with polar meaning in Hittite (long/short, big/small, wide/narrow, etc.) and concludes that the positive member of Hittite polar couples of adjectives is of PIE origin far more often than its negative counterpart: e.g. Hitt. *ta-luki* 'long' < PIE **delh_gh-* vs. *man(n)i(n)nkuwant-* 'short', which lacks any agreed PIE etymology. Nussbaum offers a skilful analysis of some adjectival roots in PIE and the derivational chains that these roots build up in PIE or in single IE languages by means of Caland suffixes. Not unlike Höfler, who reconstructs the verbal component of PIE adjectival roots within brackets, Nussbaum shows that distinguishing "true" adjectival roots from verbal roots is difficult in PIE, especially when the adjectival roots in question build non-denominative verb stems. A common assumption shared by Nussbaum and Lühr, though not by Höfler, is that the so-called basic adjectival notions (long/short, wide/narrow, thin/fat, high/low, etc., see Dixon 2004: 3-5) should be coded by primary adjectival lexemes across languages, and thus also in PIE (Lühr, p. 168). However, it might be worth noting that Bozzone (2016) claimed that Pre-PIE was a language with verb-like adjectives in the lexicon and Caland suffixes were the main tool for building derived adjectives starting from verbal roots of quality or near-quality meaning. As a confirmation, the relation between Caland suffixes and root-based verbal morphology has been recalled by many Authors in recent years (e.g. Rau 2009, 2013, 2017); Höfler's adjectival roots show a verbal component; and the classification of Rig-Vedic Sanskrit as a language with verb-like adjectives at the level of lexicon, but with noun-like adjectives at the level of syntax, is at the bottom of Alfieri's functional-typological definition of the notion of root in Sanskrit and PIE (2009, 2016, 2021, see below for discussion).

The second thematic core of the anthology is smaller than the first and includes two articles, one by Bertocci and one by Keydana, which tackle directly the *Natur der Wurzel*, that is, the “reality” of the PIE root concept, its descriptive utility and its status in contemporary theory of language. Since I have explored the topic in former works (see below), I would like to discuss it here in a little more detail. On the whole, the works by Bertocci and Keydana represent the latest outcomes of a complex chapter in 19th-century linguistics, which Belardi rightly labelled as «the root controversy» (2002: I, 256-272, 2008) and which, unfortunately, was left in shadow in the volume¹. In a nutshell, the controversy is simple. Some of the most important Indo-Europeanists of the 19th century, such as Humboldt, Pott, Benfey, Delbrück, Brugmann and Hirt, thought that the PIE root was a useful unit of analysis in practice, but, rigorously speaking, it was an unreal unit: a scientific fiction and an abstract notion that resulted from the method of morphemic parsing employed by Indian grammarians in the case of Sanskrit roots, or from the comparative method in the case of PIE roots². However, this idea did not gather general consensus. Other, highly distinguished, scholars such as Bopp, A. Schlegel, Saussure, Meillet and Pagliaro thought the exact opposite: they believed that the PIE root was not an invention of grammarians; it rather was «a reality for the speaking subject», as Saussure said (1922: 256) – but this, obviously, only in the case in which the speaker in question really spoke a language “with roots”, like Sanskrit and Arabic, or at least PIE, and not a language in which standard nominal, adjectival or verbal words were stored in the lexicon, like Latin or English³.

¹ On the root controversy in 19th-century IE linguistics, besides Belardi’s works, see JUQUOIS (1976: 1-70); MORPURGO DAVIES (1996: 204-205, 360-363); BERTOCCHI (2006); BOLOGNA (2008); ALFIERI (2014a, 2017) and BOLOGNA & DEDÉ (2022).

² See HUMBOLDT (1936: 75-6); POTT (1833: 147); BENFEY (1852: 71); DELBRÜCK (1888: 75); BRUGMANN (1906: II.1, 5-6) and HIRT (1927: 147); for a comment on these passages, see BELARDI (2002: I, 256-272) and ALFIERI (2014a, 2016: 129-136).

