

VEDIC ŠAM, ŠAM YOḤ, AND ŠAM(ČA) YOŠČA (*)

1. The phrase *šam yoḥ* or *šam(ča) yošča* occurs fairly frequently in Vedic Indian. It is usually rendered as «luck and welfare», «happiness and welfare»; «Glück und Heil», «Glück und Segen», «Wohl und Heil», «Heil und Segen», «Heil und Wohlsein», «Heil und Glück» (1). The two nouns, either juxtaposed asyndetically or with the connective, are interpreted as neuter substantives, used in the nominative or accusative, or even as indeclinable adverbs.

As to the origin of these nouns, Mayrhofer has now produced (III, 298 and 27 f.) a convenient list of the suggestions so far advanced by various scholars.

1.1. The first term, *šam*, has been interpreted by Grassmann, and recently by Bailey, as a root-noun connected with the verb *šam-* 'work', Gk. *κᾶμνω*, and therefore originally meaning «Werk, heilsames Werk», later simply «Heil, Segen» (2). The semantic jump implied, though not absolutely inconceivable, is sufficiently strange to encourage one to look for other, perhaps more convincing, solutions. It must of course be admitted that the attempt to identify *šam* as an adverb (: 'well', 'wohl') with Gk. *κε(ν)*, *κα* (3), suffers not

(*) The transcription with *š*, not *ś*, of the Sanskrit representative of IE *k*, practised by me since 1970 (*Einführung*), needs perhaps a few words of justification. The transcription has been rather chaotic in the last hundred years: before the turn of the century Whitney used *ç* (still employed by the French school), Wackernagel *ś* (the norm today), Brugmann *š̄*. Matters were further complicated by the cerebral spirant, transcribed as *š̄* or *ś̄*, although *ś̄* is obviously distinctive enough. Since a comparatist is only confused by the same phone being transcribed differently in different languages, I suggest that, for Indian, *š̄* - *ś̄* should be used. In the same way, *c*, *ch* and *j*, *jh* should be replaced by the unequivocal *č(h)*, *ǰ(h)*, so that the same entity is not transcribed as Ind. *cakara* but Iran. *čakara*, or Ind. *ḥiva-* but Iran. *ḥiva-*.

(1) For the English translations see MACDONELL 1910: 220, 338; for the German, GELDNER's translation of the Rigveda, *passim*.

(2) See GRASSMANN (1964), s. v.; BAILEY 1967: 357, and earlier «Rocznik Orientalistyczny» 21, 1957, 59 f., esp. 62 (: *šam-* 'fit, suit, agree, accord'); perhaps also WÜST 1966: 221² : *šami* loc. of *šam-* 'Ritual-Werk'.

(3) See, after UHLENBECK, BRANDENSTEIN, in «Studien zur idg. Grundsprache», 1952, 7; WÜST, «Fs. Lothar Zotz», 1960, 598 with fn. 51.

only from the uncertainty of the semantic basis on both sides but, as will be shown presently, even more from the neglect of the true character of the syntagma. More attractive is Thieme's suggestion (4) that *śam* represents (*p*)*ś(v)am*, a derivative of *p(a)śu-* 'cattle', but it does not account for the syntagma either, as will be seen further on.

1.2. For the complementary term *yoḥ* likewise several interpretations have been advanced.

As far back as 1855, Adalbert Kuhn suggested («KZ» 4, 374) that *yoḥ* was to be connected with Lat. *iūs*, and soon after Avest. *yaoš*, *yaož-* was added to this group (5). The equation of the Indian and Iranian terms is correct, but the Latin term must be separated from them as will become clear in the course of our investigation. Semantically attractive is Thieme's suggestion (*l. c.*) that *yoḥ* is connected with *āyuh* so that the original meaning of the phrase was «Vieh (und) Leben».

2. As far as I can see, all who have discussed the phrase at issue have, with the single exception of Thieme, been content with an atomistic approach (6), only interested in «explaining», that is supplying with an etymology, either the one or the other term but not the phrase as a whole. And yet, an examination of all the attestations leads to a very different interpretation.

2.1. Vedic *śam* occurs on its own (i. e. without *yoḥ*) in 47 passages, not counting RV VII 35 (= 551) where alone it is repeated 68 times!

2.1.1. It can be the *object*, cf., with Geldner's translation:

- I 43,6: *śam naḥ karati arvate* 'er schaffe Heil unserem Ross';
 IV 1 (= 297),3: *tokāya tuḥe śuśučāna śam kṛdhy asmabhyam dasma śam kṛdhi* 'bring Glück zur Fortpflanzung des Samens, du Brennender (Agni); bring uns Glück, du Meister!'
 III 13 (= 247),6: *śam naḥ śoḥā ... agne* 'flamme uns zum Heile (7) ... , o Agni';
 I 157,3: *śam na ā vakṣad dvipade catuspade* '(der Wagen) bringe unseren Zweifüßlern und Vierfüßlern Heil'.

2.1.2. With *bhū* or *as-* it is the *subject*, although here again the translation may require 'zum Heil' and similar turns; cf.

- I 90,9: *śam no mitraḥ, śam varunaḥ śam no bhavatu aryamā* 'zum Glück soll uns Mitra, zum Glück uns Varuna, zum

(4) THIEME 1951: 176 = 1971: 61.

(5) See, e. g., JUSTI 1864: 242 (: *yaoš* Adv. 'rein' = *yoḥ*).

(6) This applies even to DUMÉZIL's lengthy discussion (1948: 95 f., esp. 99 f.), where the emphasis remains on Av. *yaoždā-*.

(7) The word is, of course, despite the translation, the object of the verb.

Glück uns Aryaman sein' (but cp. Lat *quod nobis bonum faustumque sit*);

VII 35 (= 551),6: *śam na indro vasubhir devo astu* 'zum Glück soll uns Gott Indra mit den Vasu's sein'.

This construction appears in 22 passages (plus VII 35 = 551!). In 8 more passages *śam* is used in the same function without a verb, cf.

VI 34 (= 475),3: *śam tad asmaī* 'so ist ihm das recht';

X 86 (= 912),15: *manthas ta indra śam hṛde* 'der Gerstentrank sagt deinem Herzen zu, Indra' (8).

2.2. The two nouns in question appear in the sequence *śam yoḥ*, never reversed, in 16 passages of the Rigveda. The phrase can appear as the subject or predicate with *as-* and *bhū-* (4x) and even in a nominal sentence (1x), or alternatively as the object with *dhā-* (5x), *kar-* *ī-* *yam-* *ī-* *ni-* *vah-* *abhi-* *sra-* (once each). Cf.

IV 12 (= 308),5: *yacchā tokāya tanayāya śam yoḥ* '(Agni,) gewähre Glück und Heil dem leiblichen Samen';

VI 50 (= 491),7: *dhāta tokāya tanayāya śam yoḥ* 'schaffet für den leiblichen Samen Wohlsein und Heil';

III 18 (= 252),4: *dhehi revad agne viśvāmitreṣu śam yoḥ* 'verleih reichlich Glück und Heil den V's, o Agni!'

2.3. In three passages each of the two members takes the connective *ča*, cf.

I 114,2: *yačchaṃča yoṣča manur āyeḣe pitā tad aśyāma* 'welch Wohl und Heil Vater Manu durch Opfer erlangt hat, das möchten wir erreichen';

II 33 (= 224),13: *tā śamča yoṣča rudrasya vaśmi* '(Eure Arzeneien ...) diese und Heil und Segen wünsche ich von Rudra';

VIII 39 (= 659),4: *śamča yoṣča mayo dadhe* '(Agni) verleiht Heil und Glück und Freude'.

2.4. In one instance only the second member takes *ča*:

VIII 71 (= 680),15: *gṛṇmasi agniṃ śam yoṣča dātave* 'den Agni loben wir, dass er (uns) Glück und Segen gebe'.

2.5. The phrase *śam yoḥ* occurs four times in the Atharva-Veda also but all occurrences are repetitions of Rigvedic passages (9). The variants with *ča* do not occur.

(8) The other passages are I 165,4; 173,8; V 50 (= 404),5; VI 21 (= 462),4; VI 45 (= 486),22; VIII 13 (= 633),11.

(9) These data are based on WHITNEY's *Index Verborum to the published text of the Atharva-Veda* («JAOS» 12, 1881, 1-383), p. 243 s. v. *yoṣ*, and have been checked by my student P. K. Andersen with the help of the *Grammatical Word-Index to Atharvaveda*, edited by VISHVA BANDHU (Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, 1963).

2.6. To sum up. The term *śam* occurs on its own in more than a hundred passages in the Rigveda, and in the Atharva-Veda just as frequently. The term *yoḥ* does not occur on its own in either of the two Vedas but only in conjunction with *śam* as follows: in the immediate sequence *śam yoḥ* 16 times in the RV, 4 times in the AV; in the copulative form *śam yośča* once, as *śamča yośča* three times, all four instances being confined to the Rigveda.

