



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Review of: Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference

Vaan, M.A.C. de

Citation

Vaan, M. A. C. de. (2003). Review of: Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference. *Amsterdamer Beiträge Zur Älteren Germanistik*, 58, 283-288. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/14948>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Leiden University Non-exclusive license](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/14948>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Offprint • Sonderdruck • Tiré à part • Separata

Amsterdam - New York, NY
2003

USA / Canada

Editions Rodopi b.v.

One Rockefeller Plaza, Suite 1420
New York, NY 10020
Phone (212) 265 6360
Fax (212) 265 6402
Call toll-free (U.S. only) 1-800-225-3998

All Other Countries

Editions Rodopi b.v.

Tijnmuiden 7
1046 AK Amsterdam
The Netherlands
Tel.: ++ 31 (0)20 611 48 21
Fax: ++ 31 (0)20 447 29 79

orders@rodopi.nl
info@rodopi.nl
www.rodopi.nl

In het Woord vooraf zegt de auteur te hopen dat zijn boek 'ervaren en nieuwe onderzoekers [zal] stimuleren tot aanvullend, verfijnend en corrigerend vervolgonderzoek' (p. 8). Dat is ook zeker nodig, want het aantal malen dat ik me bij het lezen van bepaalde passages heb afgevraagd of wat ik las werkelijk wel zo was, hoe dat dan zo gekomen was en waarop de betreffende beweringen zouden kunnen zijn gebaseerd, zijn legio geweest en in elk geval op de terreinen waar ik echt verstand van heb (taal- en letterkunde en naamkunde) is niet alleen correctie maar een grondige herziening noodzakelijk. Ik heb geen poging gedaan uitputtend te zijn in mijn kritiek. Details als literatuurverwijzingen die niet in de literatuurlijst voorkomen (bijvoorbeeld Cordfunke & Hugenholtz), heb ik zelfs maar helemaal weggelaten. Op bijna elke bladzij valt wel een kanttekening te maken of een vraagteken te zetten. Het boek geeft mij de indruk van een omgevallen doos met fiches die door middel van vrije associatie min of meer geordend zijn en toen tot boek verwerkt. Alles wat de auteur tijdens het schrijven inviel, heeft ergens een plaatsje gekregen, meestal niet gesteund door enig bewijsmateriaal. Ik wil niet beweren dat de auteur geen deskundige is op het gebied van de geschiedenis van Breukelen en omgeving, en hij kan er ongetwijfeld ook boeiend over vertellen, maar er helder en duidelijk over schrijven is heel iets anders. Door er allerlei onderwerpen met de haren bij te slepen, die slechts zeer zijdelings of soms zelfs geheel niet met de geschiedenis van Breukelen in verband staan, heeft hij zichzelf nog eens extra in de vingers gesneden. Een van de doelen van de auteur was 'een boek [te] schrijven dat voor een breed samengesteld lezerspubliek voldoet aan redelijke eisen van zowel kwaliteit als leesbaarheid' (p. 8). Wat mij betreft is hij noch in het een, noch in het ander echt geslaagd.

Tanneke Schoonheim

Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference. Los Angeles May 26-28, 2000. Edited by Martin E. Huld, Karlene Jones-Bley, Angela Della Volpe and Miriam Robbins Dexter (*Journal of Indo-European Studies* Monograph Series No. 40). - Institute for the Study of Man, Washington, D.C., 2001, 8, VIII + 326 p. Paperback.

In their introduction to the present collection, the editors stress the interdisciplinary character of Indo-European Studies at UCLA: "All of the students were introduced to three traditional fields of study: linguistics, archaeology, and mythology/ folklore." This broad approach is reflected by the eighteen papers in this volume, which cover linguistics (9 papers), mythology and poetics (4 papers) and archaeology (4 papers). In this review, I will focus on the linguistic papers. Another review of these proceedings was published by Jared Klein in the *UCLA Indo-European Studies Bulletin*, volume 10/1, February-March 2002, p. 33-35; I will not dwell on points already raised by Klein.

