

Philip Baldi & Pietro U. Dini (Eds), *Studies in Baltic and Indo-European Linguistics. In Honor of William R. Schmalstieg*, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 254, 2004, Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 302 p.

Reviewer: Maria Napoli, Università di Pisa.

Nell'ottobre del 2004 William R. Schmalstieg ha festeggiato il suo settantacinquesimo compleanno: in questa occasione è stato presentato il volume *Studies in Baltic and Indo-European Linguistics. In Honor of William R. Schmalstieg*, edito da una prestigiosa casa editrice quale Benjamins, a cura di Philip Baldi (Penn State University) e Pietro U. Dini (Università di Pisa). Si tratta di una *Festschrift* concepita come omaggio ad uno studioso la cui attività ha rappresentato un significativo contributo alla linguistica, sia per ciò che concerne le pubblicazioni realizzate che per l'insegnamento che ha saputo impartire a molti. William Schmalstieg è autore di innumerevoli lavori (che troviamo menzionati nelle pagine xxiii-xlii del volume), i cui interessi ricoprono principalmente l'ambito della linguistica storica, e si concentrano in particolare sulle lingue baltiche, slave e sull'indoeuropeo. La scelta editoriale di Philip Baldi e Pietro Dini, come loro stessi ci informano nella prefazione, è stata quella di restringere gli argomenti da trattare nella *Festschrift* prevalentemente alle lingue baltiche e all'indoeuropeo, tralasciando dunque le lingue slave.

Il volume si apre con l'affettuoso ritratto di William Schmalstieg tracciato da Philip Baldi, che ha lavorato accanto a lui per più di trent'anni alla Penn State University: alle notizie relative alla carriera universitaria di Schmalstieg si aggiungono alcuni dati bibliografici che arricchiscono il profilo dello studioso, e ci introducono piacevolmente alla lettura dei singoli contributi. Questi sono complessivamente 29, e, come annunciato, trattano soprattutto argomenti di baltistica e indoeuropeistica, in una prospettiva di tipo storico-linguistico e comparativo: si spazia dalla morfologia alla sintassi, alla etimologia, alla fonetica, in relazione a temi talora già affrontati in qualche misura da Schmalstieg stesso. Non a caso, tra le lingue baltiche sono privilegiati l'antico prussiano e il lituano, sempre al centro degli interessi di ricerca del festeggiato. Qui passerò brevemente in rassegna

tutti gli articoli, non nell'ordine in cui compaiono nel volume, ma piuttosto per raggruppamenti tematici.

Iniziamo con i contributi inerenti al lituano. Vytautas Ambrazas (*On the Genitive with Neuter Participles and Verbal Nouns in Lithuanian*, pp. 1-6) si interessa di un tema di cui Schmalstieg si è molto occupato: l'uso del genitivo con il participio neutro passivo (es. *senų, miškai mylėta* "le foreste furono amate dalle persone anziane"). Dopo avere esposto la tesi di Schmalstieg, che ha interpretato tale costrutto come testimonianza di una fase ergativa dell'indoeuropeo, Ambrazas propone un confronto fra quello e il cosiddetto genitivo soggettivo, che in lituano e lettone ricorre con nomi verbali (ad es. lit. *vaiko verksmas* "il pianto del bambino"); in lituano, tuttavia, esso può unirsi anche a partecipi passivi neutri (lit. *čia mano gyvėnama* e *čia mano gyvėnimas* "qui è il posto in cui vivo"). L'ipotesi avanzata dall'autore è che la costruzione del genitivo soggettivo unito a nomi verbali possa aver agito da stimolo per l'ampio impiego del genitivo con partecipi passivi neutri, costrutto, quest'ultimo, sul cui antico carattere in lituano egli concorda con Schmalstieg.

Sul partecipio neutro passivo si sofferma anche Lea Sawicki (*Neuter Passive Participle in Modern Lithuanian*, pp. 157-164), benché non da una prospettiva diacronica, ma piuttosto in relazione al lituano moderno, e più esattamente alla lingua letteraria: i costrutti in cui figura il partecipio neutro passivo vengono analizzati sia rispetto alla loro distribuzione testuale che alle funzioni che rivestono.

Alfred Bammesberger (*Lithuanian esmì and esù "I am": On the Spread of the Thematic Present Paradigm in Indo-European Languages*, pp. 19-26) si occupa del verbo "essere" in lituano dove, accanto all'antico presente atematico *esmì*, esiste il seguente paradigma tematico: *esù* "io sono", *esì* "tu sei", *ēsame* "noi siamo", *ēsate* "voi siete". Di quest'ultimo Bammesberger esamina il processo di diffusione: la persuasiva conclusione alla quale egli perviene, attraverso la comparazione con i dati di altre lingue indoeuropee (specie il latino), è che il lituano *esù* non derivi da *esmì*, ma rifletta piuttosto il paradigma del corrispondente congiuntivo presente.

Di morfologia verbale tratta anche Wolfgang P. Schmid (*Observations on the Paradigms of Lithuanian děti "set, place, lay" and dūoti "give"*, pp. 165-172): nel quadro di più ampie considerazioni relative al verbo indoeuropeo, Schmid traccia lo sviluppo dei paradigmi *děti* e *dūoti*, originariamente atematici: in particolare, viene indagata l'origine dei corrispondenti preteriti, ricondotti a forme di antico perfetto raddoppiato.

Il punto di partenza dello studio di Guido Michelini (*Problems in the Reconstruction of Certain Endings of the Lithuanian Optative*, pp. 137-141) è costituito dal fatto che la flessione dell'ottativo in lituano moderno deriva dalla evoluzione di quel paradigma che è attestato nei primi documenti lituani di cui disponiamo. L'autore si sofferma in particolare su alcune desinenze dell'ottativo, e propone una spiegazione nuova riguardo all'origine di alcune varianti della desinenza di I persona singolare.

Uno dei contributi più interessanti del volume è a mio avviso quello di Axel Holvoet (*On the Marking of Predicate Nominals in Baltic*, pp. 75-90), che prende in esame lo sviluppo dello strumentale in funzione predicativa: il "predicative instrumental", considerato di norma come un'innovazione comune al baltico e allo slavo, è ancora documentato in lituano ma si è ormai estinto in lettone. Holvoet distingue due tipi di impieghi, denominati rispettivamente "syntactically free use" e "syntactic default use": il primo è rappresentato dal lituano *jis buvo mokytoju* "fu assunto come insegnante", il secondo dal lituano *malonu būti rašytoju* "è piacevole essere uno scrittore". In lettone, al posto dello strumentale troviamo, rispettivamente, un sintagma preposizionale con *par* per il primo tipo (lett. *vijš bija par skolotāju* "fu assunto come insegnante"), e, in genere, il dativo per il secondo (lett. *patikami ir būt rakstniekam* "è piacevole essere uno scrittore"). Grazie ad un'analisi puntuale di questi casi, Holvoet giunge alla conclusione che solo il primo tipo di impiego è da ritenersi proprio del baltico comune; il secondo tipo di impiego del predicativo strumentale, invece, rappresenta un'innovazione del lituano non condivisa dal lettone, che sotto questo aspetto si rivela dunque più conservativo.

Rainer Eckert (*Phrase and Idiom in Bretke's Old Lithuanian Bible*, pp. 51-62) affronta alcuni problemi legati alla traduzione della Bibbia in antico lituano, con particolare attenzione verso sintagmi preposizionali ed espressioni idiomatische. Ad esempio, viene trattato nel dettaglio il caso del lituano *po akim*, usato sovente per tradurre varie forme del tedesco.

Algirdas Sabaliauskas (*Hans M. Schmidt-Wartenberg, a Forgotten Balticist*, pp. 153-155) dedica il suo breve intervento a Hans M. Schmidt-Wartenberg, studioso di lingue baltiche a cui spetta il merito di aver inaugurato l'applicazione della fonetica sperimentale al lituano.

L'oggetto del contributo di Giedrius Subačius (*Double Orthography in American Lithuania Newspapers at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 189-201) concerne l'ortografia. A partire dal 1890 circa il giornale lituano *Varpas* si fece promotore di una sorta di riforma ortografica del lituano,

tentando di coinvolgere gli editori di altri giornali; tra le proposte avanzate vi fu quella di abbandonare i digrammi «cz» e «sz» (rispettivamente per i suoni [tʃ] e [ʃ]), e di utilizzare al loro posto «č» e «š». Subačius si concentra su quella particolare situazione linguistica che ha determinato l'accettazione completa di «č» e «š» nei giornali lituani d'America fra la fine del diciannovesimo e l'inizio del ventesimo secolo, e illustra attraverso alcuni esempi le fasi principali di tale processo.

Zigmas Zinkevičius (*New Data on Resolving the Puzzle of the Wolfenbüttel Postilla*, pp. 285-290) presenta i risultati preliminari di una più ampia ricerca relativa ad una antica postilla lituana, il cui manoscritto fu rinvenuto nel 1896 a Wolfenbüttel dal Professor Hans M. Schmidt-Wartenberg. Zinkevičius passa in rassegna le opinioni di alcuni studiosi che si sono occupati dell'argomento, riferisce la sua convinzione che la lingua in cui la postilla è scritta sia frutto di una commistione di dialetti e che essa non sia opera di un solo autore; infine, riferisce alcuni dei risultati della sua indagine in corso sull'apporto linguistico dei singoli dialetti.

Passiamo ora agli articoli dedicati all'antico prussiano, iniziando con un rapido cenno a quello di Grasilda Blažienė (*On the Subject of Old Prussian Estate Names*, pp. 27-32). Esso riguarda una questione di onomastica: vengono esaminati diversi nomi di tenute, che fanno parte di materiale recentemente acquisito intorno alla toponomastica prussiana, e che, stando al giudizio dell'autrice, possono contribuire in modo significativo sia all'analisi del corpus di nomi propri dell'antico prussiano che all'analisi della lingua stessa.

