

Sprachliche Beiträge zur Palao-Ethnologie der Balkanhalbinsel: Zur Frage der ältesten griechisch-albanischen Beziehungen



Review Author[s]:
Brian D. Joseph

Language, Vol. 63, No. 2 (Jun., 1987), 435-436.

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taires de France, 1986. Pp. 196. F165.00.

A decade of research into the structure of the French noun phrase has led W back to a line of analysis initiated by N. Beauzée's *Grammaire générale* (1767)—in which articles and adjectives form part of the same syntactic class, and identical parameters determine their occurrence. The two most important parameters in W's system, 'extension' (the totality of referents to which the N or NP is applicable) and 'extensité' (the quantity of referents to which the N or NP is applied), derive from Beauzée and from the 20th-century linguist G. Guillaume. The 'quantifiants' (articles, cardinal numerals, *aucun, chaque, plusieurs, quelque, tout*) specify 'extensité'; the 'caractérisants' (adjectives, ordinals, tonic possessives, *autre, même*) reduce 'extension'; the 'quantifiants-caractérisants' (demonstratives, atonic possessives, *certain, différents, divers, quel, tel*) do both. A third major parameter is 'extensivité', the ratio of 'extensité' to 'extension' ('extensive' if they are identical, 'partitive' if they differ); a fourth, 'représentation', distinguishes count and mass nouns.

Relying primarily on the above criteria, W sorts through a vast array of seemingly random or arbitrary variations in the choice of quantifiers, characterizers, and zero. Further criteria are needed to account for sundry problems: 'extensionnalité' ('extension' measured independently of any particular utterance, for handling proper and abstract nouns), 'extensitude' (universality or particularity of reference) and 'extensibilité' (change of 'extensité'). In the sentence *La baleine est un mammifère*, the subject's universal 'extensitude' ('all whales') produces an 'extensibilité' effect on the predicate, forcing a plural interpretation of *un*.

Ch. 2 introduces all the *ex-* terms and their *in-* complements ('intension', 'intensité' etc.), creating a terminological swamp; but W's rigor of organization guides the reader through. This and the following chapter, on the NP, represent the core of the book and W's most significant achievement: the discovery and systematization of syntactic/semantic structures in an area where only scattered rules and pragmatic principles have been generally recognized.

Ch. 6—a brief, impressive study of the demonstrative—makes good use of historical data. The outstanding disappointment is Ch. 5, on the pre- and post-nominal positioning of adjectives.

W's surprisingly unoriginal analysis, lacking sufficient explanations, piles up insufficient ones. He resorts to phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic, and psychological solutions as needed, and finally hauls out markedness as an ineffectual *deus ex machina*.

W wonders, in his conclusion, whether he has avoided the double danger of reductive simplification and useless complication. Of reductionism he is not guilty. In the modern linguistics universe, where Occam's razor reigns, the prevailing temptation is to adduce simple yet powerful causations which, by virtue of all that they explain, temporarily blind us to how much they leave unaccounted for (whence the short lifespan of so much work in the field). W scruples instead to be complete, even at the loss of any illusory neatness. His grand design is to rescue language from the philosopher's domain, and to return it to the grammarian's. Married to no current syntactic school, he employs a structuralist method that may seem old-fashioned; but that makes his book accessible as a source of data and linguistic insights to scholars of many methodological bents. While he is right in concluding that 'La détermination nominale garde bien ses énigmes' (180), the effort toward solving those riddles attains a new height of concertedness and cohesion with this book. [JOHN EARL JOSEPH, *University of Maryland*.]

Sprachliche Beiträge zur Paläo-Ethnologie der Balkanhalbinsel: Zur Frage der ältesten griechisch-albanischen Beziehungen. By NORBERT JOKL. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Oskar E. Pfeiffer, mit einem Vorwort von Georg R. Solta. (Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Schriften der Balkankommission, Linguistische Abteilung, 29.) Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984. Pp. 50 (with 2 plates).

This brief monograph presents a work written by Jokl, who was professor of Indo-European linguistics at the University of Vienna in the 1920's and 30's. The efforts of Pfeiffer in work-

ing through and annotating J's handwritten manuscript made possible its publication posthumously, more than 40 years after J's death at the hands of the Nazis.