2.7. At this point it is perhaps not superfluous to stress that so far nothing certain is known about the meaning of either term in either Vedic synchrony or in the diachrony reaching back into the Indo-European past. The only thing that is tolerably clear from the contexts is that both terms (or perhaps just their combination?) express something beneficial. But it is time now to turn to a closer examination of both terms.

3. As has been mentioned already (see 1.1. and 1.2.), whereas *śam* has no straightforward correspondence in Iranian or elsewhere, *yoḥ* is obviously connected with Iranian **yauš*. The question is to what extent and how?

3.1. It is generally assumed that Iran. *yauš* is contained in the Avestan verb *yaoždā-* for which Bartholomae posited (1904:1233) the meanings '(1) heil machen, vollkommen machen; (2) rituell vollkommen machen, in den gehörigen Stand setzen; (3) wieder rituell vollkommen machen, Verunreinigtes, Verseuchtes reinigen, entseuchen, Infiziertes purifizieren'. From his note it is also clear that the native tradition knew as the only meaning of the word 'purify', cf. Pahl. *pāk kartan*, Skt. *pāvayitum*, *pavitrayitum*. It is therefore clear that the meaning 'heil machen, vollkommen machen' was assumed by Bartholomae partly on account of the equation with Ind. *yoḥ*, likewise interpreted as 'Heil' (a substantive!), partly because of certain contexts, in which 'to purify' seemed inadequate.

As concerns the formal aspect of *yaoždā-*, it is certain that it represents the coalescence of the juxtaposition *yaoš dā-*. For, on the one hand, the final spirant of *yaoš* can only reflect IE -s since the theoretically possible alternative sources of -žd-, i.e. *gh̥t*, *gh̥d(h)*, *gh̥s*, *ks* (yielding *žd*, *žd*, *z*, and *š* respectively) (10) do not lead to any acceptable alternative; on the other hand, this analysis is clinched by the existence of an independent *yaoš*.

As to the meaning of *yaoždā-*, it is undeniable that in the post-Gathic literature, which, in the present instance, very largely means

the Vidēvdāt, the verb does express the idea of cleansing, ritual purification — often in connection with -*snā-* 'wash' and *gāuš māēs-mana* 'with cow's urine' — and mostly refers to ritual impurity brought about by contact with a dead body (11). But earlier the situation was very different.

3.2. In the Gathas the meaning refers neither to the preparation, consecration, for the sacrifice, of something unpolluted, nor to the purification of something polluted, that is Bartholomae's meanings (2) and (3). It is less clear at first sight how exactly the few passages, for which his meaning (1) has been posited, are to be interpreted. A brief survey will show the way to a solution.

3.2.1. One of the relevant Gathic passages is at Y. 48.5, where, after the initial statement: 'Let those of good rule rule over us — not those of evil rule — with actions stemming from good understanding (*vanḥuyā čistōiš śyaoəanāiš*) and with piety (*ārmaitī*)' (12), the text, as presented in Geldner's edition and, with one emendation, accepted by Bartholomae (1904: 1236), continues:

*yaoždā mašyāi aiṛi. zəəəm vahištā
gavōi vərəzyātəm.*

3.2.1.1. Interpreting *yaoždā* as the feminine nom. sg. of an adjective *yaoždāh-* 'vollbringend, vollkommen machend', derived from *yaoždā-*, Bartholomae translated the passage as follows: «sie [die Lehre, čisti-], die beste, vollbringt für den Menschen die künftige Geburt, für das Rind aber die Landwirtschaft»; but shortly after he obviously thought that *yaoždā* could be the subjunctive (?) 2. sg. of the verb: «du, o beste, vollbringe für den Menschen die künftige Geburt [= das andere Leben], für das Rind aber (schaff) die Landwirtschaft» (13). Andreas' interpretation diverges only insignificantly: «die für den Menschen die künftige Geburt (in Lauterkeit) vorbereitet, die sehr Gute, und für die Kuh die Werkätigkeit» (14).

Both scholars see a parallel structure between two clauses referring to man and bull, which is possible, and take *yaoždā-* to mean 'vollbringen' or '(in Lauterkeit) vorbereiten', which is surely impossible because it cannot be gotten out of 'heil machen'. A very different construction was put on the passage by Humbach who, reading *mašyā* (instr.!) and interpreting *yaoždā* as nom. sg. of a substantive,

(11) See DUMÉZIL 1948: 95 f.; J. DE BIE 1955: 145 f.; DUMÉZIL 1969: 33f.; DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN 1970: 203 f.; and, on «The laws of purity» in general, M. BOYCE 1975: 294 f.

(12) I give here S. INSLER's text and translation (1975: 90 f., 287).

(13) See BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 1236, 1327; 1905: 89.

(14) ANDREAS-LOMMEL 1935: 130.

(10) See REICHEL 1909: 56, § 104, and 50, §§ 76, 77. We may also add that *yawiš-*, with *i* from *ə* (suggested by BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 1234 note 5), is ruled out by *yoḥ*.

varəzyātəm as a passive imperative, translated: «Diese beste Erkenntnis [*vahištā* sc. *čistiš*], die mit dem Menschen auch seine Nachkommenschaft gesund macht (!), soll der Kuh gegenüber angewandt werden» (15). A slightly different view is taken by H. - P. Schmidt: «Best perfection (or: purification) at (her) birth shall be applied by man to the cow» (16).

But a radically new departure has now been taken by Insler who interprets Humbach's *mašyā* as a vocative plural: «Men [Zarathustra's adherents], let the best vitalization for the cow (= the good vision!) be brought to realization on earth ...» (17).

The new interpretation of *aipī.zqəəm* may not be definitive but at least it is an attempt to face the problem posed by the awkward 'birth' or 'Nachkommenschaft' etc. But for our inquiry it is of paramount importance that for *yaoždā*, formed according to «the normal root-noun inflection», the new interpretation «vitalization» is offered.

Unfortunately, no reasons are given for the new interpretation. In the commentary on Y. 44,9 (p. 246) we are simply told: «The idiom *yaoš/ž dā* I take consistently to mean 'to give life to, bring to life'»; the statement that Duchesne-Guillemin «has also seen the connection between *yaoš* and life» (18), sheds no light on how *yaoš* is to be analyzed morphologically, though one may guess that essentially the new interpretation is extracted from the equation of *yaoš* with Vedic *yoh*. It is accepted by Kellens who rightly stresses Insler's merit to have, with Bartholomae, clearly separated the Gathic and post-Gathic usages: in the Gathas *yaoždā* does not mean 'to purify' but 'donner force vitale à' (19), or, even closer to the etymology, 'mettre dans le salut', from which the later usage developed by degrees (20). But how do we get *dans* out of the phrase *yaož-dā*? This question is likewise ignored by Schindler's interpretation of Aryan **yauš dhā-* as 'Heil setzen, heilwirkend machen' (21), and Haudry's 'imposer le *yēus* à' (22) is no more helpful.

(15) HUMBACH 1959a: 139, 1959b: 77.

(16) H.-P. SCHMIDT 1975: 2.

(17) See INSLER 1975: 91, 287, 333.

(18) It should be noted, however, that in his paper DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN gave this as a possibility with a possible new etymon (p. 206: **yew-* 'young') but in the end (p. 210) gave preference to the traditional etymology.

(19) J. KELLENS 1974: 205.

(20) KELLENS, «KZ» 90, 1976, 92 f.

(21) J. SCHINDLER, «5. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft», 1975, 266.

(22) HAUDRY 1977: 457 f., esp. 460.

3.2.1.2. As can be seen, *yaoždā* is, if at all, analyzed as **yauš d(h)ā-*, the first part being equated with Vedic *yoh* which, in its turn, is completely isolated in Indian. This absorption with the Indian cognate has had a deleterious effect, it has prevented scholars from realizing that the solution is at hand on the Iranian side.

For, unlike Vedic *yoh*, Avestan *yaoš* is not isolated in its linguistic context: in addition to the two further Gathic passages which are generally recognized to show our *yaoš* and which will be discussed presently, there is one further instance of this form which has so far been considered to be totally unrelated.

At Y. 43,13, Zarathustra speaks of

kāmahyā ... darəgahyā yaoš ... vairyā stōiš

for which the commentators offer almost identical interpretations: 'Wunsch nach der langen Dauer des köstlichen Daseins' (Bartholomae), 'meines Wunsches ... nach der langen Dauer ... des wünschenswerten Daseins' (Andreas-Lommel), 'den (Wunsch) nach langer Lebensdauer ... den nach begehrenswertem Besitz' (Humbach), 'that wish for long life ... and that wish for the desirable condition' (Insler).

