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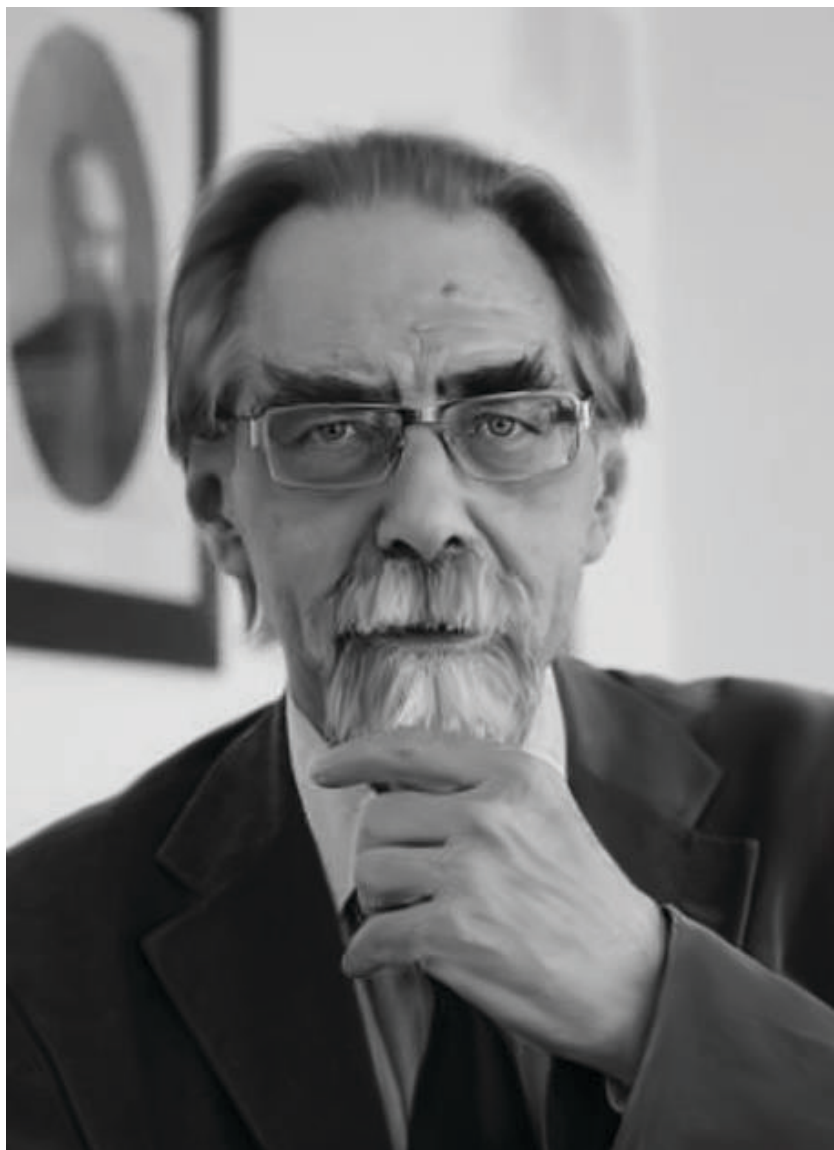
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**COLLOQUIA CLASSICA
ET INDOGERMANICA VII**

**MISCELLANEA IN HONOREM
NIKOLAI N. KAZANSKY
SEPTUAGENARII**

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Предисловие главного редактора

Настоящий выпуск журнала посвящается его основателю академику Николаю Николаевичу Казанскому по случаю 70-летнего юбилея. Сказать «основатель» означает не сказать почти ничего. Мало ли журналов, в том числе лингвистических или, шире, филологических, появилось в России в 1990-е и начале 2000-х годов. Какие-то из них лишь мелькнули и канули в небытие, какие-то существовали чуть дольше. Сейчас мы даже не вспомним их названий. Одной идеи «придумать» журнал и даже выпустить несколько номеров мало. Совсем другое дело — тянуть журнальный воз изо дня в день. Методично, упорно, с полным вниманием ко всем мелочам (мы же понимаем, что мелочей в таком деле не бывает!). Если делать это четырнадцать лет подряд (а именно столько времени Николай Николаевич был главным редактором), то это уже сродни подвигу. Или, если воспользоваться цитатой из популярного советского фильма, «я не скажу, что это подвиг, но вообще что-то героическое в этом есть». Посвящая этот выпуск Николаю Николаевичу, мы тем самым благодарим его за то, что его усилиями в российской лингвистике появился журнал *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana* (ну конечно, а как же еще могло называться издание, придуманное ученым-классиком?!). И не просто появился, а прочно занял свое место в ряду российских филологических журналов.

От имени авторов этого выпуска и редколлегии приношу Николаю Николаевичу поздравления и слова благодарности.

Е. Головки
Главный редактор

Editors' preface

The present celebratory volume of *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana* pays homage to the founder of the journal, Professor Nikolai Nikolaevich Kazansky, on the occasion of his 70th birthday. At the same time, the volume continues the *Colloquia Classica et Indogermanica* series (1998–), likewise founded by the honorand and devoted to classical philology and Indo-European linguistics, two fields of study that have always been at the core of Nikolai Kazansky's research interests.

Among the vast range of Nikolai Kazansky's achievements is not only the founding of *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana* in 2003 and dedicated work as its editor-in-chief until 2017, but also the founding of the journal *Indo-European Linguistics and Classical Philology*, published since 1998, of which he remains the editor-in-chief. The journal originated as the proceedings volume of the eponymous international conference dedicated to the memory of Joseph M. Tronsky and has over the years developed into a renowned journal in the field. This annual conference, revived by the honorand in 1997 after it had been discontinued for almost a decade, is one of the main venues for scholarly debates on classical antiquity and comparative Indo-European linguistics in Russia and is widely recognized abroad.

Nikolai Kazansky graduated from the Department of Classical Philology at Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) State University in 1974 where his teachers were A. I. Zaitsev, A. I. Dovatur, and L. G. Herzenberg. The same year he began his graduate studies at the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (now the Institute for Linguistic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences). Important milestones of the early stages of his brilliant academic career include his Ph.D. (Candidate of Sciences) thesis *Древние греко-анатолийские*

языковые связи на территории Малой Азии. Памфилийский диалект древнегреческого языка [Ancient Greek-Anatolian Language Contacts in Asia Minor] (Leningrad, 1980) and the Habilitation (Doctor of Sciences) thesis *Проблемы ранней истории древнегреческого языка: языковые реконструкции и проблемы языковой нормы* [Problems in the Early History of Ancient Greek: Linguistic Reconstruction and the Language Norm] (Leningrad, 1990). Head of the Department of Comparative Historical Indo-European Linguistics and Areal Studies at the Institute for Linguistic Studies (since 1998), director of the Institute for Linguistic Studies (2001–2018), and Member of the Academy of Sciences since 2002, Nikolai Kazansky has always been a true champion of philology and linguistics in Russia.

The publication record of the honorand is striking. In addition to over 200 articles on a wide range of linguistic and philological topics, Nikolai Kazansky is the author and co-author of several monographic studies that have become standard reference sources. These include *Предметно-понятийный словарь греческого языка. Крито-микенский период* [*Thematic Vocabulary of Ancient Greek: the Creto-Mycenaean Period*] (co-authored with his wife Vanda P. Kazanskiene; Leningrad, 1986), *Диалекты древнегреческого языка* [*Ancient Greek Dialects*] (Leningrad, 1983), *Principles of the Reconstruction of a Fragmentary Text. New Stesichorean Papyri* (St. Petersburg, 1997), *Очерк фонологии латинского языка* [An Outline of Latin Phonology] (St. Petersburg, 2017), *Проблемы латинской лексикологии* [Issues in Latin Lexicology] (St. Petersburg, 2022).

Nikolai Kazansky's prolific publication activity is truly remarkable when one considers the number of books that he has edited or co-edited, including multiple publications of the Institute of Linguistic Studies covering all aspects of linguistics and beyond. To name just a few, *Эмиль Бенвенист. Словарь индоевропейских социальных терминов* [Émile Benveniste. *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*] (translation from French with commentary by Ju. S. Stepanov and N. N. Kazansky; Moscow, 1995), И. М. Тронский. *Историческая грамматика латинского языка* [J. M. Tronsky. *Historical Grammar of Latin*] (an expanded edition with a commentary; St. Petersburg, 2001), *Hṛdā mānasā:*

Сборник статей к 70-летию со дня рождения профессора Леонарда Георгиевича Герценберга [Hṛdā mānasā: Studies Presented to Professor Leonard G. Herzenberg on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday] (St. Petersburg, 2005), *Индоиранское языкознание и типология языковых ситуаций. Сборник статей к 75-летию профессора Александра Леоновича Грюнберга (1930–1995) [Indo-Iranian Linguistics and the Typology of Linguistic Situations. Professor Alexander L. Gruenberg Memorial Volume (1930–1995)]* (St. Petersburg, 2006). The sharpness of Nikolai Kazansky's editorial eye has become proverbial. For obvious reasons, the present volume could not benefit from that sharpness, which could have saved it from many an imperfection.

Like Hercules holding the heavenly vault in one of his labors, Nikolai Kazansky — a unique specialist in Indo-European linguistics, Ancient Greek dialects, and Mycenaean — has carried an incredible burden of administrative duties. He is renowned for the efforts he put into ensuring not only the development, but at times indeed the survival, of linguistic and philological schools in Russia, as well as the inclusion of the Russian philological tradition into international context.

Combining research, administrative, and editorial duties with teaching, Nikolai Kazansky has trained several new generations of specialists in ancient languages. Since 1974 he has taught at the Department of Classical Philology and the Department of General Linguistics of the St. Petersburg State University and he has occasionally served as a visiting professor at other universities, in particular, at the Moscow State University. Nikolai Kazansky took an active part in the revival of Indo-European studies in St. Petersburg initiated by Professor Leonhard G. Herzenberg (1934–2012) at the Department of General Linguistics. Seminars held by Prof. Herzenberg and Prof. Kazansky in 1990s, overcrowded with students from different departments, developed into complete M.A. (2010–) and B.A. (2021–) programs in Indo-European Linguistics.

Everyone who has ever had the pleasure of personal communication with Nikolai Nikolaevich has been fascinated by his incredible erudition, which extends far beyond his areas of research specialty. Even in academia, few people possess such detailed knowledge and nuanced

understanding of the individual fates of the Russian intelligentsia throughout the 20th century, with all of its hardships and moments of glory.

The humanistic spirit of the honorand reveals itself not only in passionate discussions about the past, present and future of humanities; it has left a noticeable mark in the general ambience at the Institute for Linguistic Studies over the past decades. The highest ethical standards, respectful and cooperative attitude among colleagues, focus on research achievements, maintained at an organization comprised by over a hundred specialists in a wide range of linguistic fields, have brought the Institute true renown. Overcoming obstacles in order to find a fruitful solution which would benefit the discipline, the institution, or even the individual scholar is characteristic of Nikolai Kazansky's practical wisdom. This, coupled with his genuine care and concern about the well-being of his colleagues, has earned him universal gratitude, respect, and admiration.

While most of Nikolai Kazansky's research, teaching, and administrative achievements were accomplished in Russia, the composition of the present volume reflects the world-wide esteem in which he is held by fellow linguists and philologists. Unsurprisingly, papers on classical antiquity and the history of Greek language constitute the core of the present collection. N. V. Braginskaya in her contribution of the *Passio of Perpetua and Felicitas* shows that a co-martyr by the name Revocatus actually did not exist, and that his emergence as a separate saint is due to a textual error. F. De Decker offers a meticulous analysis of augmented and non-augmented forms of δίδωμι in the *Iliad*. P. J. Finglass examines fragments of Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* that treat the Pholus episode. M. Janda compares Greek and Vedic stories of the Dawn Goddess fleeing the Hunter, which he sees as a reflection of PIE astronomical observations. A. Kassian and O. Popova reassess the evidence of Late Babylonian words in Greek alphabet. D. Kölligan analyzes the etymology and usage of adjectives denoting calmness in Greek and Latin (ἤσυχος and *tranquillus*). L. Kulikov discusses the etymology of Κρόνος and the rare nominal type in -όνο-. S. Luraghi offers a study of the verb ἀρέσκειν, with a special focus on how the changes in the syntactic construction reflect changes in the semantics of the verb. A. Nikolaev suggests a new etymology for the rare Greek verb μαπέειν. A. V. Podossinov offers a word-by-word commentary

of a Greek epigram preserved in Ptolemy's *Geography*, focusing on the epithets of peoples that it mentions and on their geographical location. B. Vine argues that Mycenaean *tu-wo* and Greek θύος should be analyzed as a neuter *s*-stem with a zero-grade root, supplementing the fairly small group of such examples in Greek and emphasizing their importance for the reappraisal of the Erlangen model of accentuation. R. Viredaz offers a series of observations concerning the use and etymology of Greek γλαυκός, ἐστία, νεογῆλος and the gloss κρησίπαιδα. V. V. Zelchenko examines Greek ἄρνιον and ὄδιον, showing that in neither case there is reason to suspect a separate lexical meaning going beyond semantics proper to diminutives. Four papers are dedicated to the Anatolian languages. H. C. Melchert reevaluates the meaning and etymology of Hittite *hulli/a-* and its possible congeners. E. Rieken proposes a new etymology of Luwian */watt(i)-/* 'mountain'. A. Sideltsev discusses the use of intransitive verbs as passives in Hittite. I. Yakubovich studies Luwian particles */-dar/* and */-r/* and comes to conclusion that they are allomorphs of the same clitic. Several papers are dedicated to various aspects of Proto-Indo-European reconstruction. K. Ackermann argues that Old Church Slavonic *skvožě* 'through' and its cognates allow reconstructing a Proto-Indo-European spatial adverb and particle **(H)eǵʰ-* with ablative semantics. M. Kümmel discusses new approaches to the phonetic interpretation of Proto-Indo-European laryngeals. A. Lubotsky offers a new etymology for the rare Avestan form *pašne* based on minute philological analysis of its uses and semantic parallels outside Indo-Iranian. M. de Vaan addresses the issue of competing Proto-Indo-European reconstructions of the word 'salt' and argues that the variant with a final **-d-* reflects the old instrumental case-form. In addition, the volume includes a number of papers dedicated to the history of individual Indo-European languages. R. Kim offers a new theory of the origin of the numerative form in Ossetic which he derives from Proto-Iranian nominative plural inflection. D. Petit discusses the etymology of Old Lithuanian prepositional phrase *uþ oβcziu* 'on the back side' and related issues of Baltic and Proto-Indo-European word-formation. L. Repanšek argues that Vedic *sákthi-* '(inner) thigh' should be derived from a Proto-Indo-Iranian dual form **sakt-í* 'a pair of (inner) thighs'; this analysis has important implications for the

reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European morphology. A. Scala shows what the evidence of Cilician Armenian has to offer for establishing the dialectal features of Outremer French. The issue of the origin of the Slavic 2nd person singular present ending is revisited by M. Villanueva Svensson, whose detailed diachronic analysis strives to explain the attested variants of the morpheme.

The guest editors of this volume, together with the editorial board of the *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana*, are happy to use this opportunity to thank all authors for their generous and insightful contributions.

The references to ancient Greek and Latin authors follow the system of abbreviations adopted by the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (ed. by P. G. W. Glare, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) and Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* (revised and augmented by H. G. Jones, with the assistance of R. McKenzie and the cooperation of many scholars, with a revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). The references to Anatolian cuneiform texts follow the conventions adopted in the *Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989–).

To conclude, we wish the honorand much joy in reading the present volume, *munus magna cum gratia et admiratione confectum. Gratulamur viro docto et illustri plurimosque annos ei optamus!*

Maria Kazanskaya, Petr Kocharov, Andrey Shatskov
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A note on another source of root-extension in IE. The “deep” morphology in OCS adv. *skvozě* ‘through’ and related cases

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Abstract. The present article carries on a series of studies in the root structure in PIE and focuses on the traces of root extension by means of particle absorption. The comparative derivational analysis of the secondary adverb/preverb OCS *skvozě* ‘through’ and the root-related family (so far, with no plausible etymological connection) helps identify in Balto-Slavic traces of the Proto-Indo-European spatial adverb and particle **(H)egʰ* of ablative semantics that was productive for a period of time in Balto-Slavic and later on in Slavic. In particular, Balto-Slavic shows the enclitic zero-grade allomorph, otherwise probably tangible in Skt. *ba-h-iṣ* ‘outside’ and beyond. In Balto-Slavic, **-gʰ* got fossilized in a series of prepositions (of which seven are discussed in detail) and likely amalgamated in a handful of Proto-Indo-European roots contributing to their compound semantics. In G. Dunkel’s analysis of the Indo-European evidence summarized in LIPP, preference is given to the classification of the postponed **gʰ*-containing particle exclusively as a word or sentence intensifier, which is formally, as well as micro- and macro-semantically difficult. In this paper I revisit the conclusive material that makes it necessary to reanalyse the structure of a series of inherited spatial adpositions and adverbs. As I show, the morphosemantic template as found in the showcase example *skvozě* lives on in numerous formations scattered across the Indo-European branches, whereas formal discrepancies impeding hitherto conclusive reconstruction are accounted for in terms of paradigmatic variation of the encliticized anaphoric pronoun (*casus rectus* vs. *casus obliqui* of different gender forms). Judging from the panchronic perspective and adducing the evidence of modern Indo-European languages where the same morphosemantic template is fully productive allows us to draw a tentative model of the cognitive capture of spatial reference which appears basically invariant and is obviously conceived as natural by the speakers of Indo-European. The latter aspect, namely that of clear cognitive plausibility in linguistic reconstruction makes up one of the methodological standpoints the author promotes. Beyond that, the paper examines a number of further fossilized traces of **(He)gʰ* in secondary roots of ‘piercing’ semantics.

Keywords: root extension, univerbation, trapped morphology, ablative particles, clitic absorption.

Еще один источник корневого расширения в праиндоевропейском: «глубинная» морфология ст.-сл. *skvozǝ* ‘сквозь’ и аналогичные примеры

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Аннотация. Настоящая статья продолжает серию исследований автором структуры корня в праиндоевропейском языке и рассматривает пример расширения корня вследствие абсорбции частицы-клитики. Сравнительный деривационный анализ вторичного адверба/преверба др.-ц.-сл. *skvozǝ* ‘сквозь’ и однокоренных слов, не имевших до сих пор однозначной этимологии, позволяет обнаружить в балтославянских языках «реликты» праиндоевропейского пространственного адверба и частицы **(H)eǵʰ* с аблативной семантикой, сохранявшего продуктивность на протяжении определенного периода в прабалтославянском и позже в славянских языках. В частности, для прабалтославянского восстанавливается энклитика в нулевой ступени, которая, видимо, входит в состав скр. *ba-h-iš* ‘снаружи’. Прабалтославянское **-ǵʰ* обнаруживается в ряде предлогов (семь из которых анализируются в статье), а также как расширитель в составе нескольких праиндоевропейских корней, модифицирующий их семантическую структуру пространственным (чаще всего аблативным) компонентом.

Ключевые слова: расширитель корня, универбация, морфология, локативные частицы, клитики.

1. Instead of an introduction

About a decade ago Prof. N. N. Kazansky and Prof. H. Eichner initiated a wide-scale research project into one of the darkest “grey zones” of the Proto-Indo-European morphology and root structure — the so-called root

extensions — that resulted in successive co-operation on the subject, which I had the pleasure to be part of from the start. In 2016 the international workshop “Root-extensions in Indo-European” was held following the Main conference of the Indo-European society that hosted insightful talks by workshop participants and highlighted the intermediate results of the associated research group. The contributions featured the broad scope of the subject matter and many innovative approaches in disentangling root-structures palpable in the attested forms. The workshop also showed how much work was still ahead. On my part, the theoretical framework developed during this time, as well as the accumulated factual evidence considerably facilitated the work on morphological and lexical reconstruction, literally “opening new horizons” and providing the “missing links”. In fact, all my investigations since the beginning of the project and after its official completion incorporated to a different degree the research results, both factual and methodological. In this sense, the present small contribution owing its results to the same paradigm brings to discussion another piece of evidence of trapped morphology discernible in the Indo-European comparison and is dedicated to prof. Kazansky’s special interest in Proto-Indo-European root-structure¹ with warmest wishes *ad multos annos*.

2. OCS *skvozě* ‘through’ and its derivational family

The Old Church Slavonic adverb of manner of action and preposition *skvozě* (*skvěžě*²) ‘through, throughout’ also well preserved in South and East Slavic bears witness to the process of syntactic simplification and semantic “flattening” at the pre-attested stage of Slavic. Traditional proposals of the derivational structure and the etymological affiliation have not

¹ Particularly, in the role of particles and adpositions [Kazansky 1990: 4–5].

² According to [SJS, 4: 88] the root vowel *ě* appears just once in Zogr. Mc. 2.23 in a line with numerous *ě*, whereas other occurrences of the word in the same manuscript show the *-o-* root-grade. Therefore, it cannot be taken as evidence for the appealing long *e*-grade survived in Slavic (contra Snój in [SES: 685]).

been elucidating so far. The etymon is not mentioned in [EDSIL], while [REW, 2: 636] and [ERHSJ, 3: 268] offer no etymological analysis except for the notice that a wider distributed and semantically adjacent OCS *skrozě*, better survived in West Slavic, apparently results from the contamination of the former and the preposition **čers/zь* presumably continuing PIE *(*s*)*kert-* (see in detail below). In the article on Sln. *skôze* and *skvôžnja*, M. Snoj implies that the last root radical (Slavic *-z-*) does not belong into the structure of the original root, since he tentatively connects the word to OHG *schouwôn* ‘to watch out, to look’ < PIE **skeu-*, leaving the closing laryngeal out of the discussion and hypothesizing about the putative PSl. **skvogǎ* [Snoj 1983; SES: 685, 687]. Even if we question the suffixation with **-g-*³ (cf. [Matasović 2014: 85, 159–160]) and amend Snoj’s reconstruct with the due closing **-h₁* of the corresponding PIE root **skeuh₁* ‘to perceive, observe’ (OCS *čuti*), it does not appear to be the best candidate for the root continued in OCS *skvozě* and its cognates other than (and older than) the secondary verb *skoznováti* ‘to watch, observe’ found in Kajkavian dialects, which obviously impacted the starting point of Snoj’s reconstruction.⁴ The derivational family in Slavic comprises the following evidence:

³ Snoj extracts an unparalleled Proto-Slavic suffix **-g-* in comparison to Proto-Slavic **strŭga* ‘stream’ and ‘deepest channel of a river’ [SES: 687] which is a rather weak evidence for a separate affix (otherwise isolated), since **struga* is very likely an early Slavic contamination product of **stru-já* ‘stream, canal’ (OCS *struja*, Lith. *sraujà*, cf. Gk. *ῥόος* to PIE **srew-* ‘flow, stream’, [LIV²: 588]) and **strьg-ja* > **strьža* ‘core, deepest channel of a river, main current’ ([EDSIL], *strьžь*), the original meaning being ‘core’, cf. outside Slavic OPr. *strigeno* ‘brain, mark’, Lith. *strigti* ‘penetrate, irrupt’ [PKEŽ: 886; SEJL: 1224].

⁴ The proposal to trace Sl. *skvozě* back to the PIE *(*s*)*keu* (+*h₁*) (cf. [LIV²: 561]) does not hold upon a closer diachronic analysis of the evidence outside the Kajkavian idioms (see below). Moreover, the root *(*s*)*keuh₁* is continued in Slavic with no reflexes of the *s*-mobile and with a completely different semantic development. Tracing both roots back to the same source and assuming that the morphological split took place in Proto-Slavic, is rather improbable in view of the total lack of intermediate forms or bridging semantics. Glancing at the semantic side of the matter, it seems unnecessary to resort to the figurative meaning of “looking through” in order to extract

- a) The adverb and preposition in OCS, ORu. *skvozě*, OCroat. *skvozje*, Ru. *skvoz'*, Sln. *skōzi* ‘through, throughout’ [SJS, 4: 85; REW, 2: 636; ERHSJ, 3: 268; SES: 685; ESSJ, 3: 247; SSKJ, 4: 707–708].
- b) The feminine resultative noun in (O)CS *skvožbnja*, (*s*)*kvažnja* equivalent to Gk. ὀπή and Lat. *foramen*, Sln. *skvōžnja*, OSerb., Ru. *skvažina* all meaning ‘gap, hole, crack, fissure, slit’ [SJS, 4: 85, REW, 2: 635; SES: 687; ESSJ, 3: 252; ERHSJ, 3: 276], on the suffixation see [Matasović 2014: 150–151]. If the root-vowel *-a-* is old (which is not certain) it would reflect the lengthened grade, hence the continuation of the Proto-Indo-European *set-*root.
- c) A verbal stem is attested in Ru. *skvozitʹ* ‘to have holes, to allow seeing through’ [OCSRS, 2: 1230] and ‘to have draught’, MBulg. adj. (possibly ← pf. pass. ptc.) *skvoznatʹ* with reference to the ventilated cavities in the lungs (Hex. 233b10), ‘perforated, porous’ (Hex. 175b14), and Sln. dial. *skozniti*, *skoznováti* with the secondary meaning ‘to stay awake’ → ‘to observe, keep watching’ [ESSJ, 3: 247] all pointing towards the original *CoC-*éje-* causative-iterative stem-formation.
- d) In Old Russian, the root is further exploited to produce a large number of derivatives at different times, such as later *skvažnostʹ*, a special physical/chemical term denoting “the quality of bodies, according to which there can be spaces between their constituents” as registered and defined in [OCSRS, 2: 1229].

For the correct interpretation of the etymological attribution of the Slavic continuants in addition to the abstract meaning ‘through, per’ conveyed in Old Church Slavonic attestations, crucial evidence is provided by the Middle Bulgarian *Hexaameron* of Joan Ekzarh of Bulgaria (survived in a 13th century Serbian copy)⁵ that contains parts of Aristotelean description of the human body. There *skvožě* adv./prep., *skvožbna* f.,

the non-figurative element (the basis of the metaphoric transference) out of the semantic structure in the course of semantic derivation.

⁵ The text edition and a concordance are available in [Aitzetmüller 1958–1975].

skvozьnatъ adj. (possibly ← pf. pass. ptcp.) occur — often together — several times, the latter two always with reference to the functional qualities and constitution of human lungs. The same ‘porous quality’ (irrespective of visibility) is expressed by the derivative appearing in the 18th century Russian, listed above under (d).

Croatian Kajkavian *skoznovàti* ‘to stay up/awake the whole night’, *skozan*, *skozni* adj. ‘awake’, Sln. dial. *skoznovàti* ‘to watch (out)’, *skôzen* adj. ‘cautious’ is a further semantic narrowing. The Kajkavian iterative forms witnessed a *pars pro toto* transference of the compound semantics (lucidly formulated by Skok [ERHSJ, 3: 268]: “bdjeti, probdjeti noć bez sna” ‘to stay awake through the night’) to its most prominent distinctive feature expressed by the adposition / adverb *skozi* ‘through(out)’ yielding literally “to through the night”. A comparable collocation is found in Modern German ‘(die Nacht) durch-machen’ lit. ‘to do the night through’ i.e., ‘to stay up through the night’, (where *durch* corresponds exactly to Croatian Kajkavian *skozi*).⁶

Judging by the preserved ablaut pattern and the semantics in South Slavic, the presumed Common Slavic **skvoziti* is originally a causative ‘to let through’ that developed into an anti-causative intransitive (in some contexts even zero-valent) verb in Russian and served the basis for further *Aktionsart*-stems.

M. Snoj seeks for additional evidence in support of his analysis of *skvozě* in Kashubian *skvéga/skvéga*, Pomeranian *skvéga* f. ‘crack, split’, also used as a pejorative reference to persons. However, *skvéga* cannot represent the output of the regular phonological development of the alleged PSI. **skvo/ega*. The consonantal sequence *skv°* is in general barely encountered in West Lechitic, with the exception of apparently onomatopoetic *skvér*-derivatives in lexemes denoting birds or insects and affiliated “sound-producing” verbs [Sychta 1967–1976, 5: 69; Lorentz-Hinze 1970: 258–260; Lorentz-Hinze 1975: 1781]. This is

⁶ The further semantic drift to the contemporary meaning found in colloquial Sln. *skoznovàti* ‘to observe, stay alert, be attentive’ is visible in older Prekmurje Sln. *skoznùvati* preserving both meanings ‘to be awake’ and ‘to observe, look’ [Novik 2015: 655].

due to the regular “lightening” of consonantal clusters ([Lorentz 1925: 86–87] with ample examples) and especially in the sequence of a velar and the labial *v* (whether palatal or not). Thus, in a linearly inherited lexeme, one would expect either the total loss of *v*, or *kʷ* would have been assimilated to *kf*/*kʰ*, or even *kj* (an even broader feature of West Lechitic dialects, occurring also in Polabian, cf. [Polański 2008: 803–804]); whereas the velar *-g-*, if inherited, is also unlikely to have remained unpalatalized throughout the Common Slavic period (a *ja*-stem would be expectable). If related, West Lechitic *skʷega* due to its *centum* vestige could suggest Germanic influence, very probable in that area due to centuries of diglossia with Middle Low German and younger varieties [Hinze 1963: 1965], but the exact source remains unclear. In fact, West Lechitic *skʷega* is not isolated within the West Slavic but has been connected by West Slavicists as an *s*-prefixed form to Old Polish *kwiekać* (*się*) ‘to split, splinter’ (16th century, [SEJP, 3: 487]), Upper Sorbian *kwěkać/kwěknyć so* intr. ‘to crack up, split’ [Schuster-Šewc 1980: 749], the resultative noun *kwěk* ‘fracture, split, crack’ [Boryś 1973: 350], Czech dial. (East) *škvikat se* ‘to crack up, split’ [ESJČS: 505], Slk. *švik* ‘crack’. In all these languages (probably except for the Slovene on which I have no data) there is a homonymic verb and its substantival derivatives to refer to different squeaking sounds. Boryś [1973: 350–351] demonstrated numerous cases of the interchange of the root final *-k-* and *-g-* in West Slavic in onomatopoeic words in order to account for the Pomeranian root final *-g* as well as the occasional *s*-prefixation in these lexemes. His analysis seems to offer the most plausible grounds for the phonological vestige and etymological connection of West Lechitic *skʷega* which should be kept apart from OCS *skvozě* and the related words, see points (a–d), here contra [Boryś *l. c.*].

Following the common ways of lexical derivation in Slavic, the attested *-o*-grade in all derivatives should either hark back to a PSI. (and possibly PIE) causative-iterative formation of the **CoC-éje-* type of the presumed verb,⁷ or result from the generalization of the nominal

⁷ The development of this type in Slavic is discussed in my article on the vowel gradation [Ackermann 2020].

stem-form. The last morphological segment of OCS *skvozě/skvězě*, PSI. **-ē* is phonologically and functionally derivable from the originally instrumental ending PIE **-éh₁* productive in Slavic in the formation of adverbs of manner of action as well as of the semantically equivalent adverbial participles, which has been the last step of derivation reflected in OCS *skvozě*. The PSI. root **skvo/az* is not immediately identifiable outside Slavic. The most probable morphological analysis, even if separate elements are still unknown, yields **skvē/ō-z-ě* (*s-* is inseparable, otherwise it would have shown *ṽ* — at least sporadically — at the morphemic boundary in OCS).

The open syllabic structure of the root allomorphs in Slavic, namely CCRV (C — consonant, R — resonant/glide, V — vowel) suggests it appeared in a position requiring re-syllabification known in application to PIE as the *Schwebeablaut*, triggered by the expansion of the root with a further morphological element with a consonantal anlaut. Here-with, the etymological attribution of the corresponding Proto-Slavic root **skvē/ō-/*skū-* does not pose much problem if we take into account that the most prominent semantic component in Slavic derivatives has to do with different kinds of ‘produced openings or cavities’. Hence, it most likely continues the PIE verbal root **skeu(h₂)* ‘to poke, pierce’ → ‘to mark’ (cf. [LIV²: 561]) amply attested across the IE language branches, whereas the all over found *anīt*-variant is generally considered to be secondary. The root-final laryngeal should have been lost in the course of the extensive derivational activity and the *anīt*-root variant was lexicalized early, especially when incorporating consonantal extensions (see in detail [EWAia, 2: 751; EDIV, *skauH*; Oettinger 1979: 156–157, n. 46]). Here belong Hitt. *iškuna(hh)*- ‘to mark, designate’ showing the *seṭ*-root in, e.g., *iškunahhiš* 3 sg. pret., and with the lost laryngeal in *iškunant-* ptcp. ‘marked’ ([Oettinger *l. c.*], with further references); Vedic *n*-infixd *ā-skunoti* ‘to poke, earmark’, possibly rebuilt from *skunāti* (attested once), cf. the *anīt*-form *skauti* (ŠB), *danta-skavana-* ‘tooth-picking’ [EWAia, 2: 751; Monier-Williams 1986: 469]; Choresmian *m|sksy-* (pass./intr.) ‘to be split, slit’, *m|škwnd-* (tr.) ‘to earmark’ (further examples in the Iranian branch with and without the *s*-mobile by Cheung [EDIV, *skauH*]). Baltic continuants reflect *seṭ*- and *anīt*-forms as well [ALEW: 936–937]. The regular continuant

of the *seř*-root appears in *kiáuras*, adj. ‘having holes, perforated’, *skiaürė* ‘perforated fish-box’, Latv. *caürs* adj. ‘having holes; sore; hollow’, cf. especially Latv. *caüri* adv., Lith. *kiaurái* ‘through, throughout, in the meanwhile’ [ALEW: 486; SEJS: 673–674] < **skeu*_{h2}-*ró*-, cognate to North Germanic Swedish dial. *skuru*- ‘opening, split, break, incision’ and, according to Rédei [UEW], significantly impacting the neighbouring Finno-Ugric idioms.⁸ It is thinkable to connect these Baltic (and Germanic) *ro*-derivatives with the hitherto rather isolated Czech *škvirati* ‘to gape, open (intr.)’ [ESJČS: 505], cf. [Schuster-Šewc 1980: 750].

An intriguing form is found in the Norwegian Lapp (Southern dial.) *skivnje* and its alleged Russian loan *skevnja* ‘earmark of a reindeer as a pierced hole of the size of the room between the thumb and the forefinger’. Itkonen lists it as a Lapp loanword in Russian (cf. [IW, 4: 134; Itkonen 1931: 58]), which is indisputable in this contextual meaning (close contacts in the neighbouring areas persisted since the 11th century). However, the double consonant anlaut is untypical for Lapp (and generally Finnic-Ugrian) except in onomatopoeia, whereas the form has a suspiciously Indo-European vestige.⁹

In Slavic, the root occurs solely extended with the enigmatic *-z-* which cannot be identified either with a regular Proto-Slavic stem- or word-forming suffix or an inflectional fossil.¹⁰ Hence, its provenience has to be

⁸ Selected evidence: Finn. *kuri* ‘narrow pass; mountain gorge; sharp corner’, *kuurna* ‘groove, furrow’, Est. *kuru* ‘narrow path between the fences; nook’, Lapp dial. *kurra* ‘cut, notch; deep narrow valley’, *gur(r)á* ‘chip, cleft, mountain gap’, Zyryan dial. *guran* ‘cavity; water crack’, Ostyak (Hanti) dial. *kor* ‘longitudinal spit’, etc. (see in detail [UEW, 1: 217–218; Collinger 1955: 92, 93]).

⁹ Comparable evidence within the Inari-Lapp itself seems to be the word for the ‘scarecrow’, *skivjä* (perhaps as a cut out figure / a cut scrap of cloth?). Both the Germanic and the Baltic neighbours have many suffixal derivatives of the inherited Proto-Indo-European “cutting” and “splitting” roots reconstructed for the late Proto-Indo-European as **sekH*, **sk^(w)er*, **skerH*, **sk^heyd* (cf. [ALEW: 927–931, 937], see also the footnote below and [Oja 2014] on the areas and ways of borrowing in Finnic from the Indo-European).

¹⁰ A distant relative of the Indo-European unextended continuants beside the probable *ro*-derivative in Czech (see above) might be Low Sorbian *skut* ‘scrap of cloth’,

sought in syntax. The option with the least grade of erosion, which we necessarily have to assume here, would be a reflex of an adverbial clitic complementing the overall semantics, rather than an object complement which would have a more complex morphological structure.¹¹ The advantage of such a scenario would lie in its typological triviality (a verb incorporating a frequent adverbial particle) and phonological regularity. The assumed univerbation of **skue/o(h₂)* with the postponed *-ǵ^h* does not imply that a unique syntactic collocation became idiomaticized but should have had a productive model to follow. Two Proto-Indo-European particles come into question: emphatic postponed **-ǵ^h/i* and spatial proclitic **(H)eǵ^h* of ablative semantics ‘out, from’, ‘outside’ functioning also as an adverb and making part of the basic inventory of spatial prepositions in many Indo-European languages (cf. **(H)eǵ^h(-s)* > Gk. ἐξ, Lat. *ex*, ē, OIr. *ess, ass, a*). In G. Dunkel’s analysis of the Indo-European evidence summarized in LIPP, preference is given to the classification of the postponed **ǵ^h*-containing particle exclusively as a word or sentence intensifier; he claims that the spatial particle (reconstructed as **eǵ^h*- in LIPP) is nowhere found as a simplex (i.e., plain **eǵ^h*) or an enclitic, although highly productive as a preverb and a preposition [LIPP: 207]. The relevant formations in Balto-Slavic make it necessary to rebut Dunkel’s conclusion at least with regard to the development of the presumed Proto-Indo-European **(h₁e)ǵ^h*- in Balto-Slavic.¹² In the following we would like to revisit the conclusive material.