³ See BOPP (1833-1859: 105, but also 1824: 126, 1827: 71-2); for a comment on these passages, see ROUSSEAU (1984) and ALFIERI (2014, 2017). The “reality” of the PIE root claimed by Meillet directly descends from Saussure’s view, while PAGLIARO’s root concept (1962: 24) is the result of a personal elaboration (see BELARDI 2002: I, 265).

The success of theoretical morphology from the mid 20th century onwards made the root controversy more complex, without solving it. The detractors of the reality of the root relied on word-based morphological theories for claiming that the input form for all PIE word-formation rules was, rigorously speaking, a simple verbal stem, not a root (e.g. Kuryłowicz 1935: 131, 1977: 35, 102). And they also claimed that the PIE lexicon was made up of full words, neither roots nor morphemes, since in general «ein Wortschatz besteht jedoch nicht primär aus Wurzeln, sondern aus Lexemen», as Wachter (1998: 199) said in the proceedings of the X *Fachtagung* of the *Indogermanische Gesellschaft*. On the other hand, the supporters of the reality of the PIE root leaned upon morpheme-based theories for proposing a definition of the PIE root modelled on that in Semitic: a pure consonantal template of shape **CeC* which was “moved” by vowel patterns (accent and ablaut) and discontinuous affixes, as proposed by Meillet (1934⁷ [1903¹]: 116), followed by Belardi (1985, 1990)⁴. Moreover, they also showed that a change in the structure of the proto-typical PIE word – the linguistic sign par excellence in Saussure’s view – took place in the history of the IE family: the proto-typical PIE word passed from an inside structure of type “root-suffix-ending”, like the one that is customarily reconstructed in PIE and often found in Sanskrit, to a structure of type “stem-ending” or “word-Ø”, like the ones commonly found in Latin, in English and, more in general, in modern and Western IE languages⁵.

This two-century-long dispute represents the background of Bertocchi’s and Keydana’s works. Bertocchi starts from the idea that the PIE root is a “real” linguistic unit and describes the change from the typical PIE root-based morphology to the stem-based morphology that is typical of Latin within a framework close to Marantz’s *distributed morphology* (1990, 1993). According to the Author, the change began from the

⁴ The definition of the PIE root as a consonantal template is implicit in SAUSSURE’s *Memoire* (1878) and is at the bottom of BENVENISTE’s theory of the root (1962³ [1936¹]: 149), as well as of POOTH’s definition of the PIE root structure (2004): however, Benveniste and Pooth do not take a final stance on the reality of PIE roots.

⁵ Besides Belardi’s works, see CIPRIANO (2001, 2007); DI GIOVINE (2001); DI GIOVINE, FLAMINI & POZZA (2007); ALFIERI (2018). For an independent confirmation of this idea in a different theoretical framework, see COWGILL (1963).

reanalysis of the sequence $*eh_2-$ > Lat. $-\bar{a}-$: however, the reanalysis did not start in the roots *ultima laryngalis* (i.e. PIE $*steh_2-ye-ti$ > $*st\bar{a}-e-ti$ > Lat. *stāt*), as proposed by Rix (1999), but in PIE and Proto-Latin denominative verbs built on feminine abstracts in $*eh_2$: the denominative verb $*k^{(w)}oys-eh_2-ye-ti$ > $*k^{(w)}oys-\bar{a}-e-ti$ > Lat. *cūr-ā-t* was built on the PIE abstract noun $*k^{(w)}ois-eh_2$; in this and its similar contexts, the sequence $-\bar{a}-$ was reinterpreted as a verbal suffix of agentive meaning; later on, the suffix $-\bar{a}-$ spread over PIE verbal roots of non-agentive value which had lost their verbal counterpart and had become purely adjectival roots between PIE and Proto-Latin; eventually, the suffix blurred its agentive semantic content, got fused with the verb stem and became a stem vowel in Latin. Whatever etymology is preferred for Lat. $-\bar{a}-$, Bertocchi's proposal is original and there is little doubt that the reanalysis of this suffix as a stem vowel represents a key step in the change from root- to stem-based morphology (on this topic, see also Alfieri 2016: 142-144). More in general, casting the research within distributed morphology is a thought-provoking proposal. Many supporters of the reality of the PIE root consider the root as a "precategorial" unit (e.g. Bopp, Belardi, Alfieri) and roots are, by definition, precategorial units in distributed morphology. The matching between the two fields thus seems natural. However, the supporters of the reality of the root consider precategoriality as the distinctive feature that opposes Sanskrit and PIE roots to Latin and English nominal, verbal and adjectival stems, which are "monocategorial" (that is, they are already specified as [+ noun], [+ verb] and [+ adjective] in the lexicon). On the other hand, precategoriality is the general condition of all lexical elements in distributed morphology, where roots represent abstract bundles of semantic-syntactic features, rather than real morphemes. The contrast between the two root concepts does not impair Bertocchi's work, which focuses on his etymological proposal and leaves the theoretical problems in the background, but remains an aspect which is worth reflecting upon⁶.