For our problem it is important to note that *yaoš* here is, as can be seen, in meaning quite close to *yaoš* in *yaoždā* interpreted as 'give life to', 'donner force vitale', and in its morphology quite clearly a genitive singular. This *yaoš*, together with the dative *yavai* and the instrumental *yavā*, represents the oblique section of a paradigm, in which the casus rectus, as was suspected by Bartholomae (1904: 1265), and definitively proved by Kuiper (1942: 31), appears as *āyu* (in the Gathas written *āyū*); particularly cogent is the correspondence of the accusative *darəgəəm āyū* (Y. 31,20) with the genitive *darəgahyā yaoš* (Y. 43,13). This alternation is of the same type as that seen in **doru/drouš* 'wood, tree', **sonu/snous* 'surface, back' (23), **gonu/gnous* 'knee' but this does not necessitate the assumption of PIE **Hoyu/Hyeus* (24); until contrary evidence (i. e. a Hittite *h*) should force us to reconsider our reconstructions, it will suffice to posit IE **ayu/*yous/*yewi* (25).

In a well-known article of 1937, Benveniste demonstrated that the original meaning of this noun and its cognates centred in the

(23) See SZEMERÉNYI 1966: 17 f.

(24) For this paradigm see KUIPER 1942: 31; EICHNER 1973: 84.

(25) For the long *ā* in *āyu* it is useless to posit IE *Ho-* since that would have changed to *a* long before an Indian (or Aryan) *o* could give (?) *ā*. The length will be due either to the analogy of the other neuters, or to a *vṛddhi*-derivative. As to the genitive ending *-ous* see SZEMERÉNYI 1970: 164.

concept of 'vital force', and not of 'life-time', 'generation', 'duration, eternity'. Although Geib has recently stressed that the connotation of time must have been known in IE times already (1975: 269¹), there can be no doubt that 'vital force' was the prius. This is quite clearly shown by the old derivative **yuwen-* 'young (man)' which was obviously based on the plenitude of life-force, and not on the possession of life or eternity; as Benveniste phrased it: to be **yuwen-*, «c'est être en possession de 'force vitale'» (1937: 110).

'Force vitale' also accounts for Av. *yaoždā-*. The only remaining question is the morphological status of *yauš* in this phrase. Since *yauš* is a genitive (or ablative?), all explanations which start from an accusative collocation **yous dhē* must be abandoned. We must rather assume that in this phrase the genitive **yous* is the well-known genitive of sphere, more specifically the genitive of rubric, exemplified by such examples as Latin *lucri facere* «to put down under the heading 'profit', 'consider as profit'» (: IE genitive + **dhē-*!), or *floci, nihili facere*, etc. (26). The phrase **yauš dā-*, unified as *yaoždā-*, originally meant 'place within the sphere of vital force' — we may recall Kellens' rendering 'mettre dans le salut' — 'endow with vital power', a phrase which then develops from strength to purity, holiness, i.e. 'endow with purity, purify', or 'endow with holiness, sanctity, sanctify' (27). This use of the genitive ends up with almost the same concrete sense as is, e.g., seen in Av. *aiṛ'hā zəmō nidaiəyān* 'man soll auf dieser Erde niederlegen', see Bartholomae 1904: 721.

3.2.1.3. Having cleared up the syntactic relation between *yaoš* and *dā*, we may now return to the overall interpretation of Y. 48,5 cd.

As we have seen (3.2.1.1.), the most recent commentaries (Humbach, Schmidt, Insler), agree in taking *yaoždā* to be the nom. sg. of a substantive of the Indian *śrad-dhā-*, Iranian *mazdā-* type, i. e. based on the root-noun **dhē-* (28). In consequence it must be assumed that between 48,5*b* and *cd* there is a syntactic break of the most unexpected and inexplicable kind, the instrumental being picked up by a nominative. This abnormality can be avoided if we assume that *yaoždā* stands for *yaoždā*, perhaps due to the influence of *vaṅhuyā* in the preceding line; *vahištā* is the nom. pl. ntr., being the subject of the imperative *vərəzyātām*, cf. for the construction with singular

(26) See BRUGMANN 1911: 576 f.; SCHWYZER-DEBRUNNER 1950: 130; PALMER 1954: 293 f.; HOFMANN-SZANTYR 1965: 71, 74 f.; SCHERER 1975: 139, 184.

(27) BENVENISTE's notion of *yaoždā-* being 'rendre *yaoš*' au sens de 'rendre conforme aux prescriptions' (1969: 113) is seen to be pure fancy.

(28) See most recently KELLENS 1974: 201 f.; KUIPER 1976: 27.

verb Y. 33,1: *varəšaitē śyaoəanā drəgvataē* (29). The whole strophe (48,5) is then to be interpreted as follows:

'Let those of good rule rule over us — not those of evil rule — with actions of good insight and with piety; as for the cow, let, o men, the best things be provided (for her) by the/her force of vitality ...'

3.2.2. The explanation of *yaoždā-* here presented also accounts for a second Gathic passage — as it stands, without interference with the textual tradition.

At Y. 44, 9bc, we read:

kaəā mōi yam yaoš daēnəm yaoždānē
yam hudānaoš paitiša sah'yāt Xšaərahyā.

All commentaries that I have seen voice the view that *yaoš* and *yaož* represent a false repetition of the same element so that the second form must be deleted, and *yaoš...dānē* is the tmetac form of *yaoždā-*. This seems to imply that line *b* has a relative clause. Assuming further that *kaəā* is not the normal interrogative 'how?' but merely a particle introducing a direct question, Bartholomae interprets (1904: 1233; 1905: 60 f.): «ob mir wohl für die Daēnā, die ich vollkommen machen will, ... der Herr des Reichs Verheissungen machen wird?» Basically the same view is presented by Andreas (-Lommel) (1935: 82): «Wird mir ein Herr des Reichs die Lehre verkündigen, die ich in Lauterkeit weihen will?» Gershevitch (1959: 243) sees the predicate of the main clause in *asīštīš* (line *d!*): «is the *daēnā* which I purify for myself the *asīštī-* (promised reward) of the clear-sighted, which the Lord of Power ... may decree?»

More recent works, rightly, maintain *kaəā* in the normal meaning 'how'. Humbach (1959a: 119) renders *bc* thus: «Wie möchte mir die Gesinnung, die ich mir heilwirkend machen will als die eines Segensreichen, der Herr der Herrschermacht künden?» Insler, on the other hand, construes line *b* as the main clause (1975: 69): «How shall I bring to life that vision of mine, which the master of a blessed dominion would decree ...?», and Kellens (1974: 329) follows suit (30): «Comment donnerai-je force vitale, salutairement pour moi, à la religion du généreux ...».

As indicated already, there is no justification for taking *kaəā* in any other sense but 'how?' But closer attention to some further points also enables us to decide on another important question, i. e. whether line *b* contains the main clause or a relative clause.

(29) See HUMBACH *ad l.*

(30) INSLEER first presented his interpretation at «Lg.» 47, 1971, 575⁷.

Concerning the sequence *yaoš daēṇam yaoždānē* Bartholomae declared (1904: 1234 note 2) that: «Das zweite *yaoš* ist nach dem Metrum zu streichen» (31). But since the second half of the line consists of seven syllables, this means, even if *daēṇam* is taken to be a trisyllabic *dayanām*, that, after the four syllables of *yauš dayanām*, the form *dānē* must be counted as three syllables, a completely arbitrary decision. As the text stands, it demands that both *yaoš* and *yaož* be considered authentic.

As concerns *yam* in line *b* Insler has noted (1975: 246) that: «*yam* followed by *yam* [in line *c*] without a corresponding demon. pron. is difficult», and therefore thought that, on the pattern of strophe 10, line *b* was to be emended to *tam ... daēṇam*. But now that we see that both *yaoš* and *yaož* are to be retained, and have established that *yaoš* is the genitive of *āyu*, it is clear that *yam yaoš daēṇam* is a perfectly regular genitival phrase *daēṇam yaoš*, i. e. 'vision, religion of the vital force, life force', and the line contains the main clause: «How am I to endow with vital power (or simply: to strengthen?) my vision of life (or: of eternity) which the Lord of generous rule would decree (32) ...».

3.2.3. The third instance appears at Y. 46,18a:

yā maibyā yaoš ahmāi asčēt vahistā
mah'yā istōiš vohū čōišəm manayhā.

Although Bartholomae (1904: 1264 'wer zu mir hält') and Andreas-Lommel (1935: 109 'wer sich gegen mich richtig verhält') had thought that *yaoš* here was the nominative sg. of a masculine *yu-* 'haltend, stehend zu', Humbach recognized as far back as 1951 that it was identical with *yaož* (-dā-) and Vedic *yoh* (33), and accordingly translated (1959a: 135): «Wer mir zum Heile ist, dem verspreche ich meinerseits durch guten Gedanken die besten Dinge meines Wollens». He is followed by Kellens (1974: 328 f.): «Celui qui, pour moi, est le salut, je lui promets, par Vohu Manah, les choses les meilleures de mon vouloir». Slightly different, and more precise in the interpretation of the verbal tense(s) is Insler (1975: 87): «The person who (has given) life to me, to him I indeed have promised with good thinking the best things in my power».