ORu. *skutъ* ‘piece of cloth’, Croat. *skût* < **sku-to-* (with the lost laryngeal) cognate to Lith. *skûtas* m. ‘scrap of cloth’, beside *skiãutė* ‘id.’, cf. further ON *skauti* m. ‘square piece of cloth’, and probably also Mlr. *scoth* f. ‘spike, blade, cutting edge’ [ALEW: 927, 937 with references; Schuster-Šewc 1980: 1300; REW, 2: 655; SEJS: 674; HER: 556].

¹¹ On the loss of inflection in the course of enclitic incorporation cf. recently [Harris, Faarlund 2006] and, generally, [Joseph 2003].

¹² It should be noted that already in Brugmann’s short comparative grammar [1904: 461–462] there is a discussion of postponed adpositions — mostly complementing the verbal semantics — found in ancient layers of many Indo-European branches (beside Germanic and Slavic), including the extended Lat. *ex* and Gr. ἐξ.

3. Balto-Slavic and Proto-Slavic prepositions of ablative-allative semantics

1) BSl. **iz* (OCS *jbz(-), jbs-, jbs̃-*, Lith. *iš/iž*, Latv. *iz*) ‘out, outside’ has been traditionally placed next to Gk. *ἐξ*, Lat. *ex*, OIr. *ess*, Welsh *eh*- [REW, 1: 636; EDSIL, *jbz*; EDG, *ἐξ*; EDL, *ex*; EDPC, *exs*]. However, the latter forms regularly reflect the full grade allomorph **(h₁)éǵ^h-s*, whereas there is no phonological way to reconcile it with the Balto-Slavic short *i* reflex.¹³ The regular pre-Balto-Slavic transponate would demand either an *-i-* or a diphthong with the glide *-j-*. In view of the secondary character of *z* < **ǵ^h* in all ablative-allative prepositional formations, the original morphological boundary may be drawn as **i-z* as well. The most trivial candidate for the first member would be the demonstrative/relative pronoun in the (generalized) nom./acc. = abl. neuter form PIE **id* (the suppletive complement of the animate pronominal stems **h₁e-*, **ih₂-*), whereas **id-ǵ^h* results in BSl. *iz* due to the regular loss of *d* as the first stop in the cluster (cf. in this respect PIE **d^hǵ^h-ém-* > BSl. **zemja*, *jā-*stem in Lith. *žėmė*, Latv. *zeme*, OCS *zemlja* ‘earth’). The derivational semantics yields ‘out of this, thereof, therefrom’, the pronominal stem being used anaphorically. The pattern [demonstrative/relative pronominal stem] + [suffix/adposition ← local/directional/etc. particle] of deriving adverbs / preverbs / prepositions with the respective semantic specification is neither new nor specific to Indo-European and as a productive mechanism should have been inherited from the protolanguage. Cf. for instance, Vedic synchronic suffixations of a pronominal stem to derive spatial adverbs: *a* (demonstrative/relative) + *-dhás / -tra / -tha*, etc. → ‘beneath’ / ‘here(to), there(to)’ / ‘then, thereafter’,¹⁴ but also the Modern English or German formations following the same pattern (as the above translations illustrate).

¹³ Hock [ALEW: 101, 402] decides against the plain continuation of **(h₁e)ǵ^h-* in Balto-Slavic as well, cf. [REW, 1: 473].

¹⁴ For an overall presentation of composition and derivation with pronominal stems in Sanskrit one may refer to [Wackernagel 1930: 584–594].

Connecting Slavic *-z* in the group of Slavic locative prepositions (*iz*, *vъz*, *bez*, etc., see below) with the Sanskrit emphatic/affirmative particles *-ha*, *-hi* (here also Gk. $-\chi\iota$, ON *-gi*) and consequently obviously automatically tracing all of them back to the Proto-Indo-European emphatic $*g^{ho}/*g^{hi}$ (cf. [LIPP: 273] and indirectly [Večerka 1993: 245]) does not take into account at least two facts. Firstly, whereas in Skt. *-ha* and *-hi* are mobile within the utterance and have clear syntactic functions within the whole syntagma, as a rule emphasising the first word, in Slavic this is never the case. Secondly, spatial prepositions attested in Slavic with an enclitic *-z* appear in Sanskrit as preverbs or first members of compounds which would not offer a proper context for the emphatic *ha* or *hi*. Furthermore, even if one assumes the inheritance in Balto-Slavic of the stem relics dissociated from their prior function (presumably still visible in Vedic Sanskrit), it does not explain why the Sl. *-z* makes part only of local prepositions (see below), why it obviously survived as a root extension, as we aim to show, and why it strikingly correlates in all of them with the distribution of ablative-allative semantics. In contrast, there is indeed an exact functional and distributional equivalent of the emphatic enclitic Skt. *-ha*, *-hi* in Balto-Slavic, but it continues the non-palatal PIE $*g^{ho}/*g^{he}/*g^{hi}$, namely PSI. $*že$, $*-go$ (the latter still visible in composition with other particles, e.g. SCr. *něgo* ‘but’, OCS *negъli* beside *neželi* ‘than’), emphatic Lith. *gi*, Latv. *-dz*, OPr. $-(g)gi < *g^{hi}$, OLith. *-ga*, Latv. *-g < *g^{ho} [ALEW: 319–320], cognate to Skt. *gha*, *ha* ($< *g^{he}$), Gk. $\gamma\varepsilon$, Doric, Boeotian $\gamma\alpha$ ‘at least; just’ (EDG, $\gamma\varepsilon$), and emphatic Toch. A $-(\ddot{a})k$, Toch. B $-k(\ddot{a})$ [EDTB, $k(\ddot{a})$].*

Returning to Slavic locative prepositions, apparently, it is the continuant of the Proto-Indo-European particle ‘out, outside’ that appeared in Balto-Slavic in the zero-grade vestige $*g^{h}$, encliticized (hence, here contra Dunkel, [LIPP: 207]) to a number of the core locative prepositions to complement the directional compound meaning with its ablative semantics and should have been associated with the latter to the extent, allowing subsequent analogical transference of the final *-z* in more recent times. Let us have a closer look at the Balto-Slavic and other Indo-European evidence.

2) BSl. **uz* (OCS *vъz*, Lith. *ùž*, Latv. *uz*), ‘upwards’ < **ud* + *ǵ^h* with the phonologically regular consonant cluster development.¹⁵ Unextended **ud* is reflected in Skt. *úd-/ut-*, OPers. *ud-* ‘upwards’, Cypr. *ù* ‘upwards’¹⁶, Goth. *ut /ūt/* ‘out of, outwards’, OHG *ūz*. Iranian also attests extended stems traditionally reconstructed as **ud-s* > *us-/uz-*, e.g., Av. *usca* < **uts-čā*¹⁷ cf. Ved. *uccā* ‘above’, Av. *usiiānc* ‘turned upwards’, YAv. *uzdaēz-* (*uzdiš-*) ‘to heap / pile up’, *ustānazasta-* ‘with one’s hands stretched up’, etc. But the second component in Av. *uz/s-* < PIr. **ud-z* (with the regular drop of the dental before a sibilant, [Hoffmann, Forssman 2004: 98]) can be a phonologically regular outcome of the Proto-Indo-European enclitic **ǵ^h* as well.

3) PSl. **nbz(-)* ‘downwards’ < **ni* + **z* < **ǵ^h* parallel to **ni-* ‘down’ (locative), cf. Skt. *ní* [EWAia, 2: 40] and Arm. *n°* (see below). Adverbial/prepositional *ni* ‘down, downwards’ occurs in Slavic with fossils of other stems in compounds of the Proto-Indo-European age, e.g., OCS *nicъ* ‘face down’ < PIE **ni-h₃k^w*- literally ‘down-look’, corresponding to Ved. *nyāñc-*, Av. *niiāñc-* adj., adv. ‘turned down(wards)’. Here also belongs secondary OCS *ničati* ‘to bend, bow’ which Martirosyan compares to Arm. *nk’i’em* ‘to faint from hunger, starve’ (see in detail [EDAIL, *nk’i’em*]); **ni-* is also traceable in Arm. *nsdim* ‘sit down’ < **ni-si-sd-* (of the PIE **sed* ‘sit’).

¹⁵ See also [ALEW: 1159; LIPP 824–825, n. 17]. The analysis proposed by Meillet [1902: 153–155, 160] probably in alignment to the development assumed in Iranian, namely as a respective Proto-Indo-European preposition ending in an obstruent and losing it before *s*, was limited to the three cases, *vъz*, *bez*, and *raz*, all continuing the Proto-Indo-European structure CVC + extension. This scenario is more common in a three-consonant cluster, and besides, does not hold in all other cases. Moreover, the primary allomorph is clearly the voiced *-z*, voiceless or fricative variants all have apparent phonotactic conditioning.

¹⁶ See Egetmeyer [2010: 450–452] for a discussion of several existent reconstructions of the preform of the Cypr. *ù* and the issue of the early drop of the closing dental.

¹⁷ [Hoffmann, Forssman 2004: 98], a bit differently [EWAia, 1: 211–212].

4) PSI. *bez ‘without’ (South Slavic *brez* is a late secondary variant) with a possible cognate in Ved. *bahīś* ‘outside’¹⁸, Latv. *bez* is due to Slavic influence. The unextended variant *be* seems to be registered in the 17th and 18th century Sorbian [Bigl 2019: 148] and should be primary in Baltic, cf. Lith. *bė*, Latv. dial. *be*, OPr. *bhe* [ALEW: 101; PKEŽ: 75], cognate to Middle Iranian adverb and particle *bē-* ‘(with)out’, preposition *b’* ‘except, without’ (Pers., Parth. *bē-*, Sogd. *vē-*, etc.) occurring with a wide range of extensions,¹⁹ as well as Gk. βε- ‘outside’.

5) PSI. *orz ‘apart, asunder’ in prefixes *raz-/roz-* < pre-PSI. *ord^h + ġ^h, cf. Skt. *ardha-*, Av. *arəda* m. ‘side, part, half’, and *-ka-* derivatives in Skt. *rdhak* adv. ‘separately, apart’, Oss. Digor *ærdæg* ‘part, half-’, Pahl. *alak* ‘id’, etc. [EWAia, 1: 119; Abaev, 1: 172–173]. The root-reconstruct *ord^h should be secondary as well: it must have emerged as an early amalgamation of any of the PIE *Her(H)- roots meaning *grosso modo* ‘moving/taking apart’ with the following factitive *d^heh₁.²⁰ The primary root retains apparently Skt. *rté* ‘without, apart’, namely as a fossilized loc. sg. of the *to*-participle *-r-tá-* ‘torn to pieces/broken off’ < *h₂rH-tó-. Herewith extended twice, the Proto-Slavic root *orz lives on in numerous nominal formations, cf. OCS *razъnъ* adj. ‘different’, Pol., Upper Sorb. *rózno* ‘apart’, Ru. *rozнь* f. *i*-abstract ‘discord’, cf. Germ. *Zwist* (cf. [SJS, 3: 599–600;

¹⁸ [EWAia, 2: 220], if Skt. *-h* < *-ġ^h, and not < *-d^h that probably also underlies Manichaean Parthian *byh* ‘(with)out, outside’ if with [Back 1978: 204], cf. [DMPP: 121–122], but see the footnote below; *-iś* is a regular adverb-forming suffix, see parallel cases by Meillet [1902: 153].

¹⁹ According to Gershevitch [1985a: 176–177; 1985b: 192–193], a *-k*-extension should be assumed in Sogd. β(‘)yk ‘outside’, Pers. *bēg-āna*, Pahl. *bēk-ānak* ‘stranger’, a *-t*-extension (<*d^h?) in Pahl. *bytwn*, MMPers. (Turfan) *bydwm* ‘furthermost’ (cf. [Back 1978: 204; Nyberg 1974: 46–47]), also reflected in the compounded MPers., MMPers. (Turfan) *byd(y)ndr* ‘outside’, whereas an *-n*-extension underlies Parth. *b’yn* ‘outer’ (see also [Bartholomae 1906: 50–51 fn. 1; 1920: 34 fn. 1; DMPP: 105]). Nyberg (*l.c.*) brings to discussion enclitic *-c* and *-p* in Parthian derivatives.

²⁰ In contrast, Lith. *ardýti* ‘to slice, crush, separate’ is a younger *-d* (< *d^h(h₁)) causative to the zero-grade *irti* of the PIE *h₂erH ‘to tear/break to pieces’ (cf. [ALEW: 53–54, 400]), cognate to Sl. *-oriti*, *-orjǫ* ‘to demolish’, which is itself most frequently prefixed with *raz-* < *orz to denote ‘to devastate, pillage’.

Schuster-Šewc 1980: 1175; REW, 2: 530–531, 484–485; EDSIL, *orz*), doubtful analysis in [SES: 87, *brez*]).

6) PSI. **prěz*²¹ ‘through, throughout’ < **pér* adv. + *ǵ^h* ‘across, through’ is found in all Slavic languages ([REW, 2: 339; SJS, 3: 440], untenable analysis by Herodes [1963: 364–365]), dialectally also co-occurring with *praz*,²² and has a further derivative in Sln. *praznina*, synonymous to *skvožina/skvažina* (a bit differently [SES: 583–584]). Unextended root allomorph is retained as a prefix (cf. OCS *prě-*, Ru. *pére-*, etc. ‘through, over’), continued in Baltic: Lith. *peř* prep., *pér-* prefix ‘across, through’, OPr. *per*, *pēr* ‘id.’, Latv. *pār*, *pār* ‘through, across, over’, also found in many Indo-European branches with further developed semantics and functions, cf. *i*-extended Skt. *pári-* adv., YAv. *pairi* ‘around, through, towards’, Gk. *πέρι*, *περί* ‘around, over, throughout’, Lat. *per* ‘throughout’, etc. Initial semantics has been well preserved in the Indo-Iranian verbal root Skt. *par-*, Av. *fra-* ‘to put/get/stand smth. through/over’, and is also present in Slavic, cf. OCS caus. *prati* ‘to rip, unstitch’, Ru. *perét* ‘to force one’s way through’ (cf. [EDSIL, *per*; ALEW: 758–759; EWAia, 2: 85–86, 91–92]).

7) A later formation CS *črězъ* ‘through, throughout’ ← *črěsъ* joined the group on analogy. The latter appeared in later Church Slavonic texts in the place of older *skvozě* (occasionally with the levelled final → *skvozъ*). Morphologically, *črěsъ* is not a *-so*-derivative of the PIE *(*s*)*kert-* ‘to cut’, as Derksen assumes ([EDSIL, *čersъ*]) (this would require adverbialization of an oblique case-form with reflexes of an instrumental or a locative ending of an actually unattested substantive), but in accordance with its late appearance in manuscripts a relatively young adverbialized indeclinable short active past participle of the well-attested verb *črěsti* ‘to crush, cut, etc.’, meaning originally ‘having cut/crushed through’²³ with the logical

²¹ The root vowel lengthening *ě* ← *e* is due to metathesis with *r*.

²² This can be a continuant of the PIE **pro-* ‘forward, forth, before’, also retained in Balto-Slavic as a prefix/preposition *pro(-)* and nominally (due to accent retraction and metatony) *pra-* which visibly got under the semantic influence of the **per-* continuants meaning ‘through’.

²³ Cf. the verbal semantics of continuants of PIE **per* in Slavic discussed above.

accusative governing. This development is traceable in the written Church Slavonic sources. On the process of adverbialization of transgressive active participles and participial predicative supplements in (O)CS, particularly the absolutive forms beside the predicate expressed with an infinitive construction see Večerka [1993: 192 §78; 1993: 198–199, cf. 214], who states that “the nominative forms used to get adverbialized”. A mixed form is found across all Slavic languages, e.g.: Bulg. *skrbǎz*, SCr. *skrôz*, Cz. *skrz*, Ru. *skroz*, etc.

PSl. **skvozē* once grammaticalized as a preposition expectedly was aligned with this group.²⁴

Regular phonological development of all prepositions discussed above (except for the late analogical *črězv*) demands the attraction of the plain zero-grade **ǵ^h*. In terms of systemic consistency, the question arises, if Gk. *ἐξ*, Lat. *ex*, OIr. *ess*, etc. are not analysable as the originally non-clitic composition of the pronominal anaphoric **(h₁)e* (m./anim.) with *-ǵ^h-* (+ *-s*) as well. In other words, we arrive at the typologically trivial and frequent morphosemantic template [anaphoric pronoun] + [spatial particle] ± further particles/suffixes reinforcing the necessary semantics²⁵ underlying the structure of a great many of inherited spatial adpositions and adverbs (cf. already [Brugmann 1904: 457]). The apparent variation of the initial vowel reflexes should be rooted in the generalization of different paradigmatic stem-forms of the demonstrative/relative pronoun, whereas the variation of particles of different semantics as the second member (known all over the Indo-European beside the equally productive variation of the first member)²⁶ gave birth to sets of adverbs forming small co-hyponymic groups.

²⁴ Back to Snój’s connection to PIE **(s)keǵh₁* ‘to perceive, feel’ → ‘to see, hear’, it seems, the univerbation with a local adverb/particle ‘through’ is much more common in the employment with ‘piercing’ than ‘looking’. Even ontologically holes first have to be pierced (an associated lexeme should be present) before one can look through them.

²⁵ A comparable triple structure (although with no pronoun) would be the case of the aforementioned Ved. *ba-h-ís* [MacDonell 1910: 426; Meillet 1902: 153].

²⁶ In order to keep within the allowed limit of the article length, instead of a proper illustration I have to refer to the forms derived from pronominal anaphoric **(H)e*

4. Some further fossilized traces of **(He)ǵ^h* in secondary roots of ‘piercing’ semantics

Conspicuously, quite a number of verbal roots and derivative stems across the Indo-European languages (and specifically Balto-Slavic) with semantics involving ‘piercing’, ‘cutting through’, ‘poking’, and the like contain a reflex of the PIE **(He)ǵ^h*, which may have had a very remote onomatopoeic origin, but in many continuants can be traced back to an autosemantic root-morpheme. The latter would also be the only alternative to the word- or stem-formational fossil, or a particle, as suggested above, that should have yielded Sl. *-z-* (and Lith. *-ž-*) at least in the most apparent ablative formations, as the process has clearly got its own dynamics within the Proto-Slavic. For the sake of an illustration and refraining from a lengthy excursus in the present framework, some intriguing evidence for the identification of the presumable root should be mentioned. For if these forms are indeed derivationally connected to the Proto-Indo-European particle **(Hé)ǵ^h* discussed above, it must have occurred in the time period, for which linguistic reconstruction cannot be ascertained. In Balto-Slavic, the radical **-z-* next to various vowel grades shows up in a number of lexemes, which — taken together with other Indo-European cognates — deserve a brief comment.

Thus, on the one hand, the derivational family of OLith. *iēžti* ‘to split (with a sharp tool)’, ‘to make a crack’, Lith. *iēžti* ‘to crack nuts, legumes, etc.’ and its anticausative Lith. *ižti* ‘to burst’, further Lith. *aiža* f., Latv. f. *aīža*, *aīza* ‘crack, chink, cleft’,²⁷ as well as Old Prussian (Elbing

collected in [LIPP: 183–203], with further (cross) references, without discussing the exact reconstructions proposed therein.

²⁷ The controversial reflexes of the intonation of the root vowel in a wide range of the related forms in Baltic is discussed by Derksen [1996: 233–234] who prefers, in view of the Slavic evidence, to assume the original acute root in Balto-Slavic word-family of the root meaning ‘to crack, split’ (cf. also [ALEW, 1:406]). Short vocalic Lith. *ižena* ‘pod, (cockle) shell’ and ‘snail’ and related forms should be kept apart (contra [ALEW *l. c.*]), since the semantic derivation of ‘pod’ → ‘crack’ is not

Vocabulary) *ey swo* ‘lesion, wound’ catches the eye. On the other hand, the Baltic word-family is obviously related to OCS *ěz(ь)va/jaz(ь)va* with the first meaning ‘opening, (earth) pit, cave’ [SJS, 4: 937–938], and also more specifically ‘scar, mark; wound, lesion’,²⁸ *jazvina* translates Lat. *caverna*. The secondary meanings are better preserved in later language varieties, whereas the causative-iterative OCS *jazviti* denotes primarily ‘to open’ [SJS, 4: 939], and narrowed — ‘to wound, hurt’. The Balto-Slavic ancestor root **ējz/*ōjz < *He/oj(H?)ǵ^h, vel. sim.*, should have obviously meant ‘to open with a sharp tool; to poke (out)’.

Leaving this aside just for a while, let us consider another intricate root underlying OCS *(vb)-nistī/-nъzō* ‘to plunge, thrust’ occurring with many prefixes, of the basic semantics comparable to Modern English ‘to skewer’ = Modern German *aufspießen*, and its τροχός-type derivative OCS *nožь m., jo-stem* ‘knife’ (Proto-Slavic accent paradigm *b*) further often connected to Gk. ἔγχος ‘spear’, verbally ἐγγεῖν (Hom.).²⁹ All these forms are brought together in [LIV²: 250] to the Proto-Indo-European transponate **h₁neǵ^h* but they may just as well continue a preverbatum **en/ṅ-h₁(e)ǵ^h* incorporating the locative proclitic particle. Cf. further Ved. *nīkṣ-* ‘to pierce, perforate’ (also amply attested in Iranian, cf. Pers. *nēš* ‘sting, spike, spine’) showing long *-i-* in the RV (1, 162, 13): *nīkṣana-* ‘pointed stick’ (for testing the cooked meat) that Mayrhofer traces back to PIE **neǵ^(h)-s* [EWAia, 2: 41]. Vedic long-grade form looks like having resulted from the univerbation of **ni* ‘down’ (common preverb in Old Indic compounds) and **h₁neǵ^(h)*, cf. the semantic equivalent in German *nieder-stechen* ‘stab (down)’; a preverbatum was also suggested by Oldenberg [1909: 155] which he understood to have taken place in analogy to *ni-īkṣ* (*ibid.*). However, it would leave Vedic short-vocalic root reflexes

at all trivial. Admittedly, the semantic split (if both are distantly related) could have taken place much earlier, as the meanings attested in Middle Iranian: MPers., MSogd. *zyn*, Pahl., Parth. *zyn/zēn/* ‘armour’ (cf. Baltic ‘shell’) and ‘weapon, sword’ (in Balto-Slavic in resultative derivatives ‘to split, cleft’) would suggest.

²⁸ See the whole root-related family in [SJS, 4: 937–940].

²⁹ In contrast, Schwyzler [1922: 11–12] attempts a phonologically difficult association with αἰχμή ‘point of a spear’; cf. also a recent discussion by Garnier [2017].

in need of an explanation and the pragmatic context makes this interpretation sound a little fancy, since meat does not have to be stabbed down (anymore) in order to be tested while cooking. Alternatively, we may assume in Ved. *nikṣ* traces of the *i*-infixation³⁰ of the compound stem **nh₁eǵ^h* (< **en/h₁* ‘in(side)’ + *h₁(e)ǵ^h* ‘to poke, thrust’)³¹ underlying, as proposed above, Gk. ἔγχος ‘spear’ < **en-h₁ǵ^h-o-*, OCS *-nisti/-nъzq* ‘to plunge, thrust’ < transp. **nh₁ǵ^h-* and *nožb* ‘knife’ (likely already as **nož-jo-*), and fitting better the contextual semantics. This would also enable a distant connection to BSl. **ējz/*ōjz* discussed above, the latter continuing the unprefixed **Hejǵ^h* (in this case *H = h₁*, and rather no laryngeal following the diphthong³²), namely, *i*-infixated as well.

Finally, all Indo-European words for ‘hedgehog’ (and ‘sea urchin’) that hark back to the root **h₁eǵ^h* appear to be attributive / possessive suffixal derivatives. Myc. PN *E-ki-no* (KN Da 1078, PY An 661.1), Gk. ἐχῖνος, Arm. *ozni* are *-i-Hn-* “Hoffmann-possessive/attributive”-based derivatives showing different root ablaut grades [EDG, ἐχῖνος; GEW, 1: 601; EDAL: 523–425]; Oss. *wyzyn/uzun* reflects an *-i-n-* derivation³³ [Abaev, 4: 129]; unclear Phryg. εῖς for ? εῖς [GEW, 1: 601] would point to an *-i*-stem; Balto-Slavic forms (cf. Lith. *ežys/ežis*, Latv. *ezis*, ScR. *jěž*, Ru. *ěž*) hark back to **h₁eǵ^h-(i)jo-*, a productive attributive construction as well; ON *igull* OHG *igil*, OE *ig(i)l*, *īl* < PGmc. **eg-i(-)la* (*-i/ula-* is a typical attributive suffix in Proto-Germanic) < **h₁eǵ^h-i-lo-* [EWAHD,

³⁰ For a detailed discussion of the morphonotactics, functions, and contexts of the presumed *i*-infixation in PIE see [Ackermann 2021].

³¹ The root initial laryngeal is obviously dropped in the position between the consonantal resonant of the preverb and the root vowel, cf. numerous parallel examples of the laryngeal loss in CHV-structure in [Mayrhofer 2005: 99–101], see also [Pinault 1982: 266].

³² The diphthong acute of the BSl. **ējz/*ōjz* ‘to crack, split, open, poke out’ is then either a positive evidence of Winter’s law or it reflects morphological lengthening.

³³ The vocalisation is not regular, Abaev (*l.c.*) contemplates tabooing grounds, which would accord with the fact that ‘hedgehog’, a prominent mythological figure, is generally referred to with descriptive epithets in Old Iranian (see [AIW: 755, 1348, 1546, and probably 1581]).

5: 22–27]. Though Hock [ALEW: 272] sets up a hypothetical *é/ó* ablauting root noun as a thinkable original formation to denote the animal itself (note that Olsen proposed a Proto-Indo-European *i*-stem: **(h₁)óléǵ^h-i-* [Olsen 1999: 508–509]), it seems that all attested ‘hedgehog’-words are interpretable as “one characterized with **h₁eǵ^h” or “having **h₁eǵ^h”. Whereas the formerly conjectured etymological interpretation as ‘snake-eater’ has been justly abandoned today as a secondary association (see reference to etymological dictionaries above), **h₁eǵ^h* denotes what would be typically attributed to a hedgehog — the spines. Moreover, a semantic template is offered by Av. *sukurāna-*, Pahl. *sukurr*, Pers. *sugurr*, *sugurna* ‘porcupine’ [Abaev, 3: 165] from the compound Proto-Iranian **sūk-ūr^{nā}-* ‘(having) needles (*sūk-*)³⁴ (as) hair/wool (*ūr^{nā}-*)’, cf. YAv. *varənā* ‘animal hair/wool’. Noteworthy, no particular metaphor has to be assumed, since spines of hedgehogs are known to have served the poking tool in sewing leather in ancient times (cf. [Mallory, Adams 1997: 264]).**

Hence, the PIE **h₁eǵ^h* that lives on in all formations discussed in the last section is formally and semantically likely to be a lexicalized designation of a “poker/skewer”-tool in various actions and, if indeed traceable back to the word-formational pattern [demonstrative / relative anaphoric pronoun] + [adposition] ‘(t)hereof, (t)herefrom, out (t)here’, was originally conceived as a “*through-er*”-tool.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; adj. — adjective; adv. — adverb; anim. — animate; caus. — causative; f. — feminine; intr. — intransitive; loc. — locative; m. — masculine; pass. — passive; pf. — perfect; prep. — preposition; pret. — preterite; ptcp. — participle; sg. — singular; tr. — transitive.

Hex. — Hexaameron of Joan Ekzarh of Bulgaria; ŚB — Śatapathabrāhmaṇa; Zogr. — Codex Zographensis

Arm. — Armenian; Av. — Avestan; BSl. — Balto-Slavic; Bulg. — Bulgarian; Croat. — Croatian; CS — Church Slavonic; Cypr. — Cypriot; Cz — Czech; Germ. — German; Goth. — Gothic; Est. — Estonian; Finn. — Finnish; Gk. — Greek;

³⁴ Cf. [Abaev *l. c.*] with references and [EWAia, 2: 739].

Hitt. — Hittite; Lat. — Latin; Latv. — Latvian; Lith. — Lithuanian; MBulg. — Middle Bulgarian; MIr. — Middle Irish; MMPers. — Manichaean Middle Persian; MPers. — Middle Persian; MSogd — Manichaean Sogdian; Myc. — Mycenaean; OCroat. — Old Croatian; OCS — Old Church Slavonic; OE — Old English; OHG — Old High German; OIr. — Old Irish; OLith. — Old Lithuanian; ON — Old Norse; OPers. — Old Persian; OPr. — Old Prussian; ORu. — Old Russian; OSerb. — Old Serbian; Oss. — Ossetic; Pahl. — Pahlavi; Parth. — Parthian; Pers. — Persian; PGmc. — Proto-Germanic; Phryg. — Phrygian; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; PIr. — Proto-Iranian; Pol. — Polish; PSl. — Proto-Slavic; Ru. — Russian; SCr. — Serbo-Croatian; Sl. — Slavic; Slk. — Slovak; Sln. — Slovene; Skt. — Sanskrit; Sogd. — Sogdian; Sorb. — Sorbian; Toch. — Tocharian; Ved. — Vedic; YAv. — Younger Avestan.

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Сколько сомучеников было у Перпетуи и Фелицитаты?

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Аннотация. Один из героев «*Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*» носит имя *Revocatus*. Это святой, почитаемый во всех христианских церквях. В ранневизантийских Актах V в. он участвует в событиях, его допрашивают, он объявляется братом Фелицитаты. В оригинальном «*Passio*» 203 г. Ревокат практически никак себя не проявляет, не описана внятно его мученическая кончина — важнейшая часть всякого *passio*. Обращает на себя внимание то, что такого римского преномена, номена или когномена не засвидетельствовано до данного текста. В статье на основе пересмотра текстологической традиции трудного места 19, 3 автор приходит к выводу, что мученик Ревокат не существовал как отдельный человек.

Revocatus обозначает того, кого позвали, вызвали повторно. Это слово не раз встречается в том же самом «*Passio*» как причастие, когда речь идет о перерыве (или передышке) в представлении и новом акте зрелища. Представление — будь то *venatio*, гладиаторские игры или звероборство — следовало определенному сценарию, в котором практиковались и повторные вызовы на арену.

Кроме того, эпиграфические данные показывают, что *revocatus* назывался и возникший, одержавший победу в результате повторного забега (такая победа ценится ниже первого места, но выше второго); наконец, *revocatus* — звание или титул ветерана, которого по окончании службы за его заслуги снова призвали на почетную службу при императоре.

Один из мучеников по имени Сатурнин ‘ради стяжания венца вящей славы’ желал стать жертвой не одного, а нескольких зверей, которых выпускали в определенном порядке. Он не пострадал от вепря, медведь истерзал его, но он остался жив. И только в третьем акте звероборства он был снова вызван на арену (*revocatus*) и испытал нападение леопарда. Прозвище Ревокат он получил не только из-за обстоятельств своей кончины, но и в соответствии с тем, что так был исполнен данный им «обет мученичества».

Ревокат как прозвище, видимо, вызывал ассоциации с языческой славой: победителя в спортивных состязаниях и героя сражений на поле брани. Именно военно-спортивные метафоры парадоксально использовались христианами для описания подвига беззащитного мученика, на которого Господь возлагает венок, словно на победителя в состязаниях или воина, одолевшего врага.

Почему же восемнадцать веков Ревокат считался отдельным от Сатурнина человеком? Хотя текстология в 19, 3 озадачивала многих, решающую роль играло начало повествования, где Ревокат вводится как один из арестованных катехуменов, который был рабом того же хозяина, что и Фелицитата.

Мы не знаем, когда и кем сочинения разных авторов («Записки» Перпетуи, «Видение» Сатура, богословские «Пролог» и «Эпилог», «Рассказ» очевидца, продолжившего повествование Перпетуи до событий перед казнью и на арене) были собраны в единый комплекс и снабжены краткими связками. Поскольку ни в «Прологе», ни в «Записках» Перпетуи, ни в «Видении» Сатура не перечислены *dramatis personae* (современники и так знали все об этих событиях), составитель почел за лучшее ввести их перед «Записками». В этой справке для читателей, живших возможно много позже и не в Карфагене, он ввел Ревоката как отдельное лицо в самое начало повествования и задал тем самым дальнейшее восприятие, так что не возникло никаких сомнений в существовании не Сатурнина Ревоката, но Сатурнина и Ревоката.

Ключевые слова: «Страсти Перпетуи и Фелицитаты», Ревокат, мартирология.

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How many co-martyrs did Perpetua and Felicitas have?

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Abstract. One of the characters of “Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis” bears the name *Revocatus*. He is a Saint martyr worshipped in all Christian Churches. In the early

Byzantine Acts of the fifth century, where he is declared to be the brother of Felicitas, he takes part in the events and is subjected to an interrogation. In the original “Passio” dating back to 203 AD, *Revocatus* does not manifest himself in any way, and his martyrdom — the most important part of any *passio* — is not clearly described. It is worth noting that the name *Revocatus* is unattested prior to the “Passio” either as *praenomen*, *nomen* or *cognomen*. Based on the revision of the manuscript tradition of the difficult passage 19, 3, the article suggests that the martyr *Revocatus* never actually existed.

Revocatus means ‘he who has been recalled’. This word is found several times in this same “Passio” as a participle to designate the martyrs who, after a break in the performance, were called again to the arena for the next act of spectacle. The performances followed a certain scenario, and repeated calls were also practiced at the gladiatorial games.

Besides, epigraphic data show that a charioteer who won in a repeated race (such a victory is valued below the first place, but above the second) was also called *revocatus*; finally, *revocatus* designated the title or rank of a veteran who, after completing his service, was called once more to honorable service under the emperor for his merits.

One of the martyrs named *Saturninus* ‘for the sake of acquiring the crown of greater glory’ wanted to become a victim of not one, but several animals, which were released one after the other. He was not hurt by the boar, the bear tortured him, but he stayed alive. He was summoned once more to the arena (*revocatus*), and it was only in this third act of the execution that he experienced a leopard attack. He received the moniker *Revocatus* not only because of the circumstances of his death, but also in accordance with the fact that this was how his ‘vow of martyrdom’ was fulfilled.

Revocatus as a nickname (*cognomen*) seems to have been associated with pagan glory: winner in sports and hero on a battle-field. Paradoxically, these military and sporting metaphors were used by Christians to describe the feat of a defenseless martyr, who was crowned by the Lord, receiving a wreath as if he had been a winner in a competition or a warrior who had defeated an enemy.

Why then was *Revocatus* considered a separate person from *Saturninus* for eighteen centuries? Although the textual problems in 19, 3 had puzzled many, the main reason for preserving him as an independent figure was *Revocatus*’ appearance at the beginning of the narrative, where he is introduced as one of the arrested catechumens and as a slave who belonged to the same master as *Felicitas*.

We do not know when and by whom the writings of various authors (“Perpetua’s Diary”, “Saturus’ Vision”, the theological “Prologue” and “Epilogue”, the “Story” of an eyewitness who expanded *Perpetua*’s narrative to include the events before the execution and in the arena) were collected into a complex and bound together by brief transitions. Since neither the *Prologue*, nor *Perpetua*’s *Diary*, nor *Saturus*’ *Vision* list *dramatis personae* (contemporaries already knew everything about these events), the compiler thought it best to introduce them before the text of the *Diary*. In this

reference, probably compiled for readers who lived much later and not in Carthage, *Revocatus* was introduced as a separate person, and his mention at the very beginning of the narrative set the perception of what followed and eliminated any doubt about the existence of not *Saturninus Revocatus*, but *Saturninus and Revocatus*.

Keywords: *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, Revocatus, martyrology.

Эта работа возникла на семинаре, посвященном изучению знаменитого «*Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*». Как всегда в такой совместной работе, трудно выделить, кто сказал «мяу», особенно, кто сделал это первым. Тем не менее позволю себе принять на себя ответственность за пересмотр традиционного состава героев этого широко известного текста, хотя моими соавторами в той или иной мере являются постоянные участники семинара, без вопросов, возражений, сомнений и даже протестов которых не было бы этого исследования¹. В частности, появлением *Postscriptum* я обязана прежде всего своему бывшему студенту В. В. Степанову.