L'oggetto dell'intervento di Pietro U. Dini (*Baltic Palaeocomparativism and the Idea that Prussian Derives from Greek*, pp. 37-50) è costituito dalla tesi, elaborata in epoca rinascimentale, delle presunte origini greche del prussiano. L'autore passa dettagliatamente in rassegna le opinioni di studiosi che si sono schierati a favore e contro tale ipotesi, determinandone rispettivamente il nascere e decadere. Traccia poi un'interessante riflessione sul posto da assegnare a tale teoria all'interno della storia della linguistica baltica, mostrando come essa si inserisca coerentemente nel clima culturale del Rinascimento: durante quella fase molti popoli hanno compiuto il tentativo di nobilitare le proprie origini attraverso il richiamo alla classicità greca o latina. Nel caso specifico del prussiano tale tentativo avrebbe rappresentato una sorta di "counterbalance", come viene definito, delle idee negative sulla Prussia e sui Prussiani diffuse a partire dal volume di Aenea Sylvius Piccolomini *De situ et origine Pruthenorum* (1450-1456 circa).

Vytautas Mažiulis (*Thoughts on Declension in the Old Prussian Catechism*, pp. 135-136) si occupa di alcune forme nominali attestate nel Catechismo dell'antico Prussiano, interpretandole come innovazioni rispetto ad una più antica declinazione in -i: ad esempio, l'accusativo plurale *tūsimtons* sarebbe una forma innovativa alla cui base vi è il nominativo singolare di un tema in -i (**tūsimts* < pr. ant. **tūsimtis*).

Wojciech Smoczyński (*Old Prussian dīnkausegīsnan*, pp. 185-187) si sofferma sull'antico prussiano *dīnkausegīsnan*, analizzabile come un sintagma formato da *dīnkau* e *segīsnan*, e considerato un calco dal polacco *dzięk czynienie*; *dīnkau* sarebbe dunque un genitivo plurale asigmatico, forma alla quale il resto dell'articolo è dedicato.

Nel suo intervento, Steven Young ("Old Prussian" in M. Prätorius' *Deliciae Prussicae*, pp. 275-283) propone di rivalutare l'opera di Matthäus Prätorius *Deliciae Prussicae* (diciassettesimo secolo), a suo parere tuttora poco apprezzata benché ricca di interessante materiale linguistico: di questo Young fornisce un saggio discutendo una serie di casi esemplificativi.

Coerentemente con gli interessi di Schmalstieg, che, come precisato all'inizio, si è più volte occupato di ricostruzione linguistica in relazione all'indoeuropeo, una serie di articoli del volume è dedicata a questo tema. Xaverio Ballester ("To Be" or "Not To Be" in the Indo-European Languages, pp. 7-18) prende in esame la questione del verbo "essere" in indoeuropeo: l'autore parte dalla constatazione che il contenuto semantico di "essere" è legato a paradigmi suppletivi e/o irregolari in molte lingue, indoeuropee e non; quindi, attraverso una ricca serie di dati tipologici, illustra l'ipotesi secondo cui la forma per "essere" in proto-indoeuropeo avrebbe avuto origine da un dimostrativo, il che, tuttavia, equivarrebbe ad affermare che "if we have to speak strictly, there was never a proper 'to be' in Proto-Indo-European" (p. 16).

Winfred P. Lehmann (*Derivational Morphology of the Early Indo-European Verb*, pp. 113-123) passa in rassegna alcuni affissi legati alla morfologia verbale dell'indoeuropeo: il processo derivazionale al quale partecipano viene inserito nel quadro della teoria secondo cui il proto-indoeuropeo sarebbe appartenuto alla tipologia delle lingue attive, teoria di cui Lehmann è un sostenitore. Tuttavia, trattandosi di un tema alquanto complesso e tuttora in parte ancora inesplorato, parrebbe piuttosto condivisibile la posizione assunta proprio da Schmalstieg nel suo volume del 1980 (*Indo-European Linguistics: A New Synthesis*): Schmalstieg, come ricorda lo stesso Lehmann, pur riconoscendo la presenza di alcuni tratti caratteristici di una

lingua attiva nel proto-indoeuropeo non lo ricostruisce come tale per una cautela metodologica a mio avviso, in tal caso, giustificata.

Di fonetica si occupa Witold Mańczak (*Irregular Sound Change Due to Frequency*, pp. 125-133), studiando quel tipo di fenomeno definito *mutamento fonetico irregolare dovuto alla frequenza*: "if a linguistic element (i.e., a morpheme, word or group of words) becomes too long in relation of its frequency, it must be shortened" (p. 125). Tale tipo di mutamento, che può intervenire appunto in casi simili, viene giudicato dall'autore come "the third essential factor of linguistic evolution, in addition to regular sound change and analogical development" (p. 125). Alcune forme elencate da Szemerényi nella sua *Introduction to Indo-European Linguistics* (1996) vengono reinterpretate da Mańczak come determinate proprio da tale fenomeno: così si spiegherebbero, ad esempio, il greco δύο (invece che δύω, ugualmente attestato), e il latino *duo*.

In alcuni articoli vengono trattate questioni etimologiche: Allan R. Bomhard (*Indo-European *men- and *tel-*, pp. 33-36) argomenta la proposta di attribuire al proto-indoeuropeo le radici **men-* "desiderare ardentemente" (da distinguere da **men-* "pensare, ricordare") e **tel-* "lasciare", delle quali individua le tracce in diverse lingue; Eric Hamp (*Indo-European *peik- and Baltic *peik-*, pp. 63-65) discute della radice **peik-* in Indoeuropeo; Vyacheslav Ivanov (*Prussica 1-3*, pp. 91-101) riflette su alcune etimologie dell'antico prussiano, proponendo confronti molto attenti con altre lingue indoeuropee; Simas Karaliūnas (*Finnish terve "sound, healthy", Slavonic *sъdorvъ "id.", and Lithuanian tervētis "recover, mend, convalesce"*, pp. 103-111) mette a confronto il finnico *terve* con etimi del baltico e dello slavo; Anatolij Nepokupnyi ("Rain" and "Ant" (*Suge E 47 - Saugis E 791*): *How Are Their Names Connected in Old Prussian?*?, pp. 143-152) illustra argomenti di vario tipo a sostegno dell'ipotesi secondo cui l'antico prussiano *saugis* "formica" sarebbe correlato etimologicamente con *suge* "pioggia". Infine, Pēteris Vanags (*Latvian braῆgs: from Lithuanian, Couronian, or German?*?, pp. 231-241) discute alcune proposte finora formulate a proposito dell'origine del lettone *braῆgs* "magnificente, glorioso, eccellente, corpulento; buono": in genere, si concorda sul fatto che l'aggettivo sia un prestito, benché non sia chiaro da quale lingua sia stato attinto. Vanags respinge la tesi secondo cui esso sarebbe lituano, mostra perché sia plausibile una derivazione dal curone, e infine suggerisce l'idea – presentata, però, come del tutto ipotetica e non ancora sufficientemente supportata da prove – secondo cui *braῆgs* potrebbe essere penetrato in lettone attraverso le lingue germaniche, e in

particolare attraverso "forms of (Middle) Low German that were spoken in Livonia and Courland" (p. 239).

Due contributi riguardano il greco antico: nell'articolo di Henry M. Hoenigswald (*Proclisis in Greek*, pp. 67-73) vengono esaminate le proprietà e la genesi di elementi proclitici; Kenneth Shields JR. (*On the Indo-European Origins of Greek 3rd Pl. Act. Imperative -ντον*. "New Image" Morphology and Monophthongizations, pp. 173-184) si occupa della desinenza di terza persona plurale di imperativo attivo -ντον, attestata in Lesbico, Pamfilio e nel dialetto di Rodi, e formula un'ipotesi sulla origine di tale forma nel quadro di quei presupposti teorici sull'indoeuropeo ricostruito che Shields stesso ha discusso in vari scritti (citati nella bibliografia dell'articolo).

Pierre Swiggers (*Hittite -za and Reflexivity Marking: Some Remarks*, pp. 203-208) si interessa di ittita, e, più esattamente, della particella riflessiva -za, il cui impiego, come lui stesso osserva, è stato accuratamente descritto nel manuale realizzato da Schmalstieg insieme a Held e Gertz (Held, W. M., Schmalstieg, W.R. & Gertz, J. E. 1987. *Beginning Hittite*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica). Dopo aver mostrato alcuni esempi della funzione riflessiva di -za, Swiggers fornisce una spiegazione del mancato uso di tale particella in uno specifico passo da lui analizzato: tale omissione dipenderebbe dalla forma verbale impiegata, appartenente al gruppo dei nomi deverbali ittiti in -wanzi, tra le cui proprietà morfosintattiche rientra l'indifferenza alla diatesi. Ciò, per l'appunto, avrebbe impedito l'impiego della particella con valore riflessivo.

Francisco Villar (*The Celtic Language of the Iberian Peninsula*, pp. 243-273) indaga accuratamente sulla presenza di elementi celtici nella Penisola Iberica.

Infine, una questione di carattere non solo linguistico, ma anche culturale-antropologico, viene affrontata nell'articolo di V. N. Toporov (*Once More about the "North-Russian" литва and its Mythologized Image*, pp. 209-230).

Il volume si chiude con un indice degli autori citati e un indice degli argomenti trattati.

Per concludere, va riconosciuto ai due editori, Philip Baldi e Pietro U. Dini, il merito di aver saputo coinvolgere tanti illustri studiosi nella realizzazione di questo pregevole volume, nelle cui pagine, così dense di interesse ed entusiasmo per la ricerca, e in particolare per la ricostruzione linguistica, sembra davvero di sentire aleggiare quel motto di Schmalstieg

che si legge nella presentazione scritta da Baldi, secondo cui "all life is speculation".