⁶ In *distributed morphology*, the term *root* (or *formative*) refers to a bundle of abstract features which has no phonological content and is totally neutral from the categorial point of view, but is the input form for syntactic rules (BORER 2014): roots obtain their phonological specification only post-syntactically, at a spell-out, when they merge with the functional heads (*n, v, a*) that make them nouns, verbs and adjectives (ACQUAVIVA 2009; HARLEY 2014). The exact way

Totally opposite to this is Keydana's approach. According to the Author, the root concept and, more in general, all morpheme-based approaches are the product of a theoretical mistake originally made by Indian grammarians, which thence passed to Arabic grammarians and to 19th-century Indo-Europeanists (p. 131-132). In this view, the root concept may be a "convenient tool for reconstruction and analysis" but is in fact only "a façon de parler" (p. 141): an abstract unit that is unreal from the psycho-linguistic point of view and not very useful from the descriptive point of view (p. 132). Thus, Keydana proposes an in-depth critical review of all proofs in favour of the reality of roots, that is, the phonological and morphological processes that are commonly described using the root-morpheme as a significant unit. His main polemic targets, therefore, are represented by the constraints on the type of stops allowed in PIE roots (namely, the absence of PIE roots of type ***deg-* and ***teg^b-*), which can be imputed to the general rarity of voiced and voiceless stops in PIE phonological system, as suggested by Iverson & Salmons (1992: 304). Then, Grassmann's and Bartholomae's laws, which can be re-written as laws concerning syllable structure in general, rather than the root-morpheme, following the path already marked by Keydana himself (2004) and Byrd (2015). And finally, the Sanskrit word-formation system, which could be better described using a word-based approach: as Keydana says, the identification of roots in the Sanskrit morphological system "relies heavily on phonological identity" (p. 137) of the allomorphs of the roots, but such "identity" is more apparent than real, since the allomorphs of the roots that are needed to build derived nouns, verbs and adjectives are not really predictable, as shown in forms such as 3pl. *g^banti* (p. 140) with respect to the root *han-* 'to kill', or the ppp. *ūd^bá-* with respect to the root *vah-* 'to carry' (p. 132); and when they are predictable they hide stem-based formations basically, as it is shown in adjectives of the *cákri*-type, which are built on the perfect stem (Lazzeroni 2012; Grestenberger 2013), and with agent nouns in *-itar-* built on causative stems (p. 139).

in which the merger is achieved is currently under debate: see DE BELDER & CRAENENBROECK (2015); ALEXIADOU & LOHNDAL (2017) and EMBICK (2021) for discussion. For a recent account on Ancient Greek stem vowels in this framework, see GRESTENBERGER (2022).

