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## Boekbespreking

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d'Isocrate, puisqu'on ne la retrouve pas chez Lysias et dans d'autres statistiques. Il est difficile de savoir si cela est une simple annonce du grec ultérieur. Toutefois nous avons là une donnée incontestable sur Isocrate. Mais que faire précisément des distinctions entre cas normaux et divergents lorsqu'on étudie un texte? D'autant plus que les cas divergents sont en nombre très important (voir pour le choix aspectuel du mode en fonction du temps le tableau de la p. 316 avec à l'indicatif 20 cas normaux et 17 cas divergents, et au total des temps 25 cas normaux et 28 cas divergents). Si je suis dans un texte face à un imparfait, en quoi est-il utile pour le comprendre de savoir que l'imparfait représente 12,1 % du corpus? Et même le fait que l'indicatif aoriste soit le temps le plus fréquent à ce mode (35,8 %) ne dispense pas de chercher une explication. Il faut certes croiser des critères et le problème fondamental est posé dans l'article de Y. Duhoux–É. Lecoutre «La prédiction de l'aspect verbal en grec ancien», *Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Linguistica Graeca* (Milan sept. 2004), 215–233. Certes L. rappelle à bon es-cient qu'elle n'a pas fait jouer tous les critères, par exemple les critères sociologiques (âge, sexe, position sociale, etc.). Comment ne pas avouer que les commentaires restent décevants pour qui voudrait que le travail débouche sur un vrai progrès dans l'élaboration d'une théorie de l'aspect dans le grec classique? On reste souvent sur sa faim, notamment dans ce qui est écrit sur l'imparfait (mais cf. l'article cité ci-dessus p. 233). L'auteur n'a pas voulu se lier à une théorie de l'aspect, mais il lui a bien fallu prendre des positions théoriques (comment le lui reprocher?). On constate que dans ces commentaires, ce sont en réalité ces positions qui justifient les répartitions constatées et les pourcentages observés qui conduisent à des descriptions plus approfondies des valeurs temporelles et aspectuelles. Voilà les précisions à mon avis nécessaires pour bien situer l'apport de ce travail.

On ajoutera, parmi les éléments intéressants, un rappel utile des théories de l'aspect depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à la fin du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle et, à la fin, des annexes qui complètent les tableaux déjà présents dans le corps de l'étude, avec, entre autres, une liste des archilemmes à choix aspectuel complet, et une des affinités aspectuelles pour chaque verbe et pour les préverbes.

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Albanologische und balkanologische Studien. Festschrift für Wilfried Fiedler. Herausgegeben von Monica Genesin und Joachim Matzinger. Hamburg, Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2005, 8°, [XXIV], 285 S. (Philologia, 73.) Brosch. 88 €.

The impressive albanological career of Wilfried Fiedler covers most of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and is not finished yet: his tome on the verbal system in Buzuku (Fiedler 2004) sets a new landmark in the field of Old Albanian linguistics. Born in 1933 in the eastern part of Germany, F. worked as a linguist and a Balkanologist in Berlin at the Academy of Sciences and Humboldt University until 1989. He then accepted a professorship in Albanian in Munich, from

which he retired in 1998. The present volume contains the complete list of publications by F. until 2004, a small homage by Francesco Altimari, 16 contributions in the field of linguistics, and six more on literature, history and ethnography. Five of these are written in Albanian, to which the editors have added a tiny German summary. In the following, I will only present the contributions which are most likely to be of interest to the *Kratylos* readership.

Giovanni Belluscio discusses acoustic measurements of vowel height and vowel length for the Arbëresh dialect of Spezzano Albanese, in northern Calabria (Italy). The theme of Bardhyl Demiraj's contribution is the place of Leibniz in the history of Albanian studies. He adduces passages from Leibniz' letters in which Albania or Albanian are mentioned, and shows that, while L. can be credited with starting the debate on the origin of the Albanians, he relied for his information on older (printed) sources available to him. In his paper on the etymological background of Albanian *nëmë* 'heavy curse, imprecation', Peter-Arnold Mumm concentrates on the semantics of the Sanskrit words which are derived from the same PIE root *\*nem-* 'to allot, distribute' as *nëmë*.