В этом «*Passio*» число брошенных в тюрьму и приговоренных в 203 г. в Карфагене *ad bestias* не названо. Латинские рукописи в большинстве своем начинаются со слов *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis die Nonarum Martiarum civitate Tyburtina minore*, словно речь идет только о двух этих женщинах. Иногда имя Фелицитаты стоит на первом месте, чаще на втором, название городка в предместьях Карфагена пишется по-разному, что-то дается в сокращении, и только в рукописи Einsiedeln 250² текст начинается упоминанием святых Ревоката, Сатурнина, Перпетуи и Фелицитаты (*Passio*

¹ Семинар, в котором постоянно участвуют А. И. Шмаина-Великанова, П. Н. Лебедев, О. И. Ярошевская, А. Н. Грешных, Т. А. Михайловна, М. С. Касьян, В. В. Степанов, С. Н. Давидоглы, С. В. Федорова, занимается подготовкой комментированных переводов латинской и греческой версии «*Passio*», с параллельными оригиналами. В статье цитируется наш общий, не изданный перевод, который не принял еще окончательного вида.

² Полное описание рукописей см. в [Heffernan 2012: 369–443]. Список упоминаемых в статье рукописей и расшифровку традиционных латинских сокращений см. в конце статьи.

Sanctorum Revocati Saturnini Perpetuae et Felicitatis in civitate tuburbitana minore [Heffernan 2012: 104]).

В единственной рукописи греческой версии имени несколько иные и поданы иначе. Отношения латинской и греческой версий в целом — предмет длительных дискуссий, в которые мы вдаваться здесь не будем. Ученый, ее опубликовавший, считал греческий текст оригиналом [Harris, Gifford 1890], но практически сразу же были высказаны аргументы против [Robinson 1891; Franchi de' Cavalieri 1896]. Скажем только, что в целом наличный греческий текст не является оригиналом имеющегося латинского³. В греческой версии есть свой заголовок⁴ и своего рода аннотация⁵. В заголовке, кроме Перпетуи и Фелицитаты, упоминаются безымянные ‘скончавшиеся вместе с ней в Африке’. Далее следует дата, отличная от даты в латинской версии, и дату мы тоже обсуждать не будем, как и ошибочное отношение гонений ко временам Валерия и Галлиена.

³ Большинство исследователей считает латинский текст более древним [см. Amat 1996: 51–66], но ситуация может быть и иной, чем однократный перевод с одной из известных версий на язык другой. Некоторые предполагали, что греческим исконно был язык лишь собственных «Записок» Перпетуи [Robert 1989: 816–819; Lane Fox 1987: 469; Bowersock 1995: 34–35; против Bremmer 2002: 81–82]. Не обсуждая аргументы сторонников этой версии, скажем, что, по нашему мнению, в латинском тексте «Записок» Перпетуи отчетливо проявляется личный стиль, последовательность в использовании эмоционально окрашенных слов. В имеющемся греческом варианте идиостиль нивелируется, последовательный выбор слов не передается. Это говорит о том, что для имеющейся греческой версии оригинал — латинский. Для этой эпохи сохранение идиостиля при переводе не характерно. Если предположить греческий оригинал «Записок», то придется сделать еще два предположения: латинский перевод блестяще передал особенности стиля Перпетуи; этот стиль был утрачен, когда с латинского перевели имеющуюся в нашем распоряжении греческую версию.

⁴ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΠΕΤΟΥΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝ ΑΥΤΗΙ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΦΡΙΚΗΙ· ΤΗΙ ΠΡΟ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΩΝ ΝΟΝΩΝ ΦΕΥΡΟΥΑΡΙΩΝ. ΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΟΝ.

⁵ Ἐπὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλιηνοῦ διωγμὸς ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾧ ἑμαρτύρησαν οἱ ἄγιοι Σάτυρος, Σατορνίλος, Ῥεουκάτος, Περπετούα, Φηλικιτάτη, νόνας Φευρουαρίαις.

В «аннотации» перечислено пятеро:

1. Σάτυρος скорее всего подлинное очень распространенное греческое имя Сатир⁶. Латинская рукописная традиция колеблется в передаче имени, и наставник оглашаемых именуется то Сатуром, то Сатиром. Как Сатур он предстает в «Записках» Перпетуи (4, 5), во вводных словах к «Видению» Сатура (11, 1). В этих двух местах написание *Saturus* является в рукописях общим (за исключением рукописи из Сан Галлена, в которой Сатур вообще постоянно заменяется Сатурнином: St. Gallen 577)⁷. В речи же Рассказчика (14, 1; 17, 1; 18, 4 и 7; 19, 4–6; 21, 1 и 8) рукописи говорят о Сатире самым написанием: *Satyru*s и *Satirus*⁸.

2. Σατορνῖλος — это, судя по всему, искаженный Сатурнин. Сатурнины хорошо известны в римской истории: это когномен в старинном плебейском роде Аппулиев. В греческих надписях и текстах Σατορνῖλος встречается наряду с Σατορνῖνος как варианты одного

⁶ Латинского имени *Saturus* не существовало, противник Цицерона в процессе в защиту актера Росция звался Сатурием (*P. Saurius*). Он известен только из этой речи, а имя его, вероятно, происходит от прилагательного *saturus* ‘сытый, густой, насыщенный’. *Saturus* встречается несколько раз как латинизированная форма греческого σάτυρος. У Апулея, еще одного уроженца Карфагена, *saturus* — это сатир в недвусмысленном мифологическом контексте: на свадьбе Купидона и Психеи Аполлон играет на кифаре и поет, музы поют хором, а *Saturus* дует в флейту (*Apul. Met.* 6, 24, 13). Сервий обсуждает названия различных флейт, среди которых есть и ‘Дионисовы’, потому что ими в основном пользуются сатиры (*Serv. in Aen.* 11, 738: *et est Dionysia, cum maxime ea satiri utantur*).

⁷ В «Видении» Сатура упоминается один из сожженных заживо мучеников (11, 9); его имя передается в разных рукописях по-разному: Сатур, Сатир (так и в греческом переводе), Сатурнин; он не действует в «Passio», а переписчики делали его соименником то одного героя, то другого.

⁸ *Satirus*: Ambrosiana C. 210, или *Satyru*s: Bib. Nat. 17626, BL Cott on Nero E. I, Salisbury Cathedral 221Olim Fell.4. Правда, в Беотии — в Фивах, Танагре и Феспиях в III–II вв. до н. э., т. е. за 400–500 лет до нашего Сатура в пяти в общей сложности надписях встречаются три имени: Σάτουρος, Σατούρα, Σατουρίων [LPG 2000, 3b: s. v.]. Вероятнее всего, это графические варианты Σάτυρος, Σατύρα, Σατουρίων, которые также встречаются в этом и других регионах. Заметим, что «и» в имени *Saturninus* по-гречески передается как ο, а не υ и не ου: Σατορνῖλος.

имени, см. [LGPN 1987: s. v.]. В обсуждаемое время имена, вернее, части традиционных римских имен — личные, родовые и родовые прозвища — стали фигурировать как имена рабов, вольноотпущенников, клиентов (*clientes*), как имена получивших римское гражданство провинциалов не римского происхождения. Еще один Сатурнин, наряду с другими носителями римских имен, Квинтом и Йокундом, встречается в «Видении» Сатура: все они казненные мученики-христиане (11, 9).

3. Ῥεοῦκάτος — имя, которое и будет занимать нас в дальнейшем, представляет собою страдательное причастие от *revocare* и значит ‘отозванный’ или ‘тот, кого снова позвали или вызвали’.

4–5. Только в конце названы Περλετοῦα и Φηλικιτάτη, которые занимают первое место в латинской версии.

Примерно такой же порядок перечисления, удивляющий тем, что рабы поставлены перед матроной, обнаружен на мраморной плите, найденной в ранневизантийской базилике в предместье Карфагена⁹:

[HIC] SVNT MARTY[RES]
 SATVRVS SATV[R]N[INVS]
 REBOCATVS S[E]C[VNDVLVS]
 FELICIT(AS) PER[PE]T(VA) PAS(SI) N[ON(AS) MART(IAS)]
 [...M]AIVLV[S] =====]

⁹ Фрагменты мраморной надгробной плиты были найдены при раскопках в 1906–1907 гг. Обнаруживший надпись П. Делатр, первый ее издатель, связал ее с развалинами *Basilica Maiorum*, как местом погребения мучеников, о котором упоминает карфагенский пресвитер Виктор Витенсис, писавший о разорении африканской провинции вандалами ([Halm 1879 1, 3: 9]: *Basilicam Maiorum ubi corpora sanctarum martyrum Perpetuae atque Felicitatis sepulta sunt*). Надпись была создана в конце правления вандалов или после их ухода в начале VI в. См. [Delattre 1907: 193–195], современный обзор археологических данных о возможном месте погребения всех мучеников и о другой плите в окрестностях Карфагена, посвященной родными некоей Перпетуе (*Perpetue, filie dulcissimae*), вероятно, другой, см. [Tabbernee 1997: 105–117, no. 14; Tabbernee 2017: 299–305].

‘Здесь находятся мученики
 Сатур Сатурнин
 Ревокат¹⁰ Секундул
 Фелицитас Перпетуя, пострадавшие в мартовские ноны
 Майул <...>’¹¹

Мученики перечисляются в начале повествования и в латинском «Passio». Напомним, что «Passio» включает тексты нескольких авторов. Перпетуя — автор уникальных почти дневниковых записей о пребывании в тюрьме перед казнью и о посланных ей четырех видениях; Сатур — катехизатор и союзник мучеников, автор еще одного записанного в тюрьме «Видения». Но есть и анонимные авторы, и не один. Автор богословских и учительных «Пролога» и «Эпилога» отличается лексикой, стилем и задачей от Рассказчика, который повествует о событиях перед казнью и на арене. «Пролог» и «Эпилог» предназначены для чтения о подвиге этих мучеников в церкви. Рассказчик выполнял завет, завершающий «Записки» Перпетуи: рассказать о том, о чем она уже не расскажет. Кто-то должен был собрать все эти документы вместе. Чтобы не умножать сущности, исследователи наделяют ролью Редактора либо автора «Пролога» и «Эпилога», либо Рассказчика. Мы полагаем, что оформление комплекса документов могло принадлежать и иному лицу (лицам?), добавившему небольшие связующие тексты и скомпоновавшему целое. Ниже мы рассмотрим некоторые результаты неавторского вторжения в текст.

¹⁰ Очевидно, в это время «В», могла звучать как «V»; в греческой рукописи Мартирия — ου: Ρεουκάτοϛ.

¹¹ Плита фрагментирована, слово или имя *MAIVLVS* к данной надписи не относится; вероятно, это мученик конца II в. (см. *Tert. ad Scap.* 3, 5). На полу карфагенского здания византийской эпохи в мозаичных медальонах прочтываются среди прочих имена Сатура и Сатурнина [CIL 8, 4: 25037], а на стене подземного баптистерия угадывается надпись *S[A]N[CT]IVS SATVTVS* см. [Duval 1982, 1: 6–10]. Эти надписи могут иметь отношение к героям нашего *Passio*.

Первый связующий текст располагается между «Прологом», который заканчивается словом *Amen*, и началом «Записок» Перпетуи, здесь сообщается (кем, мы не знаем), какие молодые катехумены были арестованы (2, 1–3). Сначала названы рабы — Ревокат и Фелицитата, его *conserva*¹², затем Сатурнин и Секундул¹³ и отдельно с указанием на высокий статус — Вибия Перпетуя. Мучеников снова пятеро, как в греческой «аннотации»: появляется Секундул, но нет Сатура. Отсутствие в одном списке Сатура, а в другом — Секундула объяснимо: катехизатора Сатура нет при описании ареста, так как Сатур не был схвачен вместе с молодыми катехуменами, но присоединился к ним в тюрьме по своей воле. Отсутствие Секундула / Секунда в заголовках можно объяснить тем, что в тюрьме он был почти сразу убит при неясных обстоятельствах и так избавлен от мучительной смерти на арене (14, 2). Таким образом, катехуменов было пятеро, позднее к ним присоединился Сатур, но на арену вышло пятеро, потому что один из арестованных не дожил до звероборства. Таково общее мнение.

Посмотрим, теперь, какие роли у всех шестерых, и каковы их отношения, о ком мы знаем много, о ком почти ничего.

Рассказчик сообщает, что Ревокат был вместе с Фелицитатой рабом у одного хозяина, но кто был их хозяином не сказано. О Фелицитате небезосновательно думают как о рабыне именно Перпетуи, иначе младенец, рожденный Фелицитатой в тюрьме, должен был бы принадлежать ее господину, а не передан некоей христианке, которая воспитала ее как свою дочь (15, 17). Но если Фелицитата — рабыня Перпетуи, госпожа могла отдать подобное распоряжение о своей собственности. Соответственно, и Ревокат был рабом Перпетуи, относившейся к местной карфагенской знати, имевшей римское гражданство и приписанной к римскому роду Вибиев (впрочем, иногда

¹² Хорошего перевода для этого слова нет. Обозначает оно ‘со-раба’, то есть раба того же господина, что и другой раб.

¹³ Незначительные разночтения в именах (в греческой версии Сатурнин стал Саторнилом, а Секундул — Секундом) не препятствуют отождествлению персон.

Vibia выступает как женский *praenomen*¹⁴). Предположить хозяина Ревоката и Фелицитаты в Сатуре или Сатурнине никому до сих пор в голову не приходило, и нам тоже не приходит. Сатур, катехизатор, с его греческим именем, мог быть вольноотпущенником. Сатурнин, пылко жаждавший пострадать, — скорее всего, юный раб Перпетуи, как и Секундул, но оба могли быть и вольноотпущенниками, так как прямо не сказано, что они рабы.

Имя Секундул, как выясняется, уникально. Широко распространено имя Секунд, ‘Второй’, которое использовалось как когномен для соименников. Секундулус — уменьшительная форма. Греческая версия «не признает» имени «Секундул» из-за его необычности, и, так сказать, «исправляет» на обычного Секунда. Мы знаем, что все схваченные были молоды. Можно вообразить, что Секундул был самым юным, и его именем, попавшим со временем в святцы, стало ласковое домашнее прозвище для подростка. Это предположение входит в резонанс с обоснованием дарованной ему Богом милости, к чему мы вернемся в своем месте.

В «Записках» Перпетуи и «Видении» Сатура оба автора называют только друг друга и иных лиц, живых или покойных, но не находившихся с ними в тюрьме. Ни один из их союзников не назван ими по имени. В «Видении» Сатура в посмертии и в Раю Сатур видит и называет по имени только Перпетую. Все они были братьями и сестрами во Христе, но Вибия Перпетуя была госпожой, Сатур — катехизатором, а остальные, скорее всего, ее слугами, рабами. Перпетуя видит их как свою общину, говорит ‘мы’, но никого, кроме своего наставника Сатура, не выделяет. Обращение *domina soror* ‘госпожа сестра’ в устах одного из союзников говорит об этой непривычной двойственности отношений (4, 1). Не настаивая, мы все-таки осторожно предположим, что в отсутствии имен Сатурнина, Секундула и Фелицитаты в сочинениях Перпетуи и Сатура сказались пропасть, разделявшая рабов и свободных, и это несмотря на общую для них участь. Мы полагаем поэтому, что группу молодых катехуменов составляли рабы Перпетуи и их госпожа.

¹⁴ [Kajava 1994: 85].

Но церковная традиция интересовалась мучеником, независимо от его статуса. От Рассказчика мы многое узнаем о Перпетуе, сверх того, что она рассказала сама, многое о Фелицитате, о ее знаменитом ответе стражнику¹⁵, о поведении ее на арене и об отношении к ней Перпетуи. Рассказчик описал и мученичество Сатура, его последние слова и то, как он взял у воина Пудента его кольцо, обмакнул его в собственную кровь и ‘отдал ему в наследство, оставив ему этот знак памяти о пролитой крови’ (21, 5).

Мы знаем не только обстоятельства мученичества и кончины Перпетуи, Фелицитаты, Сатура, Сатурнина и Секундула, мы знаем, что эти смерти осмыслены Рассказчиком как особая и каждый раз иная милость Божия.

Для Секундула милость состояла в том, чтобы не попасть на растерзание к зверям.

(11, 9) *Secundulum vero Deus maturiore exitu de saeculo adhuc in carcere evocavit, non sine gratia, ut bestias lucraretur.*¹⁶

‘А Секундула Бог призвал поскорее покинуть сей мир, еще в тюрьме, по особой милости не отдав на растерзание зверям’.

¹⁵ (15, 5–6) *Statim post orationem dolores eam invaserunt. Et cum pro naturali difficultate octavi mensis in partu laborans doleret, ait illi quidam ex ministris cataractariorum: “Quae sic modo doles, quid facies obiecta bestiis, quas contempsisti cum sacrificare noluisti?” Et illa respondit: “Modo ego patior quod patior; illic autem alius erit in me qui patietur pro me, quia et ego pro illo passura sum.”*

‘После молитвы у нее сразу начались схватки. И когда она мучилась в родах, всегда тяжелых на восьмом месяце, кто-то из стражей темницы говорит ей: «Если ты сейчас так страдаешь, каково тебе будет, когда тебя бросят зверям, а ты их презрела, отказываясь принести жертвы?»». И она ответила: «Сейчас это я терплю, что терплю; а там другой будет во мне, кто будет страдать за меня, потому что и я за него пострадать готова»’.

¹⁶ Глагол *lucror* имеет значения ‘извлекать прибыль, получать в дар, выигрывать, экономить’. Выражение *ut bestias lucraretur* неожиданное, поэтому греческий переводчик не усомнился добавить отрицание и глагол ‘звероборствовать’: *ἡξιώθη σὺν τῇ χάριτι πάντως κερδάνας τὸ μὴ θηριομαχῆσαι* ‘по милости даровано ему было не бороться со зверьми’. Возможно, *ut bestias lucraretur* понимается

Если верно, что это был подросток, или даже мальчик, то Рас-сказчик увидел в избавлении от зверей снисхождение к его возрасту. Ведь другой молодой человек, Сатурнин, напротив, горел желанием испытать самые страшные муки.

Для Фелицитаты милость в том, что роды наступили до дня казни.

(15, 1–2) Circa Felicitatem vero, et illi gratia Domini eiusmodi contigit. Cum octo iam mensium ventrem haberet (nam pregnans fuerat adprehensa), instante spectaculi die in magno erat luctu, ne propter ventrem differretur (quia non licet pregnantes poenae repraesentari) et ne inter alios postea sceleratos sanctum et innocentem sanguinem funderet.

‘Что до Фелицитаты, то вот какая милость Господа выпала и ей. Так как она была уже на восьмом месяце (ведь схватили ее беременной), то терзалась при приближении дня зрелища: как бы из-за беременности [ее казнь] не отложили (потому что запрещено беременных подвергать казни) и как бы не пришлось ей потом пролить святую и невинную кровь среди прочих преступников’.

Сатур тоже получил на арене исполнение своего желания.

(19, 4–6) Sатурus autem nihil magis quam ursum abominabatur; sed uno morsu leopardi confici se iam praesumebat. Itaque cum apro subministraretur, venator potius qui illum apro subligaverat, subfossus ab eadem bestia post dies muneris obiit; Sатурus solummodo tractus est. Et cum ad ursum substrictus esset in ponte, ursus de cavea prodire noluit. Itaque secundo Sатурus inlaesus revocatur

‘А Сатур ничего так не страшился как медведя, но ожидал мгновенной гибели от зубов леопарда. И вот, когда его отдали вепрю, а точнее, венатор к вепрю его привязал, тот же самый зверь поддел клыком венатора, и тот спустя несколько дней умер; а Сатура вепрь только протасил. И когда он был привязан на мосту, медведь не захотел выйти из подвала, и таким образом Сатур второй раз возвращается невредим’.

иронически: ‘получить зверей в дар’, т. е. получить в дар избавление от них; или ‘сэкономить зверей’, т. е. лишиться встречи с ними.

(20, 1–2) Item Saturus in alia porta Pudentem militem exhortabatur dicens: “Ad summam”, inquit, “certe, sicut presumpsi et predixi, nullam usque adhuc bestiam sensi. Et nunc de toto corde credas; ecce prodeo illo, et ab uno morsu leopardi consummor”.

Et statim in fine spectaculi leopardo obiectus de uno morsu tanto perfusus est sanguine, ut populus revertenti illi secundi baptismatis testimonium reclamaverit: “Salvum lotum, salvum lotum”.¹⁷

Перпетуя, юная и несгибаемая, находится в столь особом состоянии, что не испытывает боли, не замечает, что дикая буйволица подняла ее на рога и бросила оземь, но под конец она сама направляет себе в горло меч гладиатора.

(21, 9–10) Perpetua autem, ut aliquid doloris gustaret, inter ossa conpuncta exululavit, et errantem dexteram tirunculi gladiatoris ipsa in iugulum suum transtulit.

Fortasse tanta femina aliter non potuisset occidi, quae ab immundo spiritu timebatur, nisi ipsa voluisset.

О Сатурнине также есть весьма примечательный рассказ. Этот молодой человек жаждал славы мученика, причем исполнение его желания предвосхищается так:

‘Сатур, стоя в других воротах, ободрял воина Пудента такими словами: «Всё точно так, как я предвидел и предсказал: ни один зверь меня до сих пор не тронул. И теперь всем сердцем верь: вот, сейчас я выйду туда и от одного укуса леопарда погибну».

И тотчас, в конце представления, брошенный леопарду, от одного его укуса он был так залит кровью, что когда предстал перед толпой, они засвидетельствовали его второе крещение криками: «С легким паром! С легким паром!»’

‘А Перпетуя, получив удар по кости (чтоб и ей испытать муку), возопила и сама нетвердую руку новичка-гладиатора направила себе в горло.

Быть может, столь великая женщина, которой страшился нечистый дух, не могла быть убита иначе, нежели так, как сама того пожелала’.

¹⁷ Леопард, вероятно, сразу разорвал сосуды на шее мученика, и тот омылся собственной кровью.

(19, 1–2) Sed qui dixerat: “Petite et accipietis,” petentibus dederat eum exitum quem quis desideraverat.

Nam si quando inter se de martyrii sui voto sermocinabantur, Saturninus quidem omnibus bestiis velle se obici profitebatur, ut scilicet gloriosiore gestaret coronam.

‘Но Тот, Кто сказал: «Просите — и получите», дал просящим тот конец, какого каждый желал.

Так, когда они, бывало, беседовали между собой о том, какой у кого обет мученичества, Сатурнин признался в своем желании быть брошенным всем зверям, должно быть, ради стяжания венца вящей славы’.

И вот как и это желание исполнилось, если мы следуем общепринятому ныне тексту и его понимаю:

(19, 3) Itaque in commissione spectaculi ipse et Revocatus — leopardum experti etiam super pulpitem ab urso vexati sunt.

‘И вот, в начале он сам и Ревокат, подвергшиеся нападению леопарда, были истерзаны на помосте еще и медведем’.

Таков или почти таков текст большинства рукописей¹⁸, за которыми следует и большинство издателей и переводчиков¹⁹. Тем самым, они принимают присоединение Ревоката к Сатурнину, и тот получает или разделяет ту участь, какую просил у Господа Сатурнин.

¹⁸ **ipse et**] St. Gallen 577, BL Cott on Nero E. I, BL Cott on Otho D. VIII, Bib. Nat. 17626, Salisbury Cathedral 221Olim Fell.4. **om.** Monte Cassino 204, Ambrosiana C. 210.

leopardum] BL Cott on Otho D. VIII, Bib. Nat. 17626 **leopardo** Monte Cassino 204 (-os исправлено в строке в Ambrosiana C. 210) **leopardus** BL Cott on Nero E. I **leopardos** St. Gallen 577.

experti] St. Gallen 577, BL Cott on Nero E. I, BL Cott on Otho D. VIII, Bib. Nat. 17626, Salisbury Cathedral 221Olim Fell.4. **expertus** Monte Cassino 204, Ambrosiana C. 210.

vexati sunt] St. Gallen 577, BL Cott on Nero E. I, BL Cott on Otho D. VIII, Bib. Nat. 17626, Salisbury Cathedral 221Olim Fell.4. **erat vexatus** Monte Cassino 204; Ambrosiana C. 210.

¹⁹ [Musurillo 1972 1: 126; Bastiansen 1987: 446; Amat 1996: 254; Formisano 2008 (2013): 122; Heffernan 2012: 337, Bremmer; Formisano 2012: 23 (перевод J. Farrell and C. Williams), 31 (перепечатка критического издания Van Beekes 1936)].

Но в двух важнейших рукописях из Монте Кассино и Амброзиана (Monte Cassino 204; Ambrosiana C. 210) слова *ipse et* ('он сам и...') отсутствуют, сказуемое в единственном, а не множественном числе, и время сказуемого не перфект, а плюсквамперфект. Тогда получается иная картина:

(19, 3) Itaque in commissione spec- taculi Revocatus — leopardum ex- pertus etiam super pulpitem ab urso erat vexatus.	‘И вот, в начале представления на Ре- воката бросился леопард, а прежде он был истерзан на помосте еще и мед- ведем’.
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Получается, что желание Сатурнина исполняется для Ревоката, а что случилось с Сатурнином, неизвестно. Это послужило основанием отвергнуть чтение пусть и наиболее авторитетных, а главное, независимых рукописей.

Однако старые издатели в той или иной мере учитывали эти чтения. Так, текст в издании Франки де Кавальери [Franchi de' Cavalieri 1896: 142] следует большинству рукописей, но в аппарате вместо *ipse et Revocatus* предлагается *ipse cum Revocato... expertus... erat vexatus* ('на него самого с Ревокатом напал леопард... прежде он был растерзан медведем'). Сходным образом понял это место и создатель греческой версии.

Ἐν ἀρχῇ γούν τῆς θεωρίας αὐτὸς μετὰ Ῥεουκάτου πάρδαλιν ὑπέμει- νεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύ- ρας ὑπὸ ἄρκου διεσπαράχθη.	‘В самом деле, в начале представления он сам с Ревокатом выдержал нападе- ние леопарда, а потом на помосте был растерзан еще и медведем’.
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В этом варианте леопард нападает на обоих, а медведь нападает, похоже, на одного Сатурнина. И сказано, каков порядок действий: медведь нападает ‘позже’, ‘потом’, чему в названных двух латинских рукописях противоречит плюсквамперфект.

Создатель греческой версии либо имел перед собою рукопись с единственным числом сказуемого и принял, как и Франки де Кавальери, решение объединить Сатурнина с Ревокатом, либо перед ним был вариант, отличный от рукописи Monte Cassino или Ambrosiana, и грек определенно считает нападение медведя — последним.

Автор греческой версии пытался построить непротиворечивую картину, но не преуспел. Ревокат и Сатурнин вместе выдержали нападение леопарда, а медведь *потом* растерзал одного Сатурнина? И что случилось с Ревокатом: убил ли его леопард? Если нет, то почему его нет на помосте вместе с Сатурнином?

Грек, возможно, не имел представления о том, как устраивают травлю людей зверьми, это было римское развлечение. Он не сопоставил происходившее с Сатурнином с тем, что происходило с Сатурном, на которого выпускали вепря, потом медведя и, наконец, леопарда, создавая все большее напряжение. И не думал о том, что зверей нельзя выпускать беспорядочно: ведь выпустив одновременно леопардов и вепрей, можно оставить гладиаторов без работы, а преступников без казни.

Грек, как и современные переводчики, не понимал, что *commisio* означает не просто 'начало', но завязывание какого-то взаимодействия. *Commissio* означает также 'состяжание, игры, проведение игр', а переносно 'составление текста'. Словом, *commisio* в данном случае говорит нам не о начале, а о ходе представления, в сценарии которого был определенный порядок выпуска на арену зверей по восходящей степени свирепости и опасности. Видимо, греческая версия все же представляет собою перевод, хотя и не непременно нашего текста. Как часто делают переводчики, грек переводил локально, наводя порядок в пределах предложения, но не соотнося его с общей картиной описываемых событий. Если бы он (и современные ученые) обратили внимание на то, что против Сатура был выпущен сперва вепрь, потом медведь, а леопард был последним, они бы не отмахнулись от плюсквамперфекта и не «выпустили» бы медведя после леопарда.

Возвратимся к Сатурнину. Его желание достаться разным зверям предполагает, что нападение первого или даже двух зверей не приведет к гибели, что терзание продолжится, что мученик будет вызван на арену снова для нового нападения. Это уже говорит нам и о том, что зверей выпускают поочередно, а мучеников вызывают на арену или отзывают в сторону, а потом снова вызывают. В «*Pasio*» несколько раз рисуется эта ситуация, причем с помощью одного и того же слова.

Итак, сначала бы выпущен дикий вепрь, но он не причинил Сатуру серьезного вреда, вместо этого убил одного из распорядителей зрелища. Потом Сатур был привязан на помосте, но теперь уже медведь не захотел выходить из своей пещеры:

(19, 6) *Itaque secundo Saturus inlaesus revocatur.* ‘Таким образом Сатура второй раз *отзывают* невредимого’.

Иными словами, Сатур уходит невредимым с того места, где его должен был растерзать медведь, *вторично*, так как на него уже был выпущен вепрь, также не причинивший ему вреда.

Значение этого ‘отзывания’ понятно и из 20, 2–3. Это разные «ранды» представления: его участники могут быть по тем или иным причинам отозваны с арены и вызваны на арену снова. Так, с Перпетуи и Фелицитаты снимают одежду, их выводят нагими с наброшенными на них сетями, а потом уводят и переодевают.

(20, 2–3) *Itaque dispoliatae et reticulis indutae producebantur. Horruit populus alteram respiciens puellam delicatam, alteram a partu recentem stillantibus mammis. Ita revocatae et discinctis indutae. Prior Perpetua iactata est, et concidit in lumbos.* ‘И вот, с них сняли одежды, набросили на них сети и вывели. Народ ужаснулся, видя, что одна дева — прекрасна, а другая только что родила, ибо из ее груди сочится молоко. Так что их снова *отозвали* и одели в одежду без пояса’.

Греческий текст для передачи такого распорядка римского зрелища избирает выражение ἀναληφθεῖσαι πάλιν ‘призванные снова’ (20, 3; 7). Термина для смены раундов гладиаторского боя у него естественно нет, и он добавляет πάλιν, чтобы передать повторность действия. Такая перемена может быть и передышкой для гладиаторов, перед следующим актом сражения, а для мучеников — перерывом перед выпусканием другого вида животных.

Еще одна такая «передышка» наступает для Перпетуи и Фелицитаты после атаки дикой буйволицы, которая поднимает их на рога, и они, помогая одна другой, приводят себя в порядок и встают рядом.

(20, 7) Et populi duritia devicta, *revocatae* sunt in portam Sanavivariam. ‘И была сломлена жестокость толпы: их *отозвали* к Вратам выживших’.

Вероятно, при гладиаторских играх в Карфагене через *Porta Sanavivaria* выходили те, кому за геройство публика даровала жизнь. В данном же случае это была только передышка, зрелище продолжилось. Греческий текст и здесь снова использует тот же глагол ἀνελήφθησαν. Против женщин выпустили только дикуую буйволицу, вероятно, параллельно другому дикому и опасному, но не хищному вепрю, который напал на Сатура (и, должно быть, на Сатурнина).

Может быть, Сатурнин тоже был снова вызван на арену, он тоже был, как и Перпетуя и Фелицитата, как Сатур, *revocatus* на следующий акт зрелища?

В трактовке спорного места решительный шаг в верном направлении 120 лет тому назад сделал кембриджский ученый Дж. А. Робинсон [Robinson 1891: 88–90], но остановился на полпути. Следуя Monte Cassino 204 и Ambrosiana C. 210, Робинсон исключил *ipse et*, сохранил единственное число глагольных форм и, главное, отказался считать *revocatus* именем собственным: у него это причастие и характеризует оно Сатурнина!

Тогда наш текст получает такое звучание.

(19, 3). Itaque in commissione spectaculi *revocatus* — leopardum expertus etiam super pulpitem ab urso erat vexatus. ‘И вот, на него, вызванного по порядку представления снова, бросился леопард, а прежде он был истерзан на помосте еще и медведем’.

Спустя 65 лет Дж. Ладзати [Lazzati 1956: 35] двинулся в том же направлении, но поступил, как нам кажется, слишком радикально. Исключив не только *ipse et*, но и *revocatus*, он, конечно, оставил Сатурнина наедине с избранной им участью. Но Ладзати предположил, что поскольку выше (18, 7) Ревокат упоминался вместе с Сатуром и Сатурнином, переписчик приписал на полях имя *Revocatus* и поставил вопросительный знак, беспокоясь о том, куда подевался этот мученик. А при следующем переписывании Ревокат с полей

перебрался в текст. Относить *revocatus* к Сатурнину, несмотря на знакомство с догадкой Робинсона, Ладзати не стал.

За время, прошедшее с 203 г., ни Робертсон, ни Ладзати и никто другой не посмели усомниться в существовании Ревоката как отдельного лица и почитаемого святого.

Между тем обстоятельства гибели мучеников понимаются Рассказчиком как милость Господа, отвечающая высказанному желанию (Сатур, Сатурнин, Фелицитата) или личным качествам (непоколебимая Перпетуя и слишком юный для звероборства Секундул), и только Ревокат не высказывает ни желаний, ни опасений, ничего не предпринимает, ничем не характеризуется, в тексте нет никакого суждения о проявленной к нему Божьей милости или о том, как его конец отвечал его собственному обету или характеру, но он почему-то вторгается в исполнение желания Сатурнина.

В греческой версии, где найден изящный выход для объединения двух людей со сказуемым в единственном числе, остается неясным, чем закончилось звероборство для Ревоката, ведь роковая по греческой версии встреча с медведем касается одного Сатурнина. Между тем кончина мученика стоит в центре внимания рассказчика, и про каждого надо сказать, как именно он расстался с жизнью.

Жаклин Ама, придерживаясь чтения большинства рукописей, высказывает вместе с тем мысль, что встраивание Ревоката в историю Сатурнина связано с необходимостью описать кончину *всех* упомянутых мучеников [Amat 1996: 254]. Это верно. Но ведь эта необходимость могла повлиять на присоединение Ревоката к Сатурнину, только если о кончине самого Ревоката ничего известно не было. А почему о ней ничего неизвестно, если все эти катехумены были в тюрьме вместе и вместе претерпели мученичество? Рассказчик присутствовал при звероборстве, его повествование содержит целый ряд деталей, которых не придумать и которые говорят о правдивости его рассказа в целом. Мог ли он не заметить отсутствия Ревоката на арене? Или заметить отсутствие и, на всякий случай, присоединить его к Сатурнину? Едва ли. Скорее отдельный Ревокат появился позже при составлении всего комплекса включенных в «Passio» текстов, когда живых свидетелей не осталось. В «Актах» Перпетуи

и Фелицитаты, составленных не ранее V в., подлинные события уже перекрывает агиографический канон, в них появляется допрос всех узников, включая и Ревоката.

Мы отказываемся в 19, 3 от чтения большинства рукописей и современных критических изданий. Основания для этого как текстологические, так и содержательные. Как было сказано выше, Ревокат как имя собственное не встречается ни в классических латинских литературных источниках (в пределах базы РНІ 5), ни в христианских мантириях прежде нашего «Passio».

Мы предполагаем, что Ревокат — это прозвище Сатурнина, возникшее в ситуации повторных вызовов на арену.

Помимо обсуждаемого места, Ревокат упомянут всего дважды:

1. ‘Были схвачены молодые катехумены: Ревокат и Фелицитата, с ним бывшая в рабстве, Сатурнин и Секундул ...’ (2, 1). Здесь Ревокат — отдельное лицо, что и задало у читателей и у ученых восприятие двух других его упоминаний на тысячелетия. Чтобы создать из «сораба» Фелицитаты отдельную фигуру, высказывали предположение, что Ревокат был сожителем Фелицитаты и отцом ее ребенка (см., напр., [Bradley 2004: 171–172, Heffernan 2012: 19])²⁰. Но со стороны Ревоката не видно заботы ни о беременной и рожавшей перед казнью Фелицитате, ни об остающемся сиротой ребенке.

2. Второй раз Ревокат появляется уже на арене: *Revocatus et Saturninus et Satorus* стали грозить толпе зрителей (18, 7). Однако в трех рукописях, а это треть их общего числа, и что важнее — это независимая группа, между Ревокатом и Сатурнином нет союза *et*²¹: *Revocatus Saturninus et Satorus*, т. е. два человека Ревокат Сатурнин и Сатур вместе грозили зрителям и вместе посылали жестами знаки

²⁰ О муже Перпетуи и отце ее ребенка также не говорится ни слова, что вызывает недоумение, и ученые выдвигают самые разные предположения, см. [Shaw 1993: 24–25; Amat 1996: 31; Osiek 2002: 197–200]. У нас есть на этот счет некие гипотезы, но для вопроса о числе мучеников отсутствие мужа Перпетуи роли не играет.

²¹ Bib. Nat. 17626, X в., BL Cott on Nero E. I., XI в. и Salisbury Cathedral 221Olim Fell.4, XI в.; см. критический аппарат Хеффернана [Heffernan 2012: 120].

Хиларию²². Если это чтение исходное, то *et* должно было появиться в рукописной традиции, когда Ревокат воспринимался как отдельное лицо. Именно так он воспринимался в более поздних греческих «Актах» (не ранее V в.) и в краткой латинской богослужебной версии. Ревокат — полноценный персонаж, он действует, его, как и всех, допрашивают, но вопреки домыслам современных ученых (и мультипликаторов, делающих пару из Фелицитаты и Ревоката), Фелицитата на вопрос, есть ли у нее муж, отвечает: «Да, есть, коего ныне презираю!» (*Habeo quem nunc contemno! Acta 1, 4–5*). Здесь она уже не ‘сорабыня’, а сестра Ревоката, Сатур и Сатурнин — братья (*Saturus et Saturninus, duo fratres, Reuocatus et Felicitas soror eius*, см. [Kitzler 2015: 101])²³.