Io stessa ho avuto modo di conoscere William Schmalstieg in occasione di una serie di lezioni da lui tenute a Pisa nel 2000 (all'interno del corso di "Filologia Baltica" di Pietro U. Dini), e successivamente di scambiare con lui alcune e-mail: grazie a questi contatti, ho potuto apprezzare direttamente la scrupolosità e la cura che infonde nel suo lavoro, e che già mi erano note dai suoi scritti, nonché la gentilezza di modi che lo contraddistingue. Ho recensito dunque con piacere questo libro anche per quel valore "simbolico" che esso riveste, traendone l'impressione di essermi potuta così unire, sia pure indirettamente, a coloro che hanno voluto augurare a Schmalstieg un buon settantacinquesimo compleanno.

Res Balticae 10, 2004, pp. 255-263.

Axel Holvoet, Artūras Judžentis, Bonifacas Stundžia, eds.
Lietuvių kalbos gramatikos darbai 1. Sintaksinių ryšių tyrimai. Vilnius 2003: Lietuvių kalbos institutas. 216 pp.
ISBN 9986-668-51-4.

Reviewer: William R. Schmalstieg, State College, Pa.

In the foreword the editors write that this volume is the first in the series, *Lietuvių kalbos gramatikos darbai* (Studies in Lithuanian grammar), prepared by the authors of the new grammar of the Lithuanian language. The purpose of the series is to encourage the discussion of problems of the theoretical grammar of Lithuanian. Grammar, as the kernel of language theory, is the area in which representatives of twentieth century linguistic theory try to test the explanatory power of their theories. The fundamental linguistic theories of the twentieth century - structural, generative, cognitive - have given grammatical theory many valuable ideas which cannot be ignored in any grammatical description. In the articles of this series theoretical bases will be adhered to according to which the new grammar will be written. An attempt will be made to describe linguistic phenomena such that the concepts and formulas will not be too closely tied to any single grammatical model and would be comprehensible only in the framework of that one model. At the same time an attempt will be made to make use of all the theoretical achievements which have already become the common linguistic capital during the last decades. Contemporary linguistic theory has inherited from structuralism the view of language as an entirety and precise methods for the analysis of phonological, morphological and syntactic structures. It has inherited from generative grammar the goal of maximal explicitness and useful heuristic procedures, and from cognitive linguistics the concept of the prototypical structure of the content and form of a language, and the concept of unclear linguistic categories. The fundamental feature characteristic of contemporary grammatical theory is that there is not and never will be a final grammatical theory valid for all times, since our knowledge is imperfect and limited from the point of view of space and time. The book is rich in theoretical discussion and I will mention only a few of its conclusions in the following.

Co-authored by Axel Holvoet and Artūras Judžentis, Chapter 1, *Sintaksinių ryšių tipai* 'Types of syntactic dependency' establishes that in a syntactic group the fundamental component may be the governing word and the dependent component the complement (usually a verb plus some object, e.g., *skaito knyga* 'reads a book') or the fundamental component may be the modified word and the dependent component the modifier (often a noun plus adjective, e.g., *idomi knyga* 'an interesting book') (pp. 14-15). From the semantic point of view, however, the situation is somewhat asymmetrical, since in the first case the semantic bond between *skaito* and *knyga* is established by the fundamental word *skaito*, whereas in the expression *idomi knyga*, although *knyga* doesn't require a qualifier, here a qualifier modifies the fundamental component. The authors distinguish sharply between syntactic and morphosyntactic phenomena, thus the purely syntactic relationship is expressed in such a sentence as *Vaikas nori miegoti* 'The child wants to sleep' as opposed to the morphosyntactic relationship expressed in *Vaikas nori miego* (gen. sg.) 'The child wants sleep' (pp. 16-17). Another syntactic problem is the question of the fundamental or basic component in a sequence. The examples given are: *Penki mokiniai gavo prizus* 'Five pupils received prizes' and *Vienuolika mokiniai gavo prizus* 'Eleven pupils received prizes.' In the first sentence *Penki* 'Five' modifies the nom. pl. *mokiniai* 'pupils' and with the deletion of *Penki* the sentence would still be possible, viz. *Mokiniai gavo prizus* 'The pupils got prizes.' In the second sentence, however, *Vienuolika* 'Eleven' governs the gen. pl. *mokiniai* 'pupils' and as such could not be deleted. In the final paragraph it is emphasized that agreement is only a formal marker of syntactic dependency, not a type of syntactic dependency. The form of the subject is determined by the syntactic properties of the verb. In this case the morphosyntactic government corresponds to the syntactic government, since the meaning of the verb requires a subject as the argument of predication. Thus the subject is a complement of the verb just as are the other complements.

Chapter 2 by Loreta Semeniene is entitled *Būdvardžių derinimas* 'Adjectival agreement' and describes the difference between syntactic and semantic agreement. With the 2nd pl. pronoun *jūs* 'you' there may be syntactic agreement as with the verb, e.g., *Mergaitė* (voc. sg.), *jūs šokate?* 'Girl, do you dance?' Although *jūs* here refers to a single person it requires a plural form of the verb. In the sentence: *Jūs dar labai jaunas* 'You are still very young' there is semantic agreement, since *jaunas* 'young' is nom. sg. masc.

and does not agree in number with the plural form *jūs* (p. 40). Here we encounter semantic rather than syntactic agreement.

The adjective agrees with its controller in gender and number (p. 43). For the noun the gender is inherent and may be motivated or not (if it refers to a thing) (p. 44). From the syntactic point of view the nominalized adjectives determine the agreement factors of the target. Cf., e.g., *Beje senoji* (nom. sg. def. fem. adj.) *negalėjo jaustis vieniša* (fem. sg. adj.) *ir apleista* (fem. sg. adj.) 'And the old woman could not feel alone and neglected' (p. 45). Here the subject adjective controls the gender and number of the two predicate adjectives.

Semenienė writes that the gender of an adjective may be determined by the gender of the trigger. Thus nouns with a feminine morphological gender, but which denote masculines may require a modifier of masculine gender: *Dédé visada geras* (nom. sg. masc.) 'Uncle is always good.' I would note, however, that the Indo-European gender in general is not necessarily tied to the stem-class. Although most Latin *-ā stem nouns are feminine, there are some masculines, e.g., *agricola* 'farmer,' *nauta* 'sailor.' Most Greek nouns belonging to the *-ο stems are masculine, but *ταρθένος* 'maiden' is feminine. Hittite supplies evidence that the etymological *-ο stems originally denoted the class of animate beings, either masculine or feminine, cf. e.g., Hitt. *an-na-aš* 'mother.' It is difficult for me to see why the noun class in -ē must now be considered a necessary marker of the feminine gender in Lithuanian. According to the LKŽ II, 353, the noun *dédé* is masculine.

Semenienė writes further (as has generally been known) that the gender of the modifying adjective is determined by the natural gender of common gender nouns: *senas* (nom. sg. masc.) *kerépla* 'old clumsy fellow'; *Ji baisi* (nom. sg. fem.) *krapštasis* 'she is a frightfully hard worker, workaholic' (p. 48). The gender of adjectives referring to the personal pronouns *aš* 'I' and *tu* 'you (sg.)' also depends on natural gender: *aš jai nelikau skolingga* (fem. sg. denoting a feminine subject) 'I did not remain indebted to her.'

Certain sequences of words consisting of a noun or a word used as a noun denoting a definite quantity or a certain amount (*dalis* 'part,' *daugelis* 'many,' *dauguma* 'majority,' *dažnas* 'frequent,' *grupė* 'group,' *kiekvienas* 'each') plus a genitive plural show two kinds of adjective agreement (pp. 50-51). In one type there is agreement with the fundamental word denoting quantity: *Šiandien aktuali* (nom. sg. fem.) *tik dalis* (nom. sg. fem.) *pateiktų klausimų* 'Today only a part of the questions asked are of current importance'; *Miestiečių dauguma* (nom. sg. fem.) *buvo labai neturtinga* (nom. sg. fem.) 'The

majority of the city-dwellers were very poor'; '...*kiekvienas* (nom. sg. masc.) *iš jų buvo svarbus* (nom. sg. masc.) *ir reikšmingas* (nom. sg. masc.) *savaip...*' 'each of them was important and significant in its (his?) own way...' In the second type there is agreement with a hidden gender and number trigger: *Dalis* (nom. sg.) *jų* (gen. pl.) *gana įdomūs* (nom. pl. masc.) 'A part of them are rather interesting'; '...*dauguma* (nom. sg. fem.) *žmonių* (gen. pl.) *yra ne tik sveiki* (nom. pl. masc.)... 'a majority of people are not only healthy...'; *Kiekvienas* (nom. sg. masc.) *iš mūsų* (gen. pl.) *esame* (1st pl.) *laisvi* (nom. pl. masc.) 'Each of us is free.' A somewhat similar problem exists in English. I understand that in British English one might say, e.g., 'the government are...' with plural agreement. For me, and, I believe, for most Americans this sounds odd and I could only say: 'the government is...' with singular agreement.

An adjective may agree in number with one or both nouns in a sequence depending upon whether it refers to just one of the nouns or more: *Jonas su Maryte yra laimingas* (nom. sg. masc.) 'John is happy with Mary' or *Jonas su Maryte yra laimungi* (nom. pl. masc.) 'John and Mary are happy.'