3.2.3.1. It matters little, from our point of view, whether *čōišəm* is taken to be 'to promise', as in the translations quoted, or, as has

(31) See also ANDREAS-LOMMEL 1935: 82, and cf. HUMBACH 1959a: 15 f.; INSLEER 1975: 9, 245 f.

(32) On *sah'yāt* see INSLEER 1975: 180 f., 242, 246.

(33) See HUMBACH, «MSS» 2, 1957, 6². — It is surprising that, in 1969, BENVENISTE could still repeat (1969: 112 f.) the old view that *yaoš* is only found in the juxtaposition *yaoždā-*, and not independently.

been suggested recently (34), 'jemandem (durch religiös-magische Kraft) etwas bestimmen, übertragen, zuweisen, zusprechen, zuerkennen'. More interesting is the question how *asčēt* is to be interpreted, and it seems to me that Bartholomae's pronom of identity: ²*a-* 'ich, du, er selbst' (1904: 11), for which only two passages can be quoted, ours and Y. 29,6, must be abandoned, especially as the latter passage, as suggested by Insler (1975: 30, 152), is more likely to start with *atē vaočāt* 'thereupon spoke', and not with (the traditional) *atē vaočāt*. For *asčēt* we can only gather from Insler's Glossary (1975: 341B) that he regards *as* as a (shortened?) variant of *azəm*; this seems to me very persuasive, seeing that it would represent a simple analogical change based on the alternatives of the 2. sg.: *tū—tvām*, that is *tū—tu-am*.

As to the introductory clause *yā maibyā yaoš*, it is in the light of our results pretty clear that *yaoš*, as a genitive, can only mean «of (the sphere of) life, salvation». The relative clause is therefore to be interpreted as «(to him) who is my salvation, my saviour». This interpretation is of course incompatible with the view that the normally found verbal part *dā-* is here simply omitted. On our interpretation it is the verb 'to be' that is, in accordance with general rules, omitted, and it is to be doubted in any case whether any other (autosemantic!) verb can be omitted. It is usually assumed that this omission would find a parallel in *māng* (Y. 48,2) and *mām* (Y. 53,4) but once again I must agree with Insler that *yā māng* in the former passage is *yāmāng*, the genitive of a noun *yāman* = Vedic *yāman*, while *mām* is so obscure that it cannot be used. And it is hard to imagine that the third member of the group, *zrazdā-* could ever be represented by its nominal part *zraz* or *zrad* (35).

(34) See NARTEN 1975: 84, but our passage is only cursorily mentioned p. 83.

(35) I may be allowed to add here a note on the putative Old Persian variant of this word. As is known, the Biblical hapax '*drzd*', which occurs at Ezra 7,23, and is interpreted 'diligently', has been traced to OP **drzdā*, allegedly a variant of Avestan *zrazdā* 'faithful' (see, e. g., MAYRHOFER 1976: 386). But the context suggests something different. Ezra 7,23 says (according to the New English Bible): «Whatever is demanded by the God of Heaven, let it be ... carried out for the house of the God of Heaven». The word left blank is surely not 'glaubens-treu' but either the traditional 'diligently', or, better still, 'strictly'. It must therefore be interpreted as deriving from OP **ādrzdā*, the instrumental, used as an adverb, of the PPP **ā-drzda-* of the (Av.) verb *ā-darz-* 'confirmare, uincire'. For the adverb compare '*sprn'*' (cf. HENNING ap. G. R. DRIVER, *Aramaic documents of the fifth century B. C.*, 1965, pp. 76, 101) which represents **usprnā*, the participle well-known from Middle Iranian, and now also from Elamite *usbrna* (see HENNING, o.c., 101), while the late Avestan *aspərənō* (probably *-nu*, certainly not an *s*-stem!) represents the late pronunciation, see SZEMERÉNYI, «KZ» 76, 1959, 73¹.

3.3. There are no doubt other, post-Gathic, passages which still reflect the original meaning of *yauš* and *yaoždā*; they would deserve a special investigation. Here I should merely point to the well-known statement of the Ardvīšūr Yašt where it is said (Yt. 5,2):

yā vīspanam aršnam xšudrā yaoždādaīti

yā vīspanam hāirišinam zaēai garəwā yaoždādaīti.

For this Bartholomae offers the following translation: «(Ardvī), die aller Männer Samenflüssigkeiten vollkommen macht, die aller Weiber Mutterleiber für die Geburt vollkommen macht» (36). It is hardly worth arguing at length that Ardvī is not expected to make the sperm and the womb «perfect». Nor is it acceptable, either for the context, or for what we now know about the word, to render *yaoždā* simply by 'bereitet (läutert)' (37). Since the passage continues: «die alle Weiber leicht gebären macht», it is pretty clear that *yaoždā* still means 'to fill, endow with vital force' — that is what both sperm and womb are in need of.

3.4. To conclude this section, a few words on Latin *iūs* which, as we have seen, has been frequently connected, even equated, with Aryan **yauš* since 1855 (38).

3.4.1. To be sure, the equation is usually presented without any discussion of the formal and semantic problems involved. And yet it is a fact that *iūs* derives not from **yous* or **yeus* but **yewos* (as is shown by IOVESTOD on the Lapis Niger, and perhaps by IOVESAT of the Duenos-inscription) (39), and a nil-grade form **yeu-s-* from the *-es-* stem **yewos* could only be accepted in derivation, not in the independent form represented by *yoh*.

The semantic aspect of the equation has been treated exhaustively by Dumézil and Benveniste but their disquisitions are purely speculative. Thus Dumézil reaches the conclusion (1948: 104) that *yauš* is (1) «état optimum... à atteindre à partir d'un état donné», (2) «état normal à restaurer à partir d'un état souillé ou malade»

(36) See WOLFF, *Avesta*, 1924, 166.

(37) LOMMEL 1927: 32.

(38) To mention just a few pronouncements since the last war, cp. DUMÉZIL 1948: 95 f. (*iūs* = *yauš*); WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *Ai. Gr.* II 2, 1954, 233; HAVERS, *Die Religion der Urindogermanen* (in F. KÖNIG, ed., *Christus und die Religionen der Erde* II, 1961, 697-748), 721 (*yoh* = *iūs*, though this from **yowos!*); DUMÉZIL 1969: 31 f. (*iūs* from **yowos* but connected with **yauš*); PISANI, in «Studi in onore di G. Scherillo» II, 1972, 916 (*iūs* = *yoh*); SANDOZ, «Univ. Bern, Arbeitspapiere» 10, 1973 (same); DURANTE, in «Atti del 6. Convegno», Milan 1977, 53-54 (same).

(39) See my note on the etymology of *iūs* in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* s. v.

(40), while Benveniste opines (1969: 112) that *yoh* «doit être 'bonheur, santé'», and (113) **yous* meant «l'état de régularité, de normalité qui est requis par des règles rituelles».

3.4.2. All these speculations can now be put to rest. Since *yauš* is the genitive of *āyu* 'life force', the hazy and fuzzy definitions can be ignored, and the equation with *iūs* must be abandoned. We may feel sorry for the loss, but there is no isogloss **yous* connecting Indo-Iranian and Italo-Celtic.

For the Latin word we must no doubt return to the old suggestion (41) that **yewos* is an abstract noun formed on the verbal base **yeu-* 'to bind'; its meaning was therefore 'binding', 'a formula that binds, obliges', and so 'law, right' but also 'oath' (42).

A secondary problem is the verb *iūrāre*, from **yewes-ā*, and here I am in agreement with Benveniste (1969: 118): «on définira *iurare* comme 'prononcer le *iūs*'». But we must still account for the derivation, and here the notion of delocutive verb, introduced by Debrunner, and named appropriately by Benveniste (43), supplies the key to the solution. Just as *salūtem dicere* is summed up in *salūtāre*, to say *autem* in *autumare*, so to pronounce a *iūs* ('oath') is **yewes-ā*, Classical *iūrāre*.

4. Having cleared up the problems of Aryan *yauš* we may now return to the complementary Vedic *šam*. Concerning its origin (see I.1. above), we can first make the following negative statements.

(1) Connection with the verbal root *šami-*, on the assumption that from 'ritual work' there was a development to 'weal, Heil', is to be ruled out not only because of the unlikelihood of the semantic change but also because of the formal unacceptability of a noun *šam* without the second constituent vowel of the disyllabic root: by normal derivational processes the result should have been an *i*-stem **šami-*, attested perhaps in, e. g., *sušami* and even *šamī* f.

(2) The ingenious suggestion that *šam* is from an early **pšvam*, so attractive, at first sight, semantically, is now to be given up on the elementary grounds that a collocation of 'cattle' with the genitival *yoh* 'of the vital force' does not make sense.

(40) This is almost verbatim reproduced in DUMÉZIL 1969: 40.