Когда шла речь об авторах «Passio», мы уже задавались вопросом, кому принадлежат слова, вводящие героев «Passio». Естественно считать их автором то же лицо, которому принадлежит «Рассказ» о событиях. Казалось бы «Рассказ», начинается в главе 14 словами: ‘Таковы необыкновенные видения сих блаженнейших мучеников Сатура и Перпетуи, ими самими записанные’. Но это скорее завершение, а не начало, кроме того, заметим, что Перпетуя записала не только «Видения».

Значительно позже, в 16, 1, как бы заново со вступления начинается рассказ о событиях: ‘Итак, поскольку Дух Святой дозволил и тем самым изъявил Свою волю, чтобы записали, что и как происходило на играх, то хотя мы и недостойны прибавить что-либо к описанию столь великой славы, мы исполняем то, что как бы предписала, и даже завещала нам святейшая Перпетуя, добавляя еще одно свидетельство ее твердости и величия души’.

²² Можно возразить, что прозвище обычно следует за именем, а здесь оно имени предшествует. Однако исключения возможны, особенно пока прозвище еще «не приросло» к имени.

²³ Как предположила А. И. Шмайна-Великанова, версия родства возникает, когда обращение христиан друг к другу как к братьям и сестрам перестает быть само собой разумеющимся и воспринимается как указание именно на кровное родство.

Таким образом, получается, что слова о необыкновенных видениях не относятся к основному повествованию Рассказчика, которое начинается только в гл. 16, но завершают рассказ о видениях.

А что же помещается между заключительными словами о необыкновенных видениях и началом рассказа очевидца? В 14, 2–3 без всякого перехода сообщается о смерти в тюрьме Секундула и милости к нему Господа, а в главе 15 о происходившем в тюрьме с Фелицитатой и о том, в чем состояла милость Господа по отношению к ней.

И по стилю, и по мысли крохотная глава 14, 2–3 и вся глава 15 отвечают тексту Рассказчика. Казалось бы, им место в главе 19, где говорится о милости, проявленной к Сатуру и Сатурнину, — о том, что им был дан избранный ими конец. А стих о видениях (14, 1) предшествует истории Секундула по какому-то недоразумению. Он мог бы заканчивать главу 13 — «Видение» Сатура — и все «Записки» Перпетуи, в которых «Видения» Перпетуи представляют за целое как самая важная часть. Можно предположить также, что перед нами шов от другой композиции, нежели та, которая до нас дошла. А именно: из «Записок» Перпетуи были взяты «Видения», все четыре или только первое и четвертое, и объединены с «Видением» Сатура. Тогда 14, 1 завершает воображаемый сборник самых насущных для карфагенских христиан текстов — новых пророческих видений. Это, конечно, только гипотеза, однако нам не встречалось никакой иной попытки объяснить место и содержание 14 главы, состоящей всего из трех стихов, один из которых не имеет к двум другим никакого отношения.

Рассказ о родах Фелицитаты (глава 15) естественно встраивается прямо после 19, 1. Два стиха о Секундуле встроить в эту главу труднее, так как первый стих главы — «Просите и получите», а Секундул ничего не просил. Тематически и рассказ о Секундуле встраивается в сюжет о милости, проявленной Богом к мученикам, а на нынешнем своем месте рассказ о нем никак не привязан ни к предыдущему, ни к последующему. Это результат каких-то редакторских перемещений и каких-то потерь.

Надо признать, что в литературе о нашем «Passio» заметно стремление не умножать сущности, признавая существование лишь

необходимого минимума авторов: Перпетуи, Сатура и еще одного — безымянного. Ему и приписывают «Пролог» и «Эпилог», «Рассказ» о событиях, продолжающий «Записки» Перпетуи, а также все вставки и связки. Для нас очевидно, что стиль «Пролога» — «Эпилога» и «Рассказа» резко отличаются. Приписать внутренние вступления, концовки и связки богослову «Пролога» и «Эпилога» было бы «бестактно», так как это не отвечает его учительной роли. Рассказчику приписать их, конечно, можно, хотя ничто этого не требует, но 14, 1 — концовка, противоречащая плану Рассказчика, — мешает это сделать.

Таким образом, мы предполагаем еще, по меньшей мере, одного Редактора или Составителя, время жизни которого неизвестно, а роль состояла в расположении и связывании частей воедино. Например, предварить «Видение» Сатура словами: ‘Но и благословенный Сатур обнародовал вот такое свое видение, им самим записанное’ (11, 1); завершить «Видение» кодой, оказавшейся вступлением к оторванному от своего контекста главам 14 и 15, и сделать еще несколько мелких вторжений в текст. Возможно, это привело к изъятию истории Секундула и Фелицитаты (14, 2–3 и 15, 1–7) из основного повествования Рассказчика.

Когда сомученика Перпетуи Сатурнина стали звать Ревокатом, чтобы отличать его от многочисленных соименников²⁴, к словам *Saturninus et Felicitas, conserva eius* добавили в начале текста: *Revocatus Saturninus et Felicitas conserva* ‘Ревокат Сатурнин и Фелицитата, рабыня одного с ним хозяина’. Достаточно добавить *et* между *Revocatus Saturninus*, как это сделано было в сцене выхода на арену, — и появится еще один персонаж этой драмы.

Если мы посмотрим теперь на списки карфагенских мучеников, мы увидим, что Ревокат и Сатурнин / Саторнил упоминаются всегда рядом. Так, в *Incipit* латинской рукописи Einsiedeln 250, где

²⁴ Имя *Сатурнин* было чрезвычайно популярно в Карфагене и окрестностях (одних епископов в карфагенском синодальном собрании оказывается четверо, см. *Cypriani Epistulae*, 54 *ad init.*). Распространенность имени в Карфагене может быть связана с тем, что главное финикийское божество Карфагена в римский период было отождествлено с Сатурном.

упомянуты не только Перпетуя и Фелицитата, мы видим ‘Ревоката Сатурнина’: *Passio Sanctorum Revocati Saturnini Perpetuae et Felicitatis in civitate tuburbitana minore*. И в «аннотации» греческой версии фигурирует ‘Саторнил Ревокат’ с уже закрепленным постпозитивным местом прозвища, и в надписи из византийской базилики V в. читаем: *SATV(R)N(INVS) REBOCATVS*.

Товарищ по рабству Фелицитаты не выдуман. Он существовал, его звали Сатурнин, а прозвали его Ревокатом, так как для исполнения его *votum martyrii* нужно было, чтобы он был неоднократно *revocatus* на арену. Таков непосредственный смысл прозвища, данного Сатурнину за его подвиг. О спортивных и воинских его коннотациях см. ниже наш *Postscriptum*.

Между тем у Хеффернана также возникла мысль о христианском символическом значении прозвищ Ревоката и Фелицитаты. Имя Фелицитата, что значит ‘Счастье’, героиня, с его точки зрения, получила из-за того, что счастлива была родить до дня игр и претерпеть страсти с христианами, а не преступниками. Однако когномен *Felicitas* не индивидуален и не то, что не уникален, но это один из самых частых (458 засвидетельствованных случаев) женских когноменов, возникших в период между 100 г. до н. э. и 400 г. н. э. [Nuorluoto 2021: 251]. О Ревокате Хеффернан полагает, что такой когномен дан ему потому, что как христианин он отозван с торной дороги греха и призван на дорогу веры [Heffernan 2012: 23]. Нечего и говорить, что когномен *Perpetua* часто представляется как нельзя более уместная характеристика необыкновенной личности молодой женщины: она постоянна, тверда, непреклонна. Но как бы ни подходил ей этот когномен, нельзя сбрасывать со счетов существование еще по меньшей мере трех десятков Перпетуй, в том числе нескольких в Карфагене, о душевных качествах которых ничего неизвестно²⁵.

²⁵ По данным [Kajanto 1965: 98 = Nuorluoto 2021: 46] это имя встречается в эпиграфике 29 раз, по электронной базе *EDCS = Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby*, <http://www.manfredclauss.de> 32 раза. И. Каянто (там же), не обнаруживают умножения носителей когноменов Фелицитата или Перпетуя после прославления

Хотя толкование когноменов, которое бы не учитывало антропонимической практики соответствующего места и времени, слишком произвольно и спекулятивно, тем не менее общие соображения Хеффермана о возможном звучании именно Ревоката близко нашему: «Таким образом, эти имена [Ревокат и Фелицитата. — *Н. Б.*] тоже функционируют как риторические сигналы, предполагающие, что данная христианская община использует их для противопоставления своей идентичности традиционной римской». Об этом, применительно к нашей трактовке значения когномена, скорее агномена, ‘Ревокат’, см. наш *Postscriptum*.

* * *

На этом можно было бы остановиться, избрав в 19, 3 чтение не большинства рукописей, но двух лучших — Амброзианской и Монтекассинской, без *ipse et* и с такими глагольными формами, которые отвечают порядку представления: вепрь — медведь — леопард.

Однако есть дополнительная возможность «спасти» и *ipse et*, и единственное число сказуемого.

Как нам представляется, мы имеем дело с разошедшимися рукописными традициями, каждая из которых с тем или иным успехом боролась с непонятым *ipse et*. Монтекассинская рукопись и Амброзиана избавились от *ipse et*, сохраняя единственное число сказуемого и, тем самым, общую религиозную идею избранной «по обету» кончины. В остальных рукописях «спасали» саму идею мученических *Акт*ов, которым надлежало поведать о кончине всех узников. Поэтому словосочетание *ipse et revocatus* интерпретировали как относящееся к двум людям — Сатурнину (*ipse*, ‘он сам’) и Ревокату, число сказуемого поменяли на множественное, а плюсквамперфект не казался чем-то важным, потому что ни травли зверьми, ни порядка

этих мучениц. В свете подобных данных считать эти когномены особыми христианскими прозвищами затруднительно.

этой травли уже никто себе не представлял. Так эти тексты разошлись. Но появление *ipse et* перед *Revocatus* может иметь смысл на том этапе жизни письменной традиции, когда прозвище Сатурнина было подано так, как это обычно делали греки, «на греческий манер», что в двуязычном сообществе христиан первых веков неудивительно.

Греки систематически соединяли имя и прозвище артиклем и союзом «и», например: Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος ‘Игнатий, называемый также Богоносцем’ (таково начало всех Посланий антиохийского епископа). Или: Ἰωσήφος ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας (J. A. J. 18, 35, 2), что можно передать как ‘Иосиф, он же и Каиафа’, или ‘Иосиф, прозванный Каиафой’, или ‘тот Иосиф, который Каиафа’, поскольку прозвища позволяли отличать соименников. Такой способ передать дополнительное имя не применялся для стандартного кортежа *преномен — номен — когномен*, но заимствовался иногда и латинскими авторами, с заменой артикля (а исходно местоимения) на *qui*. Так, Киприан — карфагенский (!) епископ — характеризует себя самого, как *Cyprianus qui et Thascius* ‘Киприан, именуемый также Тасций’ (*Epist.* 66).

Предположим, при латинской передаче αὐτός (т. е. Σατορνίνος) ὁ καὶ Ρεουκάτος не существующий в латинском артикль, естественно, опускается. Получается «*ipse (= Saturninus) et Revocatus*», два человека вместо одного.

Какие-то греческие документы могли существовать до создания нашего латинского текста: официальные документы допросов, другие свидетельства очевидцев, письма о происшедших событиях. Мог даже существовать другой греческий рассказ о событиях, а не тот, что мы имеем ныне в уникальной рукописи греческого «Мученика».

Тогда, на основе Амброзианской и Монтекассинской рукописей, но учитывая и греческий способ вводить прозвища, мы сохраним *ipse et* и прочитаем спорное место (19, 3) так:

Itaque in commissione spectaculi ipse et Revocatus leopardum expertus etiam super pulpitem ab urso erat vexatus.

‘И вот, по порядку представления, именно на него, [прозванного] Ревокатом, бросился леопард, а прежде он был на помосте истерзан еще и медведем’.

Итак, молодых катехуменов было четверо: Перпетуя, Сатурнин, Фелицитата и Секундул (члены ее *familia* в широком смысле). Они были схвачены, трое дожили до дня звероборства, Сатур пришел к ним и отправился с ними на казнь. А прозвище Сатурнина — Ревокат — зажило своей собственной жизнью, он стал почитаемым святым, преимущественно в африканских странах, где живут сегодня почти все, кто в честь африканского святого носит это имя. Я не изучала вопрос о том, кто причислил Ревоката к черным людям Африки. Возможно, это были миссионеры, которые использовали в проповеди образ раннего мученика и раба-африканца для, так сказать, «натурализации» христианства среди местного населения. В том, что в настоящее время большинство Ревокатов — это чернокожие африканцы, что большинство из них живет в Танзании, можно убедиться в интернете, глядя на тех, кто носит сегодня это имя.

P. S.

Хотя в классических литературных текстах имя или прозвище Ревокат не встречается, эпиграфические источники показывают, что такое причастие могло использоваться терминологически как своего рода звание. Это показывает эпиграфика имперского периода. Здесь мы не можем входить в обсуждение всех эпиграфических Ревокатов с надежными или проблематичными чтениями, датированных или не датированных надписей. Укажем лишь на три надписи, на которые обратил мое внимание участник нашего семинара В. В. Степанов. В списке побед Скиртуса — возницы квадриги из команды белых, неоднократно побеждавший на состязаниях, начиная с 13 г. н. э., перечисляется, сколько раз он пришел первым, сколько раз он был *revocatus*, сколько раз пришел вторым и сколько раз третьим [ILS 5283 = CIL 6, 2: 10051]. Тем самым, позиция *revocatus* чем-то уступает первому месту, но все-таки оказывается выше второго. Синонимичным оказывается термин *remissus* — ‘победивший после вторичного забега’. Обстоятельства второго забега, которого могли требовать зрители,

размахивая платками, до конца не ясны. Но это все-таки лучше второго места (см. [Harris 1972: 204; Matz 2019: 151]).

Еще интересней надпись, в которой *revocatus*, примыкающее к имени как почетное звание, означает ветерана: после окончания службы в знак признания заслуг он призывается императором к себе, на сверхсрочную почетную службу. [ILS 2034 = CIL VI.1, 2725 (CIL VI.4.3, 37189) и CIL VI.1, 207 (CIL VI.4.2, 30715)]. Весьма вероятно, что некоторые другие Ревокаты на надгробных надписях III–IV вв. — это именно почетные звания, а не личные когномены.

Примечательны сферы, в которой такое звание появилось: ристание и военная служба! Это те сферы, где в языческом мире доблесть и удача приносят славу. Уже в Новом Завете жизненный путь христианина уподобляется «поприщу» состязаний, а венки мученика — это переосмысленный венок победителя в беге, на скачках и в битве. Таким образом, прозвище не только хранило память о подвиге Сатурнина и о его желании, исполненном Богом, но сама позорная казнь, публичное унижение и пытка парадоксальным образом обретали победное и подвижническое звучание.

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The use and absence of the augment in the forms ἔδωκ(ε)(v) and δῶκ(ε)(v) in the *Iliad*, compared and contrasted with the overall data of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*

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Abstract. In this article, I discuss the use and absence of the augment in the 3rd singular forms ἔδωκ(ε)(v) and δῶκ(ε)(v) in the *Iliad*. This article is a continuation of earlier research into the augment in other epic works (*Odyssey*, Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and the Epic Cycle) and other verbal roots (such as ἔθηκε/θήκε and ἔειπε/ἔιπε), but as all these works and verbs have their own semantics, I decided to perform individual investigations, the data of which are then compared and contrasted with the data of the entire Homeric works. In order to have reliable data that are not influenced by the transmission, I only use the metrically secure forms. First, I list the criteria to determine whether or not a form can be considered secured by the metre (metrical bridges, caesurae, and permitted and prohibited elisions) and then apply these rules to all instances of ἔδωκ(ε)(v) and δῶκ(ε)(v) in the *Iliad*. Once the corpus has been established, I analyse the forms and the passages in which they occur. In my analysis I check if they agree with the previous syntactic and semantic observations that have been made for the use and absence of the augment (Drewitt-Beck's clitic rule, Kiparsky's reduction rule and the distinctions between speech and narrative, foreground and background, and remote and recent past). Occasionally, the data of the corpus were too small to allow for a judgement, but in those instances, to decide on the issue, I compared the results obtained in my investigation to the data of the entire *Iliad* and/or *Odyssey*. The current investigation does indeed confirm the findings of earlier research, namely that the use of augmented and unaugmented forms is not governed by chance or the metre, but by syntactic and semantic factors. As a final *caveat* it has to be added, however, that some exceptions do remain and that none of the rules quoted above is absolute.

Keywords: augment, injunctive, Greek verbal syntax, epic Greek, Homer, *Iliad*, Indo-European verbal system, aorist.

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Наличие и отсутствие аугмента в формах ἔδωκ(ε)(ν) и δῶκ(ε)(ν) в «Илиаде» в сравнении с особенностями употребления аугмента в «Илиаде» и «Одиссее»

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Аннотация. В статье обсуждаются особенности употребления аугмента в формах 3 л. ед. ч. ἔδωκ(ε)(ν) и δῶκ(ε)(ν) в «Илиаде» Гомера. Статья является продолжением серии исследований, посвященных употреблению аугмента в других эпических памятниках (в «Одиссее», «Гомеровских гимнах», поэмах эпического цикла и Гесиода), а также на материале других глаголов (например, ἔθηκε / θῆκε и ἔειπε / εἶπε). Результаты частных исследований планируется в дальнейшем сравнить с данными всего гомеровского корпуса. В статье используются метрически надежные формы с указанием критериев метрической надежности. Предлагается анализ того, насколько наличие или отсутствие аугмента соответствует предлагавшимся ранее синтаксическим и семантическим объяснениям (правило клитик Древитта и Бека, правило редукции Кипарского, выражение противопоставлений речь vs. нарратив, основное vs. фоновое действие, давнее vs. недавнее прошедшее).

Ключевые слова: аугмент, аорист, иньюнктив, древнегреческий синтаксис, Гомер, индоевропейский глагол

1. The choice of this specific corpus

I chose the forms ἔδωκ(ε)(ν) and δῶκ(ε)(ν) in the *Iliad*,¹ for the following reasons: all these forms belong to a very common root and are thus attested in a variety of contexts; the forms are all active, so that the augment use could not be dependent on the choice of diathesis; they are all third person singular and as such, the number is ruled out as criterion; in the past, it has been argued that aorists were more often augmented than imperfects and that younger aorists had more augments than older forms,² but since all the forms are in the *k*-aorist, they all have the same tense and the same type of aorist; the forms under discussion can be used in any position in the verse (with the exception of the verse initial position,

¹ I include *Iliad* 10, although many scholars doubt its authenticity, but for the investigation at hand, the issue is irrelevant. The text is quoted after [Van Thiel 1996, 2010] and is compared to [West 1998, 2000; Monro, Allen 1902a, 1902b; Ludwich 1892, 1897; Nauck 1877; La Roche 1873; Bekker 1858]. West's editions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, although considered nowadays to be the standard, are often less reliable and more controversial than Van Thiel's, because West often preferred reintroducing archaisms, such as replacing contractions by short vowels (sometimes even with an elision before the caesura), and striking "secondary" iota subscriptum in some verbal endings such as the third person singular ending in -ησι but not in the second person singular in -ησθα. For a critical discussion of the *Iliad*-editions, see [Janko 2000] and [Führer, Schmidt 2001]. There are also some notable differences between the *Iliad*-edition [West 1998, 2000] and the edition of *Odyssey* [West 2017], such as the augmentation of the verb ἔλκω: regardless of the transmission, West augmented every form of this verb in the edition of *Iliad*, but left the augment out in each form in the *Odyssey*; the same applies to the pluperfect of the verb οἶδα: in the *Iliad* this was consistently printed as the unaugmented εἶδη (a form that has never been attested in any manuscript), but ubiquitously augmented in the edition of *Odyssey*, ἦδη.

A discussion of the origin of the augment (including Willi's reduplication theory as argued in [Willi 2007, 2018: 358–417], the augment in Mycenaean and other non-epic Greek literary texts and the augment in other Indo-European languages cannot be performed here (it was done in [De Decker 2018: 10–16]).

² The difference between the different types of aorists had been suggested by Blumenthal [1975: 72–77], followed by Lazzeroni [1977: 22–23].

because ἔδωκ(ε)(ν) cannot be used there), which significantly reduces the chance that the metre was the main (let alone the sole) motivating factor for the use and absence of the augment.³ The reason to choose this verb and limit the investigation to the *Iliad* alone is due to the fact that other verbs are used in other contexts and that while the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* might treat the same epic material, their content and set-up is fundamentally different: there are much more speeches and interactions in the *Odyssey* and the temporal span is much larger, whereas the *Iliad* is more narrative and more restricted in its timeframe, and therefore it would not be suited to investigate one verbal stem for the entire epic corpus. An additional reason for performing separate investigation per epic work is that the work would otherwise surpass the limits of a normal article.

2. Determining the corpus: the metrically secure forms

As is known, the augment is not mandatory in epic Greek nor is it always guaranteed in our transmitted text.⁴ In order to have reliable data, I will use the following methodology, which is the same for the entire corpus of epic. I address the criteria in more detail, because the problematic transmission and the metrical insecurity of many forms require a more thorough investigation to acquire usable data.

The prototypical hexameter has the following structure:⁵

³ The works by Bakker [1999; 2005] and Mumm [2004] only discussed on the aorist in the *Iliad*; Bakker [2002] dealt with the aorist in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollon* and Bertrand [2006a] with the augmented and unaugmented forms of root aorist στῆ/ἔστη.

⁴ For an overview of the scholarship, see [Bottin 1969: 69–82; De Decker 2015b: 241–290 (with a list of 20 rules governing the augment use), 2016a: 34–37; 2018: 10–16 (on the origin and semantics); Willi 2018: 358–381].

In the large works on Greek and Indo-European syntax [Delbrück 1871; 1893; 1897; 1900; Stahl 1907] the origin and meaning of the augment has not been addressed.

⁵ This is the notation used by Janse [2003; 2014].

— ̄ ̄ //	— ̄ ̄ //	— ̄ ̄ //	— ̄ ̄ //	— ̄ ̄ //	— ̄
1a 1b 1c	2a 2b 2c	3a 3b 3c	4a 4b 4c	5a 5b 5c	6a 6b

In determining “word end”, I consider enclitics to be part of the word after which they appeared, and proclitics to belong to the word that follows.⁶ To determine the validity of the presence or absence of the augment in ἔδωκ(ε)(ν) and δῶκ(ε)(ν), I use the following rules:⁷

- 1) the absence or presence of the augment is secure, if the opposite creates an unmetrical verse; this guarantees the forms in *Il.* 1, 347; 2, 103, 2, 104; 2, 105; 5, 2; 5, 26; 5, 266; 5, 272; 5, 363; 5, 325; 6, 193; 7, 149; 7, 154; 7, 303; 7, 471; 10, 269; 10, 270; 11, 20; 11, 244; 16, 252; 16, 655; 21, 32; 22, 404; 22, 470; 23, 390; 23, 512; 23, 824; 23, 864; 23, 896;
- 2) the absence or presence of the augment is secure, if the opposite requires the elision of the dative plural ending of consonant stems in *-σιν* *-ψιν*/*-ξιν*, the dative singular ending in *-ι*, the *-α* of the relative pronoun or the article, or the word final *-υ*;⁸ this guarantees the absence of the augment in *Il.* 12, 437; 13, 727; 15, 310; 15, 455; 16, 799; 17, 193; 17, 698; 23, 296; 23, 612; 23, 616;

⁶ See [Ahrens 1852: 200; Giseke 1864: 127; Meyer 1884: 980; Maas 1923: 30–31; Fraenkel 1960; West 1982: 37; Snell 1982: 68; Nünlist 2000: 112; Taida 2007: 9; Oswald 2014:421].

O’Neill 1942 struggled with this problem, as he stated on page 109 that enclitics did not belong to the word, but on page 110 wrote that word and enclitic formed a bigger conglomerate.

⁷ For more details the readers are referred to [De Decker 2017: 59–73; 2019: 47–56].

⁸ See [Spitzner 1816: 167; Grashof 1852: 11; La Roche 1869: 76, 80; Bekker 1872: 22–23; Kühner, Blass 1890: 230–240; Monro 1891: 349–350; Maas 1923: 27; Schwyzer 1939: 403; Chantraine 1948: 86; Koster 1966: 45; Korzeniewski 1968: 24; Wachter 2000: 74–75]. For the dative plural, there are only 19 exceptions in the entire Homeric corpus, the list of which can be found in [La Roche 1869: 125–129]. The elision of *-υ* was not discussed in [La Roche 1869], which means that he had not found any instances in which it occurred.

- 3) the absence or presence of the augment is secure, if the opposite requires the violation Hermann's Bridge: this bridge states that there cannot be a word end between 4b and 4c, and is one of the strictest bridges in epic poetry, with very few exceptions (about 0,3 %);⁹ this guarantees the absence of the augment in *Il.* 17, 698; 23, 612; 23, 616 (in these three cases together with the elision of the dative ending), *Il.* 24, 594;
- 4) the use or absence of an augment is secure, if the opposite causes the violation of Gerhard-Hilberg's Law, which states that if the second foot of the hexameter is a spondee, word end at 2c is only allowed if the second half foot is long by nature;¹⁰ this guarantees the augment in *Il.* 10, 255; 13, 730; 14, 86; 16, 250; 21, 84; 21, 216;
- 5) the use or absence of an augment is secure, if the opposite yields the violation of Gerhard's Bridge, which states that if the 5th foot is a spondee, there should not be word end at 5c;¹¹ this guarantees the augment in *Il.* 1, 279; 2, 827; 5, 397; 7, 4; 8, 216; 9, 367; 11, 243; 11, 288; 11, 300; 11, 704; 15, 719; 16, 844; 18, 456; 19, 204; 19, 414; 21, 41; 23, 298; 23, 746.

⁹ Cf. [Hermann 1805: 692–693, 1817: 213 (*caesura quarti trochaei rarissima est et studiose vitatur*; Spitzner 1816: 9–12; Van Leeuwen 1890 (focusing on the exceptions); Monro 1884: lxxv, 1891: 340; Allen, Sikes 1904: 15–16 (mentioning the exceptions); Bassett 1919: 372; O'Neill 1942: 170–171; Korzeniewski 1968: 30–34; Beekes 1972; Snell 1982: 13–16; West 1982: 36–38, 1997: 222–225; Barnes 1986; Van Raalte 1986: 97–98; Sicking 1993: 73–79; Nünlist 2000:112].

¹⁰ See [Gerhard 1816: 140; Hilberg 1879: 129, 263; Grashof 1852: 15–16; Vergados 2013: 60; Oswald 2014: 422 (limiting it to post-classical Greek only). Although they did not name this law explicitly, Bekker [1858, 1863] and Nauck [1877] used it in their editions (often changing the texts against the manuscripts, cf. *infra*).

¹¹ See [Gerhard 1816: 142–147; Hermann 1816: 220; Bekker 1863: 147–148; Monro 1891: 341; Maas 1923: 22; Korzeniewski 1968: 30; West 1982: 37; Snell 1982: 13–16; Van Raalte 1986: 37–38; Sicking 1993: 73–74; Vergados 2013: 59–60 (about *HH* 4 specifically)]. For a detailed treatment of spondaic verses in epic Greek, see [Ludwich 1866].

We have established the augment in 23 forms and the absence of it in 40 forms; there are 19 forms that cannot be determined by metrical laws and they will be left out of the discussion. I now proceed to the actual analysis.

3. The actual analysis: the syntactic factors

3.1. “Drewitt-Beck’s clitic rule”

It has been argued in the past that a past tense form followed by a 2nd position clitic or a postpositive (enclitics and words that cannot be put in the beginning of a sentence) is generally unaugmented. This was first noted by Drewitt and was expanded to the entire Homeric corpus by Beck (who also included a syntactic analysis for this phenomenon).¹² Our corpus confirms this: there are 9 instances in which a form is followed by a clitic and in all instances, the form is unaugmented,¹³ as is the case for in δῶκε in the *Odyssey* (in that work there are 10 instances and all have an unaugmented verb).¹⁴ This is in line with the overall data of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: in the *Iliad* there are 676 instances without augment versus 107 with it, which makes 86 % of unaugmented forms, while in the *Odyssey* there are 443 instances without augment versus 114 with it, which makes 80 % of unaugmented forms [De Decker 2020a: 471].

¹² See [Drewitt 1912b: 104, 1913: 350; Beck 1919]. Beck specifically linked this phenomenon and the placement of the “Wackernagel clitics”. The rule is therefore best called “Drewitt-Beck’s Rule”. See also [Marzullo 1952: 415; Bottin 1969: 99–102; Rosén 1973: 316–320; Bakker 1999: 53–54; de Lamberterie 2007: 53; García-Ramón 2012: §B.2.3; De Decker 2015a: 56, 2015b: 249–250, 312, 2016a: 56–59, 2017: 79, 128–129, 2018: 29–31 (with a more detailed syntactic analysis applying Wackernagel’s Law and the Greek accentuation rules to this phenomenon); Hajnal 2016a: 13, 2016b: 446–447].

¹³ The instances are *Il.* 1, 347; 5, 325; 6, 193; 7, 149; 7, 154; 21, 32; 23, 390; 23, 512; 23, 896.

¹⁴ See [De Decker 2018: 30] with a list of the instances.

We give one example (in what follows, augmented forms will be underlined and unaugmented forms will be put in bold face).

- (1) **δῶκε** δ' Ἐρευθαλίωνι φίλῳ θεράποντι φορῆναι
 'He gave it to Ereutalion, his beloved servant, to carry it.' (*Il.* 7, 149).

In this verse, δῶκε is followed by δ, which is a word that cannot appear at the beginning of the sentence, and therefore, the unaugmented form is used.

3.2. Kiparsky's reduction rule

Kiparsky argued that in PIE in a sequence of marked forms only the first one was marked and the others appeared in the neutral form:¹⁵ in a sequence of past tense forms only the first one was put in the indicative (with augment in Indo-Iranian and Greek) and the others following it in the injunctive, as this form was both tenseless and moodless. In epic Greek, an unaugmented verb forms often appears when it is coordinated with a preceding augmented verb form by the connecting particles καί, ἰδέ, τε, ἅμα τε, τε καί, and δέ. This is called *conjunction reduction*,¹⁶ although *markedness reduction* might be a better term. This is not confined to augmented indicatives, but also applied to case,¹⁷ moods,¹⁸ tense¹⁹

¹⁵ Kiparsky [1968]; he expanded this in 2005 (discussing [Hoffmann 1967]), but the basic ideas of 1968 remained the same. See [Hajnal 1990: 54–55; 2016a: 13; 2016b: 447–448; Szemerényi 1990: 282–284; 1996: 265–266; Pagniello 2002: 8–17; García-Ramón 2012: §B.2; Luraghi 2014; De Decker 2015a: 57–59; 2015b: 250–254; 2016a: 58–71; 2017: 83–84, 130–135].

¹⁶ [Kiparsky 1968; Fortson 2004: 140; Clackson 2007: 132; Luraghi 2014].

¹⁷ [Kiparsky 1968: 54–55], but this aspect of the reduction rule is much more debated than the others, as it is not entirely certain that the reduction of case did actually occur, see [De Decker 2016a: 59–60] for a critical discussion.

¹⁸ [Kiparsky 1968] *passim*.

¹⁹ [Kiparsky 1968: 39–42].

and compounding.²⁰ Kiparsky himself argued that the rule was absolute, but that many examples of it were obscured by the transmission; for Vedic, he explicitly ruled out that the injunctive could be used to mention events, as Hoffmann had argued,²¹ because such a “memorative” was typologically rare, if not non-existent.²² Levin, who agreed with Kiparsky, noted that in many instances either the reduction did not occur or the augmented form was preceded by an unaugmented one; in addition, there were several passages in which only unaugmented forms were found.²³ Earlier researches revealed that this is not a strict rule, but only a tendency: in Hesiod and *Iliad* 1, there were more unaugmented forms that followed an augmented form than augmented forms, but there will still a considerable amount of exceptions.²⁴ The corpus used in this investigation has 13 examples,²⁵ but also 5 exceptions.²⁶ The overall figures of the *Iliad* confirm the tendency, but also show that there are many exceptions: there are 2955 unaugmented verb forms that follow an augmented form, but also 1302 augmented forms that do, which makes an observation rate of 69 %, while the *Odyssey* has 2070 unaugmented forms and 1152 augmented ones, yielding an observation rate of 64 % [De Decker 2020a: 471].

I now give one example in favour and one against it (as was stated above, the augmented forms are underlined while the unaugmented ones are put in bold face and the metrically insecure forms are italicised):

²⁰ [Wackernagel 1924: 177; Clausen 1955: 49–51]: *a Greek or Latin author sometimes reiterates a compound verb, either immediately or at a brief interval, in its simple form with the same meaning*), [Watkins 1967].

²¹ Hoffmann [1967] used the term *Memorativ*.

²² [Kiparsky 2005:§1]: *There seem to be no languages with a mood whose function is “mentioning” or “reminding”*), see also [Kloekhorst 2017: 300].

²³ [Levin 1969]. For a detailed discussion of this phenomenon see [De Decker 2016a: 58–71] and for a possible explanation combining semantics and syntax, see [De Decker 2020a: 455–456; 2020b: 114–115].

²⁴ [De Decker 2016a: 58–71] for Hesiod and [De Decker 2017: 130–135] for *Iliad* 1).

²⁵ The examples are *Iliad* 1, 347; 2, 103; 2, 104; 2, 105; 5, 325; 10, 269; 10, 270; 11, 244; 15, 455; 16, 252; 22, 404; 23, 612; 23, 616.

²⁶ The exceptions are *Iliad* 16, 250, 18, 456; 19, 414; 21, 41; 23, 746.

- (2) ἦ ῥα, καὶ Ἀντιλόχοιο Νοήμονι δῶκεν ἑταῖρον
 ἵππον ἄγειν· ὃ δ' ἔπειτα λέβηθ' ἔλε παμφανόοντα.
 Μηριόνης δ' ἀνάειρε δύω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα
 τέτρατος, ὡς ἔλασεν. πέμπτον δ' ὑπελείπει ἄεθλον,
 ἀμφίθετος φιάλη· τὴν Νέστορι δῶκεν Ἀχιλλεὺς
 Ἀργείων ἀν' ἀγῶνα φέρων, καὶ ἔειπε παραστάς
 'So he spoke and he gave to Noemon, Antilokhos's friend a horse
 to carry. He then took the ever-shining cauldron. Meriones, as he
 had finished fourth, lifted two talents of gold (as prize). The fifth
 prize, a saucer with two handles, remained. Akhilleus carried it
 through the assembly of the Argives and gave it to Nestor, and
 standing next to him, he spoke.' (*Il.* 23, 612–617).

In this instance, the augmented ἦ is followed by the unaugmented δῶκεν, ἔλε, ἀνάειρε, ἔλασεν and δῶκεν.

There are also exceptions, as can be seen below.

- (3) καὶ νῦν κεν αὐτῆμαρ πόλιν ἔπραθον, εἰ μὴ Ἀπόλλων
 πολλὰ κακὰ ῥέξαντα Μενoitίου ἄλκιμον υἱὸν
 ἔκταν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι καὶ Ἑκτορι κῦδος ἔδωκε
 'And now they would have sacked the city on that same day, if
 Apollon had not killed the brave son of Menoitios, who was doing
 many evil things, and had given fame to Hektor.' (*Il.* 18, 454–456).

In this instance, ἔδωκε is augmented, although it is preceded by the augmented forms ἔπραθον and ἔκταν.

It seems that the rule was not as rigid as Kiparsky believed it to be and it is therefore more likely that it was rather a strong tendency against using too many augmented forms in one passage;²⁷ for if the rule were strict, one would expect one (and only one) augmented form in every sentence or even chant of the Homeric epics, the RigVeda and the Avestan Gāthās and Yašt, but this is clearly not the case.

²⁷ As was described by Meillet [1913: 115–116] for Armenian and expanded to the other languages with an augment by de Lamberterie [2007: 39, 45].

4. The actual analysis: the semantic criteria

I now discuss the semantic observations on the augment and apply them to the corpus that has been established before.

4.1. Speeches versus narrative passages

The first important distinction is that between speeches and narrative descriptions. The latter has much less augmented forms than the former.²⁸ There are two explanations for this: the first one argues that the speeches belong to the younger linguistic stratum and therefore have much more augments,²⁹ the other argues that speeches involve more interaction between speaker and audience and make more reference to recent events, whereas narrative descriptions are by definition more remote and less linked to the present.³⁰ There are 17 forms of our corpus attested in a speech of which 12 are augmented³¹ and 5 are unaugmented.³² There

²⁸ [Koch 1868; Platt 1891: 223; Monro 1891: 62; Drewitt 1912a; Chantraine 1948: 484; Bottin 1969: 110–128; Basset 1989; West 1989; Bakker 2005: 114–153; Mumm 2004].