e Georg Dunkel writes about "The sound-systems of Proto-Indo-European". Central to his contribution is the idea that Indo-European possessed four classes of morphemes: roots, suffixes, endings and particles. D. investigates how many of the re-

constructed PIE phonemes occur in each of these four morpheme classes. Of the 36 phonemes which he reconstructs for PIE roots (including five voiceless aspirated stops and $*b$), 26 phonemes also occur in particles, 17 occur in suffixes, and only 12 phonemes are found in nominal and verbal endings. These numbers correspond to the relative size of every morpheme class, roots being the largest class, followed by particles, suffixes and endings. D. proceeds to count the relative frequency of individual phonemes, and establishes that the reduced phoneme inventory of suffixes and endings does not match the list of most frequent phonemes overall; this implies that the reduced inventory per morpheme class is not due to chance reduction. According to D., the twelve most frequent consonant phonemes overall are $*p$, $*t$, $*k$, $*s$, $*h_1$, $*h_2$, $*m$, $*n$, $*r$, $*l$, $*i$, $*u$. The resonants and fricatives are well represented among them, and D. rightly concludes that the variations in phoneme distribution across morpheme classes is primarily due to variations in the distribution of stops. It is then a significant result that labiovelars and $*h_3$ only occur in roots, with the exception of the particle $*-k^we$ 'and' and the possessive suffix $*-h_3en-$, both of which D. derives from original roots.

Two remarks can be made. Firstly, D. uses the metaphor of "different keyboard-mappings every time we cross the boundaries between particles, roots, suffixes and endings". Taking into account that PIE words contain root + suffix + ending, this metaphor is simply a paraphrase of a linguistic principle already known to us, viz. the reduced phonemic distinctions towards the end of the word. As we know from Greek and Sanskrit, this concerns especially the stops. Secondly, it may be questioned whether particles are to be treated as a separate morpheme class, especially when establishing their phoneme inventory. Since they can often be recognized as former roots, we may in principle expect particles to use the same phonemes as roots. In Dunkel's scheme, the only phonemes missing from the particles are the voiceless aspirates, $*b$, the labiovelars and $*h_3$. Since the reconstruction of voiceless aspirates and $*b$ for PIE is very questionable, the only significant absentees are the labialized velars and the (possibly) labialized laryngeal. For these, Dunkel proposes that they came into being from earlier clusters of velar plus labial glide, e.g. $*k^w < *k\mu -$ or $*k^w \mu -$. However, this does not explain why the labiovelars are found only in roots, because at an earlier stage a sequence $*-k\mu -$ might also have occurred in suffixes (cf. the suffix $*-t\mu o-$). It seems likely that the labiovelars arose from velars in front of one or more vowels which did not occur in suffixes or endings; but it would take us back to pre-PIE to find out which vowel(s). For one possible line of thought, cf. Kortlandt, *The Indo-Uralic verb*, Leiden 2001, p.13.

Jens Elmegård Rasmussen argues "Against the assumption of an IE $*k^wet\mu \acute{o}res$ rule". This rule can be traced back in publications to 1985, and states that a trisyllabic sequence $*\acute{e} \cdot o - x$ phonetically shifts the stress one syllable to the right, becoming $*e - \acute{o} - x$. The main proponents of this rule have been the German scholars Rix and Klingenschmitt, and the rule can now be found in several

works of their pupils, to whom Rasmussen refers. He refutes the rule, arguing that the prime example, the word for 'four', still had initial accent in its PIE form $*k^wet\mu \acute{o}res$ (Greek $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ "), and that the accentuation of Skt. *catvāras* and Go. *fidwor* 'four' is due to the influence of oblique case forms such as gen.pl. $*turóm$ and loc.pl. $*k^wit\mu \acute{f}su$. Rasmussen also disclaims the alleged $*k^wet\mu \acute{o}res$ rule' for the other categories for which it has been invoked: the paradigm of nominal s -stems, r -stems and n -stems and the reduplicated perfect.