Monica Genesin discusses the analogical spread of the verbal endings 1s.pres. *-inj*, 23s. *-ën*. In Buzuku, these endings are mainly found in Fiedler's fourth category of verb stems, which end in a consonant and often lack stem vowel alternation: *këput-inj* 'I destroy', *ec-ën* 'he goes'. F.'s second conjugation consists of verb stems in a consonant which do have stem vowel alternation, but where the 123s. ending is zero: *nbëljedh* 'I collect, he collects'. Comparing the attested verb forms of Buzuku with those of modern Gheg dialects, Genesin shows that in many of those dialects, the nasal endings have spread to the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation, with the exception of verbs such as *dal* 'come out' and *marr* 'take', which distinguish 1s. from 23s. by means of their stem vowel alternation. As G. points out, the same spread of *-inj*, *-ën* can be found in the Tosk dialects of southern Italy, from the earliest attested text (Matrënga, 1592) until the present day. G. surmises that the source verb from which the endings *-inj*, *-ën* spread to other verbs was *hip* 'to ascend', which then served as the model for 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation verbs of the structure (C)CVC.

Wolfgang Hock tackles the philological question of nasalization in Buzuku, in particular as regards *anlteh* 'is', MoAlb. *ështëë*. This form usually appears with initial *an-* or *ã-*, but in 56 instances, only *a-* is found. The nasalization corresponds with present-day Gheg *ështëë*, whereas denasalization is unexpected. H. has discovered that non-nasal *a-* is found in Buzuku mainly when preceded by *s'* 'not', and also after *në* 'if' and *më* 'me'. Since the full form *as* of the negation may reflect PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>oiu-k<sup>w</sup>id* or *\*-k<sup>w</sup>e* (see below), H. explains *s' ashtë* as the result of a close syntactic connection between the negation and PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>jesti* 'is': *-k<sup>w</sup>e h<sub>1</sub>jesti* 'is not' > *\*sə estə* > *saštə*. The contraction *\*ə-e > a* would be parallel to *të + e > ta*, etc. This theory also explains the Dushmani dialect form *asht* 'is' (Dushmani usually preserves nasalized vowels) as being abstracted from the sequence of a particle + *\*esti*. Eventually, the *a*-vocalism spread to the positive form *\*en-esti > \*ensti* 'is', found as *anste(h)* in Buzuku and *asht* in modern Gheg dialects. In passing, H. also discusses *jam* 'I am', and proposes to modify the rule that PIE *\*e* yielded Alb. *ja* in front of a low vowel in the following syllable, which I posited in de Vaan 2004: 78. My rule would imply that *\*esmi > jam* cannot be phonetic, and I have adopted the explanation that *jam* was analogical after *kam* 'I have'. H.

now assumes a centralization of final *\*-i* to *\*-ə* after labial, yielding *\*esmi* > *\*ehmē* > *\*jabmē* > *jam* phonetically. As long as no second example is found, this means trading my ad hoc analogy for an ad hoc sound change. A philological objection is that *-ë* is usually preserved in Buzuku, but not in *jam*.

Ardan Klosi discusses some of the more striking linguistic features of the Arvanite dialect of the famous *Noctes Pelasgicae*. These texts in the Tosk dialect of the northeastern Peloponnese were collected in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the German physician Karl Reinhold, who was employed by the Greek navy. Until now, only parts of this collection had been edited by Emilio Teza, Gustav Meyer and Gustav Weigand. K. has undertaken the task of collecting Reinhold's notes from different European libraries, and editing them as a whole. He has recently published a complete Albanian edition of these texts: dialogues, anecdotes, fairy-tales, Aesop's fables, songs, letters and short translations from the Gospels (Klosi 2005). To this, he has added glossaries of the Greek and Turkish loanwords, and of rare or special Albanian words and phrases. In his contribution (89), he also promises to publish a German edition.

Joachim Matzinger proposes a new etymology for *besë* 'pledge, word of honour'. Instead of the usual reconstruction *\*b<sup>b</sup>(o/e)id<sup>b</sup>-(t)(i)ā* in which *s* is the product either of *\*T<sub>i</sub>* or *\*TT*, Matzinger compares the *s*-stems Lat. *foedus* and Greek *ῥειθής*, and considers a preform *\*b<sup>b</sup>eid<sup>b</sup>-s-o-* 'faithful', whence a collective *\*b<sup>b</sup>eid<sup>b</sup>-s-ā* 'loyalty'. This hypothesis is more attractive than the previous ones, since it links *besë* to existing formations from other IE languages. If PIE *\*ei* yielded *i* (the development is under dispute), *besë* must have adopted *\*oi* from a putative noun *\*b<sup>b</sup>oid<sup>b</sup>-o-* or *\*b<sup>b</sup>oid<sup>b</sup>-h<sub>2</sub>-*.