²⁹ This theory was taken the furthest by Pelliccia [1985, especially 31–35]: he argued that the earliest Greek epic did not have speeches, that the injunctive was a valid category referring to timeless (*Hymnal*) events and that the reduction was still a valid rule. Later, the rule was no longer understood and the poet(s) felt that the augmented and unaugmented forms could be used without distinction. In a later stage, in which the augment had become more common, speeches were added and as speeches were younger, they had more augmented forms and this then led to more augmented forms being introduced into the poems. As a formula could now appear with an augment in a speech and without it in a narrative passage, the forms with and without an augment were even more considered to be equivalent, leading to a complete loss of the original distinction.

³⁰ This viewpoint was already adopted by Platt [1891] and Drewitt [1912a], and was expanded by Bakker [1999; 2005: 114–153] and Mumm [2004].

³¹ The forms are *Il.* 1, 279; 5, 397; 9, 367; 11, 288; 11, 704; 13, 730; 14, 86; 15, 719; 16, 844; 19, 414; 21, 84; 21, 216.

³² The instances are *Il.* 5, 266; 5, 272; 7, 154; 13, 727; 24, 594.

are 46 forms attested in narrative, of which 35 are unaugmented³³ and 11 augmented.³⁴ The figures confirm the preference for augmented forms to be used in speeches and unaugmented ones to be used in narrative, but it is not the case that the augmented forms abound in speeches and are completely missing in narrative. The augment use in speeches and narrative is also dependent on other factors: in speeches without a clear connection to the present or in sentences that relate something unimportant, the augment is not used. This had been noted before for the speeches by Nestor in *Iliad* 1 and those by Glaukos and Diomedes in *Iliad* 6,³⁵ and is confirmed by the overall figures of the *Iliad*: we have 621 augmented and 655 unaugmented forms in a speech (49% augments) against 1344 augmented and 3201 unaugmented forms in narrative (29% augments) [De Decker 2020a: 465]. The data of the *Odyssey* depict a similar picture, but that work has also two passages in which speech acts as narrative, namely Menelaos' defence speech (in Book 4 Menelaos was asked why he did not act and avenge the death of his brother Agamemnon, and in a very long speech, he tried to defend himself and explain why he could not have done anything to prevent the murder from happening—this could be called *Menelaos' Apologoi*) and Books 9–12, the so-called *Apologoi* (in these books Odysseus explains to the Phaiakians how his men died due to their own stupidity and how he tried to save them, but did not succeed. As he tries to defend his actions, these books are called *Apologoi*. In those books, there are also “genuine” speeches, e.g. when Odysseus speaks to his men or to the gods). Below I give the data for those works as well [De Decker 2020a: 466–467; 2020b: 112–113]: we

³³ The instances are *Il.* 1, 347; 2, 103; 2, 104; 2, 105; 5, 2; 5, 26; 5, 325; 5, 363; 6, 193; 7, 149; 7, 303; 7, 471; 10, 269; 10, 270; 11, 20; 11, 244; 12, 437; 15, 310; 15, 455; 16, 252; 16, 665; 16, 799; 17, 193; 17, 698; 21, 32; 22, 404; 22, 470; 23, 296; 23, 390; 23, 512; 23, 612; 23, 616; 23, 684; 23, 824; 23, 896.

³⁴ The instances are *Il.* 2, 827; 7, 4; 8, 216; 10, 255; 11, 300; 16, 250; 18, 456; 19, 204; 21, 41; 23, 298; 23, 745.

³⁵ Already Koch [1868: 27–28] noted that speeches could have narrative elements, and he pointed at Nestor's speech in *Iliad* 1 specifically; see also [Monro 1891: 62; Chantraine 1948: 484; Basset 1989: 14; De Decker 2017: 136–138].

have 718 augmented and 709 unaugmented forms in a speech (50 % augmentations) against 673 augmented and 1560 unaugmented forms in narrative (30 % augmentations), 326 augmented and 476 unaugmented forms in *Odysseus' Apologoi* (41 % augmentations) against 23 augmented and 37 unaugmented forms in *Menelaos' Apologoi* (38 % augmentations). It will be noted that not only the figures between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are strikingly similar, but also that the defence speeches by Odysseus and Menelaos are very close in augmentation and that they constitute a middle ground between speech and narrative.

4.2. New versus old

The augment is used in verb forms that emphasise an event and/or communicate something surprising or a new element in an enumeration of events.³⁶ This can be combined with the previous and following points: as speeches often communicate something that is important for the speaker and sometimes unknown to the hearer, the use of the augment in speeches is expected; also in narrative, certain actions can be highlighted (although there are several instances in which the augment appears without a clear reason).

- (4) Ἑκτωρ Πριαμίδης, ὅτε οἱ Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκε
 ‘Hektor, son of Priam, when Zeus gave him fame...’ (*Il.* 8, 216; 11, 300; 19, 204).

This formula appears three times in the *Iliad* to emphasise that Hektor received his fame from Zeus. Therefore, the verb form ἔδωκε is augmented. A special case of unexpected information is the following passage:

- (5) ὦς Τρῶες ποταμοῖο κατὰ δεινοῖο ῥέεθρα (25)
πτῶσσον ὑπὸ κρημνούς. ὃ δ' ἐπεὶ **κάμει** χεῖρας ἐναίρων,
 ζῶουσ' ἐκ ποταμοῖο δυῶδεκα **λέξατο** κούρου

³⁶ [Mumm 2004; De Decker 2016a: 81–84; 2018: 13–14 with more references and quotes; 2020a: 459–456; 2020b: 107–115].

ποινήν Πατρόκλοιο Μεινοιτιάδαο θανόντος:
 τοὺς ἐξῆγγε θύραζε τεθηπότας ἤυτε νεβρούς,
δήσε δ' ὀπίσσω χεῖρας εὐτμήτοισιν ἰμάσι, (30)

τοὺς αὐτοὶ **φορέεσκον** ἐπὶ στρεπτοῖσι χιτῶσι,
δῶκε δ' ἐταίροισιν κατάγειν κοῖλας ἐπὶ νῆας.
 αὐτὰρ ὃ ἄψ **ἐπόρουσε** δαΐζέμεναι μενεαίνων.
 ἔνθ' οὖι Πριάμοιο *συνήντετο* Δαρδανίδαο
 ἐκ ποταμοῦ φεύγοντι Λυκάονι, τόν ρά ποτ' αὐτὸς (35)

ἦγγε λαβὼν ἐκ πατρὸς ἄλωῆς οὐκ ἐθέλοντα
 ἐννύχιος προμολών· ὃ δ' ἐρινεὸν ὀξεῖ χαλκῷ
τάμνε νέους ὄρηκας, ἴν' ἄρματος ἄντυγες εἶεν·
 τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀνώϊστον κακὸν *ἦλυθε* δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.
 καὶ τότε μὲν μιν Λῆμνον εὐκτιμένην **ἐπέρασσε** (40)

νηυσὶν ἄγων, ἀτὰρ υἱὸς Ἰήσονος ὦνον *ἔδωκε*:
 κεῖθεν δὲ ξεινός μιν *ἐλύσατο* πολλὰ δ' *ἔδωκεν*
 Ἴμβριος Ἡετίων, **πέμψεν** δ' ἐς δῖαν Ἀρίσβην:
 ἔνθεν ὑπεκπροφυγῶν πατρώϊον *ἵκετο* δῶμα.
 ἔνδεκα δ' ἦματα θυμὸν *ἐτέρπετο* οἷσι φίλοισιν (45)

ἐλθὼν ἐκ Λήμνοιο: δυωδεκάτη δὲ μιν αὖτις
 χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος θεὸς **ἐμβάλεν**, ὅς μιν *ἐμელλε*
πέμψειν εἰς Αἶδαο καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι.
 τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν *ἐνόησε* ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς
 γυμνὸν ἄτερ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος, οὐδ' **ἔχεν** ἔγχος, (50)
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ῥ' ἀπὸ πάντα χαμαὶ **βάλε**: **τεῖρε** γὰρ ἰδρῶς
 φεύγοντ' ἐκ ποταμοῦ, κάματος δ' ὑπὸ γούνατ' *ἐδάμνα*:
 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα *εἶπε* πρὸς ὄν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:

‘So the Trojans along the course of the terrible river shrank under the bluffs. He, when his hands grew weary with killing, chose out and took twelve young men alive from the river to be vengeance for the death of Patroklos, the son of Menoitios. These, bewildered with fear like fawns, he led out of the water and bound their hands behind them with thongs well cut out of leather, with the very belts they themselves wore on their ingirt tunics, and gave them to his companions to lead away to the hollow ships, then himself whirled back, still in a fury to kill men. (25–33)

And there he came upon a son of Dardanian Priam as he escaped from the river, Lykaon, one whom he himself had taken before and led him unwilling from his fathers gardens on a night foray. He with the sharp bronze was cutting young branches from a fig tree, so that they could make him rails for a chariot, when an unlooked-for evil thing came upon him, the brilliant Akhilleus, who that time sold him as slave in strong-founded Lemnos carrying him there by ship, and the son of Iason paid for him; from there a guest and friend who paid a great price redeemed him, Eëtion of Imbros, and sent him to shining Arisbe; and from there he fled away and came to the house of his father. For eleven days he pleased his heart with friends and family after he got back from Lemnos, but on the twelfth day once again the god cast him into the hands of Akhilleus, who this time was to send him down unwilling on his way to the death god. Now as brilliant swift-footed Akhilleus saw him and knew him naked and without helm or shield, and he had no spear left, but had thrown all these things on the ground, being weary and sweating with the escape from the river, and his knees were beaten with weariness, disturbed, Akhilleus spoke to his own great-hearted spirit: (34–53).³⁷ (*Il.* 21, 25–53).

After Patroklos was killed and the news came to Akhilleus, he became inhumanely angry and started killing many Trojans and taking others as prisoners and slaves. That was related with mostly unaugmented verb forms (25–33: 1 augmented and 7 unaugmented forms). During his killing spree, Akhilleus suddenly noticed a Trojan he had spared in the past; as Akhilleus was killing scores of Trojans avenging Patroklos's death, the fact that he spared someone in the past is remarkable, hence the preponderance of augmented forms in that part of the story (34–53: 11 augmented and 6 unaugmented forms). The passage also shows that Kiparsky's reduction rule was not a mechanic syntactic law of Homeric Greek.

³⁷ Translation from the *Chicago Homer*.

4.3. Foreground versus background

Related to the previous point, is the fact that the augment is not used in actions that describe the background. One example is the following passage.

- (6) ἀλλὰ θεῶν ὄριστος, ὃν ἠΰκομος **τέκε** Λητώ,
ἔκταν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι καὶ Ἴκτορι κῦδος ἔδωκε
 ‘But the best of the gods, whom Leto bore, has killed him in the front
 line of the battle and has given fame to Hektor.’ (*Il.* 19, 413–414).

This passage describes how Akhilleus horse Xanthos told him that Patroklos had died by the hands of Apollon and as a consequence of his own carelessness and hybris, and not because they (sc. the horses) had failed him. This is a very unusual passage (there are no parallels in the *Iliad* of speaking horses). As Xanthos’s explanation that they are not to blame is the most important element in the story, the verbs referring to Patroklos’s death are augmented. Later in his speech, Xanthos will even prophesy Akhilleus’s own death.

4.4. Recent past

The augment is used, when actions in a recent past are described or when a past action still has relevance for the present.³⁸ This explains why the augment is used in sentences with the adverb νῦν, as this refers to an action in the immediate past.³⁹

- (7) νῦν ἡμῖν πάντων Ζεὺς ἄξιον ἦμαρ ἔδωκε
 νῆας ἐλεῖν, αἱ δεῦρο θεῶν ἀέκητι μολοῦσαι
 ‘Now Zeus has given us this day worthy of all to take the ships,
 which came here against the will of the gods...’ (*Il.* 15, 719–720).

³⁸ Platt [1891] used the term “perfect aorist” to describe these forms. See also [Drewitt 1912a, 1912b, 1913; Bakker 1999, 2002, 2005].

³⁹ [Platt 1891; Drewitt 1912a: 44; Bottin 1969: 87–89, 135–136; Bakker 1999: 53, 60–62; García Ramón 2012: §F1b].

In this passage, Hektor incited the Trojans that the moment had now come to destroy the Greek ships for once and for all. As Hektor's speech refers to an action that has just occurred, the augment is used in ἔδωκε.

4.5. Remote past

When actions in a remote or mythical past are described, the augment is absent.⁴⁰ The distinction background/foreground and near/remote past also applies to speeches: when a speaker relates something that s/he experienced in the near past, s/he uses augmented verb forms, but when remote stories are related, the unaugmented forms are used. I now give two examples illustrating the absence of the augment in a description of an event in a remote past:⁴¹

- (8) ἀλλ ὅτε δὴ γίνωσκε θεοῦ γόνον ἦν ἔοντα
αὐτοῦ μιν κατέρυκε, δίδου δ ὅ γε θυγατέρα ἦν,
δῶκε δέ οἱ τιμῆς βασιληΐδος ἥμισυ πάσης:
καὶ μὲν οἱ Λύκιοι τέμενος τάμιον ἔζοχον ἄλλων
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης, ὄφρα νέμοιτο.
'But when the king understood that he was of noble birth of a god,
he held him there, gave him his daughter, offered him half of the
entire kingly privilege; the Lykians cut out a piece of land, bigger
than all the others, excellent to carry fruits and to plough, that he
could rule over.' (*Il.* 6, 191–195).

This passage occurs in Glaukos's speech to Diomedes in which he explained that his lineage went back to Bellerophon. He also related his (B) exploits and adventures. As they belong to the remote past, the Bellerophon-story has very few augmented forms [De Decker 2016b: §10.2, §10.3].

⁴⁰ For Homer, see already [Platt 1891; Drewitt 1912a, 1912b]. Hoffmann [1967: 160–213] noted the use of the injunctive in contexts that he described as *fernere nicht historische Vergangenheit*. See also [Strunk 1968; Euler 1995].

⁴¹ See [Bakker 1999: 54–56] for a discussion of *Iliad* 2, 100–107.

- (9) τὴν ῥά ποτ' ἐξ Ἐλεῶνος Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο
 ἐξέλετ' Αὐτόλυκος πυκινὸν δόμον ἀντιτορήσας,
 Σκάνδειαν δ' ἄρα δῶκε Κυθηρίῳ Ἀμφιδάμαντι:
 Ἀμφιδάμας δὲ Μόλω δῶκε ξεινήϊον εἶναι,
 αὐτὰρ ὁ Μηριόνη δῶκεν ᾧ παιδί φορῆναι:
 ‘Autolykos stole it out of Eleon at one time from Amyntor, son
 of Ormenidas, after he had broken into his house. He gave it
 to Amphidamas from Kypros in Skandeaia. Amphidamas gave it
 to Molos to be a guest gift and he gave it to his son to carry it.’
 (*Iliad* 10, 266–270).

This passage described the origin of Odysseus’s helmet: it was first stolen by his grandfather Autolykos and then “travelled” as a gift between several families before ending with Odysseus again. This story refers to a set of events far from the current story and therefore there are no augmented verb forms used. The description of the helmet is not part of the main storyline either and could also be an example of a background description being narrated with unaugmented verb forms.

There are nevertheless also stories where not all remote events are related with an unaugmented verb form. In our corpus, we find the following story about the funerary games in honour of Patroklos:

- (10) Πηλεΐδης δ' αἶψ' ἄλλα τίθει ταχυτῆτος ἄεθλα (740)
 ἀργύρεον κρητῆρα τετυγμένον: ἕξ δ' ἄρα μέτρα
 χάνδανεν, αὐτὰρ κάλλει ἐνίκα πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶψα
 πολλόν, ἐπεὶ Σιδόνες πολυδαίδαλοι εὖ ἤσκησαν,
 Φοίνικες δ' ἄγον ἄνδρες ἐπ' ἠεροειδέα πόντον,
 στήσαν δ' ἐν λιμένεσσι, Θόαντι δὲ δῶρον ἔδωκαν: (745)
 υἱὸς δὲ Πριάμοιο Λυκάονος ὄνον ἔδωκε
 Πατρόκλῳ ἥρωϊ Ἰησονίδης Εὐνήος.
 καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλεὺς θῆκεν ἀέθλιον οὗ ἑτάριοιο,
 ὃς τις ἐλαφρότατος ποσσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πέλοιτο:
 δευτέρῳ αὖ βουῖν θῆκε μέγαν καὶ πίονα δημῶ, (750)
 ἡμιτάλαντον δὲ χρυσοῦ λαισθήϊ' ἔθηκε.

‘At once the son of Peleus set out prizes for the foot-race: a mixing-bowl of silver, a work of art, which held only six

measures, but for its loveliness it surpassed all others on earth by far, since skilled Sidonian craftsmen had wrought it well, and Phoenicians carried it over the misty face of the water and set it in the harbour, and gave it for a present to Thoas. Euneos, son of Iason, gave it to the hero Patroklos to buy Lykaon, Priams son, out of slavery, and now Akhilleus made it a prize in memory of his companion, for that man who should prove in the speed of his feet to run lightest. For second place he set out a great ox with fat deep upon him, and for the last runner half a talents weight of gold.⁴² (*Il.* 23, 740–751).

In this passage Homer described how Akhilleus organised the funerary games for Patroklos and set out the prizes for the winners in the different disciplines. One of the prizes is a silver mixing bowl. Its history is not the main line of the story and yet, there are three augmented verb forms. One could argue that the augment in ἔδωκε connects the remote story with the present day situation of Akhilleus via Patroklos to whom the games are dedicated, but that does not apply to ἔδωκαν.

What has been noted in §4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 is an additional illustration of the fact that the distinction speech — narrative was not the main deciding factor, but that the use of the augment was determined by the factors recent versus remote past and foreground versus background. More than the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* this is shown by the augmentation figures of Hesiod:⁴³ the *Theogony* describes the cosmogony and refers to a mythical past, and has 118 augmented and 220 unaugmented verb forms, which is 35 % (comparable to that of the *Iliad*), while the *Works and Days* are a description of how to live one's life and an exhortation to his brother Perses to act righteously and refrain from betraying him, and thus refer to everyday life more than any other work from early epic Greek, and have 52 augmented and 33 unaugmented forms, which is 61 %, the highest percentage of augmented forms of any early epic Greek work.

⁴² Translation taken from the *Chicago Homer*.

⁴³ The analysis was made in [De Decker 2016a].

4.6. Gnostic aorists

A special instance of “closeness to the speaker” is the Homeric use of the augment in general truths and proverbs: they describe a general truth the knowledge of which is based on past experiences and refer to past actions of which the correctness is still valid at the moment of speaking or to actions that occurred in the past, but could (re)occur at any time in the present.⁴⁴ There are two examples of this in our corpus (1, 279 and 13, 730). One example is

- (11) σκηπτούχος βασιλεύς, ᾧ τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν
 ‘... the sceptre-bearing king, to whom Zeus has given the fame.’
 (*Il.* 1, 279).

⁴⁴ Döderlein was the first to use this term: *Da nun dieser Aorist in allgemeinen Sätzen und Denkprüchen seinen eigentlichen Platz findet, so dürfte er in den Grammatiken zweckmässig der gnomische Aorist genannt werden* ([Döderlein 1847: 136], emphasis taken from the original text). The literature on the gnostic aorist is large, some examples (the list is obviously not exhaustive): [Moller 1853; 1854; Franke 1854; Van Groningen 1948; Salmon 1960; Peristerakis 1962; Ruijgh 1971 (one of the most detailed treatments); Faulkner 2005].

That the gnostic aorist was almost always augmented in Homer, had been noticed very early on: [Platt 1891; Herbig 1896: 250–270; Delbrück 1897: 302; Wackernagel 1904: 5; 1920: 181; Brugmann 1916:11 (who noted that there was no explanation for this fact); Drewitt 1912a; 1912b; 1913; Hirt 1928: 171–173]. It has been accepted since. See most recently [Pagniello 2002: 74–84; Bakker 2005: 131–135; Faulkner 2005: 68–69; Bertrand 2006b: 241; De Decker 2016a: 87–100; 2019: 61–65]. Allan [2016] and Wakker [2017] disagree with the assumption that the augment marks emphasis, but she (W) cannot explain why it is used in contexts that do not necessarily refer to past contexts alone (as is the case with the gnostic aorist), while he (A) assumes that the augment marked perfectivity.

The augment use in the gnostic aorist is nevertheless not absolute, as can be seen in *Il.* 4, 320; 9, 320; 14, 382; 24, 49; *Od.* 8, 481; 14, 465; 17, 271; *Theogony* 418, 442, 447 (the absence of the augment is not secured by the metre in that specific instance), 974 and *Works and Days* 17–20 (if the aorists in this passage are indeed gnostic), 345, 702–705, 740–741 (cf. [De Decker 2016a: 55–67]). See also [Wakker 2017].

In this verse Nestor told Akhilleus that it was his duty to obey Agamemnon, because as a king he had received his power and fame from Zeus. This is a general truth: in the eyes of the Greeks, all kings acquired their power by the grace of Zeus [De Decker 2017: 96, 141].

4.7. Homeric *similia*

Closely related to the use of the augment in the gnomic aorist, is its use in the *similia*, the Homeric comparisons in which Homer compared a battle scene or another event to a scene from everyday life (mostly in the agricultural sphere).⁴⁵ As the similes compare an action in the recent past with occurrences in the past, and *they are “close” to the audience, in evoking a domestic rather than heroic, reality* [Bakker 2005: 114], their link with the present and the audience is evident and the use of the augment therefore does not surprise [Bakker 2005: 114, 121, 131–134]. In our corpus, there is one example:

- (12) ὧς εἰπὼν πυλέων ἐξέσσυτο φαίδιμος Ἴηκτωρ,
 τῷ δ ἄμ Ἀλέξανδρος κί ἀδελφεός: ἐν δ ἄρα θυμῷ
 ἀμφότεροι μέμασαν πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι.
 ὧς δὲ θεὸς ναύτησιν ἐελδομένοισιν ἔδωκεν
 οὔρον, ἐπεὶ κε κάμωσιν ἐϋξέστης ἐλάτησι (5)
 πόντον ἐλαύνοντες, καμάτῳ δ ὑπὸ γυῖα λέλυνται,
 ὧς ἄρα τῷ Τρώεσσιν ἐελδομένοισι φανήτην.

‘So speaking Hektor the glorious swept on through the gates, and with him went Alexandros his brother, both of them minded in their hearts to do battle and take their part in the fighting. And as to men of the sea in their supplication the god sends a fair wind, when they are breaking their strength at the smoothed oar-sweeps, driving over the sea, and their arms are weak with weariness, so these two appeared to the Trojans, who had longed for them.’⁴⁶ (*Il.* 7, 1–7).

⁴⁵ [Platt 1891; Drewitt 1912a; 1912b; 1913; Chantraine 1948: 484; Shipp 1972: 120; Bakker 2002: 75–77; 2005: 114, 121, 131–134].

⁴⁶ Translation taken from the *Chicago Homer*.

The form ἔδωκεν is augmented, because it compares the help that the Trojans under pressure receive from Hektor and Alexandros (i.e. Paris) to the favourable wind that seafarers receive when they are in trouble and hope for a divine salvation.

The observations of §4.6 and §4.7 are confirmed by an analysis of the entire epic corpus, but at the same time these overall epic data show that we cannot speak about an absolute rule: in Homer and Hesiod we have 48 augmented (16 in the *Iliad*, 9 in the *Odyssey*, 8 in the *Theogony* and 15 in the *Works and Days*) and 15 unaugmented gnomic aorists (4 in the *Iliad*, 3 in the *Odyssey*, 3 in the *Theogony* and 5 in the *Works and Days*), which is 76 % augmentation, and 97 augmented (83 in the *Iliad*, 14 in the *Odyssey*, and none in Hesiod) and 15 unaugmented forms in a simile (11 in the *Iliad*, 3 in the *Odyssey*, 1 in the *Theogony* and none in the *Works and Days*), which is 87 % augmentation [De Decker 2020a: 467].

4.8. Negation and negative sentences

In his analysis of the augment in the aorist forms in the speeches of the *Iliad*, Bakker argued that the augment was less common in negative sentences [Bakker 2005: 126], unless the negation was linked to the speaker's deixis [Bakker 2005: 128–130]. In our corpus, there are three examples of ἔδωκεν or δῶκε combined with a negation, and there are 1 unaugmented (24, 594) and 1 augmented form (18, 456). Two examples are clearly insufficient to decide whether or not Bakker's observation is correct. Moreover, the augmented example is found in narrative, whereas the two unaugmented examples are found in a speech and are closely related to the speaker's and addressee's deixis. Even the metrically secure instances are problematic and we will discuss them below.

- (13) καί νύ κεν αὐτῆμαρ πόλιν ἔπραθον, εἰ μὴ Ἀπόλλων
πολλὰ κακὰ ῥέξαντα Μενoitίου ἄλκιμον υἱὸν
ἔκταν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι καὶ Ἴκτορι κῦδος ἔδωκε

‘And now they would have sacked the city on that same day, if Apollon had not killed the brave son of Menoitios, who was doing many evil things, and had given fame to Hektor.’ (*Il.* 18, 454–456).

The instance here described how Troy would already have been destroyed by the hands of Patroklos, if Apollon had not intervened and made Hektor kill him. This is a counterfactual construction, but what is counterfactual is the destruction of the city by the hands of Patroklos; the divine intervention and Hektor’s subsequent killing of Patroklos are real. The negated sentence is something that did occur. As such, the augment is not so unexpected. On the other hand, not all counterfactual *εἰ μή*-clauses have augmented verb forms [Krisch 1986].

- (14) μή μοι Πάτροκλε σκυδμαινέμεν, αἶ κε πύθῃαι
 εἰν Ἄϊδός περ ἐὼν ὅτι Ἔκτορα δῖον ἔλυσα
 πατρὶ φίλω, ἐπεὶ οὐ μοι ἀεικέα **δῶκεν** ἄποινα
 ‘Do not become angry with me, Patroklos, when you find out, even though you are in the Hades, that I have released divine Hektor to his beloved father, since/after he gave me a not unfitting ransom for it.’ (*Il.* 24, 592–594).

In this verse, Akhilleus begged for forgiveness from Patroklos after he released Hektors body. He stated that Priam had given a very large ransom for it. The sentence clearly refers to something in the recent past with reference to the deixis of both Akhilleus and Patroklos, and yet the verb is unaugmented. One could argue that the scope of the negation does not apply to the verb *δῶκεν* but rather to the adjective *ἀεικέα*, but the fact that the negation does not stand next to the adjective makes that less likely in my opinion. Even if the negation did not govern the verb, the absence of the augment is still remarkable. Arguing that the *ἐπεὶ*-clause is just a subordinate temporal clause describing the background is insufficient in my opinion, because there is a causal relationship between the paying of the ransom and the release of the body.

4.9. Subordination

As a subordinate clause usually describes something that either occurred before the action of the main clause and/or was less important than it, one would expect fewer augmented forms in subordinate clauses than in main clauses.⁴⁷ There are 16 forms attested in a subordinate clause, of which 7 are augmented⁴⁸ and 9 are not.⁴⁹ These figures indicate that mere subordination is not enough to account for the absence of the augment, but when we look at the 7 unaugmented instances, we note that 3 of the augmented instances are made up of the temporal clause Ἐκτῶρ Πριαμίδης, ὅτε οἱ Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκε, which has the augment, because it stresses that Hektor receives his protection from Zeus. The other augmented instance of a subordinate clause in narrative is the counterfactual example, discussed above. The three instances in a speech also involve events very close to the speaker and/or addressee (in 9, 367 ἔδωκε refers to the fact that Akhilleus received Briseis as a gift, before she was taken away from him and in 21, 216 ἔδωκε is used to describe that Zeus has given Akhilleus the power to kill as many Trojans as he wants). As such, we see that the augmented examples convey an element of focus. The augment in 5, 397 might surprise, unless we assume that Dione uses the verb to describe the pains caused to gods by other gods or mortals. There are nevertheless some exceptions, namely unaugmented instances where we would expect the augmented form:

- (15) πρίν γ ὅτε δὴ Ζεὺς κῦδος ὑπέρτερον Ἐκτορι δῶκε
 ‘Until then Zeus gave the greater glory to Hektor.’ (*Il.* 12, 437).

⁴⁷ De Decker [2017: 146–147] explained the avoidance of augmented forms in subordinate clauses by *the fact that a subordinate clause is (almost by definition) the background and not the main line, and that the link to the present is therefore even more absent than in narrative in general.*

⁴⁸ The instances are *Il.* 5, 397; 8, 216; 9, 367; 11, 300; 18, 456; 19, 204; 21, 216.

⁴⁹ The instances are *Il.* 5, 266; 11, 20; 12, 437; 13, 727; 15, 310; 17, 193; 22, 470; 23, 296; 24, 594.

The absence in this instance is surprising because it describes Zeus's favouring of Hektor, but is related by an unaugmented verb form. Is it one of the exceptions proving the rule?

Besides this instance, also in 13, 727 the unaugmented δῶκε (and not ἔδωκε) is used to describe the fact that Hektor received his power from Zeus and in 24, 594 δῶκε describes the ransom Akhilleus received to release Hektor (cf. supra). The other unaugmented instances are six relative clauses, of which one (5, 266) described an event in a mythical past (the rape of Ganymedes) and five other instances, in which background information about the origin of a person or object are given.⁵⁰ One example of a subordinate clause with an unaugmented verb form is

(16) Ἀτρείδης δ' ἐβόησεν ἰδὲ ζώννυσθαι ἄνωγεν (15)

Ἀργείους: ἐν δ' αὐτὸς ἐδύσατο νόροπα χαλκόν.

κνημῖδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκε

καλὰς ἀργυρέοισιν ἐπισφυρίοις ἀραρυίας:

δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδυνε,

τόν ποτέ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινήϊον εἶναι. (20)

πεύθετο γὰρ Κύπρονδε μέγα κλέος οὔνεκ Ἀχαιοὶ

ἔς Τροίην νήεσσιν ἀναπλεύσεσθαι ἔμελλον:

τοὔνεκά οἱ τὸν δῶκε χαριζόμενος βασιλῆϊ.

τοῦ δ' ἦτοι δέκα οἶμοι ἔσαν μέλανος κυάνοιο, (25)

δώδεκα δὲ χρυσοῖο καὶ εἴκοσι κασσιτέροιο:

κυάνεοι δὲ δράκοντες ὀρωρέχαστο ποτὶ δειρῆν

τρεῖς ἐκάτερθ' ἴρισσιν εὐικότες, ἅς τε Κρονίων

ἐν νέφεϊ στήριξε, τέρας μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

‘And Atreus’s son cried out aloud and drove the Akhaians to gird them, while he himself put the shining bronze upon him. First he placed along his legs the beautiful greaves linked with silver fastenings to hold the greaves at the ankles. Afterwards he girt on about his chest the corselet that Kinyras had given him once, to be a guest present. For the great fame and rumour of war had carried to Kypros how the Akhaians were to sail against Troy

⁵⁰ The instances are *Iliad* 11, 20; 15, 310; 17, 193; 22, 470; 23, 296.

in their vessels. Therefore he gave the king as a gift of grace this corselet. Now there were ten circles of deep cobalt upon it, and twelve of gold and twenty of tin. And toward the opening at the throat there were rearing up three serpents of cobalt on either side, like rainbows, which the son of Kronos has marked upon the clouds, to be a portent to mortals.’⁵¹ (*Il.* 11, 15–28).

These verses describe how Agamemnon dressed for battle and the origin of his body armour. What is important is that Agamemnon prepares for battle (hence the augmented verb forms), the origin of his weapons and armour is of lesser importance (hence only one augmented verb form and 6 unaugmented verb forms, one being δῶκε in line 20 in a subordinate clause).

On their own, the data of §4.8 and 4.9 are too small to allow for decisive judgements, but when we compare them to the overall data of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and make a breakdown per part of speech, we note that it is not the mere presence of a negative element or the use in a subordinate clause that decides on the presence or absence of the augment, as negative and subordinate clauses in a speech and narrative have about the same degree of augmentation as their affirmative and main clause counterparts: for the *Iliad* overall (as quoted above already), we have 621 augmented and 655 unaugmented forms in a speech (49% augments) against 1344 augmented and 3201 unaugmented forms in narrative (29% augments), for negation we have 65 augmented and 56 unaugmented forms in a speech (54% augments — higher than expected) against 87 augmented and 184 unaugmented forms in narrative (32% augments) and for subordination there are 192 augmented and 200 unaugmented forms in a speech (49% augments) against 220 augmented and 355 unaugmented forms in narrative (38% augments — the only outlier in the data); for the *Odyssey* overall (as quoted above already as well), we have 718 augmented and 709 unaugmented forms in a speech (50% augments) against 673 augmented and 1560 unaugmented forms in narrative (30% augments), 326 augmented and 476 unaugmented forms in *Odysseus*’

⁵¹ Translation taken from the *Chicago Homer*.

Apologoi (41 % augments) against 23 augmented and 37 unaugmented forms in *Menelaos' Apologoi* (38 % augments), while for the negation we have 82 augmented and 64 unaugmented forms in a speech (56 % augments) against 24 augmented and 45 unaugmented forms in narrative (35 % augments), 23 augmented and 30 unaugmented forms in *Odysseus' Apologoi* (43 % augments) against 3 augmented and 3 unaugmented forms in *Menelaos' Apologoi* and for subordination we have 207 augmented and 205 unaugmented forms in a speech (50 % augments) against 119 augmented and 249 unaugmented forms in narrative (32 % augments), 52 augmented and 80 unaugmented forms in *Odysseus' Apologoi* (39 % augments) against 3 augmented and 7 unaugmented forms in *Menelaos' Apologoi* [De Decker 2020a: 469; 2020b: 112–113]. As we observed with the discussion of speech versus narrative, foreground versus background and recent versus remote/mythical past, the conclusion seems be that more than any other criterion, the distinction foreground versus background is the main factor deciding on the use of the augment.

5. Conclusion

The investigation of the forms in the *Iliad* showed the use and absence of the augment were not metrically motivated, but could be explained by an interaction of syntactic and semantic factors. The augment was not used, when the past tense form was followed by a 2nd position clitic and was not preferred (or even avoided) when the verb form was preceded by another augmented form. It was used in statements of general validity (gnomic aorists and *similia*), actions describing a recent past, and when new elements in a story were added and it appeared more often in speeches than it was in narrative passages; it was not preferred (or even avoided) in stories relating a more distant or even mythical past, in side notes and in long narrative descriptions. It goes without saying that we are only dealing with tendencies and not with absolute rules, and that, as a consequence, there are exceptions to the rules mentioned above, but we believe that, overall, the tendencies can explain most of the (un)

augmented forms in early epic Greek. The data in this investigation almost completely agree with those of the investigation into the same form in the *Odyssey* (more than I would have expected given the somewhat different nature and content of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*). The comparison the overall data in early epic Greek confirms the data of this small investigation, but also highlights that the main factor determining use of the augment were the distinctions between foreground and background, and recent versus more remote / mythical past as is most strikingly shown in the differences between Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, but also showed that there were a substantial amount of exceptions, even in the categories of the gnomic aorist and the *similia*, which are generally considered to be exclusively augmented.

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Of centaurs and satyrs: Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* and satyr drama

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Abstract. This paper examines the archaic Greek lyric poet Stesichorus and in particular his *Geryoneis*, a poem that deals with Heracles' journey to the distant west to steal the cattle of the three-headed monster Geryon, and that is probably the best known of his works. Its fame among classicists is owed chiefly to the manuscript P.Oxy. 2617. This precious find, published in 1967, contains substantial sections of a mythological narrative describing Heracles' mission to acquire the cattle belonging to Geryon, a three-headed monster living at the world's end. The work, the only full-scale account of the labour in ancient poetry, describes how Heracles travels in the Sun's golden bowl to the island of Erytheia near the river Tartessus; how Geryon is implored first by a friend, then by his own mother, not to fight the mighty warrior who has come to take his animals; how Heracles strikes Geryon's first head with an arrow, before (we presume — this section is not preserved) closing to finish off the other two at close quarters; and how Heracles returns to Greece with the cattle. A surprising aspect of the poem is its inclusion (probably towards its end, which described Heracles' return from the west) of the myth of Pholus, a centaur in Arcadia who entertains Heracles with wine of exceptional quality, but whose hospitality leads to disaster when the other centaurs, drawn by the scent of the wine, begin a brawl in which Pholus is killed. The parallels between centaurs and satyrs — both animal–human hybrids with tendencies towards passion and violence — point towards an intriguing parallel with Greek drama, which at the Dionysia festival at Athens in the fifth century saw three tragedies followed by a satyr play; here, just as apparently in Stesichorus' poem, elevated poetry has as a codicil something altogether more earthy in character.

Keywords: Stesichorus, papyri, Pholus, centaurs, satyrs, satyr-play.

Acknowledgment. It is a pleasure to offer this paper in honour of Professor Kazansky, whose work has done so much to illuminate the Greek poet Stesichorus.