(41) See WALDE-POKORNY I 203: **yewos* 'Satzung, Fug', vielleicht als 'Verbindlichkeit' zu **yeu-* 'verbinden'; and cp. POKORNY, *IEW* 512.

(42) Compare with this BENVENISTE's idea (1969: 119) that *iūs* reflects «la notion i-e. de conformité à une règle, de conditions à remplir ...».

(43) See DEBRUNNER, «Fs. Vasmer», 1956, 116 f.; BENVENISTE, «Studia L. Spitzer», 1958, 57 f.; and most recently BREKLE, «Sprachwissenschaft» 1, 1976, 357-378.

4.1. Our positive suggestions have to start from the fact that *yoh* is the original genitive of the neuter *āyu* 'life force' (44). It follows at once that in the collocation *šam yoh* a genitival construction, *šam* must be a neuter noun functioning as a nominative or accusative, cf. 2.1.1. and 2.1.2. above.

It also follows that originally only the collocation *šam yoh* was admissible. The collocation *šamčā yošča* could only come into being when the construction, together with its constituent members, became blurred, and the isolated *yoh* was felt to be of the same syntactic class as *šam*; the same applies, of course, to the single instance of *šam yošča*. This conclusion is borne out by the fact (see 2.6. above) that the «original» *šam yoh* occurs *twenty times*, while the variant with the connective(s) appears four times only.

4.2. Our next question must be: what is *šam*? Since the collocation *šam yoh*, being of a general beneficial sense, cannot suggest anything else but a beneficial change in *yoh*, we must conclude that *šam* expresses something like «increase». This inevitably leads to the further conclusion that *šam* must represent a dissimilated **švam*, derived from the root *šū-*, present *švayati* 'swells, increases, grows'; so the original meaning of *šam yoh* was 'swelling, increase, growth of the life force'.

The Indianist might, at first blush, think that, although this interpretation may be the truth, it cannot be substantiated. But a glance beyond the pale, so to speak, brings the definitive proof.

4.3. For there can be no doubt whatsoever that the form **švam*, postulated as the proto-form of *šam* is in fact well-known in its Avestan avatar, i. e. *spān*, and its privative counterpart *aspān*. Both occur at Y. 45,9:

tām nā vohū mat manañhā čixšnušō
yā nā usān čōrəṭ spāncā aspāncā,
aspān once more (?) at Y. 34,7.

Bartholomae (1904: 1616) posited a neuter *ā*-stem (!) (45) *spā* 'Gedeihen, Glück', no doubt because of the adjective *spā-van-* 'der des (ewigen) Glücks teilhaftig ist, selig' (1618), and the verb *spā* 'proficere', present-stem *spanv-*, *spānv-* (1616).

But both «cognates» are very feeble as a support. The adjective, a hapax if correct, occurs in a context (Yt. 13,86) where it hardly

(44) It may be recalled here (see 1.2. above) that Thieme noticed that *yoh* might be connected with *āyuh* but unfortunately continued to see in it the nom.-acc.

(45) Meant, of course, as a root-noun.

makes sense, so that Lommel saw himself forced to adopt the less well supported manuscript reading *staoyō* 'der beiden Welten' (1927: 122²: «mir allein verständlich zu sein scheint»). Nor can the verbal base *spā-* claim any greater probability. Apart from an obscure passage in the Haḍōxt Nask (I 4: *spanvanti*), it occurs only at Y. 51,21, where

hvō ... ašəm spānvat

was taken by Bartholomae to mean 'ein solcher fördert das Aša'. But Humbach ingeniously suggested (1959b: 93) that *spānvat* was the nom. sg. ntr. of an adjective *spān-vant-* (46), and the clause *ašəm spānvat mazdā dadāt ahurō* to be translated (1959a: 156) as: 'M. A. soll heilträchtige Wahrhaftigkeit verleihen'; and this morphological interpretation of the word has now been accepted by Insler (1975: 109, 321): 'virtuous is truth', a nominal sentence. But even if Nyberg (1938: 93) and Bailey (1967b: 138⁴) should be right in taking *spānvat* as a verbal form from a verbal base *spān-* < **svan-* < **sū-an-*, there would still be no room left for Bartholomae's **spā*.

In these circumstances, there can be no doubt that Humbach was right (1959b: 64) in regarding *spān* as the base-word of the well-known adjective *spān-ta-* (47), with comparative *span-yah-*, superlative *spān-išta-*, remarking that «merkwürdig ist die Stammbildung des ohne Zweifel ganz altertümlichen *spān/spān*», a point to which we shall return presently. In any case, we have to do with a neuter singular, and not, as assumed by Bartholomae, with a neuter accusative plural form whose ending was due to the *n*-stems. But Humbach's further assumption that either *spān* or *aspān* «mit zweigipfligem *ā* zu lesen ist» seems to me very unlikely; the missing syllable is, in my view, in the verb which should be read as *čarat*, the aorist subjunctive used as a future as is the case at Y. 46,4; the deformation is due to Y. 44,7, that is the rarer form was replaced by the more frequent one (48).

But what is the meaning of *spān* — *aspān*? Bartholomae's «Gedeihen, Glück» and «Unglück, Leid» are replaced by «wirksame, nützende Kraft, Wirksamkeit» and «its opposite» in Nyberg's discussion (1938: 93), by «Heil und Unheil» in Humbach, while Insler thinks that «the virtuous and the unvirtuous» are the right words. But these terms are so obviously and exclusively person-oriented that they cannot be accepted even as approximate equivalents for

(46) Actually, this solution had been advocated as far back as 1872 by Martin Haug, see HAUG-WEST, *The book of Arda Viraf*, 305¹.

(47) This was, of course, first seen by NYBERG 1938: 93.

(48) For the principle seen INSLER 1975: 13 f.

these Avestan words, let alone for *spənta-* (Insler 1975: 117). And when for the second occurrence of the privative at Y. 34,7, it is suggested (Insler 223) that *sənghūs ... aspən* belong together and mean «immoral decrees», then one must say that «immoral» is not very different from the traditional «unholy», and, rather more damagingly, that the form would have to be *aspənən* in the acc. pl., if, as is obviously the case, *aspən* is taken to be an *n*-stem (48a). Moreover, it should not be passed over in silence that, according to Nyberg (1938: 93), *aspən* here represents a different word, *ā-span-* 'förderlich, wirksame Kraft gebend', which (as *a-span-* 'nutzbringend') is admitted for Y. 42,2, even by Bartholomae (1904: 217).

A further point made by Insler (260) concerns *nā usən cōrət*. He thinks that an interpretation like Humbach's: «(der) uns nach Belieben (Heil und Unheil) schafft», «cannot be correct, simply because *kar* never means 'create, etc.'». But he overlooks that *nā (a)spən kar-* is no different from *skəndəm šē ... kar-* 'to cause a break for someone's ...» (Y. 9,28), or Darius' *naiy tunuvatam zūra akunavam* (DB IV 65) 'nor to ther powerful did I do wrong', etc., see Bartholomae 1904: 445, 3-4 (49).

The upshot of all this is that *spən* and *aspən* are still to be taken as 'increase' and 'diminution', or, simply, 'Heil' and 'Unheil'. Accordingly, Y. 45,9ab, with a slight shift from Insler's translation of *b*, must be interpreted thus:

«I shall try to gratify him for us with good thinking, him who will allocate to us prosperity or the lack of it according to his own will».

This interpretation finds striking confirmation in what follows in the same strophe, i. e. the wish that cattle and men might prosper:

pasūš vīrəng ahmākəng fradaəi.ā.

But just as interesting and of considerable probative force is the observation that the Avestan pair *spən — aspən* has an exact correspondence in Vedic *śam — aśam*, cf. AV 2,25,1:

śam no devī pṛśnīparṇyaśam nirṛtyā akah,

translated by Whitney as:

«weal for us, woe (*aśam*) for Nirṛti ('perdition') hath the divine spotted-leaf made»;

of additional interest is the construction *śam* (or: *aśam*) *no kar-* since, as we have seen above, it has been questioned whether Gathic *nā ...*

(48a) There is no justification for a neuter *sənghūs*.

(49) Note also HAUDRY's suggestion (1977: 278) that **k^wer-* (like **dhē-*) developed the meaning 'to do' from an earlier 'to place'.

cōrət spənčā aspənčā could be taken in that sense. But instead of «weal-woe» we should perhaps retain «prosperity — the lack of it», as suggested for Y. 45,9 above.

4.4. Before we go any farther, we must ask ourselves whether we can regard it as certain that the initial cluster of *spən-* derives from *św-*, and not from *sp-*. For, as is known, Bartholomae thought (1904: 1616, 1621) that his verb **spā-* 'proficere' continued IE **sp(h)ē-*, Ind. *sphā-*, the noun **spā-* could represent a merger of this *sphā-* with *św-*, while *spənta-*, as shown by OCS *svetū* and Lithu. *šventas* 'holy', must derive from *św-*, IE *k^w-*. But now that we have established that *spənta-* is based on *spən*, that there is no noun **spā-*, and that even **spā-* must be abandoned in favour of either a derivative of *spən* or a verbal base *span-* representing **k^wen-*, there is no reason for looking for any trace of IE **sp(h)ē-* in our group.

