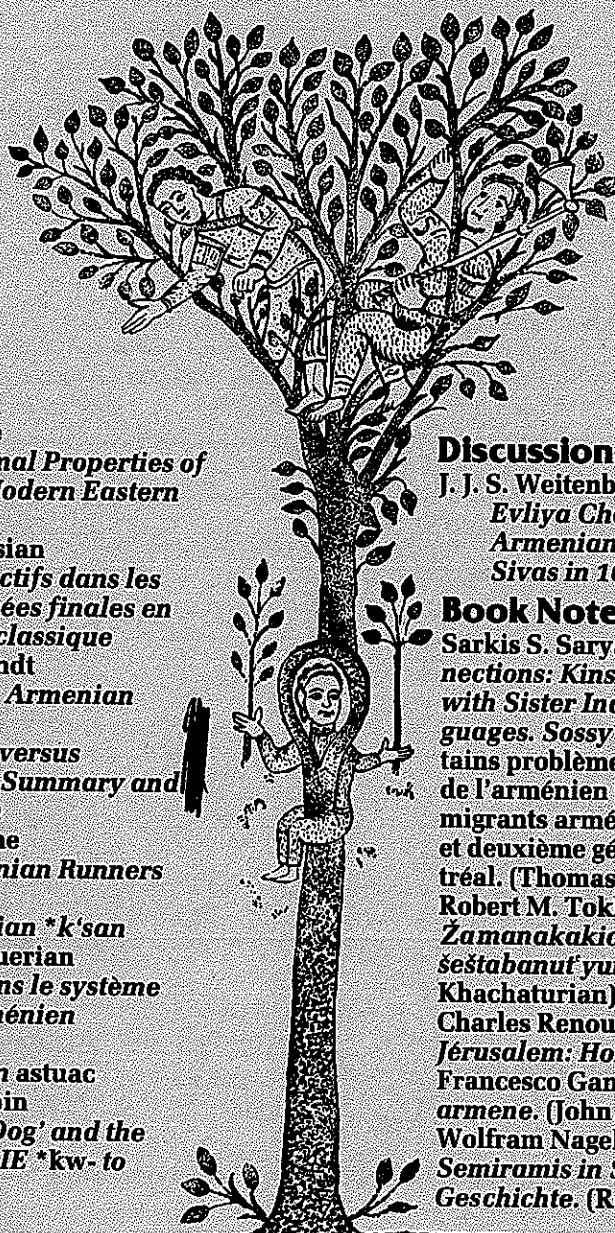


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## **Lindeman versus Kortlandt: Summary and Evaluation**

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The question of a possible relationship between Armenian initial *h*- and the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals is one which has attracted much attention among Armenologists and Indo-Europeanists alike. Two recent positions on this issue — that of Kortlandt (1980, 1983)<sup>1</sup> and that of Lindeman (1982)<sup>2</sup> who responds in part to the first of Kortlandt's articles — are especially interesting and important for this question, for they represent the two extremes on this issue and so are in direct conflict with one another. For that reason, as well as for the fact that this issue is a significant one for Armenian historical phonology and for the "laryngeal theory," a summary and some evaluation of these statements of the opposing sides in this controversy are in order.

Kortlandt's basic claim regarding laryngeals and Armenian #*h*- are that the various laryngeals were neutralized before \**o* in Proto-Indo-European and so were ultimately lost in Armenian without a trace, but before \**e* only the *e*-coloring laryngeal \**E* was lost while the *a*-coloring laryngeal \**A* and the *o*-coloring one \**O* gave Armenian initial *h*-; before consonants (other than \*-*w*-) the laryngeals yielded a prothetic vowel appropriate to their coloring properties. These developments can be summarized as follows (H = any laryngeal, C = any consonant other than \**w*):

- \*Ho ---> Arm. o- (---> *a* under certain conditions; see fn. 6)
- \*Ee ---> Arm. e-
- \*Ae ---> Arm. ha-

- \*Oe- ---> Arm. ho- (---> ha- under certain conditions; see fn. 6)  
 \*EC- ---> Arm. eC-  
 \*AC- ---> Arm. aC-  
 \*OC- ---> Arm. oC- (---> αC- under certain conditions; see fn. 6)