Aleksei S. Kassian and Ilya S. Yakubovich tackle "The reflexes of Indo-European $\#CR$ - Clusters in Hittite." They discuss two types of roots: 1. roots with a PIE word-initial cluster $*Cr-$ or $*Cl-$, e.g. *šalig-*; 2. roots with PIE $*sT-$ or $*sH-$ (T being a stop, H being a laryngeal). Because of the characteristics of the cuneiform writing system, the first type of roots is usually written as $CV-CV-$ in Hittite, whereas the second type is written as $iš-CV-$. The authors try to find out whether the anaptyctic vowel which is written in these sequences was a phonetic reality of the language or not. After a discussion of the Hittite forms and their possible cognates elsewhere in IE, the authors conclude that "words of the type *šalig-* ... contain a synchronic epenthetic vowel between $\#C-$ and $-R-$ in Hittite." Their main arguments are: 1. A number of words are occasionally written with scriptio plena, e.g. *ša-a-li-ga* in Middle and Late Hittite; 2. There is some correlation between the quality of the epenthetic vowel and the quality of the vowel in the following syllable: we find mainly e in front of e or i in the next syllable (e.g. *teri-* 'three', *-šemet* 'their') but a in front of a , e.g. *karab-* 'to devour', *-š(a)mas* '(to) you, them'. It seems to me that this may just as well be taken as an argument *against* the phonetic reality of the anaptyctic vowel, as in the case of the Mycenaean Linear B script, where the first consonant of a consonant cluster copies the vowel of the following syllable, e.g. *a-ko-so-ne = áξoves*.

The paper "Proto-Indo-European root nouns in the Baltic languages" by Jenny Helena Larsson was selected as the best paper by a junior scholar. The first part of her contribution deals with the important role of the PIE acc.sg. in establishing the basis for the inflection of the Baltic i -stems. In the second part, L. addresses the category of deverbal nouns with a Proto-Baltic root vowel $*ā$, Lith. o , such as Lith. *žolė* 'grass, herb' to *žėlli* 'to become green' or *tvorà* 'fence' to *tvėrti* 'to fence in'. Some scholars have regarded PB $*ā$ in these nouns as the reflex of an earlier root noun, although this is not supported by evidence from outside Balto-Slavic. As the examples show, the derivation is accompanied by a change of root intonation from acute to circumflex. L. argues that both the vowel lengthening and the metatony can be explained on the basis of deverbal formations in Proto-Baltic $*-i\acute{o}-$, $*-i\acute{ā}-$. The PIE nucleus must have been the fem. abstract nouns with o -grade (Gr. $\tau\omicron\mu\eta$). That the Proto-Baltic suffixes $*-i\acute{o}-$, $*-i\acute{ā}-$ have caused metatony is generally accepted, but that they also triggered vowel lengthening is not; for instance, Derksen, *Metatony in Baltic*, Amsterdam-Atlanta 1996, p. 52, regards it as analogical. Unfortunately, L. refers to a forthcoming publication of hers for a discussion of this assumption.

Vyacheslav V. Ivanov, “Indo-European **b^huH-* in Luwian and the prehistory of past and perfect,” derives Cuneiform Luwian *pūwa* ‘formerly’ and Hieroglyphic Luwian *pu-wa/i-ti* ‘formerly’ from the PIE root **b^huH-* ‘to be’. He also connects CLuw. *pu-ú-wa-la* ‘the past’ and compares it directly with PIE **b^huH-lo-* ‘been’ as reflected in OCS *bylū*. He proceeds to discuss how Luw. *puwa* fits into the picture of the forms of PIE **b^huH-* in other branches of IE. In his conclusion, I. argues that Proto-Southern-Anatolian originally possessed a suppletive paradigm of ‘to be’ in the form of **b^huH-Ha* (in irreal functions) vs. **Hes-mi* (real); the latter stem eventually took over the verbal functions of **b^huH-*, which was frozen in its use as an adjective meaning ‘past’, like Hitt. *karu*.