According to Axel Holvoet chapter 3 *Laisvieji predikatyvai ir jų sintaksiniai ryšiai* '...deals with the secondary predicates referred to, in recent publications, as 'depictive predicates' (or 'depictive adjectivals')' (p. 200). Note the bracketed parts of the following sentences: *Ji parvažiavo iš kelionės [kupina naujų įspūdžių]* 'She returned from the trip [full of new impressions]'; *Sutikau ji [linksmai ir patenkintą]* 'I met him [happy and contented]'

Holvoet writes (p. 69) that the first sentence above can be called a free predicate of the subject (*laisvasis veiksnio predikatyvas*) and the second can be called a free predicate of the complement (*laisvasis papildinio predikatyvas*). Different from both of these is the required predicate of the subject (*būtinasis veiksnio predikatyvas*), e.g., *Visi ji laiko kvailiu* 'They all consider him a fool.'

The functional difference between circumstantial and free predicates is that we can always distinguish whether the modifier is applied to the predicate itself or one of its arguments (p. 71). Compare the sentences: *Broliai grįžo linksmai* (adv.) 'The brothers returned happily' and *Broliai grįžo linksmi* (nom. pl. masc.) 'The brothers returned happy.' Sometimes it is difficult to find a semantic difference between the circumstantial use of an adverb and the free predicate, cf., e.g., *Jis atsisėdo ant kėdės atbulas* (adj. nom. sg. masc.) and *Jis atsisėdo ant kėdės atbulai* (adv.) 'He sat down on the chair backwards' (p. 72). The fact that the boundaries between circumstantial and free predicates is not completely clear is not a reason to reject the

difference, because the differences between language categories is never completely clear (p. 73).

If one separates the syntactic dependencies from the morphosyntactic relationships, the question arises how to formulate the laws of use of the predicate cases. For example, the predicate case with the verb (*pa)daryti 'to make' depends upon whether the complement is a noun or an adjective. For example: *Aš tave padarysiu laimingą* (acc. sg.) 'I will make you happy' vs. *Aš tave padarysiu geru amatininku* (instr. sg.) 'I will make you a good craftsman' (p. 77). On the other hand with the verb *laikyti 'to consider'* both the adjective and the noun would be in the accusative case, e.g., *Visi ji laiko genijumi* (instr. sg.) 'They all consider him a genius' and *Visi jo planą laiko įdomiu* (instr. sg.), *bet sunkiai įgyvendinamu* (instr. sg.) 'They all consider his plan interesting, but difficult to implement.' Since the choice of case depends upon the part of speech one must consider the case here to be a semantic rather than a syntactic case. Nevertheless it seems that a more consistent use of the instrumental with such verbs as *laikyti 'to consider'* and *vadinti 'to call'* would make it into a syntactic case.*

Chapter 4, also authored by Axel Holvoet, is entitled *Aktualiosios skaidos problemos* 'Problems of topical segmentation' and deals with interpretations of the theme and rheme in current linguistic theory. As an example of the 'layered thematic-rhematic structure' he gives the sentence: *Petas skaito knygą apie žvėris* 'Peter is reading a book about wild animals.' The initial segmentation might be: *Petas* (theme) | *skaito knygą apie žvėris* (rheme). A secondary segmentation might be: *tai, ką Petras skaito* 'that which Peter is reading' (theme 2) | *yra knyga apie žvėris* 'is a book about wild animals' (rheme 2). A tertiary segmentation might be: *knyga, kurią skaito Petras* 'the book which Peter is reading' (theme 3) | *yra apie žvėris* 'is about wild animals' (rheme 3). Such topical segmentation is segmentation of the semantic structure and its elements do not need to have correspondences in the syntactic structure (p. 83).

According to Holvoet (p. 91) there are three means of expressing the topical segmentation: (1) word order, (2) intonation and (3) segmental markers. In sentences with an unmarked topical segmentation the word order corresponds to the chronology of the introduction of the theme and the rheme. In the sentence: *Jonas parvezė vaikus iš mokyklos* 'John brought the children from the school' the word *Jonas* is the theme and the remaining elements make up the rheme. One can establish a thematic hierarchy: *Jonas* (the fundamental theme) > *vaikai* 'children' (the secondary theme) > *iš*

mokyklos 'from the school' (does not attain thematic status). This hierarchy corresponds to grammatical hierarchy: subject > object > circumstance; and would correspond with the accepted valency theory hierarchy: first actant > second actant > free element. Although the coincidence of the hierarchies is not necessary it frequently occurs, since this is the most neutral kind of expression.

In the introductory remarks to chapter 5 *Sujungiamieji ir prijungiamieji sakiniai formos bei funkcijos požiūriu* 'Paratactic and hypotactic sentences from the point of view of form and function' Holvoet writes that the difference between paratactic and hypotactic sentences lies in whether the parts of the compound sentence are equivalent or not (p. 99). If we compare the sentences: *Jonas kalba, o Petras tyli* 'John is speaking, but Peter is silent' and *Jonas kalba, nors Petras tyli* 'John is speaking, although Peter is silent' we note that the order of the clauses can be reversed in the second Lithuanian sentence: *Nors Petras tyli, Jonas kalba* 'Although Peter is silent, John is speaking,' but not in the case of the first sentence **O Petras tyli, Jonas kalba* * 'But Peter is silent, John is speaking' (p. 101).

Chapter 6, co-authored by Axel Holvoet and Artūras Judžentis, is entitled *Sudėtinio prijungiamojo sakinio aprašymo pagrindai* 'Fundamentals of the description of the complex clause.' In this chapter sentence syntactic structure depending on the valency of the verb is considered a projection of the semantic structure (p. 116).

Subordinate clauses are divided into nominal, adjectival and adverbial types. A nominal clause might be: *Jis pasakė, [kad greitai atvažiuos]* 'He said [that he would soon come]'; an adjectival clause: *Afėjo žmogus, [kuri vakar matėme]* 'The man, [whom we saw yesterday], came'; an adverbial clause: *Jis ateis, [kai turės laiko]* 'He will come [when he has time]' Nominal clauses, which mostly express the arguments of the predicate are governed, adjectival clauses always modify nouns and adverbial clauses are mostly modifiers, since they are not essential (p. 119). There are, however, exceptions, e.g., *Jis rašo greičiau, [negu aš skaitau]* 'He writes faster [than I read]' The subordinate clause is similar to an adverb of manner, but the comparative degree *greičiau* 'faster' cannot be used without a standard for comparison.

Subordinate clauses may also be classified according to whether they are finite or non-finite (infinitival or participial). An example of the first would be: *Jis paprašė, [kad atnečiau žurnalą]* 'He asked, [that I bring the magazine]' and an example of the second (infinitival) would be: *Jis paprašė manęs [atnešti žurnalą]* 'He asked me [to bring the magazine]' (p. 120).

The notion of a conjunction is purely syntactic, but relative pronouns and adverbs can frequently have that function in adjectival clauses, e.g., *Ten stovi namas, kuriame* (loc. sg. masc. rel. pron.) *mes nusipirkome butą* 'There is the house in which we bought an apartment' and *Ten stovi namas, kur* (rel. adverb) *mes nusipirkome butą* 'There is the house where we bought an apartment.' Those sentence connecting words which have no other function are called conjunctions (p. 122). For example, in the sentence: *Matau, [kad tavo kepurę guli ant palangės]* 'I see [that your hat is lying on the window-sill],' the conjunction *kad* 'that' has as its only function the introduction of the subordinate clause.

Holvoet writes (p. 139) that it is not always easy to establish the boundary between nominal and adjectival sentences. In a sentence such as: *[Kas turi ausis], tegul klauso* 'Whoever has ears, may he listen' the initial clause would seem to be nominal, but since the verb *klausyti* 'to listen to' requires an animate subject, the syntactic structure only becomes evident by restoring the subject: *Tas [kas turi ausis], tegul klauso* 'May the one who has ears listen.' Thus the subordinate clause turns out to be adjectival.

It is difficult to classify sentences with comparatives since they are usually reduced, viz., some part is omitted. E.g., the sentence: *Jonas bėga greičiau [negu Petras]* 'John runs faster [than Peter]' is a kind of reduction of *Jonas bėga greičiau [negu Petras bėga]* 'John runs faster [than Peter runs]' (p. 145). The sentence: *Aš tave išmokysi dainuoti [kaip lakštingala (nom. sg.)]* 'I will teach you to sing like a nightingale' might be expanded either to *Aš tave išmokysi dainuoti [kaip lakštingala dainuoja]* 'I will teach you to sing [like a nightingale sings]' or to *Aš tave išmokysi dainuoti [kaip lakštingala išmokyta]* 'I will teach you to sing [like a nightingale would teach (you)].' Holvoet writes that the sentence: *Aš tave išmokysi dainuoti [kaip lakštingala (acc. sg.)]* would ensure only the first interpretation (p. 146).

From the point of view of meaning there are four fundamental types of adverbial sentences (p. 154-158): (1) those in which there is a coincidence of time, place or manner of both clauses, e.g., *[Kai baigsim darbą] eisime į kino* '[When we finish work], we will go to the movies'; (2) those in which a causal relationship is established, e.g., *[Kadangi jis kruopščiai ruošesi], tai laimėjo pirmąjį prizą* '[Since he had prepared himself very carefully], he won the first prize' (pp. 154-155); (3) sentences in which the connection between the main clause and the subordinate clause depends on cause and purpose,

e.g., *Reikia atidaryti langą [kad i kambari patektų gryno oro]* 'One must open the window [to get fresh air in the room]' (This sentence is ambiguous, since it might mean that the speaker considers opening the window a necessary condition for fresh air to get into the room or that the speaker wants fresh air and, seeing a connection between the opening of the window and fresh air, he therefore suggests the opening of the window); (4) sentences for which the semantic bond with the main clause is a relationship of disjunction, e.g., [*Užuot dirbęs*], *sėdi čia ir plepi* '[Instead of working], you are sitting here and chattering' (p. 158).