Thus, for Kortlandt, forms which show a fluctuation within Armenian between presence and absence of initial *h-* are the result of the preservation in Armenian of different ablaut grades of a single root, e.g. *ayc* "inspection" from \*Aoi-sk- (cf. OHG *eiscōn* "ask") but *hayc* "inquiry" from \*Aei-sk- (cf. Latin *aeruscāre* "to get money by begging"). For Kortlandt, these observations fit into a system which offers an explanation of the conflicting evidence regarding the coloring of \**o* by \**A* in Greek; neutralization of \**Ao-* to \**Ho-* is of Proto-Indo-European date, but \**A* restored analogically in productive categories, based on *e*-grade forms, in Pre-Greek led to a Pre-Greek coloring of \**Ao-* to *α-*. Thus Greek *ἀγός* "leader" is from (restored) \**Aog-os* while *ὄγμος* "furrow" is from (original) \**Aog-mos*.

Lindeman, on the other hand subscribes to the view that the laryngeals were not maintained as distinct phonological entities into non-Anatolian Indo-European. Much of the data relevant to this claim comes from Greek, but in the course of his discussion, some attention is paid to forms of Armenological interest, including Kortlandt's assessment of the source of initial *h-/Ø-* fluctuation in Armenian.<sup>3</sup> Lindeman and Kortlandt come into direct conflict, therefore, because Kortlandt's scenario requires that Armenian maintained a distinction among the laryngeals at least initially before \**e*, whereas Lindeman explicitly denies that any language outside of Anatolian could have preserved such a distinction.

Lindeman's reaction to Kortlandt's proposals is to label his "way of reasoning . . . wholly circular" (p. 18), in that "an (unexplained) Armenian contrast between *ho-* and *o-* is made the justification of the assumption of an opposition between \**Oe-* and \**Oo-* in Proto-Indo-European, the only vestige of which is the Armenian contrast in question." While there is some justice to Lindeman's words, it is also true that Kortlandt was following a methodology not unlike that which, for instance, confronts Greek dialectal forms such as Aeolic *βλήεαο* versus Attic *δέλεαο* "bait" and explains them as \**g<sup>w</sup>lE-* versus \**g<sup>w</sup>elE-*.<sup>4</sup> In both cases, well-known principles of Indo-European morphology (i.e., ablaut) are employed, and there is independent justification for the phonological elements involved (e.g., full-grade *ae-* in Latin pointing to \**A-* in (h)*ayc*', other dental/labial alternations in Greek suggesting a labiovelar and cognate forms like Latin *glutiō* "swallow

down" which are consistent with a labiovelar); the only difference is that one has to infer the dialects in the case of Armenian, while in Greek they are explicitly determinable. Moreover, Kortlandt's proposal fits into a system which explains phenomena other than the particular Armenian problem in question. Thus Lindeman's methodological objections really carry no force here.

However, Kortlandt can be criticized for dealing with too abstract a phonological representation. The \*a which resulted from contact between \*e and a root-initial \*A would have been a nonalternating \*a so that in such a root relexicalization of the (pre-) Proto-Indo-European underlying \*Ae- to underlying \*/Aa-/ would have been likely. Similarly, the \*Oe- which Kortlandt claims contrasted with \*Ho- is likely at the Proto-Indo-European level after laryngeal-induced coloring to have been \*Oo- instead; thus only by assuming something akin to the ordering diachronically of laryngeal-neutralization before \*o prior to the coloring of \*e to \*o by \*O can Kortlandt get his system to work.<sup>5</sup> In any case, it is unlikely that the full range of contrasts indicated by Kortlandt was actually viable, and the relevant surface contrasts may actually only have been \*Aa- versus \*Ao- (= \*Ho-).

These objections notwithstanding, the true test of Kortlandt's and Lindeman's claims must come from a consideration of the relevant Armenian forms themselves, whether or not each can successfully account for the crucial forms. Despite the fact that the two positions conflict with one another so directly, it turns out that with regard to some forms, i.e., those in which Armenian shows initial a- and there is direct evidence for an initial laryngeal in Hittite and/or a Greek prothetic α-, Lindeman and Kortlandt show some agreement, although Kortlandt does not specifically comment on these particular forms.