О кентаврах и сатирах: «ГерIONEИДА» Стесихора и сатирическая драма

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена древнегреческому поэту архаической эпохи, Стесихору, и в особенности его поэме *ГерIONEИДЕ*, повествовавшей о путешествии Геракла на Крайний Запад для того, чтобы угнать стада трехглавого чудовища Гериона. Неожиданным образом в поэме (предположительно, ближе к ее концу, где описывалось возвращение Геракла в Грецию со стадами) также упоминался миф о Фоле, аркадском кентавре, который угостил Геракла совершенно необыкновенным вином. Однако проявленное им гостеприимство привело к трагедии, когда остальные кентавры, привлеченные запахом вина, затеяли драку, в которой погиб сам хозяин пиршества Фол. В начале статьи дается обзор свидетельств об этой части поэмы: свидетельство Афиней о визите Геракла к кентавру Фолу и об исключительной величине кубка, который тот ему преподнес (Athen. 11, 499a–b = Stesichorus fr. 22a [Finglass 2014b]), сопоставляется с пересказом мифа у Аполлодора и с папирусными фрагментами P.Оху. 2617, fr. 46 и P.Оху. 2617, fr. 17 (Stesichorus fr. 23 и 24 [Finglass 2014b], соответственно). На основании того, что позволяют реконструировать свидетельства, высказывается осторожное предположение, что расположение данного эпизода ближе к концу поэмы, равно как и его содержание и общий этос, а также ассоциация между кентаврами и сатирами (и те и другие представляют собой гибрид между человеком и животным и славятся неумеренностью страстей и склонностью к насилию), находит захватывающую параллель в практике драматических постановок в Афинах классического периода: на Дионисиях в V в. до н. э. стандартно представлялись три трагедии, за которыми следовала значительно более легкая по содержанию и общей тональности сатирическая драма. В случае драматических постановок, равно как и в случае «ГерIONEИДЫ» Стесихора, дополнение к возвышенной трагической поэзии носило значительно более приземленный характер: в обоих случаях за счет контраста достигался эффект эмоциональной разрядки после серьезности основной части повествования.

Ключевые слова: Стесихор, папирусы, Фол, кентавры, сатиры, сатирическая драма.

The *Geryoneis* is probably the best known of the works by the archaic Greek poet Stesichorus of Himera. Its fame among classicists is owed chiefly to the manuscript P.Oxy. 2617. This precious find, published in 1967, contains substantial sections of a mythological narrative describing Heracles' mission to acquire the cattle belonging to Geryon, a three-headed monster living at the world's end.¹ The work, the only full-scale account of the labour in ancient poetry, describes how Heracles travels in the Sun's golden bowl to the island of Erytheia near the river Tartessus; how Geryon is implored first by a friend, then by his own mother, not to fight the mighty warrior who has come to take his animals; how Heracles strikes Geryon's first head with an arrow, before (we presume — this section is not preserved) closing to finish off the other two at close quarters; and how Heracles returns to Greece with the cattle.

One curious aspect of Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* is the inclusion within its narrative of Heracles' encounter with the centaur Pholus at Pholoë in Arcadia. In the late second or early third century AD, Athenaeus, the last person who we can say with reasonable confidence was able to read a text of at least some of Stesichorus' poems, records the following about the *Geryoneis*:

- (1) Στισίχορος δὲ τὸ παρὰ Φόλωι τῷ Κενταύρῳ ποτήριον κύφιον
 δέπας καλεῖ ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ κυφοειδέσ· λέγει δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους·
 κύφιον δὲ λαβὼν δέπας ἔμμετρον ὡς
 τριλάγνον
 πί' ἐπιχώμενος, τό ρά οἱ παρέθη-
 κε Φόλος κέρασα

'Stesichorus calls the cup in the house of Pholus the centaur a *skyphion depas*, which means that it has the appearance of a *skyphos*. He says with reference to Heracles: "and taking as his cup a vat of three flagons measure which Pholus had mixed and set before him, he put it to his lips and drank"' (Stesichorus

¹ The papyrus is published in [Lobel 1967]. The latest edition of the fragments can be found in Stesichorus frs. 5–83 Finglass; for a commentary on those fragments see [Davies, Finglass 2014: 230–298], and for further discussion of the poem see [Curtis 2011; Finglass 2012; 2018; 2021; 2022].

fr. 22a [Finglass 2014b] = Ath. 11, 499ab = 3, 100, 21–25 [Kaibel 1887–1890]).

- (2) τὸ δὲ ἐν Γηρυονηΐδι Στησιχόρου
ἔμμετρον ὡς
τριλάγνον

τὴν τῶν τριῶν γενῶν ἀμφιβολίαν ἔχει.

‘But as for the phrase in Stesichorus’ *Geryoneis* “of three flagons measure” it is ambiguous as to which of the three genders the word belongs to’ (Stesichorus fr. 22b [Finglass 2014b] = Ath. 11, 499e = 3, 102, 8–9 [Kaibel 1887–1890]).

Thanks to Athenaeus, then, we know that Heracles encountered a centaur called Pholus during the course of the *Geryoneis*. Later prose sources, Apollodorus and Diodorus, describe what this involved.² Pholus gives hospitality to Heracles when he comes to his home in Pholoë, opening a particular jar of wine for his guest, said by Apollodorus to belong to the centaurs in common, but by Diodorus to have been given to a centaur four generations previously by Dionysus, with orders that it should not be opened until Heracles’ arrival. The smell of the wine attracts other centaurs, who attack with rocks and fire. Although Heracles drives them away with firebrands and arrows, the incident results in two unfortunate casualties: arrows dipped in the hydra’s poison kill both the wise centaur Chiron, and Pholus himself, who takes an arrow out of a dead centaur and accidentally lets it fall on his foot. These narratives come from centuries after Stesichorus’ time, but the evidence of art, which depicts both the conflict with the centaurs and the act of hospitality which brought it about, shows that the story was indeed known in the archaic period, at least from the seventh century onwards [Davies, Finglass 2014: 238–239].

As noted above, this episode is attested for the *Geryoneis* by means of Athenaeus’ testimony. No fragment of the papyrus can with certainty be attributed to the story, but two are at least consistent with it, as follows:

² Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.4, D. S. 4.12.3–8. For the myth see further [Davies, Finglass 2014: 238–239].

(3) υυ υυ] [
 υυ υυ υυ υ] αδικω[
 υυ υυ υυ υ] μενο[

←—————→

5 υυ υυ υυ υυ] [
 υυ υυ υυ]· [
 υυ υυ υυ υυ] [] [

twenty-three verses missing

31 οδα. [υυ υυ υυ
 τιν οκ[υυ υυ
 δώκε[(υ) υυ | υυ υυ
 ἐνθεν [(υ) υυ υυ υυ
 35 οἶνον [υ | υυ υυ υυ πευ–
 καλίμο[ιτιν
 ... [] [

‘... unjust... / ... / he gave... / from there... / wine... / fir...’
 (Stesichorus fr. 23 [Finglass 2014b] = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 46).

(4) υυ υυ] κωὺ φατὰ θ. [
 υυ υυ] κάματος καὶ ἀ|μ[
 υ υ]
 υυ υυ] φύλοπις ἀργαλέα [
 5 υυ υυ υυ].
 υυ υυ υ] μάχαι τ’ ἀνδρο[κ–
 τασίαι τ(ε) υ υ δι]απρυσίαι· [

←—————→

υυ υυ υ] ος ἵππων [ant.

‘... and unspeakable... / ... toil and... / ... woeful strife... / ... battles,
 and man-slayings, and piercing... / ... of horses’ (Stesichorus fr. 24
 [Finglass 2014b] = P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 17).

The content of these fragments (wine and fir in the former, battles and horses in the latter) would fit the Pholus episode, and so may come from it. But even if they do not, there is no reason to disbelieve Athenaeus’ claim

that the tale formed part of Stesichorus' poem; the fragments of the papyrus cover only a portion of that poem, which was at least 1,300 lines long.³ Usually the episode is associated with Heracles' hunt for the Erymanthian Boar, which takes place in Arcadia and so provides a more explicable context for the encounter; but Stesichorus was free to incorporate it within his account of a different labour.

Athenaeus unfortunately does not tell us whether the encounter with Pholus took place on Heracles' way out to Erytheia or on the way back. Either option is possible, but the latter seems more likely, since Heracles' journey out to Geryon's homeland already has a lot of mythological events to include, such as Heracles' obtaining from the Sun his magic bowl, in which to travel to Erytheia. If the episode took place on his outward journey, it would have had to occur almost at the start of the work, with Heracles setting out from Argos and travelling through Arcadia; it would be odd to open a poem dedicated to the story of Geryon by describing a meeting that had no bearing on that encounter and could scarcely be thought preparatory to it. West argues that the encounter took place on Heracles' way out; "surely not on his way back, when he had a herd of cattle to manage" [West 1979 :142, with n. 73; 2011–2013, 2: 273 n. 73; Lloyd 2007: 383, fn. 73]. But narratives of Heracles' return encompassed many different events despite the presence of the cattle [Finglass 2021]; those animals could be conveniently forgotten by the poet when it suited his narrative to do so. It seems unlikely that the episode was narrated in a speech as an event in the past, which would be the only other possibility; the Athenaeus fragment refers to Heracles in the third person, so he could not be the speaker, and it is hard to see who else could have told the tale, to whom (not Heracles, who did not need to be informed of his own exploits), and for what reason.

Trying to understand the overall shape and purpose of a text that has survived in fragments is never easy; the analysis above, and the suggestion to follow, should be treated with the caution that they deserve. Let us assume, then, that my hypothesis that the Pholus episode took place during

³ We know this thanks to a stichometric marginal symbol in one fragment; see [Davies, Finglass 2014: on fr. 25 Finglass].

Heracles' return journey, not on his way out to Erytheia, is correct. My contention is that if this hypothesis is true, the role played by the Pholus episode in Stesichorus' poem is to some extent comparable to that of satyr-play in the dramatic tetralogies of fifth-century Athens, which were made up of three tragedies followed by a satyr drama. In the remainder of this chapter I briefly attempt to justify that view.

Centaurus are not satyrs, of course. Satyrs are typically cowardly, for example, whereas centaurs are bellicose [Padgett 2003: 3]. In contrast to satyrs, "centaurs... are virtually never shown in a state of sexual arousal, so strong was the aesthetic and ethical prejudice in favor of the horse's nobility and quasi-heroic status" [Griffith 2006a: 193, fn. 27].⁴ Nobility, not a concept ever associated with satyrs, could be predicated of centaurs such as the wise Chiron or the hospitable Pholus, even if the majority of centaurs were not so depicted.⁵ Yet despite these differences, the two species are in many ways comparable; as Padgett puts it, "closely related but occupying different conceptual realms, centaurs and satyrs are seldom considered together, and yet it may be that the one cannot be understood without the other." [Padgett 2003: viii]. Satyrs were originally equine creatures, a mixture or melding of human and horse; centaurs too are obviously a combination of horse and man, though unlike satyrs their animal and human natures were cleanly divided into separate sections [Padgett 2003: 4].⁶ Just as the centaurs in the archaic hexameter poem *Kaminos* "appear as potential wreckers of human constructions",⁷ so too

⁴ Cf. [Griffith 2006b: 326]: "donkeys in art are more often than not represented it-hyphalically (as are satyrs — but, remarkably, not centaurs, despite their notoriously hybridic behavior in myth), as a signifier of their 'low' and uncontrolled nature."

⁵ Cf. [Padgett 2003: viii]: "Half horse and half man, centaurs stand — like humanity itself — with legs in two worlds. Wild and libidinous, like Nessos, who assaulted the wife of Herakles, centaurs also could be noble and wise, like Cheiron, the teacher of Achilles, Jason, and Asklepios. Their bifurcated form perfectly symbolizes the fundamentally ambivalent nature of the human being: part beast, part angel."

⁶ For fantastical equids in general, see [Griffith 2006a: 193, fn. 27].

⁷ Hes. fr. 302, 17–20 [Merkelbach, West 1967]; thus [West 2007: 293], who makes the comparison with the satyrs of drama.

satyrs in drama engage in trickery and frustrate human enterprises. Both kinds of creature “travelled in groups and were known for unbridled desire and an intolerance for wine... satyrs too had horses’ tails, and were often depicted in art carrying women off in postures very like those of... raping centaurs.”⁸ Given these similarities, it seems fitting that according to Apollodorus, Silenos, father of the satyrs, was also the father of the centaur Pholus:⁹ a telling detail in the context of this argument.

So towards its end Stesichorus’ *Geryoneis* contains an episode involving centaurs, creatures (we may safely presume) not previously involved in the poem’s narrative, just as tragic tetralogies culminated with an episode involving satyrs, a closely-related type of creature, who would have been similarly out of place in the tragedies that preceded them. As we have seen, it is unusual to find the Pholus episode in the *Geryoneis* at all, associated as it normally is with Heracles’ hunt for the Erymanthian Boar. But such a mixing-up of Heracleian mythology can be paralleled, as it happens, in satyr-play, since in Euripides’ *Syleus* Heracles is made the slave not of Omphale as per usual, but of the ogre who gives the play its name. Moreover, the very ethos of Heracles’ encounter with Pholus is readily comparable to what we find in satyr-play, a genre which provided a framework “in which the supremacy of the Olympians... is reasserted, the transgressor punished, and Greek values such as hospitality and friendship are upheld” [O’Sullivan, Collard 2013: 28–29]; the same is likely to have been true of the Pholus episode in Stesichorus’ *Geryoneis*.

There is more to make us think of satyr-play when we consider Stesichorus’ centaurs, even in the little that survives of his treatment of the story. The fragment attested in Athenaeus’ quotation emphasizes wine-drinking, and in particular the astonishing size of the cup employed by Heracles, which is called “a vat of three flagons measure”: this latter detail suggests the theme of gluttony and drunkenness, typical of satyr-play, as well as the comic potential of Heracles, a frequent figure in that genre,

⁸ [duBois 1982: 31]; cf. [O’Sullivan, Collard 2013: 33–34], who offer many examples of satyrs’ bibulousness. For the comparison see further [Kirk 1970: 154, 156; Osborne 2009: 9–11].

⁹ Apollod. 2, 5, 4.

featuring in Euripides' *Syleus* and Ion's *Omphale*, for instance, and also in the prosatyr *Alcestis*, where his appetite features prominently (747–772). The Pholus episode is not wholly comical, of course; unless Stesichorus' account differed radically from the summaries offered by later authors, significant and probably sympathetic individuals died during its course, and in the note in my commentary on the Athenaeus fragment, I wrote “a [comical] tone would be unlikely here, when conflict and tragedy are imminent.” [Davies, Finglass 2014: 291]. Today that note seems to me too serious. The picture of Heracles imbibing fine wine from a massive vessel seems at least light-hearted. Moreover, in drama the Pholus episode was treated in comic rather than tragic terms. So in the fifth century Epicharmus wrote a play on the subject,¹⁰ as Aristophanes may have done;¹¹ the fourth-century tragedian Chaeremon wrote a *Centaur*, ‘an extraordinary and inventive polymetric satyr play’ [Shaw 2014: 130; see further, 130–133], and whereas several comedies have that title,¹² some of which are likely to have dealt with the Pholus myth, no tragedies do. The deaths in the story evidently did not inhibit comical or satirical treatment of the myth; and although that does not prove that Stesichorus handled it in that way too, it at least shows that such a treatment was possible, which is consistent with what we have already tentatively inferred from the fragment preserved by Athenaeus.

If these hints of similarities are not mere shadows, then just as Greek audiences of the fifth century encountered the high drama of tragedy followed, as a codicil, by the lower events of satyr-play, so too the Greeks of the sixth century encountered the high tragedy of Heracles' clash with a profoundly sympathetic Geryon only to see the same hero in a different kind of context, a different mood, in the Pholus episode at the end of the poem.¹³ If the hypothesis that the Pholus episode took place during

¹⁰ Epicharm. fr. 66 [PCG] Ἡρακλῆς ὁ πὰρ Φόλοι.

¹¹ Ar. fr. 278–88 [PCG] Δράματα ἢ Κένταυρος.

¹² Cf. T. Günther *apud* [Krumeich *et al.* 1999: 581, with fn. 1].

¹³ Cf. [Finglass 2014a: 38]: “The central part played by monsters — Geryon, Cerberus, Scylla, Pholus, and so on — in his work is something quite different from what we find in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, where such figures play a circumscribed role.”

Heracles' return journey, not his outward one, is correct, the structure of Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* thus provides an intriguing archaic parallel for what would become a cardinal feature of classical drama. That is not to say that Stesichorus influenced the development of this feature of the tragic tetralogy, as he certainly did influence other aspects of fifth-century tragedy.¹⁴ Rather, we may think in terms of parallel developments in closely associated media, both aimed at providing, by means of a contrast, an emotional release after the high seriousness of the main part of a work of literature. Unless a complete text of this fragmentary poem comes to light, we will never be sure about the function of the Pholus episode; but perhaps just enough remains for us to appreciate what can be gained from seeing Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* through satyric eyes.

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¹⁴ For the debt owed by Greek tragedy to Stesichorus see [Swift 2015; Finglass 2018].

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Warum Eos und Orion ein Liebespaar wurden

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Abstract. The paper is dedicated to the myth about Orion and Eos, known from the Homeric poems (*Od.* 5, 118–124). It has already been noted in the mythological studies that Orion and Eos of the Greek tradition are comparable to Rohiṇī and Prajāpati of the ancient Indian tradition. The names used in the two traditions differ. In particular, the etymology of the name Orion has not been reliably established; Eos finds an etymological match in the Indian Uṣás (cf. also Latin *Aurōra*, Avestan *Ušah* etc. all from PIE **H₂áusōs*), and Rohiṇī can be interpreted as referring to a red, glowing dawn. However, the plots of the Greek and Indian myths show striking overlaps such as a hunting motif and a love story.

Unlike such researchers as Joseph Fontenrose, who offered a detailed comparative structural analysis of the stories about Eos/Orion/Artemis ἑλαφηβόλος and Prajāpati/Uṣas, both traditions have common roots in the Proto-Indo-European mythology and poetry. In the context of the Proto-Indo-European myth, one may tentatively derive Ὠρίων, in poets also Ὠαρίων, from ὄαρ ‘woman, wife’: ὄαρ → *ὄαριος ‘belonging to the woman’ → ‘the one belonging to the woman’ parallel to Κρόνος → Κρονίον ‘the one belonging to Kronos; Zeus’.

The Proto-Indo-European myth was based on observations of the movement of stars in the night sky, in which the constellations Orion and Aldebaran (Eos, Rohiṇī) move in close proximity to each other, which formed the basis of the story of Orion chasing the dawn. Thus, the ancient Greek and Indian traditions not only preserve traces of the Proto-Indo-European myths, but also traces of astronomical observations of Proto-Indo-Europeans.

Keywords: Eos, Artemis, Orion, Uṣas, Rohiṇī, Prajāpati, Aldebaran, Indo-European Myths, Indo-European astronomy, Homer.

Почему Эос и Орион стали любовной парой

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена мифу об Орионе и Эос, известному уже по гомеровским поэмам (*Od.* 5, 118–124), и, в частности, вопросу о любовной связи именно этих двух мифологических персонажей. В исследованиях по мифологии уже и раньше отмечалось, что греческая традиция об Орионе и Эос сопоставима с древнеиндийской традицией о Рохини (Rohiṇī) и Праяпати (Prajāpati). Имена в двух традициях отличаются (в частности, этимология имени Ориона не установлена надежно; Эос находит соответствие в индийской Uṣās, но Rohiṇī может интерпретироваться как отсылка к красной, рдеющей заре), зато переключки на уровне сюжета, такие как мотив охоты и любовная история, разительны.

В отличие от таких исследователей, как Дж. Фонтенроуз, подробно сопоставлявшего рассказы об Эос / Орионе / Артемиде *ἔλαφθόλος*, и о Prajāpati / Uṣas, автор статьи постулирует, что обе традиции имеют общие историко-генетические корни в праиндоевропейской мифологии и поэзии. Этот праиндоевропейский миф вырос из наблюдений за движением звезд на ночном небе, на котором созвездия Орион и Альдебаран (Эос, Рохини) движутся в непосредственной близости друг от друга, что легло в основу рассказа об Орионе, преследующем зарю. Таким образом, можно заключить, что древнегреческая и древнеиндийская традиции являются отражением не только общего праиндоевропейского мифа, но и сохраняют следы астрономических наблюдений праиндоевропейцев.

Ключевые слова: Эос, Артемиды, Орион, Uṣas, Rohiṇī, Prajāpati, Альдебаран, праиндоевропейская мифология, праиндоевропейская астрономия, Гомер.

1

Mythen haben ihre eigene Logik. Auf die Frage nach dem *Warum* antworten häufig Aitia, ohne dabei Schlüsselvorstellungen der traditionellen Erzählung wirklich zu berühren, wie im Fall des Οἰδίπους mit

seinen durchbohrten Füßen. So mag es von vorneherein verfehlt erscheinen, die Liebesbeziehung von Eos und Orion diesbezüglich zu hinterfragen: Warum ist es gerade Orion¹, den sich die Göttin der Morgenröte einfach “nimmt”? Schon Homer ist es, der diese Geschichte von Liebe und Tod überliefert, indem er sie einer Kalypso in den Mund legt, die gerade Odysseus verlieren soll²:

- (1) σχέτλιοί ἐστε, θεοί, ζηλήμονες ἔξοχον ἄλλον,
οἱ τε θεαῖς ἀγάασθε παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνάζεσθαι
ἀμφαδίην, ἣν τίς τε φίλον ποιήσεται ἀκοίτην.
ὥς μὲν ὅτ' Ὀρίων' ἔλετο ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,
τόφρα οἱ ἠγάασθε θεοὶ ῥεῖα ζῶοντες,
ἕως μιν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ χρυσόθρονος Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή
οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιομένη κατέπεφνε.
‘Hart seid ihr, Götter, eifersüchtig ausnehmend vor andern! die
ihr den Göttinnen neidet, daß sie bei Männern ruhen offenkun-
dig, wenn eine sich einen zum lieben Lagergenossen gemacht hat.
So habt ihr, als sich den Orion die rosenfingrige Eos holte, ihn ihr
solange geneidet, leichtlebende Götter! bis auf Ortygia Artemis,
auf dem goldenen Stuhl³, die Reine, mit ihren sanften Geschossen
über ihn kam und ihn tötete.’

Eos und Artemis “holen” sich also den großen böotischen Jäger, die eine zur Liebe, die andere zum Tod. Aber zurück zur Fragestellung: Hat

¹ Allgemein zu Orion, Sternbild und/oder böotischer Jäger, zusammenfassend: [Loehr 2000; LIMC, 7/1: 78–80 (C. Lochin); LIMC, 7/2: 56f.; Scherer 1953: 188f. und *passim*; Wehrli 1942; Boll, Gundel 1937: 983–989]. Im frühgriechischen Epos: [LfgRE, 4: 1356 (W. Beck)]. Weiteres bei [Sergent 2012: 643–647; Forssman 1985; 1968: 58–61; Muth 1968: 1300–1303; Küentzle 1902]. Monographisch: [Renaud 2004; Fontenrose 1981]. In Mithras sieht Speidel [1980] das Sternbild Orion verkörpert, allerdings — m. E. unzutreffend — das griechische, nicht ein iranisches; vgl. dazu [Janda, *in Vorbereitung* 1]. Zur Identität des Jägers mit dem Sternbild, von Nachthimmel und hom. Unterwelt vgl. [Janda 2005: 313f. und *passim*].

² *Od.* 5, 118–124; Text: [van Thiel 1991: 87], Übersetzung: [Schadewaldt 1993: 65f.]. Vgl. dazu den Kommentar [Heubeck et al. 1988: 265–267].

³ Oder: “mit goldenen Blumen”; vgl. dazu [Heubeck et al. 1988: 266f.].

Eos vielleicht deshalb Orion gewählt, weil sich die beiden in der Morgendämmerung begegnen, wenn der erwachte Landmann ihr Zusammentreffen im “heliakischen Aufgang” beobachtet? Aber dies gilt natürlich für alle Sterne. Oder kommt es daher, daß Orion, das Sternbild, unter allen Sternbildern die größte Ähnlichkeit mit einer menschlichen Gestalt besitzt? Der Versuch einer Antwort wird anders ausfallen.

2

Er führt uns nach Indien, wo die homerische Ἠώς, die Ἐως Athens und die Αὔωσ Sapphos eine unmittelbare Verwandte in *Uśās* besitzen. Die Verwandtschaft dieser Göttinnen — zu denen sich auch noch die römische *Aurōra*, die avestische *Ušah* und andere stellen⁴ — übertrifft die Charakteristik gemeinsamer Eigenschaften und Attribute, insofern sie, in Ähnlichkeiten und Abweichungen, die lautgesetzliche Spezifik der etymologischen Namensverwandtschaft einschließt. Alle genannten einzelsprachlichen Ausprägungen des indogermanischen Namens der Göttin der Morgenröte beruhen auf Weiterentwicklungen des grundsprachlichen Paradigmas Nom. **H₂áusōs*, Gen. *H₂usés*, eine unvergleichliche Spezifik, die sowohl zufällige Parallele als auch Wanderung eines Götternamens ausschließt und sonst in dieser Deutlichkeit nur bei **H₂áusōs*’ Vater, dem “Vater Himmel” **Djéus ph₂tér*, begegnet (Ζεὺς πατήρ, lat. *Iūpiter*, ved. *Dyáuṣ pitā́*).

Uśās spielt im ältesten Literaturdenkmal Indiens, dem Rigveda, keine unbedeutende Rolle, doch die für uns jetzt interessante Begebenheit ihrer Biographie tritt erst in späteren Quellen⁵ deutlich hervor. In diesen

⁴ Zur Morgenröte vgl. [Janda 2010: 242–255] (zusammenfassender Überblick mit weiteren Literaturangaben), seither [Janda 2014] (*Aerope*), [Janda 2015] (*Penelope*) und [Janda 2016] (*Artemis*).

⁵ *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā* 3, 6, 5; 4, 2, 12; *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 1, 7, 4, 1–4; *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* 3, 33; *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* 3, 262f.; vgl. dazu [Jamison 1991: 290–293; Depert 1977: 265–268].

erscheint als ihr Vater der Gott Prajāpati, der “Herr der Geschöpfe”. Prajāpati stellt seiner Tochter Uṣas in inestuöser Absicht nach, bis die Götter beschließen, ihm Einhalt zu gebieten. In ihrem Auftrag greift Uṣas’ Bruder Rudra zu Pfeil und Bogen und trifft den Verfolger. Wie Homer⁶, spielt auch der Verfasser der folgenden Erzählvariante mit dem Anklang von Namen⁷:

- (2) *prajāpatir vai svām duhitāram abhyākāmayatoṣasam śā rohid abhavad tām ṛśyo bhūtvādhyait tasmā āpavratam achadayat tām āyatayābhiparyāvartata tasmād vā ābibhet sò ’bravīt paṣūnām tvā pātiṃ karomy ātha me mā sthā iti ... tām abhyāyatyāvidhyat sò ’rodīt tād vā asyaitān nāma rudrá iti.*

Prajāpati desired his own daughter, Dawn (Uṣas). She became a red doe. He, having become a buck, ‘approached’ her. It seemed ‘against commandment’ to him (Rudra). He (Rudra) turned toward him (Prajāpati) with an outstretched (arrow). He (Prajāpati) feared him (Rudra) and said, ‘I will make you lord of beasts, but don’t stand against me.’ ... (Rudra), on taking aim, pierced him. He cried out (*arodīt*). And that is his name: *Rudra*.

Leicht variiert, erzählt das Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (3, 33, 1–4) den Fortgang⁸:

- (3) *prajāpatir vai svām duhitaram abhyadhyāyad, divam ity anya āhur Uṣasam ity anye. tām ṛśyo bhūtvā rohitam bhūtām abhyait. taṃ devā apaśyann: akṛtaṃ vai Prajāpatiḥ karotīti. te tam aichan ya enam āriṣyaty, etam anyonyasmin nāvindaṃs. teṣāṃ yā eva ghoratamās tanva āsaṃs. tā ekadhā samabharaṃs. tāḥ sambhṛtā eṣa devo ’bhavad. [...] taṃ devā abruvann: ayaṃ vai Prajāpatir akṛtaṃ akar, imaṃ vidhyeti. [...] tam abhyāyatyāvidhyat, sa vidha ūrdhva udaprapatat, tam etam Mṛga ity ācakṣate ya u eva*

⁶ Vgl. zuletzt [Kanavou 2015]; dazu [Schmitt 2017; Janda 2019].

⁷ Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā 4, 2, 12; Text und Übersetzung: [Jamison 1991: 290f.] (Jamisons Anmerkungen in Fußnoten zum Text sind hier beiseitegelassen).

⁸ Text: [Aufrecht 1879: 81], Übersetzung: [Deppert 1977: 265]; vgl. auch [Jamison 1991: 291f.].

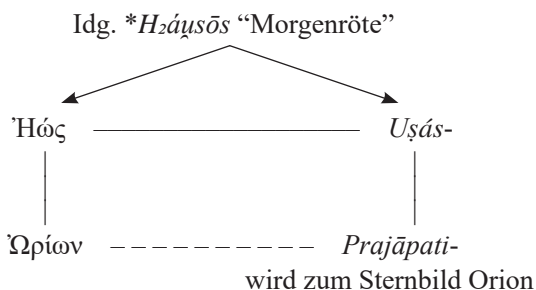
mṛgavyādhaḥ sa u eva sa. yā rohiṇī sā Rohiṇī, yo eveṣus trikāṇḍā so eveṣus trikāṇḍā.

Prajāpati beehrte seine eigene Tochter, den Himmel, sagen einige, die Uṣas andere. Er verwandelte sich in einen Antilopenbock (*rśya-* [...]) und machte sich an sie, die zu einem Antilopenweibchen geworden war, heran. Diesen sahen die Götter: “eine noch nie getane Tat begeht Prajāpati!” Sie suchten den, der ihn bestrafen sollte, doch fanden sie ihn nicht unter sich. Auf der Stelle warfen sie ihre schrecklichen Formen zusammen. Zusammengeworfen entstand dieser Gott da [...] Zu ihm sprachen die Götter: “dieser Prajāpati hier hat eine noch nie getane Tat getan, durchbohre ihn!” [...] Nachdem er auf ihn gezielt hatte, durchbohrte er ihn. Durchbohrt flog er nach oben (*udaprapatat*). Ihn nennen sie die “Antilope”. Der Durchbohrer der Antilope (*mṛgavyādhaḥ*) ist genau der (Rudra). Die weibliche Antilope ist Rohiṇī, der Pfeil mit den drei Spitzen (*iṣus trikāṇḍā*) ist der Pfeil mit den drei Spitzen.

Hier geht es um die Verstirnung der Akteure: Der Verfolger Prajāpati “fliegt nach oben” als *Mṛga-*, das eigentlich “‘Tier’/Antilopenbock/Hirsch” bedeutet, aber auch der Name Orions ist — Uṣas als *Rohiṇī-* “Aldebaran” (“Antilope / Gazelle / Hirschkuh”), Rudra als *Mṛgavyādha-* “Sirius” (“‘Tier’-Durchbohrer”) und Rudras “Pfeil mit den drei Spitzen” (*iṣu-trikāṇḍā-*) zu den so benannten drei Sternen des Oriongürtels. Der Mythos liefert das Aition, warum sich bestimmte Sternbilder an ihrem Platz am Himmel befinden.

Selbstverständlich haben nicht nur Griechen, sondern auch vedische Inder ererbte Konzepte weiterentwickelt, aber in unserem Fall dürfte man in Indien indogermanische Vorstellungen besser und in ihrem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang bewahrt haben. Joseph Fontenrose hat in seinem Buch “Orion. The Myth of the Hunter and the Huntress” (1981) eine Fülle von Mythen gesammelt, in denen ein Jäger, oft in Gestalt eines Hirschs, der Göttin der Jagd nachstellt und dabei selbst zur Strecke gebracht wird. Aktaion, in einen Hirsch verwandelt und von den eigenen Hunden zerrissen, ist nur *ein* prominenterer Vertreter dieser Jäger, und

in der Göttin, die er absichtlich-lüstern oder unabsichtlich beim Bad beobachtet, treffen wir Artemis wieder. Fontenrose hatte die Geschichten von Orion/Eos/Artemis [1981: 5–32] und Prajāpati/Uṣas [1981: 239f., 250] in seinem Buch behandelt, doch war ihm die Idee eines historisch-genetischen Zusammenhangs zwischen ihnen nicht gekommen. Vielmehr hatte er die betreffenden Mythen rein typologisch-vergleichend auf einer heuristischen Ebene mit nicht-indogermanischen Erzählungen von Inanna/Ishtar, Dumuzi und Gilgamesch [1981: 225–233] und anderen zusammengestellt. Für Indogermanisten ist das Band jedenfalls zwischen Eos und Uṣas enger geknüpft, und dann kann es kaum ein Zufall sein, daß zwei Göttinnen mit etymologisch verwandten Namen jeweils eine mehr oder weniger desaströs verlaufende Begegnung mit dem verstirnten Jäger Orion haben.



Man wird daher nicht zögern, in dieser Konstellation ein Motiv indogermanischer Kosmologie zu erkennen. Unberücksichtigt können vorläufig die Rolle der weiteren Beteiligten und die sonstigen Unterschiede bleiben, daß beispielsweise einmal Eos Orion “nimmt” und es das andere Mal der Jäger Prajāpati ist, der die aktive Rolle spielt und Uṣas verfolgt.

Dadurch verschiebt sich allerdings nur unsere Fragestellung um zweitausend Jahre zurück in die Vergangenheit, von Homer oder dem Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa zu den Indogermanen: Was begründet die erhoffte, aber dann doch unerfüllt gebliebene Nähe von **H₂áusōs* und Orion, dessen indogermanischen Namen wir vorläufig nicht rekonstruieren können?

3

Die Beziehung zwischen der göttlichen Morgenröte und Orion gestaltete sich noch enger, wenn letzterer sogar nach seiner Geliebten (oder Begehrten) benannt sein sollte: Ὠρίων, bei Dichtern auch Ὠαρίων, kann gut von ὄαρ “Frau, Gattin” abgeleitet sein, über eine Derivationskette ὄαρ → *ὄαριος “zur ‘Frau’ gehörig” → “der bestimmte, zur (jungen) ‘Frau’ Gehörige” wie in Κρόνος → Κρονίων “der bestimmte, zu Kronos Gehörige; Zeus”⁹. Allerdings hat Bernhard Forssman [1985] eine alternative, ansprechende Deutung als “Erntegestirn” (zu got. *asans*, ὀπ-ώρα) vorgelegt. Eine Entscheidung fällt schwer, ist im Rahmen unseres Thema aber nicht notwendig.

4

Prajāpati, als Antilopen- oder Hirschbock vom Pfeil getroffen, fährt zum Firmament auf und wird zum Sternbild Orion. Uṣas flieht ebenfalls und verwandelt sich in Rohiṇī. *Rōhiṇī-*, die “Rötliche” ist die vedische Bezeichnung Aldebarans, mit dem 45fachen Durchmesser und der 150fachen Helligkeit der Sonne wahrhaft ein Roter Riese und einer der auffälligsten Sterne¹⁰. Anton Scherer [1953: 154] betrachtete Uṣas’ Auftreten als Gazelle (oder alternativ: Antilope, Hirschkuh) und den sich anschließenden Mythos als Folge einer paretymologischen Ausdeutung des Namens *Rōhiṇī-*, der einerseits für Aldebaran, andererseits für den Paarhufer Verwendung findet. Aber beide Motive besitzen ihre je eigene Stütze, *Rōhiṇī-*, die “Rote”, in der rötlichen Farbe Aldebarans, *Rōhiṇī-*, die “Gazelle” (oder: Antilope, Hirschkuh), in der überwältigenden Verbreitung des Hirsch-Motivs in verwandten griechischen Mythen

⁹ Zu den Details vgl. [Janda 2000: 158–161]; vgl. dazu auch [Stüber 2004: 3f.].

¹⁰ Zu Aldebaran in den idg. Sprachen: [Scherer 1953: 118f., 121f., 126, 128, 142f., 146–149]; im Avesta (*Upa.paoiriia-*) vgl. [Panaino 2015: 246; 1995: 21].

[Fontenrose 1981] und sogar im Kult, wo das Fest der Ἐλαφηβόλια und der Monat Ἐλαφηβολιών der “hirschtreffenden” Artemis ἔλαφηβόλος begegnen¹¹.

Aus den vedischen Nachrichten ist das Fazit zu ziehen, daß *Róhiṇī*-, die “Rote”, die nächtliche Erscheinungsform der Morgenröte *Uṣas* ist. Dies, scheint mir, beantwortet die eingangs gestellte Frage:

Eos und Orion sind deshalb ein Liebespaar, weil sie sich am Nachthimmel in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft befinden, weil der Jäger Orion auf ewig die nachts direkt vor ihm in Aldebaran erscheinende, um den Pol kreisende Morgenröte verfolgt.

Auch diese Vorstellung ist dann den Indogermanen zuzuweisen. Am nächsten war ihr Bernard Sergent gekommen, der feststellt [2012: 646]:

‘[L]a corrélation entre Orion et Aldébaran (et au-delà les Pléiades, envers qui Orión est concupiscent) est établie en Inde, puisque Prajāpati veut violer sa fille Rohinī qui est l’ étoile Aldébaran, et selon Aratos, Orion menace aussi bien le Taureau (constellation dont Aldébaran est la principale étoile).’