But since this decision primarily rests on external evidence, namely on the Balto-Slav words, it is not superfluous to recall that the same can be proved on purely Iranian evidence.

This was first noticed by Hübschmann. At first he felt doubtful about de Lagarde's suggestion that Arm. *Spandaramet*, the name of Dionysus in Christian writings, and *sandaramet-k'* 'γῆ κάτω', *sandarametakan* 'καταχθόνιος', represented Iranian variants of Avestan *spəntā ārmaitiš*, also used as the name of the earth; but later he recognized that the variation *sp-/s-* represented the NW and SW developments of early *św-*, IE **k^w-* (50). This argument was clinched by Bailey's discovery of relevant data in Khotanese Saka (51). In contrast to Avestan, this Iranian dialect keeps IE *sp* and *k^w* distinct as *sp* and *śś* (cf. *aśśa* 'horse') respectively. Hence Saka *śśandā* 'earth' and *ysamaśśandā* 'ground, soil, earth' (from *zam-śwantakā*) definitively prove that Av. *spənta-*, and then of course the basic *span-* also, cannot derive from IE **sp-* but only from IE **k^wen-* (52).

4.5. Having secured this important point of phonetics, we can now briefly survey the cognates available for Iranian *span-*, *spənta-*. The most important are as follows (53).

(50) This summary of Hübschmann's «development» is based on MEILLET's report (1921: 235) that Hübschmann entered in his own copy of the *Armenische Grammatik* «the correct explanation».

(51) See BAILEY 1934: 287-294; 1967b: 138.

(52) In the light of these data it is incomprehensible how GONDA could as late as 1949 against Bailey and Nyberg defend Geiger's impossible derivation of *spənta-* from Aryan **pan-* (esp. 1949: 196, 202).

(53) Of particular importance for the problems involved are BARTHOLOMAE 1904; BAILEY 1934, 1967b; NYBERG 1938: 91-95; HUMBACH 1959ab; BENVENISTE 1969: 182-194; KELLENS 1974, 1975; INSLER 1975.

(1) The basic verbal root *sū-*, thematic *sava-* (cf. Ind. *bhū-bhava-*), is, contrary to the oft repeated statement of grammars and dictionaries, not attested in Avestan in the sense of 'swelling'. The root *spā(y)-* 'aufschwellen', posited by Bartholomae (1904: 1617), does not exist. The participle *sispimnō* (Yt. 19,67) gets, by incredible acrobatics, the meaning 'etwas aufschwellen, schwellend emportreiben' ascribed to it, whereas it obviously simply indicates that the river 'hurls, throws up waves' and clearly belongs with the well-known verb *spā-* 'throw' (54); the further instances of *fra-spā-*, interpreted as 'etwas prunkend zur Schau tragen', again cannot be derived from 'swell' but will likewise reflect *spā-* 'throw', cf. Lat. *iactāre* 'to speak boastfully of, brag about; brag, boast; to display, parade, show off', see the Oxford Latin Dictionary, 814 f.

Nonetheless, the basic root *sū-* is attested as a root-noun in Av. **sū-*, dat. sg. *suyē* = *suwai* (cf. *duyē* = *duwai* 'two'), in all probability meaning '(crée) (: *taštō*) pour la prospérité' (Y. 49,9) (55), and not '(fashioned) to save' (56). No doubt the same form appears, but this time written *savōi*, at Y. 43,12: it probably also means 'pour la prospérité' (57).

As is known, a noun which as a simplex functions as an abstract, usually fills the role of an agent noun in a compound. This holds in the case of *sū-* also: the adjective (!) *yavaē-sū-* which, coupled with *yavaē-ji-* 'immerwährend Leben habend, immer lebend', appears three times in the Avesta, once applied to *ahū-* 'Menschheit (?)', twice to the Immortals, means 'immer gedeihend', 'qui prospère pour l'éternité' (58). And the same will apply to *zavanō. sū-*, attested twice in Late Avestan; its meaning is in all likelihood 'qui prospère par l'oblation', and not 'der auf Anruf, wenn gerufen, hilft' (59).

(2) A clear verbal formation is found in the Gathic *sūidyāi* (Y. 44,2; 49,3), built with the exclusively infinitival suffix *-dyāi* (Ind. *-dhyai*) on the verbal base *sū-*. Its meaning is best approximated by 'um Kraft zu spenden', 'pour la prospérité', hardly by '(the loving man or truth) is to be saved' (60).

(54) This **spā-* also derives from **kwā-* as is shown by OPers. *niy-a-saya* 'sent down, placed', cf. BENVENISTE, «BSL» 47, 1951, 24 f.

(55) KELLENS 1974: 100, 1975: 187 f.; cf. also HUMBACH 1959a: 144 (: 'zur Kraftspendung geschaffen').

(56) INSLER 1975: 299.

(57) See KELLENS 1974: 101; cf. HUMBACH (1959a: 114) : 'um (die Beine) zu kräftigen'. Quite different is INSLER's interpretation (1975: 238) : loc. of *sava-* 'at the (time of) salvation'.

(58) BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 1266; KELLENS 1974: 101; 1975: 188.

(59) See KELLENS 1974: 102 f., as against BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 1669.

(60) HUMBACH 1959a: 142, b: 54; KELLENS 1974: 53, as against INSLER 1975: 243, 297.

(3) A further infinitive is *savayō* at Y. 51,9, formed on the present stem *savaya-* attested at Yt. 13,129 (: *ahūm astvantəm sāvayāt*); it is clearly a causative, and therefore it is more likely to mean 'mach (den Wahrften) stark' than 'to save (the truthful)' (61).

(4) A number of Gathic passages present forms for which Bartholomae (1904: 1561) posited *sava-* m. n. and *savā* f. 'Nutzen, Vorteil' but probably a single *sava-* n. will suffice, apparently only found in the plural; the passages are Y. 30,11; 44,12; 45,7; 48,1; 51,15 (since Y. 43,12 has been removed above under 1). The meaning is again more likely to be 'Kräfte' or 'Kräftespendungen' rather than 'salvation' which several times has to be expanded into 'the means of salvation' or 'the times of salvation' (62).

(5) In five gathic passages *savō* (Y. 34,3; 51,20), *savayhō* (Y. 43,3; 51,2), and *savayham* (Y. 28,9) appear, obviously members of the same paradigm. Bartholomae (1904: 1562) posited for them a neuter substantive *savah-* 'Nutzen, Vorteil', while Humbach attributes the meaning 'Kraft', and Insler separates a noun *savō* 'salvation' from an adjective *savah-* 'mighty', referring twice to Ahura Mazda, once to 'the mighty ones'. It is clear that there is no justification for differentiating two different words with such different meanings. Only the substantive *savah-* 'power, strength' is to be acknowledged.

(6) No doubt here belongs the important term *saošyant-* which for Bartholomae described the 'Retter, Heiland', but has more recently become the more literal 'Kraftspender' (Humbach) (63), 'celui qui invigore' (Kellens 1975: 204), or 'those who shall save', 'the saviors' (64).

(7) An important adjectival derivative appears as *sūra-*. Oddly enough, it is not found in the Gathas, although the complete agreement of *sūra-*, superlative *səvišta-*, with Ind. *śūra-*, *śaviṣṭha-* guarantees its existence for the Aryan period, if not for IE times. The meaning can be established without equivocation as 'strong, powerful', applicable to both gods and humans (65).

(8) The Gathic hapax *spayaəra-* (Y. 30,10) was interpreted by Bartholomae (1904: 1612) as 'Gedeihen, Erfolg, Glück', formed on a present-stem **spaya-* (cf. Ind. *gāyatra-*) in which, possibly, a **śwaya-* and a **sphaya-* were merged. The meaning is retained by

(61) HUMBACH 1959a: 152, b: 88; INSLER 1975: 315.

(62) See HUMBACH 1959, and INSLER 1975, to the passages enumerated.

(63) E. g. HUMBACH 1959a: 108 (: 34,13), 129 (: 46,3).

(64) INSLER 1975: 265 (: 46,3), 292 (: 48,12).

(65) See BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 1584 f.; KELLENS 1975: 192.

Insler ('prosperity') but the form is explained from *spā-* 'grow strong, prosperous' in that **spaHatra-* is said to have replaced the lost laryngeal to prevent contraction (1975: 174). This is an unlikely phonetic assumption, and as we have seen *spā-* is not attested; if one wanted to maintain the essence of the analysis one could start from **spay-a-ti* (IE **kw-ey-e-*, see 4.2. above) which is equatable with the attested Ind. *švayati* whereas *švā-* only appears in *švānta-*, *švātra-*, not in the verbal inflection. Humbach's attempt (1959b: 23) to derive *spayaera-* 'Sühnung' from *spayeiti* 'nimmt (Sünden) fort' cannot be right since this verb is simply 'to throw away' and so, if at all, 'delete', whereas 'expiation' is not just 'throwing away' (66).