Such cases include *astl* "star" (cf. Greek ἀστήρ, Hittite *ha-aš-te-ir-za*) and *arew* "sun," *areg-akn* "sun" (if the proposed etymological connection with Hittite *har(u)wanai*- "it clears up entirely" [Eichner *Sprache* 24.144ff.] is correct). For Lindeman, *astl* could derive from zero-grade \*Ast- or o-grade \*Aost- (though he prefers the zero-grade explanation), while for Kortlandt, it has to derive from the zero-grade \*Ast-.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, *arew* and *areg-akn* could reflect \*A(e/o)r- or \*O(e/o)r- for Lindeman, but only \*Ar- or \*Or- (with \*or- weakened to ar-, see fn. 6) for Kortlandt. To the extent that Kortlandt's "system" serves to narrow down in a nonarbitrary manner the range of possible reconstructions here, it is perhaps to be preferred, *ceteris paribus*.

Other things are not equal, though, for several additional forms on which Lindeman and Kortlandt show considerably less agree-

ment. For example, regarding *anun* "name," Lindeman hesitates over accepting a laryngeal explanation of the prothetic *a-* inasmuch as the *ε-* of Greek *ἔνυμα* (-κατιδῆς) would point to *\*E-* and thus a preservation of a distinct laryngeal reflex in Greek for the *e*-coloring laryngeal initially. Lindeman notes (p. 64) that the Armenian *a-* might reflect an earlier *e* with the change to *a* before "u in the following syllable . . . [as in] *vat'sun* '60' for expected *\*vet'sun*," and thus feels that the prothetic vowels of Greek and Armenian for this word could well "be of non-laryngeal origin." Kortlandt here would argue for a laryngeal derivation of *a-*, presumably from *\*E(e)n-*, with vowel-affection as described above, for he explicitly states that he operates within a system with no vowel-initial roots in Proto-Indo-European (1983: 12). It is worth pointing out, though, that in the absence of a clear indication of the morphology of "name" in Proto-Indo-European, it is hard to draw convincing conclusions here.

Similarly, Lindeman and Kortlandt are at odds regarding *arawr* "plough" and (apparently) related forms, including *harawunk'* "field, arable land." Whereas the *Ø-/h-* alternation here for Kortlandt represents the preservation in Armenian of *\*ArO-* versus *\*AerO-*, respectively, Lindeman must deny the connection of *harawunk'* with *arawr*, Greek *ἀρόω* "I plough," etc., on the grounds that "it is attested in the Bible (Amos 9, 13) with the meaning 'sowing, seed time' *ew xaycesc'i xalol i harawuns* 'and the grapes shall ripen at seed time'" (p. 18); here, though, Lindeman was a bit hasty, for *harawunk'* is used to translate Greek *ἄρουρα* "tilled or arable land," a derivative of the verb *ἀρόω*, in John Chrysostom.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, Kortlandt's explanation is to be preferred.

Finally, both Lindeman and Kortlandt must resort to some *ad hoc* steps with regard to (h)*aganim* "put on clothes." Lindeman says nothing about the aspirated variant, and presents a derivation of *aganim* from a preform *\*x<sup>w</sup>ew-* (= *\*Oew-*) via a dissimilation of labiality to *\*xew-* (= *\*Aew-*), though such a dissimilation only seems feasible if the *o*-coloring laryngeal was indeed phonetically a labialized consonant like a [x<sup>w</sup>]. Kortlandt, on the other hand, starts with a root *\*Aew-*<sup>8</sup> from which *hag-* is regular; corresponding unaspirated verbal forms (*ag-*) must be analogical, inasmuch as the verbal stem was not an ablauting one, based on related *o*-grade forms where *ag-* would be regular. Though an *ad hoc* move, it is certainly no more so than Lindeman's assumption of a dissimilation, and is based on the sound changes Kortlandt has motivated elsewhere.

To sum up, then, it seems that Lindeman's objections and counter-analyses are not sufficient to overturn Kortlandt's hypotheses about laryngeals and Armenian *h-*. Although Kortlandt's

analyses themselves are not without some problems, the fact that the various pieces hang together to form a coherent and internally consistent system is impressive, especially since Lindeman's counter-proposals appear to be more piece-meal in nature. In fairness to Lindeman, though, and in view of the need for some revisions to Kortlandt's system, it must be admitted that the last word on this issue probably has not yet been said, though Kortlandt has made significant steps toward resolving it.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> "H<sub>2</sub>O and oH<sub>2</sub>," *Lingua Posnaniensis* 23 (1980), 127-128; "Notes on Armenian Historical Phonology III (h-)," *Studia Caucasica* 5 (1983), 9-16.