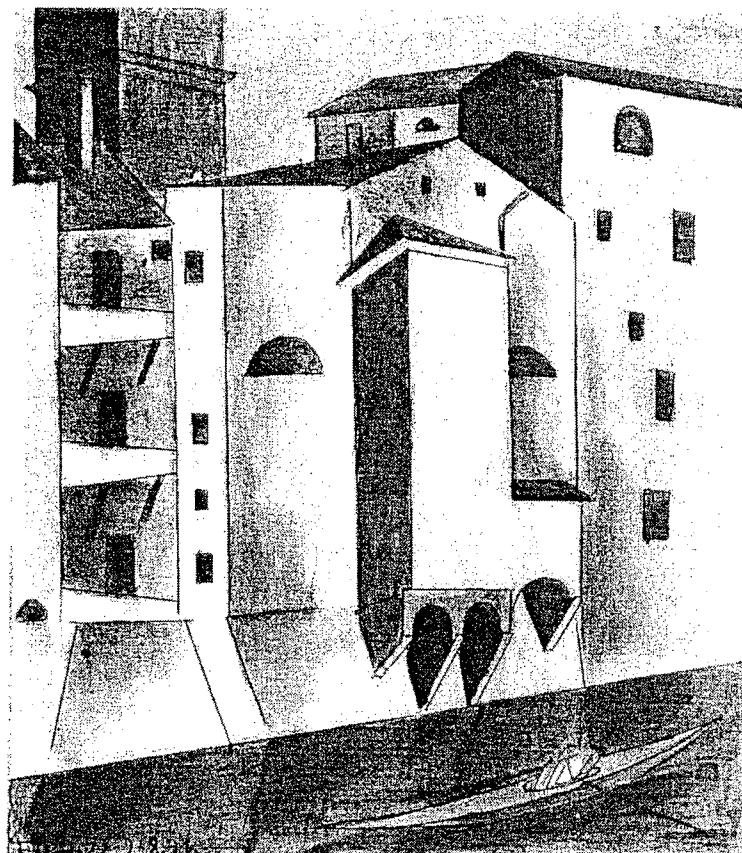
Chapter 7, also co-authored by Axel Holvoet and Artūras Judžentis, is entitled *Sujungiamojo ryšio aprašymo pagrindai* 'Fundamentals of the description of coordination' (p. 173). According to the authors the most characteristic means of expression of coordination are conjunctions. These do not form a part of either clause. There are three kinds of coordinate sentences: (1) those with a conjunction before both of the coordinated clauses, e.g., *Arba Jonas neatvažiavo, arba mes su juo prasilenkėme stotyje* 'Either John didn't come, or else we missed him at the station'; (2) those with a conjunction before only one of the clauses, e.g., *Atėjo Jonas ir padėjo mums kraustytis* 'John came and helped us move'; (3) asyndetic sentences: *Jonas susirgo, jis negalėjo atsikelti iš lovos* 'John got sick, he couldn't get out of bed' (p. 173). True conjunctions (*jungtukai*) are to be distinguished from adverbial conjunctions, e.g., in the sentence: *Jonas susirgo, todėl negalėjo atsikelti iš lovos* 'John got sick, therefore he couldn't get out of bed' the semantic relationships between the elements is refined by the use of the adverb *todėl* 'therefore.'

Although most asyndetic sentences may be interpreted as compound sentences, there are some more complicated cases, e.g., *Būčiau žinojės, būčiau anksčiau atejės* 'Had I known, I would have come earlier,' (p. 196). This sentence is counterfactual and the sentence is subordinating not coordinating. Most asyndetic sentences are indeed coordinating, but such a sentence as the preceding shows that this generalization is not completely accurate.

This book and further publications in this series will undoubtedly serve as a kind of program guide for new editions of the Lithuanian Academy Grammar. The editors are to be congratulated for opening a new forum for the discussion of syntactic problems. The facts come first and the current syntactic theories are increasingly subtle ways of analyzing these facts. As Feyerabend writes (1978, 35): 'Proliferation of theories is beneficial for science, while uniformity impairs its critical power.'

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Niklava Strunkes zimejums. Florence, 1926.

Daniel Petit, *Apophonie et catégories grammaticales dans les langues baltiques*. Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de linguistique de Paris LXXXVI. Leuven-Paris, 2004: Peeters. xxii + 436 pp. ISBN 90-429-1529-3 (Peeters Leuven); ISBN 2-87723-824-5 (Peeters France).

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In the preface (p. 5) Petit writes that he became interested in the Baltic languages not only because of their archaic nature, but also because of their historical development and the culture of which they bear witness. He notes that the study of the Baltic languages in France has a long tradition going back to Ferdinand de Saussure, although it did not have the extension that one would have wished for it. Robert Gauthiot's *Le Parler de Buividze* (1903) was the only work (ouvrage) in French devoted to a problem of Baltic linguistics until the publication of this book, a full century later.

Petit distinguishes six categories in which ablaut plays a role in the Indo-European languages (pp. 11-12).

(a) category of person, illustrated by the Old Indic present conjugation: 1st sg. émi 'I go' < **h₁ej*-*mi* vs. 1st pl. *imáh* 'we go' < **h₁i-me*. In this case we have the alternation between the full-grade of the root in the singular vs. the zero grade in the plural. Within a single number we encounter only the alternation exemplified by 1st pl. *-*o-me*, 2nd pl. *-*e-te*, 3rd pl. -*onti*.

(b) category of case, illustrated by Hittite nom. sg. *wātar* 'water' < **uod-r* vs. gen. sg. *wetenas* < **yed-n-es* (with secondary full grade of the suffix).

(c) category of number, illustrated by Hittite nom. sg. *wātar* 'water' < **uod-r* vs. nom. acc. collective *widār* < **yed-ōr*.

(d) category of gender, illustrated by Gk. nom. sg. masc. *εἰς* 'one' < **sem-s* vs. nom. sg. fem. *μία* < **sm-i₂h*₂.

(e) category of mood, illustrated by 1st sg. pres. indicative Old Indic *āsmi* 'I am' < **h₁es-mi* vs. 1st sg. optative *syām* < **h₁sieh₁-mi*.

(f) category of tense, illustrated by Gk. 1st sg. pres. *ἔχω* 'I have' < present stem **seg^h-* vs. 1st sg. aor. *ἔσχον* < aorist stem **sg^h*. Each of these categories is discussed in order in the following chapters.

In chapter I Petit writes that in the Indo-European languages the category of person is not connected with root ablaut differences (p. 15). He notes that Lithuanian quantitative differences observed in such alternations as 1st sg. pres. *drebū* 'I throw' (with a short vowel /e/) and 3rd person *drēbia* is occasioned by accentual phenomena and has nothing to do with Indo-European ablaut. The etymological long vowel is encountered, e.g., in the 3rd preterite *drebē*. He notes further that the shortening or metatony observed in the 3rd person future, e.g., *būs* 'will be,' *sakys* 'will say' are specifically Lithuanian phenomena.

Although probably the majority of scholars would agree with Petit's assertion that Indo-European root ablaut grade is not to be connected with the category of person, there are some who would find the conjugation of Latin *sum* 'I am' (and a few other Latin verbs and perhaps Hittite verbs) to be an extraordinary archaism showing difference in root ablaut grade depending on person. I would mention here Bonfante (1932:114; 1934: 294), Couvreur (1937:217), Bader (1976: 48-49), and my own 1998 article. Meillet (1931: 197) wrote: 'une flexion comme celle de lat. *ferō, ferimus* en face de *fers, fert, fertis et edo, edimus* en face de *ēs, ēst, ēstis* se dénonce comme une survivance d'un ancien état de choses indo-européen.' Lat. *edo*, etc. would seem to show root ablaut according to person. Specht (1934: 76) wrote: 'Die Sonderstellung der 2. 3. Sg. und 2. Plur. im idg. Verbum ist nicht zu leugnen, wenn auch die einzelnen Fälle verschieden geartet sein mögen.'

Brugmann (1906: 455) wrote: 'Eine glaubwürdige Hypothese ist, dass die 3. Pl. eben nichts anders als unser, als Prädikat gesetztes, *nt*-Partizipium ist.' Now Petit (p. 236-239) quotes Zinkevičius (1981: 148) who notes that in old texts there is evidence of the *-nt*- participle with zero grade vocalism for the verbal forms reflecting the root *es-* 'is,' viz. nom. sg. fem. *santi* 'being' (the nom. sg. masc. not being attested), gen. sg. masc. *sañčio*, dat. sg. masc. *sañčiam(ui)*, etc. Thus if there was a time when a Baltic 3rd pl. pres. existed for this verb it probably had zero grade root vocalism.

Petit (pp. 152-153) denies etymological length in the Indo-European root for 'to eat' thereby requiring him to invoke Lachmann's Law for the explanation of the Latin forms and Winter's Law for the explanation of the Balto-Slavic forms. Evidence for etymological length in Hittite, Old Irish and Armenian is also explained away in various ways.

It seems curious that he has mentioned (p. 11) that within a single number we encounter only the alternation exemplified by 1st pl. **-o-me* vs. 2nd pl. **-e-te*. If he mentions this, which is, of course, not a root ablaut phenomenon, it

seems that he might have mentioned the ablaut in the endings of the so-called half-thematic verbs which offer a full grade 1st sg. pres. ending (e.g., *gali-ù* 'I can' vs. a 3rd pres. with a zero-grade ending *gāli*). Petit himself discusses this category on pp. 292-293. If Kazlauskas (1968: 299) is correct one might see in the ending *-i* of 2nd sg. pres. *esi* 'you (sg.) are' an etymological athematic ending as opposed to the thematic ending attested in *esù* 'I am.' In a way then an ablaut distinction in the old athematic class has been secondarily created by the adoption of the 1st sg. thematic ending **-ō* in the etymological athematic verbs, but the retention of the old 2nd sg. athematic ending **(s)i*. The 2nd sg. reflexive *-ie-si* does not then reflect an earlier **-ei-si*, but is merely analogical on the basis of the 1st sg. *-uo-si*. The adoption of the old athematic 2nd sg ending in the shape of **-i* in the thematic classes has introduced secondary desinential ablaut there also.