The structure of the argumentation is clear and Keydana's proposals are thought-provoking, but the discussion does not always do justice to the arguments of those who consider the root as a real unit. For instance, the PIE root coincides with a syllable: thus, Grassmann's and Bartholomae's laws can be rewritten using the syllable as a significant domain, especially if PIE roots are under scrutiny. But the traditionally morpheme-based account of these laws proposed by De Angelis (2006, 2020) is also perfectly possible and perhaps more fit to describe the single language outcomes of Grassmann's law such as Gk. $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega < \text{PIE } *d^b\text{reb}^b-$, where synchronic syllabification is $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}.\phi\omega$, but Grassmann's law follows morpheme boundaries. In the same vein, there is no doubt that irregular derivatives to be stored in the lexicon are found also in Sanskrit and the same holds true as for stem-based derivatives, like those described in the so-called *tadd^bita* derivation of Indian grammarians. But these cases are "proofs" against the reality of the root only for those who already follow a word-based approach: for others, they represent the external fringes of a word-formation system which, by and large, is coherently root-based and regular enough to have been described through root-based rules since the 4th century BCE⁷. In other words, for those who consider the Sanskrit root as a "real" unit, its identification does not rely on the *identity* of its allomorphs (or they would not be *allo*-morphs): it is the presence of regular formal changes paired with similarly regular semantic changes that guarantee the *identifiability* of the allomorphs of the root, that is the outbreak of patterns of word-formation based on mental networks between roots, suffixes and derivatives that the speakers can use and re-used productively, as foreseen by Bybee & Slobin (1982) and Bybee & Moder (1983, see Bybee 2007: chap. 5-6).

⁷ Besides word-formation, also Sanskrit composition presents some difficulty in word-based approaches (MOLINA-MUÑOZ 2013, replying to KIPARSKY 2009). In constructions of the *asamart^ba*-type (lit. 'which have not the same meaning', see Patañjali, *Mah.* I.360.20), which are also known as "loose construction compounds" (WHITNEY 2000 [1924⁵]: 515, § 1316) only one member of the compound is modified by a genitive: in *devadattasya gurukulam* [Devadatta(M).GEN.SG teacher-family(N).NOM.SG] 'Devadatta's teacher's family', the genitive *devadattasya* refers only to the compound's member *guru*- 'teacher', not to the full word *gurukulam* 'teacher's family'.

However, besides these aspects, which indeed can present a certain degree of subjectivity, it is a bit strange that Keydana avoids any reference to the template-and-pattern morphology, which is one of the most important proofs of the “reality” of the root concept in Belardi’s and Meillet’s ideas (see Alfieri 2016: 129-136 and 157-159 for discussion). Differently put, if we say that the PIE root has a structure of type **CeC*, but the quality and the presence of the vowel are determined by the ablaut **e/o/Ø*, as claimed by Benveniste (1962³ [1936¹]: 149) and written in LIV² (p. 5), we are actually saying that the PIE root is a pure consonantal template no different from the Semitic one, but Indo-Europeanists are used to spelling out the point where the ablaut occurs through an *e*-sign (PIE **b^her-* ‘to carry’), while Semitists indicate it through an *a*-sign (Ar. *kataba* ‘to write’) or through a dot (Ar. *k.t.b.* ‘to write’). However, if the root is a pure consonantal template, while the word (or, more precisely, the simple verb stem) includes the vowel – Belardi concluded – the root is a different unit from the word formally and the speakers manipulate roots (not words) when they join them to vowel patterns to build words⁸. Needless to say, one may or may not agree with a similar view, but considering it may be worthwhile.

More in general, there are three aspects of the root controversy that were not addressed in the proceeding of this *Fachtagung*, but may be of some interest. The first concerns psycholinguistics. According to Keydana, «psycholinguistic studies offer substantial evidence that roots are not units of storage [...] in the mental lexicon» (p. 141). However, the works by Blevins (2003, 2006), Bergen (2004) and Hay & Baayen (2005) quoted to support this view do show that the word-based approach is useful for describing inflectional paradigms in Russian, Estonian, Georgian, Saami and Western Germanic language-

⁸ The definition of the root as a consonantal template is traced back to Arabic grammarians; it was accepted in the first comparative grammar of the Semitic languages in the West (RAVIO 1650, see ALFIERI 2017) and was canonised by Bopp in Hebrew scholarship (ROUSSEAU 1984). Its re-definition in the terms of American Structuralism by HARRIS (1946: 166) and in the terms of European Structuralism by CANTINEAU (1950a,b) is at the bottom of almost all contemporary Semitic scholarship, from FLEISCH (1961-69), to MCCARTHY (1979, 1981) and ARAD (2005), despite the presence of some rare opponents (LARCHER 1995; RUBIO 2005).