<sup>2</sup> *The triple representation of Schwa in Greek and some related problems of Indo-European phonology*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget (The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Serie B: Skrifter, LXV).

<sup>3</sup> Because Lindeman's monograph concentrates on Greek, Armenologists might well overlook it; hence, I mention here some of the Armenian forms Lindeman discusses which are not directly connected with the initial laryngeal controversy:

a. *di-k* "gods": here Lindeman (p. 45) offers another etymology, no better or worse than the many others suggested for this word, taking it to be from \**dhwēs-* "the lengthened grade of \**dhwes-* seen in Lith. *dvesiù* 'I breathe'" (cf. also *dvasià* "spirit" and MHG *ge-twās* "ghost") and therefore unrelated to Greek *θεός*.

b. *ač'k* "eyes": Lindeman (p. 47-8) explains this as from \**ok'ye*, with \*-ye from a hypercharacterized dual \*-i + \*-e, an entirely reasonable explanation which parallels the traditional account of Greek *ὄσσε* "two eyes."

c. *akanjk* "ears": for this form, Lindeman (p. 39) starts from \**awsn-ā* and derives *akanjk* via contamination from *ač'* "eye" to give *awan-č'*, a dissimilation of [...gh... 3h...] to [...g... 3h...] and a phonemic reinterpretation of the resulting [g] as [k] with a subsequent phonetic realization as [k]; while perhaps no less successful an account than others that have been proposed for this troublesome form, it is hardly a compelling scenario.

d. *dalar* "fresh, green": in refuting the claim that medial \**ə* gave *a* in Armenian, Lindeman (p. 38) derives this form from \**dhāl-ro-* (thus unequatable with Greek *θαλερός* which he claims has an \*-ero- suffix), even though the short vowel variant \**dhāl-ro-* is phonologically difficult, as *r* should not vocalize after a light syllable. For some general comments on other aspects of Lindeman's book, see my forthcoming review in *Language* 60 (1984).

<sup>4</sup> So, for example, Schindler "The inflexional ablaut of the Indo-European *r/n*-stems," in C. Watkins, ed. *Indo-European Studies II* (Department of Linguistics, Harvard University, 1975).

<sup>5</sup> Alternatively, one could say that the \**o* arising from ablaut was somehow phonetically different from the \**o* resulting from laryngeal coloring and that only ablaut *o*'s triggered laryngeal-neutralization.

<sup>6</sup> An o-grade \*Aost- would give the nonoccurring ost- in Armenian, for Kortlandt explicitly states (p. 10) that "unstressed \*o was weakened to a in open syllables unless it was followed by the reflex of \*w or by a syllable which contained another o"; similarly, \*Aest- would give the nonoccurring hast- in Armenian. Thus it may be, despite Watkins (*Sprache* 20, 13), that o-grade forms of "star" can be dispensed with altogether.

<sup>7</sup> The exact passage is as follows (from Venice 1826.a.165):  
zkal ew zhunjs ew zort' ew zhnjan ew zharawuns  
translating the Greek (e.g. see Migne *Patrologia Graeca* 57.199):

ἄλωνα, καὶ ἀμητὸν, καὶ ἀμπελῶνα, καὶ ληνὸν, καὶ ἄρουραν  
"threshing, floor, harvest, vine(yard), wine vat, and field."

Thus the connection of harawunk' with ἀρόω can be defended from a semantic standpoint and the development to "sowing, seed time" can be considered a secondary development. I thank John Greppin for drawing my attention to this passage.

<sup>8</sup> He furthermore states that \*Aew- "wear" must have been homophonous with \*Aew- "live," and that each root figured in the derivation of subsequently homophonous stems \*Awes- "spend the night" and \*Awes- "put on clothes." In order to explain the occurrence of forms of these roots and stems without any trace of a laryngeal (e.g., Greek ἐννυμι with no prothetic vowel or Hittite *wešta* with no *h-*), he must here assume that the e-grade is secondary in "wear; put on clothes," with the absence of a laryngeal due its regular loss before \*o in the predominant o.