Chapter II begins with the observation that ablaut variation between cases in the Indo-European languages is widely attested and probably had an even wider extension in Indo-European (pp. 23-24). Petit notes that thematic nouns do not exhibit root or suffix ablaut. Distinguishing root ablaut from suffix ablaut, he gives as an example of the former nom. sg. **dōm-(s)* 'house' (> Armenian *town*) vs. gen. sg. **dēm-s* (> Old Avestan *dāng pātiš*, Gk. δεσπότης 'master of the house.' An example of the latter is Gk. nom. sg. *πατήρ* 'father' vs. gen. sg. *πατρός*. Petit notes further that one encounters also both root and suffix ablaut in some nouns, e.g., root ablaut <*ē/ø*> and suffix ablaut <*ō/o*>, nom. sg. **h₂eys-ōs* 'dawn' (> Gk. ηώς) vs. gen. sg. **h₂us-s-e/o/s* (> Vedic *uṣāḥ*). In both Greek and Vedic the paradigm has been regularized, in Greek according to the nominative case (gen. sg. *'ηοῦς*) and in Vedic according to the genitive case (nom. sg. *uṣāḥ*).

First Petit notes that root nouns tend to disappear in Baltic and mostly pass into the *-i*- stem category. He takes up first the nouns which have no root ablaut, e.g., Lith. *žuvis* 'fish,' *bruvis* 'brow,' *pilis* 'castle,' *žąsis* 'goose,' *žvėris* 'wild animal' (pp. 27-32). Among the nouns which originally had ablaut in Baltic, but lost it are Lith. *naktis* 'night,' *antis* 'duck,' Lith. *nosis* 'nose,' Old Prussian *pintis* 'path.' Traces of root ablaut retained in Baltic include Lith. *širdis*, Latv. *sīrds* 'heart' contrasting with Lith. *šerdis*, Latv. *serde* 'pith, heartwood (of a plant or tree),' Old Prussian *seyr* 'heart', gen. sg. *sīras*, etc. (pp. 32-47). This is correctly, in my opinion, reconstructed as **sēr-*. The problem is that the apparent nom. sg. *seyr* 'heart' /sēr/ would be the only case of a surviving (from Indo-European) long (mixed) diphthong in tautosyllabic position in any Baltic language. One could easily accept a long

vowel in the gen. sg. *sīras* (= Gk. gen. sg. κῆρος) but in the nominative singular it is an anomaly. Thus Gk. μήτηρ 'mother' = Lith. moté 'woman,' so Gk. κῆρ 'heart' would correspond to Old Prussian *sē. If we accept /sēr/ we must assume the analogical restoration of the final -r. Long ago Kuryłowicz (1952: 197-198) wrote that the sequence *ēr in tautosyllabic position was shortened to ēr in Balto-Slavic (thereby giving the acute accent). Those cases with long mixed diphthongs in tautosyllabic position in Baltic, e.g., Lith. mēlti 'to become blue' are obviously recent.

Chapter III is concerned with ablaut as significant for number, viz., singular, dual and plural in the noun and verb and, perhaps, collective in the noun. Possibly there would be evidence for an Indo-European singular form *yérd^h-om > Lat. *verbum* 'word' vs. a collective *yrd^h-éh₂ > Goth. *waurda* 'words.' An ablaut distinction between the zero grade and the *-o- grade might then be recognized in Old Prussian *wīrds* 'word' vs. Lith. *vařdas*, Latv. *vārds* 'name' (pp. 125-129).

In the verb, of course, there is good evidence in some Indo-European languages for a distinction in ablaut grade between singular and plural. Thus Petit gives as an example: Indo-European 3rd sg. pres. *h₁ei-ti vs. 3rd pl. *h₁ie/on-ti, thus Vedic éti 'he/she/it goes' vs. yánti 'they go,' Gk. εἰσι vs. ιασι. Such singular/plural ablaut contrasts, of course, seem to be unknown in Baltic, except for the participle *santì* mentioned above (giving evidence of an etymological 3rd plural), which could be treated as indicating either an etymological contrast in person or an etymological contrast in number.

In Chapter IV Petit notes that root ablaut is rather poorly attested with regard to the category of gender (p. 171). Baltic grammatical gender is never associated in a regular way with root ablaut (p. 190). The only category in which one might be able to identify something which resembles vocalic alternation, i.e., that of mobile substantives of the type Lith. *vařnas* 'crow' vs. *várna* 'raven' is an acute metatony encountered in Baltic and has nothing to do with ancient Indo-European ablaut.

Petit is certainly correct in writing in Chapter V that the category of mood presents more problems of reconstruction than any other category (p. 193). It isn't even clear how many moods there were in Indo-European. Vedic had seven (indicative, injunctive, subjunctive, optative, imperative, participle and infinitive), Gothic had five (indicative, optative, imperative, participle and infinitive) and Hittite four (indicative, imperative, participle and infinitive). Petit registers five Old Prussian moods (indicative, imperative, optative, participle and infinitive), eight Lithuanian moods (indicative,

imperative, conjunctive [usually called conditional or subjunctive in English language grammars], vestigial optative, participle, gerundive, infinitive and supine) and six Latvian moods (indicative, imperative, conjunktive, participle, gerundive and infinitive).

According to Petit (p. 198) the Indo-European optative is to be recognized in three Old Prussian formations, the suffix in *-ei- or *-ai-, which renders the Old Prussian imperative, e.g. *weddeis* 'lead' or *weddais*, forms with the suffix *-sei-, *-sai-, *-se-, *-sei-, *-si-, rendering the 3rd person imperative, e.g., *boūsei*, *boūsai* 'may he be,' and a formation in -lai- or -lei-, e.g., *boūlai* '(that) he might be.' A problem is presented by the mysterious form *seisei* 'be' which Petit explains as a mixture of the Old Prussian imperative *sei* plus German *sei*. I don't know if this analysis is correct or not, but I think that Petit is on the right track here in seeing German influence in Old Prussian and more or less following the lead of Smoczyński (2000), rather than finding a distant Indo-European origin.

Chapter VI notes that essentially the Baltic verb presents three stems, a present stem, a preterite stem and an infinitive stem (p. 289). In this chapter he classifies in detail the root ablaut system of the Baltic verb.

Petit concludes that according to tradition the Baltic languages have in general preserved the ablaut series inherited from Indo-European and have even provided a certain productivity in historical times (p. 363). In the Baltic languages ablaut can be considered from different points of view (p. 364). One can interpret it from the point of view of the root and in fact it is the structure of the root which either allows or excludes the existence of root alternation. For example, in the thematic verbs in -a vocalic alternation is possible in verbs with the structure [CeRC] which alternates with [CiRC] in the preterite, e.g., Lith. 3rd pres. *peřka* 'buy(s)' vs. 3rd pret. *piřko* 'bought.' Ablaut does not appear in roots of the structure [CiRC] which shows no alternation, e.g., 3rd pres. *dirba* 'work(s)' vs. 3rd pret. *dirbo* 'worked' nor in verbs of the structure [CeC], e.g., 3rd pres. *věda* 'lead(s)' vs. 3rd pret. *věđe* 'led.' On the other hand thematic verbs with the structure [CeRC] but a present in -ia retain the same root grade in the preterite, e.g., *veřkia* 'cries, cry' vs. *veřké* 'cried.' Both root structure and morphological class play a role in the occurrence of root ablaut variation.

Ablaut in Baltic is associated with two types of 'formes de fondation' (p. 367). First of all it is frequent in derivation, e.g., *něsti* 'to carry' vs. *naštà* 'burden.' But it is also found in grammatical categories. Petit states (p. 367-368) that it is possible to establish four types of Baltic ablaut:

(a) categories, which from Indo-European times had no root ablaut and present no trace in the Baltic languages, such as the category of person. (As I have stated above in my view the existence or not of root ablaut in the category of person is controversial.)

(b) categories, which in Indo-European times could have root ablaut but which present no trace in the Baltic languages, such as the category of number and perhaps the category of gender (although already in Indo-European such root ablaut was rare).

(c) categories which could imply Indo-European root ablaut, but which have lost it, except for scattered traces here and there, e.g., the category of case.

(d) categories which could show root ablaut in Indo-European and have kept it and even developed it in the Baltic languages, e.g., the categories of mood and tense.

He writes that this classification associates two perspectives, one founded on diachronic evolution (preservation or loss of Indo-European root ablaut) and the other on a synchronic description (presence or loss of root ablaut in Baltic).

Between Indo-European and the historically attested Baltic languages there must have existed an intermediate stage 'Proto-Baltic' in which grammatical ablaut was more wide spread than it was when the languages were historically attested (p. 368). For example, the difference which separates contemporary Lithuanian *vanduō* 'water' and Latvian *ūdens* reflects an earlier period with the nom. sg. **vādō(n)*, gen. sg. *ūd-n-ēs*.

Differently from Greek, the Baltic languages do not show more than two different ablaut grades within the confines of a single grammatical category (p. 370). This tendency for 'bithematic ablaut' (a term which he has taken from Wojciech Smoczyński) is one of the most striking characteristics of the grammatical system of the Baltic languages.

Petit concludes (p. 374) that his analysis shows to what extent grammatical ablaut has been retained in the Baltic languages. The originality of the Baltic languages is not that they have retained as productive numerous Indo-European ablaut phenomena, but rather that they have integrated these phenomena into a system consisting of limits and innovations in which they have had a certain productivity.