es, but do not say anything about root-based approaches to Sanskrit and Arabic word-formation. Rather, Hay and Baayen propose a highly intriguing continuistic approach to morphological analysis which, in principle, is not incompatible with the idea that word-based and morpheme-based approaches can be the two extremes of a continuum. On the other hand, if psycholinguistic works on Semitic languages are looked at more specifically, it emerges that, at present, scholars are divided between those who consider the root as a real unit of lexical storage and those who reject this view. But quite a few scholars believe that the root is a real unit for the brain of Hebrew and Arabic speakers, as claimed by Shimron (2002). Here again, these scholars may or may not be right, but at present psycholinguistics does not seem to offer substantial evidence in either direction⁹.

The second aspect concerns the history of language sciences. The idea of a direct influence of Pāṇini on Sibawayhi and Al-Ḥalil, which Keydana takes for granted (p. 131), is possible, though not certain. It is true that the Sanskrit word scr. *vyākaraṇa*- ‘grammatical analysis’ is found in Pahlavi as *βy’krn* (*Dēnkart* IV.99-100, see Scharfe 1977: 80, n. 20). Moreover, according to an anonymous treatise on Hebrew grammar of the Karaite school, the birthplace of Semitic grammar was Eṣfahān (Khan 2001: 84), where fathoming a connection with Sanskrit grammar is easy. And, indeed, Danecki has proposed a direct dependence of Arabic phonological theories on Indian ones. However, besides the generic presence of the root, it is difficult to see any specific, systematic connection in metalanguage or terminology (e.g. Skt. *d^hātu*- means ‘base, fundament’, but Ar. *asl*- means ‘root, trunk’), in the kind of topics discussed in grammatical treatises and in their ordering within treatises, or in the style of rules between Indian grammar and the Arabic tradition. As a confirmation, Law (1990) considers the similarities between the two fields only as chance resemblances. The topic may seem marginal, but is not: if Arabic grammar stemmed from Indian

⁹ On the polemic on the psycholinguistic reality of the Semitic root, see PRUNET *et al.* (2000); BOUDELAA & MARSLÉN-WILSON (2000, 2001, 2004a, 2004b); DAVIS & ZAWAYDEH (2001); IDRISSEI *et al.* (2007) on Arabic; DEUTSCH *et al.* (1998); FROST *et al.* (1997); VELAN *et al.* (2005) and BERMAN & SEROUSSI (2011) on Hebrew.

lore, the discovery of the root may really be the product of a single error. The polygenesis of the same error, however, is less probable. In this case, it would be easier to see the root as the brilliant intuition of two populations deeply interested in linguistic facts which spoke two genetically different languages that showed a similar structure in the units of lexical storage and the functioning of word-formation.

The last aspect of the problem is typological. Since I have discussed it at length elsewhere (Alferi 2009, 2016, 2018, 2019, 2021, and Alferi & Gasbarra 2020), I will not repeat what I have already said. But a few notes may prove useful. Most works on PIE adjectival roots start from the idea that PIE should have a class of adjectives that is basically identical to that in English or in Latin. However, PIE lexicography is not fully consistent with this view. If we consider only “content” lexemes (nouns, verbs and adjectives) and exclude *Wanderwörter* and the like, Pokorny’s IEW (1959) comprises 1,191 primary lexemes, which are so divided: 927 verbal roots (77.8%), 233 primary nouns (19.6%), 31 primary adjectives (2.6%). The picture does not change much if we bring together the lexical entries in LIV² with those in NIL: LIV² comprises 1,182 verbal roots, while NIL lists 116 verbal roots which are found also in LIV², but also 74 primary nouns and 17 primary adjectives. On the whole, therefore, the two lexica total 1,275 primary lexemes, which are so divided¹⁰: 1,182 verbal roots (92.7%), 74 primary nouns (5.8%) and 19 primary adjectives (1.5%). See Figure 1a/b:

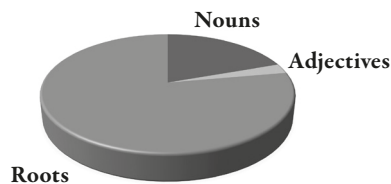


Figure 1a. The structure of PIE lexicon (IEW).