In this work, J examines some of the linguistic evidence for contact between Albanian and Greek (and occasionally Latin), from the earliest times (during the 'voreinzelsprachlich' period, when the languages were outside the Balkan peninsula) up through the Hellenistic period. He focuses on three representative groups of words; accordingly, the book is divided into three main sections. Section I (pp. 16–23) is concerned primarily with those lexical correspondences between Greek and Albanian which deal with landscape-related designations. These linguistic elements, J argues, must be 'voreinzelsprachlich' (thus representing shared elements from PIE that date from the pre-Greek/pre-Albanian period) because of the occurrence of sound changes (e.g. *sk- > h- in *hepe* 'rock cave', from *sko:p-) that are characteristically Albanian. The forms he treats are the following: Alb. *lerë* 'stone, rockfall', Gk. *laúra* 'alley, passage'; Alb. *rrmiqe* 'precipitously steep place', Gk. *erípnē* 'cliff, crag'; Alb. *gumë* 'cliff', Gk. *gúpē* 'hollow in the earth, cave'; Alb. *hepe* 'rock cave', Gk. *skópelos* 'promontory, mountain peak'. All show correspondences in their root and occasionally in other formatives as well (e.g. *rrm-iqe* < *rip-n-, with -n- suffix as in Gk. *erípnē*).

Section II (24–36) is concerned mainly with words shared by Albanian and Greek or Latin, which are not directly inherited from PIE but which do not permit a definitive establishment of a loan relationship in any direction. Here J treats two sets of words, which he ultimately takes to be etymologically related: Alb. *gëzof* 'fur', Gk. *gaúsapos* 'shaggy, wooly; felt', *gaúsápēs* 'a kind of wooly blanket', La. *gausapa*, and Alb. *gunë* 'fur', (Vulgar) La. *gunna*, (Middle and Modern) Gk. *gouína*. For the first set, he argues that the Gk. and La. forms are borrowings from the Illyrian outcome of *g^wow-di-apos, a compound with the stem for 'cow, cattle' as its first member, while the Alb. form is from *g^wo:w-di-a:p(ō)s (with a different ablaut grade in the first member); thus it can not be the case that Albanian borrowed the word from Greek or Latin (and they from some eastern source, e.g. Assyrian or Middle Indic, as has been suggested)—or that Greek and Latin borrowed it from Albanian—but rather that the former languages borrowed it from Illyrian, which was close to the pre-form of the Albanian. For

the second set, J argues for a derivation via borrowing (Latin to Albanian) ultimately from the Illyrian outcome of *g^wu-ni-a, whose first syllable is a zero-grade form of *g^wow-. From these examples, J draws the conclusion—an important and interesting one for Balkan palaeo-ethnology—that 'das Alb. steht also jedenfalls dem Illyr. ... sehr nahe; das alb. Sprachgebiet ist seit vorrömischer Zeit in der Nähe des Gr. und des Lat. zu suchen.'

Section III (36–46) discusses some hitherto unnoticed Alb. borrowings from Greek: Alb. *tarogzë* 'helmet' from Gk. *thōrákion* 'armor, breastplate', where the [t] for Gk. *th* and [o] for *ā* point to an early date of borrowing (at least pre-Hellenistic times); Alb. *tepë* 'a type of grain' from Gk. *típhē* 'one-grained wheat', where the [p] for *ph* again suggests a pre-Hellenistic dating for the loan; Alb. *cumbë* 'hill' from Gk. *túmbos* 'burial mound'; and *fnazë* 'snow' from Gk. *niphádion* 'snowflake', a post-Hellenistic loan because of [f] for *ph*. In addition, J provides a clarification of the derivation of the personal name *Llezhder* < Gk. *Aléxandros* (not La. *Alexander*, because of the accent!)

In discussing these various lexical items, J develops a number of important points about the historical phonology of Albanian (e.g. further evidence for *pn- > -m- in *rrmiqe* and in *gumë*, and for *p(o)s > f in *gëzof*); makes some interesting comparisons regarding affixes (e.g. Alb. collective suffix -iq-, as in *rrmiqe*, to Gk. -ik-, as in *gunaitkes* 'women', plural of *gunë*); and shows a sensitivity to the need for careful assessment of the semantic side of proposed etymologies. J also provides several examples of a Wörter-und-Sachen approach to etymology, e.g. his adducing of evidence, in the discussion of *tarogzë*, concerning archaeological finds of Greek helmets in northwest Albania.

This important publication comes at a time when interest in unraveling the details of the historical developments of Albanian—long the most obscure of IE branches—is on the rise, both in the US and in Europe. We can lament the fact that there may be no more of J's work to be published posthumously, but Pfeiffer must certainly be praised for his efforts in bringing out this volume. [BRIAN D. JOSEPH, *Ohio State University*.]

The Modern Greek language: A descriptive analysis of Standard Modern Greek. By PETER MACKRIDGE.