I should like to congratulate Prof. Petit on his new, valuable and interesting contribution to Baltic linguistics. I hope that he will continue to produce significant and important works in Baltic studies. I believe that all

linguists concerned with Baltic languages hope also that Petit's impressive contributions will arouse in France more interest in Baltic languages and cultures.

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Latvijas Republikas Valsts prezidentes
Vairas Viķes – Freibergas
Valsts vizīte Itālijas Republikā

Latvijas Republikas Valsts prezidentes
Vairas Viķes – Freibergas
uzruna Itālijas Republikas prezidenta
Karlo Adzeljo Čampi
sniegtajās Valsts vakariņās

Roma, 2005. gada 27. jūnijs

Augsti godātais Prezidenta kungs!
Cienītā Prezidenta kundze!
Ekselēnci!
Dāmas un kungi!

Man ir patiess prieks un gods šajās dienās uzturēties Valsts vizītē
jūsu skaistajā un viesmīligajā zemē, ar kuru Latviju vieno senas
draudzības saites. Īpaši priečajos par atkalredzēšanos ar Jums,
prezidenta kungs, ar gandarījumu atminoties Jūsu un kundzes vizīti
Latvijā pagājušajā gadā. Jau otro reizi kopš Latvijas neatkarības
atjaunošanas Itālijā viesojas Latvijas valsts pirmā persona, un tas
patiesi apliecina Latvijas un Itālijas savstarpējo attiecību briedumu,
iezīmējot jaunas iespējas mūsu sadarbībā.
...

Andronov A., Материалы для латышско-русского
словаря. Филологический факультет СПбГУ, Санкт-
Петербург, 2002, 403 стр.

Reviewer: William R. Schmalstieg , State College, Pa.

In the foreword (pp. 5-8) Andronov (= A.) notes that although there is a fair number of Latvian-Russian dictionaries, most do not give sufficient information about the pronunciation and the grammatical forms of the Latvian word. It seems that not a single dictionary gives information about the correct pronunciation of some of the ambiguous letters used in Latvian, viz. whether we have to do with an open or close e and whether the letter o denotes a short or long monophthong or a diphthong. Therefore in this dictionary the digraph æ and the sequence iø have been introduced where appropriate in order to aid the non-Latvian in pronunciation, and the student is instructed on the use of the letters e or o respectively when writing Latvian (p. 8). The majority of the dictionaries do not provide the principal parts of verbs or necessary accentual information for the student of Latvian, so this is also provided here.

Thus, for example, Dāļe (1953: 133) and Turkina (1964: 140) list *doties* 'to set out for' as opposed to Andronov (p. 54) who gives *duōtiēs/duōtiēs*, grammatical information on the conjugation, 3 pres. *duôdas/duôdas*, 3 pret. *devâs* plus the definition отправиться-отправляться; направиться-направляться. Dāļe (1953: 142) and Turkina (1964: 143) list *dzeltens* 'yellow,' whereas Andronov (p. 54) lists *dzaēltæns* which supplies both the accentuation and the correct pronunciation of the letter -e- in this word.

The various supplements to the dictionary provide further important information. The correct rendering of Latvian proper names into Russian is discussed on pp. 225-227. Latvian proper names are to be rendered in Russian along with the grammatical ending, e.g., *Imants Kalniņš* becomes Имантс Калниньш, but the possessor of names of non-Latvian origin may have a choice, e.g., *Ivanovs* can be either Ивановс or Иванов. A complete table with rules of transcription is given on p. 226. A list of Latvian first names with Russian equivalents is given on pp. 228-223 and a list of Latvian last names is given on pp. 234-241.

Geographical names and their Russian equivalents follow on pp. 242-264 and abbreviations in common use in Latvian are spelled out and a Russian translation and/or abbreviation is also given. In some cases the Latvian abbreviation and the Russian abbreviation are the same, e.g., BAM *Baikala-Amūras magistrāte* — БАМ Байкало-Амурская Магистраль 'The Baikal-Amur Route.' In other cases the abbreviation really wouldn't work in Russian, e.g., FBR *Filolōgu biedrības raksti* is explained as *Записки общества филологов*. Certainly the corresponding Russian letters ФБР wouldn't be appropriate here.

There is a list of works of world literature, art and music arranged alphabetically by author (pp. 272-296) and then by title (pp. 296-321). In addition to the expected Latvian and Russian authors such as J. Alunāns *Dziesmiņas* 'Songs' = Ю. Альянс(с) Песенки, A. Čehovs *Kaija* 'Seagull' = А. И. Чехов Чайка we encounter foreign authors such as Dž. Pučini Bohēma 'La bohème' = Пучини Богема, E. Hemingvejs *Sirmgalvis un jūra* 'The old man and the sea' = Э.М. Хемингуэй Старик и море. This was interesting for me, because it seems to me that most Americans would stress Hemingway's name on the initial syllable as, I assume, Latvians would also.

The grammatical outline of the Latvian language (pp. 325-375) begins with a presentation of the vocalic system which is presented as a rectangle:

ī	ū	i	u
ie	uo		
ē	ō	e	o
æ	ā	æ	a

Except for *ie* and *uo* the diphthongs are considered to be sequences of two vowels or a vowel plus the hard or soft variants of *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*. A. writes (p. 326, fn. 11) that the biphonemic interpretation of the diphthongs is non-traditional and 'строго не доказана'. In most descriptions of the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, *ei*, *eu*, *oi*, *ou*, *iu*, *ui* (like *ie* and *uo*) are considered independent phonemes. Concerning the similar analysis in Lithuanian Girdenis (1995: 84) has written: 'Vienafonemė sudėtinė dvibalsių traktuotė šiuo metu įdomi tik kaip savotiškas anachronizmas, nes jau 1929 m. Trubeckojus yra visiškai tvirtai irodęs, kad tie garsai tikrai yra dvifonemai.' I suspect that one can go farther and analyze *ie* and *uo* as /i/ + /e/ and /u/ + /a/ respectively. But the old analysis will probably be with us for a time yet, even though the recent trend of science has been to introduce increasingly small elements into the analysis of natural phenomena. According to Max Planck: 'A new scientific truth does not triumph by convincing its opponents

and making them see the light, but rather because its opponents eventually die, and a new generation grows up that is familiar with it' (as quoted by Barber 1961: 597).

A table of consonants (p. 326) is accompanied by comments on their pronunciation in various environments, e.g., the fact that a velar nasal is pronounced before a velar stop. Thus *baňka* 'bank' is pronounced [baňka], something which English speakers would probably do naturally, but perhaps not speakers of Russian for whom the dental articulation would be the norm.

In the representation of the Latvian intonations on long syllables the macron is used in addition to the sign for the type of intonation (or pitch stress), e.g., *dū̄mi* for usual *dūmi* 'smoke,' *prā̄ts* for usual *prāts* 'mind' and *vā̄ks* for usual *vāks* 'cover.' A. notes (p. 327, fn. 15) that a similar practice which B. Jēgers and I (1971) had adopted for the English translation of J. Endzelins (1948) was criticized by Zeps (1974: 588).

A table of the consonantal morphophonological alternations (which result from various palatalizations) is given on p. 331 and there is a brief discussion of vocalic morphophonological alternations on p. 332.

The inflection of the noun, adjective, numeral and pronoun are discussed on pp. 331-354 and a grammatical description of the verbal system and adverb are given on pp. 355-375.

Following this section are supplements on the use of close *e*, *ē* and open *æ*, *ā* (pp. 376-379), syllable accents and the establishment of norms (pp. 380-383). As is well known only a relative small central Latvian dialect area distinguishes all three types of intonation, i.e., even, broken and falling. A. gives a map (p. 380) delineating the areas in which the various intonation types are distinguished.

In the section on principles of the description of the inflectional classes of the verb (pp. 384-397) the distinction between the present and non-present stem is fundamental and the non-present is then divided into a pre-vocalic and a pre-consonantal variant. Thus we encounter 1st pl. pres. *bālsuōjā-m*, pret. *bālsuōjā-m*, inf. *bālsuō-t* 'to vote.' A few verbs have stems which do not fit into the usual categories, e.g., *duōt* 'to give' pres. stem *duōd*, preterit *deva*. A further classification establishes primary, secondary and mixed verbs. Primary verbs are monosyllabic and without any suffix, e.g., infinitive *dzīmt* 'to be born,' present stem *dzīmst*, 3rd pret. *dzima*. The base shapes of secondary verbs include syllabic suffixes (i.e., with vowels) and such verbs, even excluding prefixes, are polysyllabic. Such suffixes might be added to the

root or to other suffixes. The verb *bàlsuō-t* 'to vote' mentioned above is an example of a secondary verb. Mixed verbs have no syllabic suffix in the present stem, but do in the preterit stem, e.g., *zin-ā-t* 'to know,' 3rd pres. *zin-ā-a*, 3rd pret. *zin-ā-ja*. According to A. (p. 386) perhaps the mixed verbs should be considered a variety of the secondary verbs characterized by an alternation of materially expressed suffixes with a zero suffix, cf. the previous example.