¹⁰ The verbal roots that are present in NIL but absent in LIV² are: **ǵemH-* ‘to marry’ (which Kümmel would add to LIV², see *Addenda und korrigenda zu LIV²* <http://www.indogermanistik.uni-jena.de/dokumente/PDF/liv2add.pdf>) and a few roots that lack primary verb derivatives (namely, **dey-*, **ǵʰes-*, **sendʰh₁-*, **sriHg-* and **swedʰh₁-*).

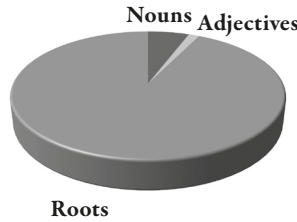


Figure 1b. The structure of PIE lexicon (NIL + LIV²).

In short, whatever dictionary is used as a reference, the lexical structure of PIE differs from that in Latin or in English, where adjectives represent a large class of primary lexemes ideally on a par with that of nouns and verbs. But the lexical structure of PIE is not very different from that in Rig-Vedic Sanskrit, barring the fact that nouns are more numerous in this case. As a confirmation, pronouns and particles excluded, Grassmann's WzRV comprises 1,007 primary lexemes, which are so divided: 565 verbal roots (56.1%), 410 primary nouns (40.7%) and 35 primary adjectives (3.2%). See Figure 2:

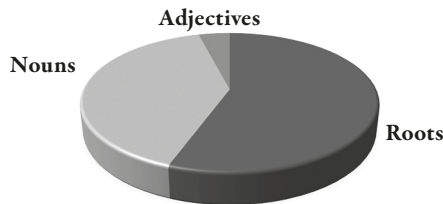


Figure 2. The structure of RV Sanskrit lexicon (WzRV).

Needless to say, we can claim that Figure 1a/b is a diachronic illusion, that is a product of the comparative method, and Figure 2 is a synchronic illusion, that is the product of the morpheme-based approach of Indian grammarians. However, the lexical structures above – especially that in Sanskrit, where primary nouns are more abundant – have nothing exceptional on the cross-linguistic level. Rather, they are almost identical to the lexical structures of languages “without adjectives”, which have been deeply studied by typologists since Dixon (1977, 2004), Hengeveld (1992) and Bhat (1994); it is worth remember-

ing that in typological studies languages “without” adjectives include also languages with few adjectives, since in both cases the prototypical “adjectival” meaning (that is, basically the quality concept) is coded through noun-like or verb-like items, and the prototypical “adjectival” function (that is, basically the quality modifier) is coded through complex constructions built on noun-like or verb-like lexemes; and when typologists speak of “adjectives”, they refer to classes of simple morphemes, not to classes of derived stems (Dixon 2004: 2)¹¹.

Now, some of the languages “without” adjectives are hyper-analytic (e.g. Lao), others highly polysynthetic (e.g. Koasati). Between the two extremes, there is a group of fairly synthetic languages in which the most typical quality modifier (i.e. the “adjective” in typological terms) is represented by a participle or a participial-like nominalisation built on a verb of quality or near-quality meaning: e.g. Garo, Urarina, Chemehuevi, Yimas, West Greenlandic, etc. (Alfieri 2014b). Arabic can fall into this group, since Arabic adjectives are built on verbal roots of quality or near-quality meaning through the same vowel patterns that build other derived nominals (e.g. *sādiq* ‘true’ like *kātib* ‘writer’, *sa‘b* ‘hard’ like *dars* ‘studying’, etc. see Wright 1979 [1896]: 106). And RV Sanskrit can be cast in this group as well, since the most typical quality modifier construction in a corpus of 52 hymns of the Rīg-Veda is a derived adjective built on a root of quality or near-quality (e.g. *śubhṛá-* ‘beautiful’ from *śubh-* ‘to make/become beautiful’, *dāśvāms-* ‘pious’ from *dāś-* ‘to sacrifice, celebrate’, see Alfieri 2016, 2021). If a similar description of Sanskrit and Arabic is accepted, the root in diachronic meaning can also be an abstract notion (that is, a unit of the linguist, which is unreal for speakers), but in its synchronic meaning, the Sanskrit and the Arabic root is only the verbal lexeme of a language with few primary adjectives stored in the lexicon: a real unit which, however, is different from the Latin simple verb stem in its function (it also builds the most typical adjectives) and its categorial status (it represents a “major” lexical class out of two, not of three).