In view of the far from clear meaning and the difficulties involved in the explanations offered this word must be left out of account in our enquiry.

(9) The compound *zavanō.sva* of the Mithra-hymn (Yt. 10,76) has been interpreted by Bartholomae (1904: 1669) as nom. sg. of a stem *zavanō.svan-*, and of the same meaning as *zavanō.sū-*, discussed above under (1). This interpretation has been kept by Gershevitch (1959: 109): «you bring profit when invoked». Duchesne-Guillemin queried the form (1936: 109), since *sv-*, he argued, should have given *sp-*, and therefore thought that the form was to be read *-savan-*; unfortunately it cannot be ruled out that an early *-suv-an-* (67) could have been reduced to *-svan-*. But Kellens now advocates a much more radical course: he thinks that *-sva* is perhaps simply a misspelling for *-suš*, and so this word identical with *zavanō.sū-* dealt with above. This means that *sv-an*, from **suv-an-* or **sav-an-*, cannot be regarded as established for this compound (68).

(66) This **spai-* might be the basis of the enlarged **spai-k-* which appears in Middle Iranian with the basic meaning 'to emit', developing into 'blossom' and 'shine', cf. BAILEY 1967a: 374; EMMERICK 1968: 151; and for a different explanation HENNING, «BSOAS» 12, 1947, 47.

(67) As is known, in an interesting paper K. HOFFMANN has suggested (1976: 378-383) that IE had a possessive suffix *-Hon-* found in, e. g., Av. *maθrā* 'Spruchkennner'. An example not mentioned may be *karapan-*, *karafn-*, name in the Gathas of certain antizoroastrian teachers and priests. In recent years several suggestions have been made — e. g. HENNING 'moaner, mumbler', see GERSHEVITCH 1959: 186; HERTEL: *ka-rapan-* 'wie (= schlecht) redend'; ABAJEV (*Etym. Dict.* I, 1958, 581) : 'greedy, glutton'; BAILEY: 'singer' (in: «Mithraic Studies» I, 1975, 18 fn. 37); M. SCHWARTZ: 'supplicator' (ibid. 409 fn. 13) — but it seems that we must return to BARTHOLOMAE'S view (1904: 455) that it is formed on a cognate of Ind. *kalpa-* 'rite': this explanation is now as good as proved by the appearance of the Iranian cognate (so far unknown!) in the Aramaic loanword *krp'* 'rite' in the trilingual inscription of Xanthos, see CARRUBA 1978: 292; *karpān* thus meant 'Rituskennner'.

(68) For the Indian words in *-svan-* often connected with this Avestan compound see now MAYRHOFER 1963: 618, 1976: 653 bottom, 776 bottom.

4.6. To turn now to the semantic range of our group. If we try to summarize the facts surveyed in 4.5. (1) - (6), then we can state that in Bartholomae's view the basic notion was 'Nutzen, Vorteil'; only in a few cases was he forced to adopt rather different interpretations such as 'gedeihend', 'helfend', 'Retter' (69). In recent times this trend to a unitary explanation has, if anything, gained momentum. Humbach makes do with 'Kraft', 'kräftigen', and occasionally 'Kraftspendung', 'Kraftspender'; Insler finds the basic idea in 'saving, salvation, saviour' (only 'mighty' strikes a discordant note), while Kellens finds 'prospering, prosperity' adequate (although for *saošyant-* the idea of 'invigorator' is invoked).

Fortunately, there can be no two views about *sūra-*: it is unequivocally 'strong, powerful'.

But with our main group, the closest cognates of Ind. *šam*, we are again in deep waters. For Bartholomae the basic words *spān/aspān* (or rather his **spā-*) were 'Gedeihen, Glück' and 'Unglück, Leid' while for *spānta-* he declared (1904: 1621) that 'heilig' «überall vorzüglich passt», and the same was assumed for *spānah-* 'Heiligkeit'. Since then the tendency has been in the direction of notions more familiar from primitive religions. Assuming for Iranian a basic root **sau-* 'strengthen by supernatural power', Bailey defined *spānta-* as 'possessing supernatural power', and *spanah-* as 'supernatural power' (70), while for Nyberg (1938: 93) *span-* (= *spān*) meant 'wirksame, nützende Kraft, Wirksamkeit', and *span-ta-* 'mit *span-* ausgerüstet, versehen', that is 'mit wirksamer Kraft versehen', or simply 'wirksam'. In Humbach's translation we get 'Heil/Unheil' and 'heilvoll', while Insler uses the all-purpose terms '(the) virtuous — (the) unvirtuous'.

This renewed trend towards one-to-one correspondences between Avestan and German or English terms may seem laudable but can lead to quite unrealistic results. Bailey rightly criticized (1934: 289) Lommel for rendering *spānta-* (1929: 44 f.) everywhere by 'klug'; it is indeed hardly credible that *gaospānta* should have the meaning 'o wise cow'. But 'possessing supernatural power' can have its own pitfalls, and trying to avoid it by occasional variation, e. g. by rendering *nā spāntō hvō* (Y. 51,21) as 'this constructive man' (71),

(69) In these interpretations he is faithfully followed by BENVENISTE (1969: 183).

(70) See BAILEY 1934: 284, 290 f. He is followed by GERSHEVITCH who renders *spānta-* (1959: 157), after the Pahlavi *aβzōnik*, by the quaint 'incremental' so that the Aməša Spəntas become Incremental Immortals.

(71) So BAILEY 1967b: 138.

is a tricky task with baffling results. Nonetheless, we must not lose sight of the fact that a word may, and usually does, embrace in its synchronous range several different points of its diachronic development. It is enough to recall here Gk. *ἱερός* which, in the Homeric «synchrony», exhibits as its usual meaning 'holy, sacred', but in a phrase like *ἱερόν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο* still preserves an earlier meaning 'powerful', and thus links up with Ind. *iṣira-* 'strong, lively' (72). We can at best claim that the same collocation (e. g. *spāntō mainyuš*) probably bears the same meaning in all its occurrences, but the same word (e. g. *spānta-*) in different collocations will quite possibly, even quite likely, have different meanings.

4.7. These observations encourage us to try and look for a convincing point of departure and a reasonable line of development.

Fortunately, Indian shows that the original meaning of *śū-* was 'increase, thrive, grow' which led to 'strong'. These two points are presented by *śvayati* and *śūra-*, in Iranian by (*yavaē-*)*sū-* and *sūra-*; in addition, as we have seen, *savah-* also shows the meaning 'power, strength', and supplies the exact correspondence to Ind. *śavah*.

But where exactly is *span-* (with *a-span-*, *ā-span-*) and its derivative *span-ta-* to be placed on the line? Both '(supernatural) power' and 'holiness' have been advocated — as if they were mutually exclusive terms, whereas Homeric *ἱερός* should warn us that we must not attempt to enforce one single meaning everywhere but should rather try to find for each passage, or at least for each collocation, the most suitable point in the semantic spectrum. For *spānta-* this should mean a range of variation from 'invigorating/thriving/strong' right down to 'holy'.

Lest a development from 'strong' to 'holy' seem surprising and unlikely, we may point out that this fact is known not only from *ἱερός* (73). Thus Meillet (1914) showed that OIrish *noib* 'holy, sacred' from **noibho-* was derived from **niab* 'vigour, excitement', Welsh *nwyf* 'energy, vigour', from **neibho-*. Gothic *weihs* 'holy' is, in my view, derived from IE **wīs* 'strength, power' (cf. Lat. *uīs*), i. e. represents IE **wī-ko-s* or **wī(y)-iko-s* (74). A further likely instance will be discussed below (4.10.2.).

For the base of *spānta-*, that is *spān*, and its opposite *aspān*, we shall probably best stick to the beginning of the spectrum, i. e. 'pros-

(72) See BENVENISTE 1969: 194 f.

(73) See BENVENISTE 1969: 184 f., and the statement (184): «Le caractère saint et sacré se définit ainsi en une notion de force exubérante et fécondante».

(74) For the rather different traditional view see BENVENISTE 1969: 184 f.

perity — decline', and the same may apply to the expansion *spanah-*, that is 'prosperity' (or 'strength') rather than 'holiness'.

This does not have to mean that Ind. *śam* covered the same range of meanings. In fact, we concluded above (4.2.) that in *śam yoh* it meant 'swelling, increase, growth', that is covered only the beginning of the spectrum. But that even the Vedic word travelled beyond this point seems to be proved by the catalogue of incantations in RV 7,35 (gods should be *śam*, i. e. be or bring 'prosperity' or 'good fortune?') — but without ever reaching the end of the line, 'holiness'.

4.8. Having ascertained the basic semantic range of *śam* there is no need to enter in a discussion of the numerous derivatives such as *śamyu-*, *śantāti-*, *śamgaya-*, etc. But it is worth looking more closely at one special compound.