Aber auch Sergent geht nicht explizit darauf ein, daß *Rohinī* niemand anderes ist als eben die an den Nachthimmel versetzte Morgenröte *Uṣas*.

5

Einige Weiterungen sind noch zu besprechen. Warum begibt sich **H₂áusōs* nachts ausgerechnet zu Aldebaran? Mit ziemlicher Sicherheit wird man die den beiden Himmelserscheinungen gemeinsame rote Farbe als Ursache dieser Konzeption ansehen dürfen. Wenn man für die indogermanische Göttin als Charakteristikum das durch die Wurzel **smej-* bezeichnete “Lächeln” rekonstruiert — als Grundlage von *Uṣas* +

¹¹ Vgl. dazu [Janda 2016: 114–127; 2017: 69–78].

smay- (**smei-*) und Aphrodite (dies eine weitere Vertreterin der Morgenröte) φιλο-μμεΐδης “das Lächeln liebend” (**smei-d-*) — dann war damit zunächst ebenfalls das “Erröten” des Morgenhimmels gemeint [Janda 2016: 137–145].

Der griechisch-vedische Vergleich führt noch zu weiteren Parallelen. Schon immer und unabhängig motiviert hat man im Schützen Rudra das Gegenstück zu Apollon gesehen¹². Rudra ist in unserem Mythos der Uṣas-Bruder, wie Apollon der Bruder der Artemis, die Orion aber selbst erschießt; immerhin einmal überredet er seine Schwester zum Schuß auf ihren Liebhaber¹³.

Eine Fülle von Motiven führt zu der Erkenntnis, daß *Ἄρτιμυς ursprünglich ein weiterer Beiname der Ἥως war, doch können wir hier nicht weiter darauf eingehen¹⁴. In Indien ist es der Bruder der Morgenröte, der den Verfolger erschießt, in Griechenland erscheint die Verfolgte weiterentwickelt zu zwei Gestalten: Eos liebt Orion, Artemis erschießt ihn.

Eos + Artemis	— Uṣas “Morgenröte”
ἐλαφηβόλος	
Jäger, stellt ihr nach	— Prajāpati “Herr der Geschöpfe” stellt Uṣas nach
Jäger in Hirsch verwandelt	— Prajāpati in Hirschgestalt
Jäger vom Pfeil getroffen (Bruder Apollon)	— Prajāpati vom Pfeil getroffen Bruder Rudra
Verstirnung als Orion	— Verstirnung als Orion

Es sieht so aus — wie wir jetzt neu vermuten können — als sei Artemis speziell jene nächtliche Erscheinungsform der Morgenröte, die der indischen Rohiṇī-Uṣas entspricht. Die Verselbständigung von Beinamen dürfte wesentlich zu jenem bunten und scheinbar zusammenhanglosen

¹² Vgl. aus der umfangreichen Literatur zu Rudra nur [Oberlies 1998: 214]: “Deutlich besitzt er in Apollon ein Gegenstück”; [West 2007: 148].

¹³ Hyg. astr. 2, 34, 3; vgl. dazu [Janda, in *Vorbereitung* 2].

¹⁴ Vgl. dazu ausführlich [Janda 2016].

Bild beigetragen haben, als das sich die Panthea der einzelnen indogermanischen Kulturen im Vergleich präsentieren¹⁵.

Mitverantwortlich für die Widersprüchlichkeit antiker Mythen dürfte nun wohl auch der Umstand sein, daß sich Vorstellungen über die so wenig greifbaren Sterne immer wieder neu überlagern. Orion, das “glänzendste Sternbild des Himmels”, wie ihn Franz Boll und Wilhelm Gundel [1937: 983] zurecht nennen, spielt dabei eine besondere Rolle. Die ewige Bewegung der Sterne denkt man sich universell als Fliehen und Verfolgen, was unser anthropomorphes Sternbild gerade zu einem Jäger macht. Ihm folgt der Jagdhund Sirius. Aber Orion ist ein gejagter Jäger: In ihm steckt ein Pfeil, die drei strahlenden Sterne des Gürtels. In dem oben behandelten Mythos ist es Artemis, die ihn abgeschossen hat, sonst aber Sirius, einerseits Hund oder, als bössartiger Verfolger, Wolf, jetzt aber nun auch Schütze — das Indogermanenkind mußte durcheinanderkommen, wenn ihm die eine Großmutter vom Schützen, die andere vom Hund erzählte. In einer dieser Erzählungen war der himmlische Gigant hinter der “Traube” (βότρυς) der Pleiaden her und wurde so zum Weingott, dem die Schar der Mänaden- oder Bakchen-Hunde (so nennt sie Euripides) folgt¹⁶. Ihrem Glanz verdanken es die Sterne des Orion-Gürtels, daß die Griechen in ihnen aber auch die drei Göttinnen der Anmut sahen, und so trägt auf Delos die archaische Monumentalstatue Apollons, des Bogenschützen und “Wölfischen”, auch die drei Chariten auf ihrer ausgestreckten Hand. Die Beziehung zwischen Orion und dem ihm folgenden Hund Sirius war namengebend für den avestischen *Tištriia*- “Sirius”, der Forssmans überzeugender Deutung zufolge “zu den Drei Sternen [des Oriongürtels] gehört” (< **Tri-str-ija*-), sein vedisches Pendant *Tisya*- und wohl auch für den griechischen Σείριος [Fischer 1969]. In dieser Himmelsregion verläuft der Zug der Verstorbenen, was Minos ebenso zum Totenrichter — und daneben Stierbesitzer — macht wie den iranischen **Miθra*- in Gestalt des mittelepersischen *Mihr* und römischen *Mithras*. Aber dies ist ebenso andernorts

¹⁵ Vgl. dazu [Dunkel 1988–1990] (**H₂áusōs* → *Uenus*), [Auffarth 1995: 353–355] (Athene → *Hygieia*), [Campanile 1996] (**H₂áusōs* → *Brigit*), und die in Fn. 4 genannten Werke.

¹⁶ Zu Apollon und Dionysos vgl. [Janda, in *Vorbereitung* 2].

zu verfolgen¹⁷ wie der Umstand, daß die beiden Symbole der “minoisch”-kretischen Kultur, Doppelaxt und Stierhörner, am Himmel unmittelbar benachbart sind, insofern die Griechen im Sternbild Orion auch eine (Doppel-)Axt sahen [Boll, Gundel 1937: 983]. In der Beschäftigung mit vorzeitlicher Religion und Mythologie stehen wir noch recht am Anfang.

Linguistischen Kontinuitäten und kulturellen Traditionslinien hat Nikolai N. Kazansky in seinem reichen Schaffen besonderes Augenmerk geschenkt, gerade auch jenen, die von mykenischer Bronzezeit über die “Dunklen Jahrhunderte” hinweg zu Homer führen¹⁸. An ihn richtet sich von Herzen der Wunsch: Χρόνια πολλά!

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¹⁷ Vgl. [Janda, *in Vorbereitung* 1]; vgl. weiter auch [Janda, *im Druck*].

¹⁸ Vgl. z.B. [Kazansky 2008; 2009].

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Что может сказать древнегреческий алфавит о фонетике позднеавилонского языка: класс сибилантов

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Аннотация. Если система письма позднеавилонского языка (VII–I вв. до н. э.) изучена относительно хорошо, фонетика, скрывающаяся за клинописной орфографией, во многих пунктах остается неясной, особенно это касается сибилантов. В статье рассматриваются передача позднеавилонских форм посредством древнегреческого алфавита и передача древнегреческих форм в клинописи. Основной вывод, который можно сделать на основании нашего анализа: в позднеавилонский период прасемитская и прааккадская аффриката *ts* спирантизировалась в *s* (клинописные знаки S-серии).

Ключевые слова: аккадский язык, позднеавилонский язык, клинопись.

What the Ancient Greek alphabet can say about the Late Babylonian phonology: The sibilants

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Abstract. If the writing system of the Late Babylonian language (7th–1st centuries BC) is studied relatively well, the phonology behind the cuneiform spelling remains unclear in many points, especially concerning sibilants. At least the approval of the affricate hypothesis (according to which the Proto-Semitic sibilant fricatives *s *z *ʃ are reinterpreted as the affricates *c *ʒ *ç) requires a re-examination of some previously expressed ideas. The present article examines the rendering of Babylonian words through the ancient Greek alphabet and the transcription of Ancient Greek words in cuneiform. Late Babylonian texts of the 4–2 centuries BC contain ca. 250 Greek personal names and ca. 15 appellatives (most likely adopted in the Koine pronunciation). An opposite case is the so called Graeco-Babyloniaca, a small corpus origination from Babylonia and dated from the last centuries BC to the first centuries AD. It consists of ca. 15 clay tablets mainly with traditional scholar exercises in Late Babylonian and/or Sumerian, which contains cuneiform text paralleled with its transcription in the Greek alphabet. The following correspondences between the Late Babylonian cuneiform and Ancient Greek are established: s-series ↔ σ, š-series → σ, ʃ-series → σ, z-series ↔ ζ. This can be illustrated by the following examples. s-series ↔ σ: Σώσπατρος → *su-si-pa-tu-ru-us*; Ἀλέξανδρος → *a-lek-sa-an-dar*; προστατης → *pu-ru-su-tat-te-su* ‘protector’; *as-nu-u* → *ασανω* ‘a k. of date palm’; *su-huš-šu* → *σοοσ* ‘young date palm’; *apsi* → *αφσι* ‘underground water (myth)’. š-series → σ: *šap-liš* → *σαφαλισ* ‘below’; *šá-kin-nu* → *σαιν* ‘date palm cultivator’; *šamaš* → *σανασ* ‘Sun-god’; ʃ-series → σ: *šu-ba-tu* → *σουβ[...]* ‘cloth’; *ši-iḫ-tu₄* → *σιξ[ιθ]* ‘weeping’; *muršu* → *μουρσ* ‘illness’; z-series ↔ ζ: Ζηνόφιλος → *ze-ʔe-na-pa-lu-su, zi-ia-na-pa-lu-ú-[su¹]*; Ζο[...] → *zu-[...]*; Ζώλιος → *zu-ʔi-lu-sú; za-na-nu* → *ζαναν* ‘to rain’; *uznē* → *οζονει* ‘ears’; *uznu* → *οζον* ‘ear’. Our main conclusion is that in the Late Babylonian period, the Proto-Semitic and Proto-Akkadian affricate *ts* was spirantized into *s* (cuneiform signs of the s-series).

Keywords: Akkadian language, Late Babylonian language, cuneiform.

1. Введение

Мы безоговорочно принимаем т. н. аффрикатную теорию, согласно которой прасемит. сибиллянты *s, *z, *ʃ следует реинтерпретировать как аффрикаты *c, *ʒ, *ç (см. обзор аргументации в [Kogan 2011: 61–80]). В древнейшие периоды языка (староаккадский,

старовавилонский) триада *c*, *з*, *с*, видимо, сохраняется по крайней мере в каких-то диалектах [Kogan 2011: 66–67, 86–88], хотя клинописные знаки, используемые для этих аффрикат, традиционно романизируются как фрикативные: s-, z- и ř-серии соответственно. Прасемит. *ř (клинописная ř-серия) в такой системе оказывается единственным сибилантом, поэтому типологически его естественно интерпретировать как /s/ (во избежание путаницы мы будем продолжать записывать эту прасемит. фонему как *ř).

Пути дальнейшего развития прасемитской системы сибилантов после разделения аккадского на ассирийскую и вавилонскую ветви, т. е. в течение 2-го и 1-го тысячелетий до н. э., изучены неравномерно. В частности, неисследованным остается вопрос о фонетической реализации **c*, **з*, **с*, **ř* в поздневавилонском языке 2-й половины 1-го тыс. до н. э. Между тем то была эпоха активного взаимодействия цивилизаций, что отражалось в проникновении иноязычных элементов в вавилонские тексты. Таким образом реконструкция фонетической системы поздневавилонского языка должна иметь импликации для реконструкции фонетического облика и языков соседних народов, а утверждение аффрикатной теории требует заново рассмотреть некоторые ранее высказываемые идеи.

В поздневавилонском языке (официальном языке Вавилонии с 626 г. по начало I в. н. э., т. е. фактически до заката клинописной традиции) для рефлексов сибилантов соблюдалась следующая орфография:

Прасемитский	Позд.-вав. клинопись
* <i>c</i>	s-серия
* <i>з</i>	z-серия
* <i>с</i>	ř-серия ¹
* <i>ř</i> /s/	ř-серия

¹ В огласовке *a* у z-серии и ř-серия используется один и тот же знак, но в огласовках *i* и *u* для этих серий используются разные знаки.

Весьма последовательное различие четырех серий указывает, что эти четыре согласных сохраняли свой фонемный статус в поздневавилонском. Однако фонетическая реализация фонем не вполне ясна. В прояснении этого вопроса могут помочь данные контактирующих языков, в частности древнегреческого.

В поздневавилонских текстах IV–II вв. до н. э. упоминается около 250 древнегреческих антропонимов и полтора десятка апеллятивов (скорее всего воспринятых в произношении койне). Эти формы были каталогизированы и проанализированы в [Monerie 2014], а ранее основные лингвистические выводы были сделаны в [Röllig 1960].

Также известен небольшой корпус текстов, традиционно называемый Graeco-Babyloniaca, происходящий из Вавилонии и датированный последними веками до н. э. — первыми веками н. э. Это более 15 табличек преимущественно с традиционными ученическими упражнениями на поздневавилонском или же шумерском, которые продублированы в клинописи и в древнегреческом алфавите. Издание см. в [Geller 1997] с дальнейшими ссылками. Лингвистический анализ был предложен в [Knudsen 1990a; Knudsen 1990b].

2. s-серия ↔ σ

Наблюдается очень последовательная ассоциация между s-серией и σ. Примеры на σ → s-серию многочисленны, вот некоторые из них (по Монри):

- Σωσίπατρος → *su-si-pa-tu-ru-us*;
- Ἀλέξανδρος → *a-lek-sa-an-dar*;
- προστάτης → *pu-ru-su-tat-te-su* ‘предводитель’.

Примеры на s-серию → σ в Graeco-Babyloniaca:

- *as-nu-u* → ασανω ‘a k. of date palm’ [Geller 1997: 70, no. 3];
- *su-huš-šu* → σοοσ ‘young date palm’ [Geller 1997: 70, no. 3];
- *apsî* → αψι ‘underground water (myth)’ [Geller 1997: 78, no. 12].

3. š-серия → σ

š-серия последовательно передается через σ. Известные примеры в Graeco-Babyloniaca:

- *šap-liš* → σαφαλις ‘below’ [Geller 1997: 69, no. 2];
- *šá-kin-nu* → σακιν ‘date palm cultivator’ [Geller 1997: 71, no. 4];
- ^dUTU (*šamaš*) → σαυασ ‘Sun-god’ [Geller 1983].

4. ṣ-серия → σ

Примеров на ṣ-серию в принципе мало, но обычно для ее передачи используется σ. Известные примеры в Graeco-Babyloniaca:

- *ṣu-ba-tu* → σουβ[...] ‘cloth’ [Geller 1997: 73, no. 6];
- *ṣi-iḥ-tu₄* → σιξ[ιθ] ‘weeping’ [Geller 1997: 74, no. 7]²;
- ^{mar}GIG (*murṣu*) → μουρσ ‘illness’ [Geller 1997: 76, no. 11].

5. z-серия ↔ ζ

Примеры на z-серию немногочисленны, но в них наблюдается последовательная ассоциация между z-серией и ζ. Примеры на ζ → z-серию (по Монри):

- Ζηνόφιλος → *ze-²e-na-pa-lu-su, zi-ia-na-pa-lu-ú-[su²]* (сер. III в. до н.э.);
- Zo[...] → *zu-[...]* (2-я пол. III в. до н.э.);
- Ζώιλος → *zu-²i-lu-sú* (1-я пол. II в. до н.э.).

² ξ регулярно используется для передачи клинописного *ḫ* /x~χ/.

Примеры на z-серию → ζ в Graeco-Babyloniaca:

— *za-na-nu* → ζαναν ‘to rain’ [Geller 1997: 74, no. 7];

— *uznê* → οζονει ‘ears’ [Geller 1997: 80, no. 14];

— *uznu* → οζον ‘ear’ [Geller 1997: 81, no. 15].

6. Результаты и выводы

Итак, древнегреческие данные можно суммировать следующим образом:

Позд.-вав. клинопись		Др.-гр. алфавит
s-серия	↔	σ
š-серия	→	σ
ş-серия	→	σ
z-серия	↔	ζ

Фонетика древнегреческого языка хорошо изучена. Буква σ обозначала /s/. Ситуация с буквой ζ чуть сложнее: в классический период ζ использовалась для кластера /zd/, далее в IV в. до н. э. кластер упростился *zd* > *z*, а буква ζ приобрела таким образом значение /z/ [Allen 1968: 53–56]. Иными словами, для периода активных греко-вавилонских контактов ζ = /z/.

На основании предложенного материала можно сделать такие выводы:

- 1) Факт, что клинописная s-серия и греч. σ последовательно заменяют друг друга, должен говорить о том, что s-серия обозначала /s/ в поздневавилонском. По крайней мере, это простейшая интерпретация, не требующая дальнейших допущений.
- 2) Факт, что s-, ş- и š-серии передаются через σ, говорит о том, что ş- и š-знаки выражали какие-то сибиланты, которые были глухими и при этом отличались от /s/.

- 3) Факт, что клинописная z-серия и греч. ζ последовательно заменяют друг друга, должен говорить о том, что z-серия обозначала какой-то звонкий сибилант. Это мог быть спирант /z/ или аффриката /z/ — в любом из двух случаев мы бы ожидали использование ζ /z/, т. к. др.-гр. /z/ оказывается ближайшим фонетическим аналогом таковой поздневавилонской фонеме.

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Numerative and numeral inflection in Ossetic

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Abstract. Ossetic, like many Middle and Modern Iranian languages, has a special form for nouns in the nominative when modified by a numeral. This numerative form takes the ending *-i* in the Digor dialect and *-y* in the Iron dialect, e.g. Digor *avd furt-i*, Iron *avd fyrty-y* ‘seven sons’. The oblique cases are inflected normally in Iron, e.g. genitive *avd fyrty-y*, dative *avd fyrty-æn*, but Digor adds *-e(m)-* to nouns before the case endings, as well as to numerals when used alone, e.g. genitive *avd furt-e-j* ‘of the seven sons’, *avd-e-j* ‘of the seven’, dative *avd furt-em-æn* ‘to the seven sons’, *avd-em-æn* ‘to the seven’.

The origin of the numerative markers remains a controversial question of Ossetic historical grammar. Although the numerative in Sogdian and Khwarezmian goes back to the Proto-Iranian dual, a change with typological parallels in eastern South Slavic, the Ossetic numerative in *-i/-y* cannot reflect any of the inherited dual markers. It is proposed that this ending rather continues the Proto-Iranian nominative plural in **-āh* of *ā*-stems and animate *a*-stems. Although it was replaced by **-āhah* and collective **-ā* in most Iranian languages, and indeed already in Avestan, **-āh* could have survived in pre-Ossetic. There it regularly developed to *-i/-y* after numerals, but was ousted in all other contexts by an innovative (originally collective) formation in **-tā- > -tæ*, a situation paralleled in Middle Welsh. It is further hypothesized that the suffix *-e(m)-* of the Digor oblique cases was generalized to numerals from adjectives of quantity, or it could have originated in Proto-Ossetic **duwe* ‘two’ < Proto-Iranian **duwai*. From numerals, it then spread to nouns governed by numerals.

Keywords: Ossetic, Sogdian, Iranian, Slavic, numeral systems, numerative, plural, dual, pronominal inflection, “laws of finals”.

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Нумератив и склонение числительного в осетинском языке

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Аннотация. В осетинском, как и во многих ново- и среднеиранских языках, имеется особая форма номинатива существительных, входящих в именную группу с числительными. Эта форма, нумератив, принимает в дигорском окончание *-i*, а в иронском *-y*, например, дигор. *avd fyrt-i*, ирон. *avd furt-y* ‘семь сыновей’. В косвенных падежах в иронском употребляются обычные падежные формы, а в дигорском падежным окончаниям таких существительных, как и числительных в самостоятельном употреблении, предшествует суффикс *-e(m)-*.

Происхождение показателей нумератива остается спорным вопросом исторической грамматики осетинского языка. В согдийском и хорезмийском нумератив восходит к праиранским показателям двойственного числа, что находит типологическую параллель в южнославянских языках. Осетинский нумератив *-i/-y*, напротив, не может быть возведен ни к одному из унаследованных показателей двойственного числа.

В статье приводятся аргументы в пользу происхождения осетинского нумератива от праиранского окончания номинатива множественного числа **-āh* основ на *-ā-* и основ на *-a-* одушевленных имен существительных. Хотя окончание **-āh* во многих иранских языках было вытеснено окончаниями собирательного числа **-ā* и **-āhah*, оно могло сохраниться в праосетинском. Предполагается, что именно **-āh* было вытеснено во всех остальных контекстах новым показателем множественного числа **-tā-* > *-tæ*, развившимся на базе собирательных форм.

Высказывается гипотеза о том, что суффикс *-e(m)-* в формах косвенных падежей дигорского диалекта сформировался в числительных под влиянием прилагательных, выражающих количество, либо под влиянием праосетинского **duwe* ‘два’ < пра-иран. **duwai*. От числительных этот показатель мог дальше распространиться на синтаксически зависимые существительные.

Ключевые слова: осетинский, согдийский, иранские языки, славянские языки, числительные, нумератив, множественное число, двойственное число, прономинальное склонение, закон конечного слога.

1. Introduction

It is a pleasure to contribute to this volume in honor of Professor Kazansky, an esteemed scholar and colleague who has done so much to make St. Petersburg an internationally renowned center of Indo-European linguistics. The following study reflects my longstanding enthusiasm for one of the many fascinating languages spoken in his native country, as well as the historical evolution of his mother tongue and its closest relatives.

Like many Middle and Modern Iranian languages, Ossetic has a special form for nouns when modified by a numeral or certain quantifiers.¹ In the nominative, nouns take the ending *-i* (Digor), *-y* (Iron), synchronically identical to the genitive and inessive in *-i/-y*, e.g. Digor *avd furt-i*, Iron *avd furt-y* ‘seven sons’. In the other cases, the modified noun has the usual case markers in Iron, but Digor shows a more complex pattern: the genitive, allative, and superessive endings are preceded by *-e-*, the dative, ablative, and inessive endings by *-em-*. When used alone, numerals inflect as ordinary nouns in Iron, e.g. *avd* ‘seven’, gen. *avd-y*, dat. *avd-æn*, etc. In Digor, however, they show the same exceptional inflection as nouns modified by numerals, e.g. gen. *avd-e-j*, dat. *avd-em-æn*; so also do adjectives of quantification such as *ijnnæ* ‘other (of two)’, *be(w)ræ* ‘much, many’, *ægas* ‘all’.² The following table illustrates these facts with the inflection of Digor *avd* ‘seven’ and *avd furti* ‘seven sons’, together with the

¹ Where two Ossetic forms are given separated by a slash, the first is in the Digor dialect, the second in Iron. I retain the usual scholarly transcription system for Ossetic, except that *w* is distinguished from *u* (both represented by <y> in Cyrillic orthography). The more phonetically based transcriptions of Belyaev and Erschler reflect the shifts in Iron consonant articulation since the 19th century, e.g. retraction of *s* [s], *z* [z] > [ʂ], [ʐ] and deaffrication of *c* [tʂ], *ɟ* [dʐ] > [s], [z] except in geminates ([Thordarson 1989a: 463, 1989b]).

² See [V. F. Miller 1881–1887, 2: 159; W. Miller 1903: 49 §55; Abaev 1949: 397–398, 398–399; Isaev 1966: 50–52, 1987: 592; Christol 2003: 30–32; Belyaev 2017: §§1–2; Erschler 2019: 868, 870 (Table 6)]. An interesting point of divergence between the two dialects is that the numerative occurs with *pluralia tantum* in Digor but is

pronominal inflection of *ci* ‘which’ (oblique stem *cæ-*) and *ijnnæ* ‘other (of two)’ for comparison, followed by the corresponding forms in Iron.

Table 1. Inflection of ‘seven’, ‘seven sons’, ‘which’, and ‘other (of two)’ in Digor and Iron Ossetic

Digor				
nominative	<i>avd</i>	<i>avd furt-i</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>ijnnæ</i>
genitive	<i>avd-e-j</i>	<i>avd furt-e-j</i>	<i>cæ-j</i>	<i>ijnn-e-j</i>
dative	<i>avd-em-æn</i>	<i>avd furt-em-æn</i>	<i>cæ-m-æn</i>	<i>ijnn-em-æn</i>
allative	<i>avd-e-mæ</i>	<i>avd furt-e-mæ</i>	<i>cæ-mæ</i>	<i>ijnn-e-mæ</i>
ablative	<i>avd-em-æj</i>	<i>avd furt-em-æj</i>	<i>cæ-m-æj</i>	<i>ijnn-em-æj</i>
inessive	<i>avd-em-i</i>	<i>avd furt-em-i</i>	<i>cæ-m-i</i>	<i>ijnn-em-i</i>
superessive	<i>avd-e-bæł</i>	<i>avd furt-e-bæł</i>	<i>cæ-bæł</i>	<i>ijnn-e-bæł</i>
equative ³	<i>(avd-ej-aw)</i>	<i>(avd furt-ej-aw)</i>	<i>cæj-aw</i>	<i>ijnn-ej-aw</i>
Iron				
nominative	<i>avd</i>	<i>avd fyrt-y</i>	<i>cy</i>	<i>innæ</i>
genitive	<i>avd-y</i>	<i>avd fyrt-y</i>	<i>cæ-j</i>	<i>innæj-y</i>
dative	<i>avd-æn</i>	<i>avd fyrt-æn</i>	<i>cæ-m-æn</i>	<i>innæ-m-æn</i>
allative	<i>avd-mæ</i>	<i>avd fyrt-mæ</i>	<i>cæ-mæ</i>	<i>innæ-mæ</i>
ablative	<i>avd-æj</i>	<i>avd fyrt-æj</i>	<i>cæ-m-æj</i>	<i>innæ-m-æj</i>
inessive	<i>avd-y</i>	<i>avd fyrt-y</i>	<i>cæ-m</i>	<i>innæj-y</i>
superessive	<i>avd-yl</i>	<i>avd fyrt-yl</i>	<i>cæ-wyl</i>	<i>innæ-wyl</i>
equative	<i>avd-aw</i>	<i>avd fyrt-aw</i>	<i>cæj-aw</i>	<i>innæj-aw</i>
comitative	<i>avd-imæ</i>	<i>avd fyrt-imæ</i>	<i>cæ-imæ, cemæ</i>	<i>innæ-imæ</i>

blocked in Iron, e.g. D. *ærtæ bijnont-i* ‘three families’, dat. *ærtæ bijnont-em-æn* vs. I. *ærtæ binontæ* ‘id.’, dat. *ærtæ binont-æn* (Belyaev 2017:§3.1).

³ No equative forms are given for Digor by Isaev [1966: 50–51; 1987: 592] or Christol [2003: 31], though it is not clear if this is because they are “pragmatically improbable” [Erschler 2019: 870, fn. 8]. They do occur in Iron, e.g. *Dywæ goræt, — Xiro-simæ, Nagasaki...dywæ cæstaw fæsoqqyr kodtat zæxx!* ‘Two cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki... like two eyes, you blinded the earth!’ (E. Tedety, *Byndary kadæg* [2005];

Erschler [2019: 868] refers to the elements preceding the oblique case endings in Digor as the “dedicated numeral declension suffixes” *-e-* and *-em-*, e.g. D. *duw-e-j* ‘two-NUM-OBL’, *duw-em-æj* ‘two-NUM-ABL’.⁴ Since however the same distribution of *-m-* is found in both dialects in demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, the numeral inflection may synchronically be considered a subset of the pronominal inflection.⁵ The numeral suffix is homophonous with the associative plural marker D. *-e-*, I. *-i-*, e.g. D. *Woræzmæg-e-tæ* ‘Worazmag and his companions’, I. *Aslan-i-tæ* ‘Aslan and the others’, ‘Aslan and the gang’ [Bailey 1956: 125–126; Erschler *op. cit.*], although whether this identity is original or has arisen secondarily remains unclear.

The origin of this inflectional pattern, for which Digor undoubtedly preserves the more archaic situation, remains an unresolved mystery of Ossetic historical grammar. Most grammatical studies simply equate the numerative in *-i/-y* with the homophonous genitive ending, e.g. [Bagaev 1965: 214] (“beginning with the numeral *dywæ* ‘two’, in the nominative and accusative the substantive in combination with the numeral occurs in a form similar to the genitive, i.e. with the ending *-y*”; tr. mine), [Kim 2003: 49, fn. 18] (“the ordinary genitive”), [Thordarson 2009: 132] (“the numerative use of the genitive after cardinal numerals higher than ‘one’”). As observed by Erschler [2019: 870, fn. 7], “[i]n numeral

cited from the Ossetic National Corpus) or, from the Ossetic Bible translation by the Jehovah’s Witnesses, *Wycy ærtæjaw wymæn dær jæ kad ajq^uyyst* ‘He became as famous as those three’ (1 Chronicles 11: 20, 2 Samuel 23: 18; <https://www.jw.org/os/библиотека/библи/bi12>; accessed on: 20.08.2020).

⁴ Erschler glosses the case ending in D. *duw-e-j* as “oblique”, as the genitive and inessive are identical for lexical nouns; but since the two cases are distinguished in Digor numeral inflection (and more generally in pronominal inflection), I have retained the genitive label here and below.

⁵ This *-m-* must ultimately be connected with the Plr. pronominal case forms in **-hm-*, i.e. dat. sg. **-hmāi*, abl. **-hmāt*, loc. **-hmi* (cf. OAv. rel. pron. *yahmāi*, *yahmī*, YAv. *yahmāṭ*; [Kim 2003: 45, fn. 9; Cheung 2008: 99, 102]), but the details remain to be clarified. Belyaev [2010: 298–299, 302] derives dat. *-m-æn* from a construction acc. + **ana/u*, but it is unlikely that Plr. word-final **-m* in the acc. sg. would have survived long enough for the creation of new cases from postpositional phrases.

phrases in the nominative, the oblique marking surfaces on the nouns: *vertv qaž-ə* three goose-OBL ‘three geese’. In other cases, the oblique is replaced by the respective case marker: *vertv qaž-en* three goose-DAT.” The morphosyntax of quantified noun phrases in Ossetic is thus comparable to that of Russian, with heterogeneous case distribution in the nominative and homogeneous case distribution in the oblique cases in the terminology of Babby [1987: 100–101] (see below).

However, while valid on a descriptive level, the identification of the numerative with the genitive offers no insight into its actual origin. Furthermore, Belyaev [2014: 46–47; 2017: §3.2; 2021: 259, 263–264] adduces evidence from coordinate phrases that the numerative is synchronically distinct from the genitive: in both Iron and Digor, if two or more nouns modified by a numeral are coordinated and the case affix on the nonfinal conjunct(s) is suspended, the numerative ending appears, e.g. D. [*ærtæ yæw-i æma duwæ goræt*]-*e-mæ*, I. [*ærtæ qæw-y æmæ dywæ goræt*]-*mæ* ‘to three villages and two towns’. Since nouns can only surface in the unmarked form in instances of suspended case affixation (e.g. I. [*Zawyr æmæ Alan*]-*æn* ‘to Zawyr and Alan’), the ending of D. *ærtæ yæw-i*, I. *ærtæ qæw-y* cannot be the genitive marker *-i/-y* but, like singular *yæw/qæw* and plural *yæwtæ/qæwtæ*, must be unmarked for morphological case.

One point that must be made clear at the outset is that the numerative ending *-i/-y* need not have the same source as the inflected (oblique) case forms of the numerals themselves. A quick glance at the situation in Slavic will make this clear. In Proto-Slavic and Old Church Slavonic, the numerals inflected as substantives of various inflectional classes, but in many modern Slavic languages they have been influenced by the inflection of pronouns and definite adjectives: ‘two’, ‘three’, ‘four’ in Russian gen./loc. *dvux, trëx, četyrëx*, Polish gen./loc. *dwóch, trzech, czterech*; optionally for higher numerals in Ukrainian, e.g. gen./loc. *p’jat’óx* ‘five’, *desjat’óx* ‘ten’ (beside inherited *p’jatý, desjatý*). In contrast, nouns in the nominative (and, for inanimate nouns, accusative) take the genitive singular in Russian and BCSM when modified by the numerals ‘two’, ‘three’, and ‘four’, e.g. Ru. *dva/tri/četýre stolá* ‘two/three/four tables’ (to *stol* ‘table’, cf. nom. pl. *stolý*). This pattern originates in the Proto-Slavic dual, which in the largest inflectional class of masculine *o*-stems fell together with the genitive singular;

this led speakers to abstract a rule of heterogeneous case agreement, which was then extended to ‘three’ and ‘four’.⁶ In eastern South Slavic, the originally dual ending *-a* has been extended to all higher numerals and quantifiers for masculine nouns, yielding a true numerative in e.g. Bulgarian *tri/déset/mnógo biléta* ‘three/ten/many tickets’ (to *bilét* ‘ticket’, cf. pl. *biléti*).

2. The numerative: an old dual?

The origin of the Ossetic numerative has most recently been discussed by Sims-Williams [2020]. In Sogdian, as in eastern South Slavic, nouns immediately preceded by any numeral take a form that goes back to the Old Iranian dual, e.g. m. *a*-stem *’δw’ kp’* ‘two fishes’, *xii βγ’* ‘twelve gods’ with *-’* [-ã] < PIr. **-ā*; f. *ā*-stem *xii δrxwšy* ‘twelve she-devils’, n. *a*-stem *ii βγnyy* ‘two temples’ with *-y(h)* [-ẽ] < PIr. **-ai*; *aka*-stem *dw’ z’t’* ‘two sons’, *ds’nyzb’n’* ‘ten passions’, *xwšrts wyc’w’* ‘sixteen martyrs’ with *-’* [-ã] < PIr. **-akā* [Sims-Williams 1979: 339–342, 2020: 955–958].⁷

⁶ The oblique cases show a homogeneous case distribution with the usual plural endings, e.g. Ru. gen. *trëx stolóv* three-GEN table-PL-GEN, instr. *tremjá stolámi* three-INST table-PL-INST. No position is taken here on the theoretical analysis of the numeral agreement patterns of Russian and other Slavic languages, which have been extensively investigated in the syntactic literature (in addition to [Babby 1987], see [Franks 1994; Rappaport 2002; Pesetsky 2013]). Since a few nouns in Russian maintain a distinction of stress between the gen. sg. and the count form (e.g. *dva/tri/četyre časá* ‘two/three/four hours’ to *čas* ‘hour’, cf. gen. sg. *čása*), it could be argued that the latter is in fact synchronically a minor numeral category of “paucal”, homophonous with the gen. sg. for the great majority of nouns ([Rakhlin 2003; Bailyn, Nevins 2008: 263–268]; otherwise [Pesetsky 2013: 21–34, 89–91]). Such an analysis seems warranted for BCSM, where attributive adjectives and (optionally) predicates also exhibit the ending *-a* with masculine nouns, e.g. *tri b(ij)el-a stol-a su bil-a* ‘three white tables were’ [Naylor 1972: 4–5; Belić 2003, 2008].

⁷ The m. *a*-stem numerative could alternatively continue the Old Iranian nom. pl. **-ā* (OAv. *-ā*, Khot. *-a*), which survives in the early Sogdian *βγ’* ‘gods; lords’; but the forms of the other inflectional classes can only go back to the dual.

A similar system seems to have existed in Khwarezmian [Durkin-Meisterernst 2009: 343; Sims-Williams 2020: 959–960], and several Modern Iranian languages also have numerative forms that may be of dual origin, including Pashto and Parachi [Sims-Williams 2020: 960–963]. Following an earlier suggestion [Sims-Williams 1979: 342] (cf. [Tremblay 1997: 158–159, fn. 5; Kim 2003: 49, fn. 18]), he therefore proposes that the Ossetic numerative ending *-i/-y*, like the Sogdian numeratives in *-y(h)* [-ě] cited above, goes back to PIr. *ā*-stem and n. *a*-stem dual **-ai* (YAv. *-e*, cf. Ved. *-e*; [Sims-Williams 2020: 963–968]).