¹¹ Languages with “small” classes of adjectives range from those with only 2-3 primary adjectives (e.g. Yimas) and those with 30-40 adjectives (e.g. Swahili), but they typically show about 10-20 adjectives (DIXON 2004: 10).

Differently put, the Indo-Europeanist who is also interested in typology tends towards setting up the discussion on the *Natur der Wurzel* asking primarily: do all languages have the same threefold structure of the lexicon (nouns, verbs, adjectives) or can languages differ in both the number of classes that are stored in the lexicon (three vs. two) and the type of unit that are stored (i.e. morphemes vs. words)? And if the lexical structures can vary, do we have to use the same word-based approach to describe all languages? Only after answering these questions can we wonder whether the lexical structure of Sanskrit, Arabic and PIE is more similar to that in Latin or to that in the languages “without” adjectives, and consequently, if the most suitable approach for describing the structure of the lexicon in Sanskrit, Arabic and PIE is the word-based approach commonly employed in the grammars of Latin and the modern European languages or the morpheme-based approach that is commonly used to describe (poly)synthetic languages without adjectives. Needless to say, opinions can vary also in this respect, but considering the problem can be useful also for those who consider the Sanskrit, Arabic and PIE root as an unreal unit.

Last but not least, the typological aspect of the root controversy has an interesting side-effect on PIE reconstruction, which brings us back to the adjectival roots and Caland suffixes discussed in this *Fachtagung*. The literature on the topic is huge and cannot be reviewed here in detail (for a history of the question, see Dell’Oro 2015). However, it is well known that Caland derivation can be interpreted in two ways (already Nussbaum 1976: 4-5, 100-105). It can be a system of “internal” derivation (that is, derivation via suffix “substitution”) that starts from already suffixed adjectives, as Oettinger (2017b) and Nussbaum (p. 211) tend to prefer. But it can also be a system of “external” derivation (that is, derivation via suffix addition) that starts from verbal roots, as suggested by Rau (2009, 2013, 2017) and Bozzone (2016). Clearly, the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and scholars discuss at length which derivative is better interpreted within the one or the other scenario – as a confirmation, see the discussion on the proofs for defining a given root as “adjectival” in Nussbaum’s and Höfler’s above-mentioned papers. However, if the input form for Caland derivation is a

PIE adjective, then it is more probable that PIE had “true” adjectives like Latin, that Caland derivation works via suffix substitution and the term *root*, in synchronic meaning, is but a different label for referring to what in fact is a simple verb stem. On the other hand, if the starting point of Caland derivation is a verbal root, then it is more probable that RV Sanskrit and PIE are languages “without” adjectives in the lexicon, that Caland derivation works via suffix addition and the Sanskrit (or Arabic, or PIE) root is a real linguistic unit, which is different from the simple verb stem formally and functionally. As said, the two options are not mutually exclusive, but pointing out the link between the root controversy, Caland suffixes and PIE adjectival typology can be worthwhile whichever idea on the *Natur der Wurzel* is preferred.

In sum, the anthology edited by Malzahn, Fellner and Illés gathers a large number of papers, which are all of a high – in some cases extremely high – level, as often happens in the proceedings of the *Indogermanische Gesellschaft*. Moreover, the programmatic choice to go *zurück zur Wurzel* and the attention to the root controversy represent an original feature of this *Fachtagung*, which cannot but be looked upon favourably by this writer. Therefore, there is no doubt that the volume represents a fundamental acquisition for any library and any researcher interested in PIE studies.

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