I repeat here A.'s inflectional classes of the Latvian verb (p.387):

Structural type	Pres. n°	Examples
Primary	-a- 1	<i>bēgt</i> - <i>bēg</i> - <i>bēga</i> 'to run' <i>nest</i> - <i>næs</i> - <i>nesa</i> 'to carry'
Mixed	-a- 2	<i>drebēt</i> - <i>dræb</i> - <i>drebēja</i> 'to tremble' <i>dziēdāt</i> - <i>dziēd</i> - <i>dziēdāja</i> 'to sing' <i>mīlēt</i> - <i>mīl</i> - <i>mīlēja</i> 'to love'
	-ā- 2	<i>vēdināt</i> - <i>vēdīna</i> - <i>vēdināja</i> 'to ventilate' <i>zināt</i> - <i>zina</i> - <i>zin-āja</i> 'to know' <i>darīt</i> - <i>dara</i> - <i>darīja</i> 'to do'
Secondary	-a- 4	<i>bàlsuōt</i> - <i>bàlsuō</i> - (<i>bàlsuōjā-m</i>) - <i>bàlsuōja</i> 'to vote'

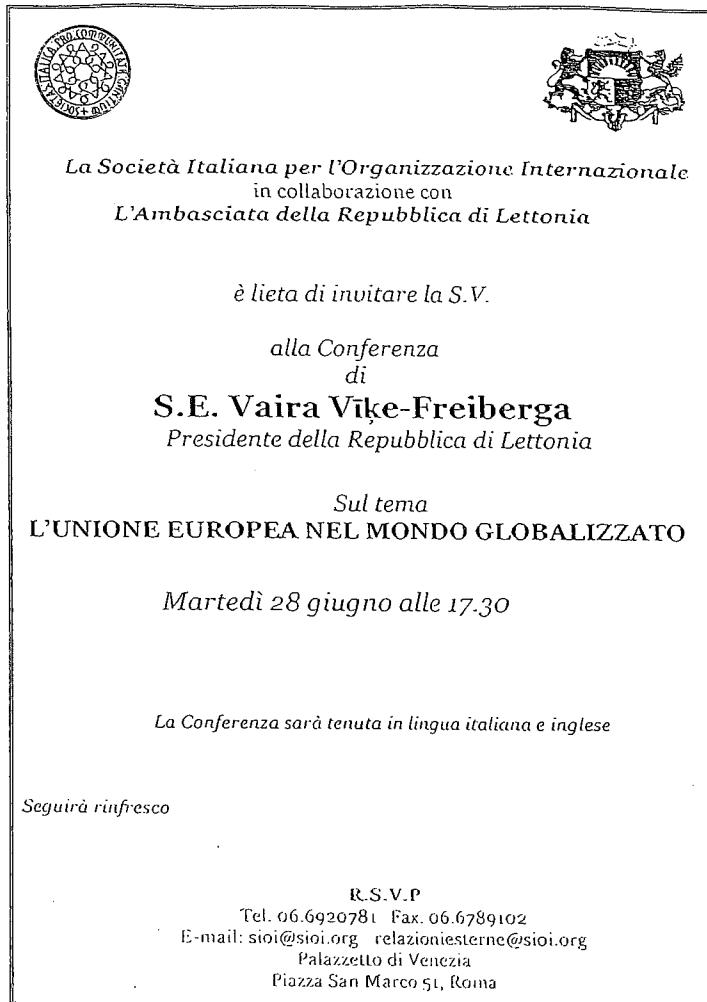
We welcome a new analysis of the Latvian verbal system which is based more on synchronic than diachronic principles.

This book is primarily valuable for the learner of Latvian, not only for the vocabulary, but also for the very useful supplements which I have mentioned above. As far as I know this is the only Latvian bilingual dictionary which presents the intonation pattern, the difference between *ā* and *ā̄* and the correct pronunciation of *o* for each Latvian entry. The native speaker does not need this information and thus it was natural for Zeps (1974: 588) to criticize the inclusion of the macrons along with the intonational diacritics in the English translation of Endzelīns (1948). Possibly he would have criticized the same practice in this dictionary. But information unnecessary for native speakers may be very helpful for beginning learners.

The book ends with a list of references on pp. 399-402 and the table of contents on p. 403. The writing of this book was supported by the Latvian Cultural Foundation (*Latvijas Kultūras Fonds*) and in my opinion the foundation spent its money wisely. In view of the apparent wish on the part of the Latvian government to encourage the Russian population of Latvia to learn Latvian I would encourage the Latvian government to supply financial support also, so that the dictionary may be made more complete and widely distributed. According to the last page of this book the current edition, alas, numbers only 100 copies.

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Stefano M. Lanza, *Lietuvių-Italų kalbų žodynas. Dizionario Lituano-Italiano*, Vilnius, Tyto Alba, 2003, 856 p. ISBN 9986-16-312-9

Recensore: Paulius Jurkevičius, Roma

Sarà difficile sopravvalutare il nuovo dizionario "Lietuvių-italų kalbų žodynas" (*Dizionario lituano-italiano*) di Stefano M. Lanza già solo per il semplice motivo che è l'unica opera linguistica di queste dimensioni, la quale già a prima vista si presenta come un'imponente, bella e curata edizione per tipi della casa editrice Tyto Alba di Vilnius. Anche le cifre parlano da sole: due lingue, 856 pagine, 32 000 vocaboli circa.

Dopo una serie di tascabili — da considerare come "prove generali" di tutto rispetto — ecco finalmente un volume che presenta una panoramica impressionante delle due lingue europee. Tenendo conto che il primo tentativo di redigere un simile vocabolario ebbe luogo nel 1946 a Torino, si vede che c'è voluto mezzo secolo per avere un così prezioso strumento linguistico.

Sarà senz'altro indispensabile specie agli studenti e a tutti coloro che vorranno studiare più o meno in profondità i due idiomi; ma anche a tutti quelli che nella loro attività lavorativa di tutti i giorni hanno bisogno di aprire un dizionario, occasionalmente, anche soltanto per rispondere ad una domanda urgente: «Ma in lituano come sarebbe?»

C'è di tutto in questo dizionario: terminologia moderna dell'economia e della tecnologia HT (tranne stranamente la parola *pelé* 'mouse'), lessico di tutti i giorni (*varyti* 'andare'), parole lituane appena coniate (*suvožtinis* 'panino imbottito'), fraseologismi difficili da tradurre in italiano (*reikalingas kaip šuniai penkta koja*), il vecchio lessico dichiarato in Lituania "fuori legge" ma tutt'ora molto espressivo (*šmotas* 'pezzo'), argot lituano dei sobborghi (*štuka* 'mille') e le parolacce: belle se antiche (*rupiūžė*), meno belle se nuove.

La decisione dell'autore di includere alcune parole della lingua parlata (le quali, a detta dell'autore, non vengono mai accolte nei normali dizionari e perciò accuratamente segnalate da una crocetta) è rischiosa ma anche divertente. Rischiosa, perché le autorità di Vilnius che sorvegliano sulla purezza della lingua lituana potrebbero non prendere sul serio l'opera di S.

Lanza per colpa appunto di quei cosiddetti "parassiti" linguistici (*balamūtas* 'malandrino, briccone', *špagalka* 'bigliettino [da cui copiare]', *šliaukal[s]* 'vomito' ecc). Divertente, perché questi innocui sostantivi sono ancora in uso, ma stanno gradualmente scomparendo, e chissà se il dizionario lituano-italiano, col passare del tempo, non diventi anche un documento della lingua che non c'è più.

L'economia, la moda, lo sport, la gastronomia saranno con molta probabilità i settori del dizionario tra i più consultati. Proviamo a gettarvi uno sguardo, rapidamente e senza pretese troppo analitiche. Come si sa, l'Italia è il terzo, o anche quarto, partner commerciale europeo della Lituania. Perciò è legittimo supporre che il dizionario lituano-italiano sarà apprezzato e collaudato dagli operatori economici di tutti e due i paesi. Sicuramente non li deluderà. Per fare un bonifico bancario, tradurre documenti finanziari, il dizionario di S. Lanza darà un aiuto prezioso.

Qualche dubbia interpretazione, volendo cavillare, potrebbe trovare un tifoso di pallacanestro, sport amatissimo in Lituania. Per esempio, *kontrataka* in lituano verrebbe tradotto da qualsiasi intenditore di basket come 'contropiede' e non col patetico 'controffensiva'. Oppure, la locuzione *perimtas kamuolys* in italiano verrebbe tradotta come 'palla recuperata' e difficilmente come 'palla intercettata'. Cosicché l'autore forse dopo aver intuito l'importanza di questo sport per i lituani avrà incluso *žaidėjas* 'play' lasciando senza ruolo 'ala' cioè *krašto puolėjas*.

Un altro settore tradizionalmente difficile per ogni linguista e traduttore è la gastronomia. Soprattutto se è in via di rapidissimo sviluppo: i lituani stanno scoprendo le prelibatezze italiane ed i prodotti tipici scontrandosi con notevoli difficoltà dal punto di vista terminologico. Adesso per esempio ogni ristorante a Vilnius propone piatti con la rucola. Nel dizionario di S. Lanza *gražgarstė* non è contemplato ma la spiegazione c'è: questo neologismo è stato coniato dopo l'uscita del dizionario.

Stranamente vi sono tutte le specialità lituane: *cepelinai*, *vėdarai*, *šaltibarščiai*. Mancano però i prodotti italiani ormai famosi anche in Lituania. C'è la mozzarella, ma non c'è il parmigiano reggiano. Nell'approfondimento della voce *kava* appare 'caffè solubile', ma non appare l'espresso o il latte macchiato. Inoltre, parlando di *aliejus*, l'autore propone un inesistente *valgomasis aliejus* ma non inserisce invece quello extravergine.

In ogni caso queste considerazioni sono il risultato di un assai rapida rassegna. E' piuttosto importante un altro aspetto: l'opera di S. Lanza rispecchia un'ottima qualità progettuale e editoriale, si caratterizza per la

semplicità d'uso, la ricchezza linguistica: tutti aspetti positivi che difficilmente saranno eguagliati da un'edizione ancor più perfetta. Restano da porsi due domande. La prima rivolta all'editore che non ha deciso, per chi sa quali motivi, di non porre il nome dell'autore sulla copertina. La seconda, invece, è piuttosto un augurio e una domanda rivolti all'autore stesso: quando potrà vedere la luce anche un dizionario italiano-lituano di altrettanto alta qualità?