In the *Śatapatha-Brahmana* (3, 1, 3, 10) we read (75): «then he anoints his two eyes; man's eye is truly sore» —

praśān māmēti ha smāha Yājñavalkyo

«may my eye be fit : thus said Yājñavalkya».

The compound *praśān* was traced by Saussure to *praśān(s)*, from *śami-*, and Bailey is of the same opinion although he assumes a different meaning. But Wackernagel's translation «heil ist mein Auge» (1930: 82) must mean that the word was attached directly to *śam*. Consequently a bahuvrīhi *pra-śam-* meant 'very thriving, very strong' (76). This compound must therefore be added to the list at Mayrhofer 1976: 298.

4.9. We must now examine more closely the morphological implications of the equation worked out in 4.3. As we have seen, Iranian *span-*, especially in the forms in which a vowel, not a dental follows (: *spān-īsta-*, *spanah-*, but also *spanyah-*), postulates an IE **kw-en-* whereas Vedic *śam* points to IE **kw-em-*; a theoretically possible **kw-o-m* would negate the very essence of the equation, the existence of a common Indo-Iranian term. If we wish to maintain the equation, then we have to choose between the two possibilities, **kwen-* and **kwem-*. Unfortunately, a decision is impossible. *A priori*, an IE **kw-en-* is somewhat more probable since the suffix *-en-* is more frequent than *-em-*. But the latter cannot be said to be non-existent, cf. *ghī(y)-em-* 'winter'. If we look at our word as a nominal stem, then again **kw-em-* is a rarity while **kw-en-* is quite frequent; but again

(75) For the passage and its translation see BAILEY 1957: 62.

(76) For the meaning of the prefix see WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER 1930: 284 η2 (: «bedeutend, ausgezeichnet, sehr»); BAILEY 1957: 62 fn. 20 (: «excellent»).

we cannot say that stems in *-em-* did not exist. We thus end up with a *non liquet*, although the general probability is in favour of **kwen-*.

Whichever form should turn out to be the original, the other has to be explained as due to a secondary modification. If **kwen-* was the original form, it is preserved in Iranian, but underwent an assimilation in Vedic to **śvam*, and subsequently a dissimilation to *śam*. If the original form was **kwem-*, then Indian underwent merely a dissimilation from **śvam* to *śam*, while Iranian dissimilated the inherited **spam* to **span*, the process being no doubt supported by the existence of such derivatives as *spanta-*, developed regularly from **spam-ta-*.

4.10 As to the etymon of *śam/span*, we have so far been content with accepting the traditional view that IE **kwen* (or **kwem?*) is derived from **keu-/kṵwā-*. But now we must ask whether the new linguistic material has brought new cognates and/or whether in the light of our results some old material can be seen to be related.

4.10.1. We must first of all note Bomhard's suggestion (1976: 113) that Hitt. *kunna-* 'favourable, good, right' can be derived from IE **kwen-/kṵn-* 'make right; right, good, holy'.

More likely as a cognate is, in my view, another Anatolian term. Luwian *kummai-* 'holy, sacred' has, as we now know (77), survived into Lycian and is represented by a sizeable group based on *kuma-*, e. g. *kumaha* 'objet sacré', *kumezi-* 'to sacrifice', *kumaza* 'ἱερεὺς'. In view of the semantic development 'strong → holy' it seems most likely that Anatolian **kuma-* (**kumma-?*) represents IE **kū-mo-*, cf. **kū-ro-* in Av. *sūra-*.

4.10.2. Finally, our results help to throw light on an old-standing problem. In the Germanic languages, the notion of 'holiness' is expressed by the word **hailaga-* (cf. OHG *heilag*, Germ. *heilig*) which is derived from **haila-* 'whole, hale'; cf. also OHG *heil* 'Heil, Glück'. This Germanic group has its nearest cognates in the Balto-Slav languages, cf. OPrussian *kailūstiskan* 'health', ultimately from **kailu-* which is also the source of OCS *cělū* 'hale, whole', *cělovati* 'greet, kiss'. (78).

A traditional etymology would connect this group with an IE **kai-* 'alone' (see Pokorný, 520) but one is at a loss to see any possibility of bridging the semantic gap. On the other hand, the Balto-Slav group has often been regarded as borrowed from Germanic,

(77) See LAROCHE 1974: 124.

(78) This verb seems to be a delocutive verb like Lat. *salūt-ā-*, *iur-ā-*, *autum-ā-* (see fn. 43 above), and probably represents the original vocative *cělou + ā*; cf. the Homeric greeting with the vocative οὐλε.

rightly in my view. If this is true, then **haila-* can be traced to IE **kwoi-lo-s* (or, because of the BS forms, **kwoi-lu-s*), an adjective derived from **kw-ei-*, an enlargement of **keu-* seen in Ind. *śvayati*. For the development of **kwoilos* to **koilos* note **halsa-* 'Hals', 'neck' from **k^wolso-*, Lat. *collum*.

The Celtic group usually attached (Welsh *coel*, etc.) derives from **kailo-*, and for that reason some scholars trace the whole North European group to an IE **kailo-*, not **koilo-*. But the Celtic group shows only the meaning 'auspicious, haruspicious', and, if related at all, may be borrowed from Germanic **haila-*.

5. To sum up the main results of our paper.

(1) As shown by the evidence of the RV and AV, the original form of the phrase was *śam yoh*; the connective, found 4 times as against 20 instances without it, first became possible when the structure of the phrase, together with the meaning of its members, had become obscured.

(2) As has been suggested before, *yoh* is identical with Av. *yaoš*. But, as has been shown above, *yaoš* is not a nom., but the gen. of *āyu* 'life force'. This explains why *yoh* is not found on its own. It is also clear now that Latin *iūs*, representing an early **yewos* and being of a quite different meaning, cannot have anything to do with *yoh*.

(3) These elementary facts throw light not only on the meaning of Av. *yaoždā-* but also on the structure of *śam yoh*: *śam* is a neuter noun, on which *yoh* depends; consequently, *śam* means, roughly, 'increase'.

(4) This at once clarifies the Avestan cognate of *śam*, i. e. *spān*, the base-word of *spān-ta-*. But the semantic spectrum of the Avestan word is much broader: it spreads from 'increase, thrive, grow' to 'strong, powerful, holy'.

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SUI FENOMENI D'INTERFERENZA LATINA NEI DIALETTI CELTICI INSULARI

I cospicui fenomeni d'interferenza del latino sui dialetti celtici insulari non hanno finora trovato un'adeguata trattazione complessiva (1); e ciò è in chiara connessione con la situazione fortemente deficitaria che questi dialetti presentano nel campo dell'analisi etimologica, della lessicografia, e delle descrizioni diacroniche che non siano a sfondo meramente indoeuropeistico.

Nelle pagine che seguono, quindi, non potremo delineare in tutta la sua ricchezza e complessità l'influsso del latino sul celtico insulare; piuttosto, vorremmo mostrare in concreto quali linee dovrebbe seguire un'indagine su tale materia e, insieme, fornire elementi d'esemplificazione che, almeno in parte, avranno qualche pregio di novità.

Chi oggi ripercorra le opere in cui si studiano, per ripetere la formula tradizionale, gli elementi latini nei dialetti celtici, non può sottrarsi all'impressione che per la maggioranza degli studiosi che hanno trattato tale problema, il concetto d'interferenza linguistica finisca per esaurirsi sostanzialmente in quello di prestito lessicale, analizzato sia nelle modalità di adattamento fonetico che nelle premesse e nelle immediate deduzioni necessariamente connesse a questo genere di ricerca (2). Rivela bene tale punto di vista il fatto stesso che Henry Lewis abbia intitolato «L'elemento latino nella lingua cimrica» il volumetto in cui raccoglie e studia le voci latine nel lessico cimrico (3): in materia d'interferenza, dunque, «lingua» sarebbe mero sinonimo di «vocabolario».

(1) Uno schizzo brevissimo si ha in A. SOMMERFELT, *Some Notes on the Influence of Latin on the Insular Celtic Languages*, in «TCLC» 11 (1957), p. 157 sgg. Osservazioni non sistematiche, naturalmente, si trovano in moltissimi lavori di linguistica celtica, alcuni dei quali avremo occasione di citare nel corso del presente lavoro.

(2) Un problema tipico è qui rappresentato dall'indagine della precisa forma che aveva ogni singola voce latina al momento della sua recezione in celtico. Un lavoro splendido in questo campo è K. H. JACKSON, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh 1953).

(3) H. LEWIS, *Yr Elfen Ladin yn yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Caerdydd 1943).

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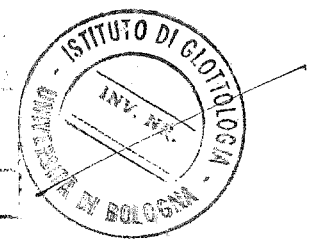
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