The etymological article from the pen of Stefan Schumacher offers a new explanation for Albanian *mund* 'to be able'. In Modern Albanian, this verb is followed by the particle *të* plus a finite form of the subjunctive, but Buzuku has *mundë* plus subjunctive, that is, without intermediate *të*. Since the aorist *\*munj-* presupposes earlier 1s.pr. *\*munj*, 23s. *\*mun*, S. draws the immediately convincing conclusion that *mundë* actually contains the particle, and goes back to a univerbation of *\*mun të*. As an IE etymology for *\*mun*, he proposes a connection with a nominal root *\*meuh<sub>1/3</sub>-* 'reproductively powerful' postulated by Weiss 1996. The nasal present might be old but is not necessarily so, in view of the productivity of this type in Albanian. S. also deals with Buz. *semuhem* /*sëmuhem*/ 'to fall ill', MoAlb. *sëmurem*, which has of old been regarded as a negated form of *mund*. S. discusses the phonetic problems involved, and regards initial *së-* as a positional variant of the negation *as*, 's' 'not'. Building on Cowgill's explanation (1960) of Gr. *οὐκ(i)* and Arm. *oc'* as *\*h<sub>2</sub>oiu-k<sup>w</sup>id*, he assumes that the univerbation of the negation with *\*mun* occurred so early that the vowel following the (palatalized) labiovelar became word-internal, and was preserved as *ë*: *\*h<sub>2</sub>oiu-k<sup>w</sup>id \*mun-* > *\*auči(ð)mún-* > *\*asimún-* > *\*simún-* > *sëmún-*.

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Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose. Ed. by Tobias Reinhardt, Michael Lapidge & J. N. Adams. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, gr. 8°, [xii], 497 S. (Proceedings of the British Academy, 129.) Geb. 50 £.

Selten sind Sammelbände so gut redigiert wie dieser. Er ist nicht nur durch einen ca. 53seitigen Indexteil erschlossen, sondern enthält auch eine Gesamtbibliographie – und vor allem: er beginnt mit einem ganz hervorragenden Vorwort, das nicht nur einen roten Faden für die auf den ersten Blick heterogenen Beiträge und wertvolle Verständnishilfen bietet, sondern darüber hinaus im Abschnitt 3 (7–14) einen originellen Überblick über die Entwicklung der lateinischen Periode.

Für die rein indogermanistisch Interessierten bietet dieser Band außer dem ersten Beitrag wenig: J. H. W. Penney, *Connections in Archaic Latin Prose* (37–51), der zwar – wie er selbst betont – zu keinem eindeutigen Ergebnis kommt, aber dennoch eine interessante Materialsammlung bietet, nicht nur für das Lateinische, sondern auch für andere italische Sprachen. Leider problematisiert er den Ausdruck „italische Sprachen“ nicht; wenn er S. 50 erklärt „There is no doubt that IE *\*k<sup>w</sup>e* was inherited into Italic“, sieht es für mich so aus, als gehe P. zumindest hier noch zu sehr von einem Stammbaummodell aus: aber wie die Entlehnung des deutschen „und“ in das Lettische zeigt, können auch Konjunktionen entlehnt werden. Oder will P. nur sagen, daß zumindest eine italische Sprache *\*k<sup>w</sup>e* ererbt hat?

Die meisten Beiträge behandeln die Schnittmengen zwischen Stilistik und Grammatik und kritisieren immer wieder zu Recht die erkenntnishemmende Verabsolutierung von Cicero und/oder Cäsar als in puncto Sprache möglichst genau zu kopierenden Vorbildern (an die wir, zumindest im Falle Ciceros, seit der Renaissance gewöhnt sind). Deutlich formuliert dies etwa J. N. Adams in seinem äußerst verständnisfördernden Beitrag *The Bellum Africum* (73–96): dessen Verfasser, so Adams, konnte nicht schlechter Latein als Cäsar – er ließ nur größere stilistische Freiheiten zu. Besonders aufschlußreich sind die Parallelen zu Varro; dieser Universalgelehrte hätte jede sprachliche Unkorrektheit in seinen eigenen Werken problemlos identifizieren und eliminieren können – wenn er dies nicht tat, müssen wir uns fragen, warum, anstatt ihn als „hölzern und kauzig“ abzuqualifizieren, was leider auch heute noch besonders im deutschsprachigen Raum die Regel ist<sup>1</sup>. Ich empfinde Adams' Beitrag als einen Befreiungsschlag.

<sup>1</sup> Diesem subjektiven und m. E. verfehlten Urteil hat sich erst kürzlich Silke Diederich angeschlossen: Das römische Agrarhandbuch als Medium der Selbstdarstellung, in: Thorsten Fögen (Hg.), *Antike Fachtexte. Ancient Technical Texts*, Berlin / New York 2005, 271–