Two articles explicitly refer to Germanic. Anatoly Liberman discusses “The etymology of some Germanic, especially English, plant names (*henbane*, *hemlock*, *horehound*).” Combining a sharp eye for all the linguistic and pragmatic aspects of etymology with an exhausting search of the literature, L. arrives at three different PGm. stems, viz. (1) **hen/han/hun-* ‘death’ for *henbane*, (2) **hem/hamb(f)/humb(f)-* ‘poisonous (especially of plants), mutilated, injured’ for *hemlock*, and (3) **hūn-* ‘black; low’ for *horehound*. The next question to be asked is whether these PGm. roots go back to PIE. The closest cognate of root (2) is Slavic **čemerŭ* ‘poison’ (Russ. *čemerica* ‘hellebore’ etc.), which together with Lith. *kēmeras* ‘hemp agrimony’ and Latv. *cemerīš*⁴ ‘hellebore’ can be reconstructed as Proto-Balto-Slavic **kemero-*, cf. Derksen, *Slavic inherited lexicon*, <http://ijasnt.leidenuniv.nl/ied/>. The BSl. and Gm. stem **kemero-* does not match its alleged Greek cognate *kámaros* ‘delphinium’ perfectly (cf. Pokorny, IEW 558), which leaves a number of possible scenarios in case one wants to retain the connection; borrowing from a non-IE substratum language is one of them. The roots (1) and (3) which end in **-n-* may well be identical, as L. himself indicates (p. 141 below): “Perhaps alongside the meaning ‘death’, the complex *hūn-* developed the meaning ‘earth, ground’, with expressive lengthening.” Rather than expressivity, I would assume productive ablaut of the Germanic type **u : *ū*. In view of the meaning ‘death’ which characterizes PGm. **hun-*, it seems possible to derive Gothic *huns!* ‘sacrifice’ from this root too. A different full grade appears in Go. *hauns* ‘humble’, OHG *hōna* ‘scorn’, if this is cognate. The root PGm. **hen/han/hun-* lacks any certain cognates outside Germanic.

Accidentally, Liberman’s report on the Germanic plant names can be nicely combined with Peter Schrijver’s article on the Celtic, Germanic and Slavic words for ‘henbane’ which derive, in S.’s view, from a non-IE substratum root **b^hel-* (MW **beleu*, OHG *bilisa*, Russ. *belená*): “On henbane and early European narcotics”, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 51 (1999), 17-45. Together, they provide an unexpectedly full picture of the uses and onomasiology of henbane in Central and Northwestern Europe.

Mary Lynn Wilson’s paper is titled “The bird goddess in Germanic Europe.” W. connects two phenomena: 1. the occurrence of female figurines in archaeological complexes in Neolithic Southeastern Europe, and their interpretation as bird god-

esses by Marija Gimbutas; 2. the occurrence of stories among the Germanic peoples about powerful female beings who have the ability to transform themselves into birds or who have bird-like characteristics. As evidence for the latter M. adduces the Norse goddess Freyja, the Norse Valkyries, the Germanic and/or Celtic *matronae*, and modern fairy-tale characters like Frau Holle and Frau Perhte, which are said to have strikingly long noses. M. concludes that “there appears to have been an extended, long-term belief in a bird goddess in the Germanic area. (...) This figure seems to have existed from at least the pre-Christian pagan period until the mid-19th century. (...) The roots of this being could go back further into the Neolithic since there may be a relationship with Gimbutas’ Neolithic bird goddess.” This theory is a house of cards. Firstly, the interpretation of the female Neolithic figurines as birds is not compelling: they may simply represent women in a pose which was for some reason characteristic. Only few of the images have the long nose which might be interpreted as a bird’s beak; it may simply be a long nose. Secondly, there is a gap of nearly 5000 years and at least 1000 kilometers between the Neolithic figurines and the North Germanic goddesses. It is far from certain that the Balkan women or bird-women were made by people speaking an Indo-European language. Thirdly, the belief in women with supernatural powers, such as witches flying on broomsticks, is wide-spread throughout Europe; examples can be found closer to the sites with Neolithic figurines. Incidentally, I came across a recent article describing the (still existing) Albanian belief in witches: Agron Xhagolli, “The witch in myths, rites and beliefs of the Albanians”, *Studia Albanica* 31, 1994, 93-104. Of course it is legitimate to compare all these popular beliefs, and it is possible that they go back to a shared cultural inheritance rather than to shared cultural innovations; but the Neolithic female figurines do not provide the evidence to prove this.

A third paper which touches on Germanic is Giovanna Rocca’s discussion of the Italic “Poggio Sommavilla inscription” on the basis of a renewed examination of the flask’s text. After proposing a slightly changed reading, she concentrates on the word *skerfs*, which has been connected with Latin *scurfus*, a dialectal variety of *scirpus* ‘reed’. She argues that this Latin word is continued as *skerpa* in Lombardian dialects in the meaning ‘bride’s trousseau’, and also in other Romance languages, including Calabrian *scirpu* ‘furniture’ and Old French *esquerpe* ‘bag, purse’. However, it seems more likely that at least the French and the northern Italian words were borrowed from Germanic, cf. German *Scherbe* and French *écharpe*, cf. Gammillscheg, *Et.Wb. der französischen Sprache* (1969), p. 342.

In the section on mythology and poetics, two papers review the impact of Georges Dumézil’s ideas. Thomas R. Walsh’s paper “Dumézil, a paradigm, and *Iliad* 9” tries to show that Dumézil’s theory of tri-functionality in Indo-European remains a useful tool for investigating problems of narrative structures. The problem W. discusses is the use of dual verb forms for the embassy of three men, viz. Phoenix, Aias and Odysseus, which are to persuade Achilles to return to the Greek-Trojan battlefield in book 9 of the *Iliad*. However, as Klein has argued in his review, the Dumézilian approach does not provide an answer to the surprising use of the dual. Dean A.

Miller and C. Scott Littleton write a short survey: "Dumézil in 2000: An outline and a prospect." They provide a summary of the work done by Dumézil in his last years, of the recent expansions and explorations of his theories by other scholars, and of recent criticisms (after 1985).

The epilogue of the proceedings is of a completely different nature: "The internet and publication and research in Indo-European studies: present state and future prospects" by Deborah Anderson. This very interesting and useful paper examines electronic publication as a solution to the reduced accessibility of traditionally printed publications. As an illustration of the latter fact, A. compares the price of eighteen journals relating to IE studies between 1989 and 1999, and finds that the average price has gone up 80% during this period. She then reviews the different possible ways of electronic publication: personal website, email, online journal, digital library, open archive. She also addresses the problem of the fonts which are needed to show and print the various scripts, how to use them, and how Indo-Europeanists can contribute to the development of Unicode fonts. At the end, A. gives a list of actions which Indo-Europeanists may undertake in order to make the best use of the new possibilities which electronic publishing offers to them.

Michiel de Vaan

Wernher der Gärtner, 'Helmbrecht'. Die Beiträge des Helmbrecht-Symposiums in Burghausen 2001. Hg. von Theodor Nolte und Tobias Schneider. - S. Hirzel Verlag, Stuttgart 2001. 119 S. (ISBN 3-7776-1130-1).

In diesem Band sind die Vorträge vereinigt, die am 1. April 2001 auf einem Symposium in Burghausen gehalten wurden. Dem Vorwort der Herausgeber zufolge spiegeln diese Beiträge "das vielschichtige und beziehungsreiche Spektrum von Fragen wider, die Wernhers Helmbrecht-Erzählung aufwirft" (S. 7). Wenn man so etwas liest, erwartet man mehr als nur vier Beiträge, aber nicht Quantität, sondern Qualität soll bei der Beurteilung dieses Buches das wichtigste Kriterium sein, und Qualität kann man diesem Band sicherlich nicht absprechen.

Im ersten Beitrag ("Standesverräter und Heimatverächter in der bayerisch-österreichischen Literatur des Spätmittelalters") geht Fritz-Peter Knapp auf die Frage ein, ob der 'Helmbrecht' auf "tiefgreifende sozialgeschichtliche Veränderungen seiner Zeit" reagiere. Zu diesem Zweck vergleicht er die in diesem *maere* behandelte Problematik mit Stellen aus dem sogenannten 'Seifried Helbling', aus der 'Weltchronik' des Jans von Wien (normalerweise, aber nach Knapp zu Unrecht Jansen Enikel genannt) und aus dem Werk des Teichners. Erst beim Teichner, also mehr als ein Jahrhundert nach Wernher, läßt sich die "eher unfreiwillige Einsicht in den realen Wandel der Verhältnisse" beobachten. Aber auch der Teichner kann ein sittliches Verhalten, das "aus dem vorgegebenen örtlichen, geschlechtlichen, familiären und ständischen Rahmen ausbrach und nach Neuem, Fremden, und sei es nur nach einer neuen Haartracht, strebte," noch nicht akzeptieren (S. 23).