The problem with this attractive idea is that word-final **-ai* is reflected in all clear cases as Oss. *-æ*, as in the enclitic pronouns *mæ*, *dæ* < PIr. **mai*, **tai* [Cheung 2002: 63–66, 2008: 97; Kim 2003: 46, fn. 10]. Sims-Williams raises the possibility that PIr. **-ai* yielded Oss. *-æ* in monosyllables but *-i/-y* in polysyllables, but this too is contradicted by the evidence of the following:

ændæ/æddæ ‘outside’ < POss. **ænde* < PIr. loc. **antai* (cf. Ved. *ánta-* ‘end, limit’);

dælae ‘below, beneath, under’ < POss. **dæle* < PIr. loc. **adarai* (cf. YAv. *aḍara-* ‘lower, western’);

falæ ‘beyond, on the other side’ < POss. **fale* ← PIr. loc. **pārai*, loc. of **pāra-* (YAv. *pāra-*, Khot. *pāra-* ‘border’, NP *bār* ‘bank’);⁸

and

duwæ/dywæ ‘two’ < POss. **duwe* < PIr. f./n. **duwai* (YAv. *duiie*, (neut.) *duuaē-ca*; cf. Ved. *duvé*) < PIE f. **d(u)weh₂ih₁*, n. **d(u)woih₁* (see [Cheung 2002: 65; Kim 2020: 261 with refs.]).

These forms suggest that PIr. word-final **-ai* underwent regular monophthongization to POss. **-e* as in other positions, and that this

⁸ Cf. *fal-*, *falæ* ‘beyond, on the other side’, *fale* (< *falæjæ*) ‘beyond’, likewise with analogical *-l-* from *faldær* ‘farther’ (dissimilated from **far-dær*), *fallag* ‘located on that side’ (< pre-POss. **pār-yāka-*); the older form *far-* survives only in *far-ast* ‘nine’ < ‘beyond eight’. See [Kim 2020: 260 with refs.].

gave *-æ* in both Digor and Iron [Kim 2007: 53–541; Cheung 2008: 101].⁹ Such a development is supported by the adjectives *ijnnæ/innæ* ‘other’ and *be(w)ræ/biræ* ‘many, much; very’, where Digor preserves the stem-final **-e-* in the plurals *ijnne-tæ*, *bere-tæ*. As seen by Cheung [2002: 64, 65–66], the innovative plural marker **-tā* must have been added to the inherited pronominal m. nom. pl. **-ai*, then the unextended form was re-analyzed as singular. Hence D. *ijnnæ*, pl. *ijnne-tæ* ‘other’ < POss. **ijnne* < PIr. **anyai* (YAv. *āniie*, OP *aniyai*; cf. VeD. *anyé*) and D. *be(w)ræ*, pl. *bere-tæ* ‘much, many’ < POss. **bewre* < **baiwarai* ← PIr. **baiwar/n-* ‘ten thousand’ (YAv. *baēuuarə*, pl. *baēuuq̄n*, *baēuuani*).

As for the other common dual ending, PIr. m. *a*-stem dual **-ā*, it is universally agreed that word-final **-ā* became POss. **-æ* > D. *-æ*, I. *-Ø*.¹⁰ Since neither PIr. **-ā* nor **-ai* would have led to the desired outcome, I conclude that the Ossetic numerative ending *-i/-y* cannot be of dual origin.

3. The numerative as inherited plural

If the dual is ruled out, the most likely remaining source for the Ossetic numerative is an inherited plural formation that has been ousted in all other contexts by the innovative (originally collective) formation in **-tā-* > *-tæ*. Such a situation has parallels in Indo-European,

⁹ The inessive case ending *-i/-y* thus cannot reflect PIr. *a*-stem loc. sg. **-ai* (*pace* [Christol 1990: 32, 2003: 37, 38]). Although some details remain to be clarified, I continue to believe that it goes back to PIr. case endings of the shape **-ayā(h)*, which developed via syncope and other regular changes to POss. **-i* (Kim 2003); also possible on formal grounds is the PIr. relational adjective suffix **-īya-* ([Cheung 2008: 94; Belyaev 2010: 300]; see already [Miller 1903: 46]).

Cheung [2008: 101] suggests that post-PIr. **-ai* > POss. **-e* is reflected as *-e/-i* in tonic monosyllables, as in the interrogative-relative pronoun D. *ka* (gen. *ke*), I. *čī* ‘who’. This is phonetically plausible, but much about the inflection of this pronoun remains obscure [*op. cit.*: 101–103].

¹⁰ Or *-æ* in both dialects in the special case of pl. **-tā* > POss. **-tæ* > D., I. *-tæ*. On the phonological “semi-independence” of the plural suffix, see [Bailey 1945: 25].

e.g. in Middle Welsh numeratives such as *tri broder* ‘three brothers’, *pedwar broder* ‘four brothers’ (to *brawd* ‘brother’) or *tri meib* ‘three sons’, *pedwar meib* ‘four sons’ (to *mab* ‘son’), where *broder* and *meib* preserve the Proto-Celtic plurals **brāter-es*, **mak^w(k^w)-ī*, replaced elsewhere by the innovative formations *brodyr* and *meibion*.¹¹

Of the possible starting points in Proto-Iranian, athematic animate nom. pl. **-ah* may immediately be left aside, since it should have been lost by apocope (*pace* [Bielmeier 1982: 59, 66; Thordarson 1989a: 468, 2009: 132–133]); and pronominal m. nom. pl. **-ai* cannot have given *-i/-y* for the reasons put forth in §2 (*pace* [Christol 1990: 35, 2003: 37; Tremblay 1997: 159, fn. 5]). By process of elimination, we are left with the nom. pl. **-āh* of *ā*-stem and animate *a*-stem nouns.¹² This seems promising, as generalized nom. pl. **-āh* has left reflexes elsewhere in Iranian, e.g. the endingless form of nouns after numerals in Modern Persian or the Balochi nom. pl. in *-Ø* [Tedesco 1921:64–65]. But would this ending have given Oss. *-i/-y* by the regular laws of finals, or *Auslautgesetze*?

PIr. **-āh* appears to give Oss. *-Ø* in reflexes of adjectives in **-mant-*, **-want-* with nom. sg. **-māh*, **-wāh*, e.g. *fusun/fysym* ‘host, person who practices hospitality toward guests’, *rædaw* ‘generous’ < PIr. **fšu-māh*, **fra-dā-wāh*. Also pointing in this direction is the equative case ending D., I. *-aw* (e.g. *furtaw/fyrtaw* ‘like a son’), if it too continues adjectives

¹¹ The respective forms after ‘two’ go back to the inherited dual, which has fallen together with either the singular or the plural: cf. *dau froder* ‘two brothers’ < PCelt. du. **brāter-e* vs. *dau fab* ‘two sons’ < PCelt. du. **mak^w(k^w)-o*. Cases such as the latter, as well as those where both dual and plural fell together with the singular by sound change (e.g. *dyn* ‘man’ < PCelt. sg. **doniyos*, du. **doniyo*, pl. **doniyī*), gave rise to the selection rule of Modern Welsh by which nouns appear in the singular after all numerals. For details and discussion, see [Nurmio, Willis 2016: 309–312; Nurmio 2019: 214–241, esp. 220–223].

¹² The latter have largely replaced this ending with originally collective **-ā* (> OAv. *mašiiā*, YAv. *mašiiā* ‘people’, Khot. *-a*) and **-āhah* (> OAv. *mašiiāhō* ‘id.’, OP *bagāha* ‘gods’; cf. Ved. *-āsah*), but **-āh* could well have survived in the dialects ancestral to Ossetic. OP *-ā* and early Sogd. *βγ*’ [βaγ-ā] ‘gods’ can go back to either PIr. **-ā* or **-āh*, but the Av. and Khot. endings can only continue **-ā*.

in **-want-*.¹³ However, Cheung [2002: 62] rightly points out that these forms could have been remodeled to **-mah*, **-wah* after the preponderant masculine *a*-stems, so they are not probative examples of a phonetic development to Oss. $-\emptyset$ (*pace* [Tremblay 1997: 159, fn. 5]). Cheung [2002: 61, 185–186] adduces *fændælfænd* ‘plan, intention’ < PIr. **pantāh* ‘way, road’ < PIE **pént-oh₂-s* (YAv. *pantā*, Khot. *pande*; cf. Ved. *pánthāh*) as evidence for the regular treatment of word-final **-āh*, but this noun could also reflect a remade *ā*-stem **pantā* (cf. NP *pand* ‘advice, opinion’; [Abaev 1958–1995, 1: 445], which in turn served as the basis for the extended **pantā-ka-* > Oss. *fændag* ‘way, road’.

There are thus to my knowledge no clear counterexamples to a development PIr. **-āh* > POss. **-i*. The phonetic evolution cannot be determined with certainty: possibly **-āh* first became **-e*, as in Khotanese *ā*-stem nom./acc. pl. *-e* < PIr. **-āh* and *pande* ‘path’, *ysare* ‘old age’, *urmayse* ‘sun’ < PIr. **pantāh*, **jarāh*, **ahura mazdāh* [Emmerick 1968: 278, 309, 347–348],¹⁴ then was raised to **-i*, merging with the genitive and inessive cases. The same ending may also have given rise to numeratives in other Iranian languages: for instance, the Pashto numerative in *-a* (e.g. *dwa šāla* ‘40’, *dre zāra* ‘3000’, *pinjā plāra* ‘five fathers’) could reflect m. nom./acc. du. **-ā* [Sims-Williams 1979: 341; 2020: 961] or n. nom./acc. pl. **-ā* [Tremblay 1997: 171, fn. 31], but an origin in m. nom. pl. **-āh* is also possible [Morgenstierne 1942: 94].

¹³ Since the original value of this suffix was ‘provided with X, abounding in X’ (cf. Ved. *-va(n)t-*, Gr. $-(\text{f})\epsilon\upsilon\tau-$), Cheung [2008: 95] argues that the equative was abstracted from **mā-want-* ‘like me’, **θwā-want-* ‘like you’ (OAv. *mauuant-*, *θbāuuant-*, cf. Ved. *mā-vant-*, *tvā-vant-*). *Pace* Cheung, the language suffix *-aw* (e.g. *Ironaw* ‘in Ossetic’; cf. Sogd. *-w*, Khot. *-au*) is surely of the same origin.

¹⁴ The nom. pl. *-e* found with several masculine *a*-stems (beside the majority ending *-a* < PIr. **-ā*) may likewise continue PIr. **-āh* [Emmerick 1968: 265], but of the examples listed there, *ggare* ‘mountains’ is an old *i*-stem and so may in fact continue PIr. **garayah*, while old neuters such as *ggūne* ‘hairs’, *date* ‘wild beasts’ could have taken over the ending from the *ā*-stems. (I thank Nicholas Sims-Williams for helpful discussion of the Khotanese facts.)

4. The oblique cases

As for the oblique case forms, it is commonly assumed that pronominal inflection was generalized to numerals from adjectives of quantity, e.g. *ijnnaē/innæ* ‘other’, *ægas* ‘all, whole’,¹⁵ then spread to nouns governed by numerals. The stem vowel **-e-* (> D. *-e-*) allows for multiple sources. It could go back to PIr. pronominal m. nom. pl. **-ai* reinterpreted as a stem suffix, comparable to what happened in D. *ijnnaē* ‘other’, *be(w)raē* ‘many, much; very’ (pl. *inne-tæ*, *bere-tæ*) < POss. **ijnne*, **bewre* < (post-)PIr. **anyai*, **baiwarai* ‘ten thousands’ ([Cheung 2002: 64, 65–66]; see above, §2). Another possible source is the PIr. pronominal endings gen. pl. **-ai-šām*, dat. **-ai-byah*, loc. **-ai-šu* (cf. OAv. rel. pron. *yaēšqm*, *yaēbiiō*, *yaēšū* [Kim 2003: 45, fn. 9]).¹⁶

However, the oblique **-e-* of numerals could have an entirely different origin, namely POss. **duwe* ‘two’ (> *duwæ/dywæ*), which continues PIr. f./n. **duwai* rather than m. **duwā*.¹⁷ From the case forms of ‘two’, e.g. gen. **duw-e-j*, dat. **duw-em-æn* (> D. *duwej*, *duwemæn*), the stem vowel **-e-* spread to the higher numerals, producing e.g. gen. **avd-e-j*, dat. **avd-em-æn* ‘seven’ (> D. *avdej*, *avdemæn*). The extension of a feature from ‘two’ to all higher cardinal numerals might seem surprising, but an approximate parallel may be adduced, once again from Slavic: the instrumental dual ending *-ma* has spread in several modern Slavic languages from ‘two’ to ‘three’ and ‘four’ (e.g. Ru. *dvumjá*, *tremjá*, *četyr’mjá*, Pol. m. *dwoma/f. dwiema*, *trzema*, *czterema*), and in Polish to all numerals up to ‘nine hundred’ (e.g. *pięcioma* ‘five’, *dziesięcioma* ‘ten’, *trzydzie-stoma* ‘thirty’, *stoma* ‘hundred’, *trzystoma* ‘three hundred’). Even more

¹⁵ Cf. [Miller 1903: 49, §55 (“durch den Einfluss der Pronominaldeclination”)]; IsaeV 1987: 592; Èdel’mán 1990: 199; Kim 2003: 49, fn. 18; Thordarson 2009: 185]. For a parallel from Slavic, see §1 above on the (optional) pronominal inflection of the numerals ‘five’ and over in Ukrainian.

¹⁶ Pace [Belyaev 2010: 291, 294], I see no grounds for assuming a *postposed* demonstrative pronoun **ai-*.

¹⁷ See [Cheung 2002: 63; Kim 2003: 62, fn. 48; 2007: 50; 2020: 261].

Table 2. Evolution of ‘other’, ‘two’, ‘seven’, ‘son(s)’, and ‘seven sons’ from Proto-Iranian to Ossetic

Proto-Iranian			POss.	Digor	
* <i>anyah</i>	→ * <i>anyai</i>	→	* <i>ijnne</i>	* <i>ijnne</i>	<i>ijnnæ</i>
		→ obl.	* <i>ijnne(m)-</i>	* <i>ijnne(m)-</i>	<i>ijnne(m)-</i>
* <i>anyai</i>	→ * <i>anyai-tā</i>	→	* <i>ijnne-tæ</i>	* <i>ijnne-tæ</i>	<i>ijnnetæ</i>
* <i>duwai</i>	>		* <i>duwe</i>	* <i>duwe</i>	<i>duwæ</i>
		→ obl.	* <i>duwe(m)-</i>	* <i>duwe(m)-</i>	<i>duwe(m)-</i>
* <i>hafta</i>		→	* <i>avd</i>	* <i>avd</i>	<i>avd</i>
		→ obl.	* <i>avde(m)-</i>	* <i>avde(m)-</i>	<i>avde(m)-</i>
* <i>puθrah</i>	>	* <i>puθri</i>	>	* <i>furt</i>	<i>furt</i>
* <i>puθrāh</i>	→ * <i>puθri-tā</i>	>		* <i>furt-tæ</i>	<i>furttæ</i>
* <i>hafta puθrāh</i>	>	* <i>avd furte</i>	>	* <i>avd furti</i>	<i>avd furti</i>
	→ obl.	* <i>avd furte(m)-</i>		* <i>avd furte(m)-</i>	<i>avd furte(m)-</i>

strikingly, the genitive/locative dual ending *-u* of Pol. *dwu* ‘two’ has also spread to the numerals ‘five’ to ‘ten’ (e.g. *pięciu* ‘five’, *dziesięciu* ‘ten’), then to higher numerals (e.g. *trzydziestu* ‘thirty’, *stu* ‘hundred’, *trzystu* ‘three hundred’).¹⁸ Once the oblique numeral stem in *-e-* was established, with the allomorph *-em-* influenced by pronominal inflection,

¹⁸ The Russian development is actually more complex, since the instrumentals of ‘two’ (ORu. *dŭvěma*) and ‘three’/‘four’ (ORu. *trīmi*, *četyrīmi*) have mutually influenced each other. The Polish numerals in *-u* have become the general form for all oblique cases, instrumental (alongside *-ma*) and dative as well as genitive and locative, and also the nominative for masculine personal (“virile”) nouns. For the chronology and details, see [Bulakhovskij 1958: 197–199] for Russian and [Klemensiewicz et al. 1965: 338–353, 354–356] for Polish. On the role of the dual in bringing about replacement of the acc. pl. with the gen. pl. in these languages, and the shift of *-u* and *-ma* from dual to virile markers, see [Janda 1996: 175–202, 1998, 2000].

it would have spread to nouns governed by numerals as under the preceding analysis.

Thus even if a dual source is ruled out for numerative *-i/-y* (§2), a trace of dual inflection could survive in the inflection of the numerals themselves, as suggested by Sims-Williams [2020: 966]. The inflectional evolution of these categories therefore passed through the approximate stages in Table 2, illustrated with the reflexes of PIr. **anya-* ‘other’, **duwai* ‘two’, **hafta* ‘seven’, and **puθra-* ‘son’.

5. Summary

Despite parallels in Sogdian and other Iranian languages, the Ossetic numerative in *-i/-y* is unlikely on formal grounds to go back to a dual ending. It could instead continue PIr. *ā*-stem and m. *a*-stem nom. pl. **-āh*, which in all other contexts was replaced by the new plural formation in **-tā-*. The pronominal inflection of the numerals, with stem-final element **-e(m)-* in the oblique cases, could have been taken over from adjectives of quantity; alternatively, it could have begun in POss. **duwe* ‘two’ and spread from there to the higher numerals. Finally, the inflectional pattern was extended to nouns governed by numerals. The Proto-Ossetic state of affairs is preserved in Digor, while Iron has generalized ordinary noun inflection for numerals and numeral-governed nouns.

Abbreviations

abl. — ablative; dat. — dative; du. — dual; f. — feminine; gen. — genitive; instr. — instrumental; loc. — locative; m. — masculine; n. — neuter; nom. — nominative; obl. — oblique; pl. — plural; rel. pron. — relative pronoun; sg. — singular.

Av. — Avestan; BCSM — Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Montenegrin; D. — Digor; I. — Iron; Khot. — Khotanese; NP — New Persian; OAv. — Older Avestan; OP — Old Persian; ORu. — Old Russian; Oss. — Ossetic; PCelt. — Proto-Celtic; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; PIr. — Proto-Iranian; Pol. — Polish; POss. — Proto-Ossetic; Ru. — Russian; Sogd. — Sogdian; Ved. — Vedic.; YAv. — Younger Avestan.

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Full and calm: Notes on Greek ἤσυχος and Latin *tranquillus*

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Abstract. The paper is dedicated to the etymologies of Greek and Latin adjectives with the meaning ‘calm’, ἤσυχος and *tranquillus*. Greek adj. ἤσυχος ‘calm, quiet, peaceful’ may be a derivative with the suffix -χο- of a deverbal abstract noun **hāsū-* < **seh₂tu-* ‘satisfaction’.

The suffix -χο-, which originally had a diminutive meaning, could express a positive connotation for this adjective. This allows regarding the Homeric use of ἤσυχος in the meaning of ‘peaceful’ as secondary. The comparison to other uses of this adjective in the ancient Greek literature allows to trace how the semantics of the adjective developed from the original meaning ‘satiated, satisfied’ to ‘contented, calm, gentle, quiet’, which became the main one in Classical Greek. A similar development of semantics is reflected in the notion of the god of war Ares as ‘insatiable’ (*Il.* 5, 388 Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο) and has a parallel in Lat. *satur* (cf. *satur fu, fere Mars* in the Latin *Carmen Arvale*).

Lat. adj. *tranquillus*, the usage of which is comparable to that of ἤσυχος, can be derived from **k₁ih₂lo-* (also found in Germanic languages, cf. **h^wīla-* ‘rest; interval of time’). The reconstructed adjective **quīlos* was probably regularly used in the construction ‘sail (across) the calm sea’, (*trans*) **quillum* (*mare*). After the loss of the simplex **quillo-*, the syntagm was univerbated into *tranquillum* which was interpretable as an adverb ‘calm(ly)’: *tranquillum* ‘across the calm sea’ and *tranquillo* ‘in a calm sea’. The reinterpretation of these forms as adverbs, especially the use of *tranquillum* in the function of accusativus adverbialis, gave rise to the corresponding adjective *tranquillus*.

Keywords: etymology, Greek, Latin, metaphor, diminutive, nautical terminology.

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Полнота и спокойствие: заметки о греческом ἤσυχος и латинском *tranquillus*

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Аннотация. В статье разбираются этимологии греческого и латинского прилагательных со значением ‘спокойный’, ἤσυχος и *tranquillus*. Показывается, что греческое прилагательное ἤσυχος ‘спокойный, тихий, мирный’ могло быть образовано при помощи суффикса -χο- от абстрактного отглагольного существительного *hāsū- < *sehztu- ‘удовлетворение’: суффикс -χο-, исходно обладавший диминутивным значением, в контексте данного прилагательного указывал на положительную оценку со стороны говорящего. Это позволяет установить, что уже гомеровское использование ἤσυχος в значении ‘мирный, нетронутый’ является производным, а сопоставление с другими использованиями данного прилагательного в архаической греческой литературе позволяет проследить, как семантика прилагательного развивалась от исходного значения ‘насытившийся, довольный’ к основному для классического греческого значению ‘удовлетворенный, спокойный, тихий’. Подобное развитие семантики находит отражение в представлении о боге войны Аресе как ‘ненасытном’ (Il. 5, 388 Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο) и имеет параллель в латинском *satur* (ср. *satur fu, fere Mars* в клятве коллегии арвальских братьев, *fratres aruales*).

Для латинского прилагательного *tranquillus*, сопоставимого по своему употреблению с ἤσυχος, постулируется основа *k^wih₁lo- (также нашедшая отражение в германских языках, ср. *h^wīla- ‘отдых; промежуток времени’). Восстанавливаемое прилагательное *quīlos, вероятно, регулярно употреблялось в конструкции ‘[плыть] по (букв. через) спокойному морю’, (*trans*) *quīllum (*mare*). После исчезновения простого прилагательного *quīllo- данная синтагма подверглась универбации, дав существительное *tranquillum*, употреблявшееся преимущественно в формах *tranquillum* ‘о спокойном море’ и *tranquillo* ‘в спокойном море’. Реинтерпретация этих форм в качестве наречий, особенно *tranquillum* в качестве *accusativus adverbialis*, сделало возможным образование прилагательного *tranquillus*.

Ключевые слова: этимология, древнегреческий язык, латинский язык, метафора, диминутив, терминология мореплавания.

1. Saturated peace: Greek ἡσυχος

1.1. The adjective ἡσυχος is first attested in Hes. *Th.* 762f. (ex. (1)), its derivative ἡσύχιος in *Il.* 21, 598 (‘in peace, unharmed’, cf. ex. (11)), ἀσύχιμος occurs in *Pi. O.* 2, 32 (ἀσύχιμον ἀμέραν ‘a peaceful, quiet day’),¹ ἡσυχία ‘calmness, peace (fulness)’ from *Od.* 18, 22 onward.² Ἠσυχος usually takes animate beings as subjects, e.g.

- (1) τῶν ἕτερος μὲν γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης / ἡσυχος
ἀνστρέφεται καὶ μείλιχος ἀνθρώποισι...
‘One of them [*sc.* Sleep] passes *gently* over the earth and the broad
back of the sea and is soothing for human beings’ (Hes. *Th.* 762f.).³

The adjective denotes a state controllable by the subject, cf. the imperative *Hdt.* 7, 13 ἡσυχοὶ ἔσθε ‘Be at peace!’, also in cases where it is used metonymically as an attribute of a body part, e.g. *E. Or.* 136 ἡσύχῳ ποδὶ χωρεῖν ‘walk with a quiet foot’ = ‘walk quietly’. Its semantic source domain is therefore likely to be related to possible states of animate beings. One such domain could be that of the root PIE **seh₂-* ‘to satisfy, have one’s fill’ [LIV²: 520f.], attested in Greek itself in forms such as the root aorist ἄμεναι ‘to satiate oneself’, e.g. *Il.* 19, 307 σίτιοι ... ποτῆτος ἄσασθαι φίλον ἦτορ ‘to sate [*my*] heart with food and drink’, in the adjective ἄατος ‘insatiate’ (in Homer usually Ares ‘insatiate for war’, cf. 1.2 with ex. (19)), the adverb ἄδην ‘to one’s fill’, etc.⁴ Beside the

¹ On the original status of /ā/ cf. [Forssman 1966: 48–55]: ἀσύχιμος is attested only in Pindar and may be his own creation based on the model of Homeric νόστιμον, αἰσιμον ἦμαρ, implying original /ā/. Forms with η- in Pindar refer to political peace (e.g. *O.* 4, 16 πρὸς Ἠσυχίαν φιλόπολιν), and may have been taken over from Ionic, while those with ā- describe the sphere of private life and animal husbandry.

² Cf. [Lfgre 2: 942].

³ Unless indicated otherwise, translations are taken from the *Loeb* series (Harvard University Press).

⁴ Further continuants of this root outside Greek are Skt. *ásinvant-* ‘insatiable’ presupposing a nasal present, Toch. B *soy-* ‘to become sated’, *sinäsk-* ‘to sate’, and

abstract noun in **-ti-* found in Lat. *satis* ‘enough’,⁵ Lith. *sótis* ‘saturation, repletion’ and indirectly in OIr. *sá(i)th* (f.) ‘sufficiency, fill (of food)’ (**sātiā*), one may also suppose a noun in **-tu-*, cf. similar pairs like Ved. *i-tí-* ‘walk(ing)’: Lat. *i-tus*, Ved. *gá-ti-* ‘id.’, Gk. βά-σις : Ved. *gán-tu-*, Lat. *°ventus*, *-ūs*, etc., i.e. **seh₂-tu-* > Gk. ἄσϋ- /hāsu-/ ‘satisfaction, saturation’ from which ἄσϋ-χϋ- ‘satisfied → quiet, calm’ may be derived.⁶ This *tu*-noun is attested indirectly in the Latin adjective *satur* (*o/ā*) ‘well-fed’ (Pl.+), from which *saturitas* ‘satiety’, *saturare* ‘to fill, satisfy’, and *satullus* (cf. ex. (3)) derive and which may be transposed as **satu-ro-*, i.e. a *ro*-adjective built to the *tu*-stem **sh₂-tu-*.⁷ In Greek, simple *-tu-* is

probably Hitt. *šāḫⁱ* ‘to stuff, fill’, cf. [Kloekhorst 2008: 690–691], assuming a semantic shift from ‘fill’ > ‘sate’ after Anatolian split off (cf. NE *I’m full*.) A notable nominal form beside the stems in *-ti-* and *-tu-* discussed *supra* is the verbal adj. **sh₂to-* e.g. in Gmc. **saph-* (Goth. *saps*, cf. [Kroonen 2013: 419]). Gk. ἄστος may continue **ḡ-sh₂-eto-* (rather than **ḡ-sh₂-to-*), cf. [Vine 1998: 25–26]. On ἄσθιν, ἄσθρός, ἄσθινός ‘thick, abundant < to one’s fill, to satiety’ and OIr. *saithe* (m.) ‘swarm of bees; host, throng’ < **sh₂tjo-* cf. [Watkins 1994]; Arm. *hač^o* in *hačoy* ‘satisfactory, pleasant, agreeable’ (NBHL, 1: ‘gratus, placitus’) could be related to the Greek forms in *-δ-*, e.g. **s(e)h₂djo-*.

⁵ Alternatively interpreted as a comparative **sat-is* ‘more satisfied’, which is not compelling. The variant *sat* has mostly been interpreted as deriving from *satis* (e.g. via **satis est* > **satis i*) or **sate* (cf. [de Vaan 2008: 540]). In the light of *mox* ‘soon’ beside Ved. *makṣú* (but cf. also OIr. *mó* < **mók̑s*), one might suppose a development **sh₂tuh₁* (with adverbial instrumental) > **satu* (with loss of laryngeal in pausa, e.g. in predicative use ‘It’s enough.’, **satu* [sc. *est*] > *sat*). If *satur* derived from this phonologically reduced instrumental, it would be structurally identical to the *-tūrus*-type (cf. fn. 7). The difference to *rīte* ‘correctly’, if from **rītuh₁*, as per Weiss, could be the length of the root vowel, cf. also *tūte* ‘you’, if from **tū-tu* (and not with *-te* as in *is-te* ‘this one’), and *nōnne* if related to Ved. *na-nú* (cf. [Weiss 2020: 159]).

⁶ For the development of *-tu-* → *-su-* cf. ἡμισυς ‘half’ (Dor. -τυ-), cf. [Schwyzer 1939: 272], be this a phonological or an analogical change from oblique cases like gen. **sēmītuos* > **ἡμισσος* > **ἡμισος*, cf. [Benveniste 1935: 57]; for the simplification of word-internal *-σσ-* cf. **toḷjo-* > *τόσσος* > *τόσος*.

⁷ This is different from the type *mātūrus* < **mātū* ‘with ripening’ + *-ro-*, which is probably modelled on *sēro-* ‘late’ and *dūro-* ‘long lasting > hard’, cf. recently Fortson

no longer productive and has been replaced by *-tū-* < **-tu-h₂-*,⁸ cf. Hom. γραπτύς [-ῦ-] (γράφω) ‘scratching’, βρωτύς [-ῦ-] ‘eating’ (aor. ἔβρω), etc. The hypothesized stem **seh₂tu-* would thus be one of the few remnants of PIE **-tu-* in Greek.⁹ In contrast to this, secondary formations in *-(a/i)χο-* are attested to various bases, speaking for a certain productivity of the suffix, whatever its origin may be, e.g. στόμα ‘mouth’: στόμαχος ‘throat, gullet’, στόνος, στοναχή beside στενάχω ‘groan’, and, semantically close to ἥσυχος, μείλια ‘soothing things, (means of) propitiation’: μείλιχος ‘soothed, gentle, soft’.¹⁰ This makes a derivation **hāsu-* → **hā-sukʰo-* at least possible and semantically not unlikely, note the cooccurrence of μείλιχος and ἥσυχος in ex. (1). If one takes the diminutive function visible e.g. in Theoc. 4, 55 ὀσσίχον ‘how small’¹¹ from ὄσσοσ ‘how much’ to underlying ἥσυχος, too, it is not to be understood as indicating a reduced degree of the property, i.e. ‘a bit (but not really) calm’, just as e.g. Lith. *saulelė* does not mean ‘small sun’ (as opposed to another), but indicates the positive evaluation of the referent by the speaker (as long as the form is not lexicalized as e.g. in Ru. *κόλληε*), i.e. ‘the dear (vel sim.) sun’, cf. e.g.

[2007] who points out (p. 86–87) that the addition of *-ro-* to *u-*stems as e.g. in Gk. λιγυρός beside λιγύς ‘clear, shrill’ is not a productive process in Latin, the only sure case for this combination being precisely *saturnus*. This speaks for a certain antiquity of the underlying *-tu-* stem. Further evidence for this noun elsewhere is weak: Mühlenbach, Endzelīns [1923, 3: 809] report Latv. *sātus* ‘blessing, thriving, nourishing, moderation (in eating)’ as a variant of the *a-*stem *sāts* (= Lith. *sótus*), from which it may have arisen secondarily, e.g. in ambiguous contexts such as *ēst ar sātu* ‘eat with moderation’; if OPr. *sātuinei* ‘you sate (du sättigest)’ belongs to Lith. *sótinti*, Latv. *sātināt* ‘to sate’, it might be a misprint for **sātinnei* (E. Hill p. c.); cf. also [Smoczyński 2005: 316–317], [Hock 2020, s. v. *sótus/sotus*].

⁸ Cf. [Fortson 2007: 86].

⁹ Another case may be ἴρυς [f.] ‘felloe, rim of a shield’ ~ Lat. *uiēre* ‘to bind, twist’, etc., cf. [Beekes 2010: 605]; see also [Chantraine 1933: 290–292; Risch 1974: 40–41].

¹⁰ Cf. [Chantraine 1933: 402–404; Risch 1974: 175–176].

¹¹ ὀσσίχον ἐστὶ τὸ τύμμα ‘how small is the wound / such a little wound’.

- (2) *Dzauxmas dufchu mufu... Szib kaip shkaiſti faulele...*
 ‘unsers hertzen wonne... leuchtet als *die sonne...*’ (MžG₁ 198₈).¹²

Apparently, adjectives formed with diminutive suffixes may at the same time describe a property of the referent and refer to its positive or negative evaluation by the speaker,¹³ e.g. Lat. *satullus* does not mean ‘slightly filled, filled just a bit’; it may rather be significant that it refers to lambs:

- (3) *Hoc item faciunt mane, antequam matres in pabulum exeant, ut agni satulli fiant lacte...*
 ‘The same thing takes place in the morning, before the dams go out to pasture, so that the lambs may *be filled* with milk.’ (Var. R. 2, 16).

Such a “displaced” diminutive, in which the diminutive morphology appears not on the referring noun but on the accompanying adjective, is probably also νηπίαχος built on νήπιος ‘child; childish’:¹⁴ in Homer it is always used in evaluating contexts, i.e. ‘(damn) stupid child; poor little child’, etc., either in direct speech, e.g. when Nestor upbraids the Achaeans (‘you silly boys!’) and when Andromache pleads with Hector (‘this poor little child’), or when the narrator himself evaluates an event (ex. (6)):

- (4) ὦ πόποι ἦ δὴ παισὶν εἰκότες ἀγοράασθε
 νηπίαχοις οἷς οὐ τι μέλει πολεμῆϊα ἔργα.
 ‘Well, now! You are holding assembly like *silly boys* that care not for deeds of war.’ (Il. 2, 337).

¹² Taken from [Hock 2020: 1026]; cf. also [Kurschat, Wissmann 1968, 3: 2135, s. v. *saulele* ‘die liebe Sonne’], [Niedermann, Senn, Brender 1957: 612]: (proverb) *ràsi įspįs saulūtė iř į mįsų langūtį* ‘Perhaps the sun of happiness will smile on us too’. (‘Vielleicht wird auch uns noch die Sonne des Glücks ins Fensterchen lächeln.’)

¹³ Cf. [Amaral 2018: 330] on the similar use of nouns, e.g. Port. *Vai um cafezinho?* ‘Would you like a coffee_[dim.]?’ as a polite question, not as an invitation for a small coffee; in German *Wie wär’s mit einem Bierchen?* ‘How about having a beer_[dim.]?’ the diminutive seems to have an analogous function.

¹⁴ Pace Chantraine [1933: 403] who glosses νηπίαχος as ‘tout petit enfant’, i.e. as a diminutive proper.

- (5) δαμόνιε φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος, οὐδ' ἐλεαίρεις
παῖδά τε νηπίαχον καὶ ἔμ' ἄμμορον, ἢ τάχα χήρη
σεῦ ἔσομαι
'Ah, my husband, this might of yours will be your doom, and you
have no pity for your *infant child* or for unfortunate me, who soon
will be your widow.' (*Il.* 6, 407).
- (6) αὐτίκα δὲ σφήκεσσιν ἐοικότες ἐξεχέοντο
εἰνοδίοις, οὓς παῖδες ἐριδμαίνωσιν ἔθοντες
— αἰεὶ κερτομέοντες ὁδῶ ἔπι οἰκί' ἔχοντας
νηπίαχοι· ξυνὸν δὲ κακὸν πολέεσσι τιθεῖσι.
'At once they poured out like wasps of the wayside that boys are
in the habit of stirring to anger, constantly tormenting them in their
nests beside the way, *foolish as they are*; and a common evil they
make for many.' (*Il.* 16, 259).

In contrast to this, νήπιος is both used in evaluative (ex. (7)) and neutral contexts (ex. (8)), e.g.

- (7) φῆ γὰρ ὁ γ' αἰρήσειν Πριάμου πόλιν ἦματι κείνῳ
νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὰ ἦδη ἅ ῥα Ζεὺς μήδετο ἔργα
'or he really believed that he should take the city of Priam on that
very day — *fool that he was!* — and he did not know what deeds
Zeus was planning.' (*Il.* 2, 37).
- (8) ἦματι τῷ ὅτε σ' ἐκ Φθίης Ἀγαμέμνονι πέμπε
νήπιον, οὗ πω εἰδόθ' ὁμοίου πολέμοιο,
'When he sent you out from Phthia to Agamemnon, *a mere child*,
knowing nothing as yet of evil war.' (*Il.* 9, 439).

Since beside ἦσυχος there is no other adjectival formation based on **seh₂-* without the suffix *-χο-*, a similar contrastive analysis is impossible. However, the structurally parallel formation Lat. *satullus* seen above (ex. (3)) may be taken to show that a diminutive suffix in the function described above fits to an adjective meaning 'saturated, at peace'.

Further semantic comparanda within Greek are (i) ἐκηλος (Dor./Aeol. *-ἄλος*, Pi., Alc.) 'at rest, at one's ease' from PIE **mek-* 'wish' (cf. ἐκών

‘voluntarily, readily’), glossed in Hesychius as γέκαλον·ἤσυχον, which shows a number of usages overlapping with those of ἤσυχος, cf.¹⁵

(a) “of persons feasting and enjoying themselves” ([LSJ, s. v. ἤσυχος]; on ἤσυχος cf. 1.2 exx. (16–17)):

(9) ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος
πῖνέ τε, μηδ’ ἐρίδαινε μετ’ ἀνδράσι κουροτέροισιν.
‘No, then, *be still, and drink your wine*, and do not strive with men younger than you.’ (*Od.* 21, 309).

(b) ‘sit quietly’:

(10) *Od.* 17, 478 ἔσθι ἔκηλος; *Od.* 21, 259 ἔκηλοι κάθτετε; *S. Aj.* 325 ἤσυχος θακεῖ.

(c) ‘go away / be sent away in peace’:

(11) ἔκηλος ἐρρέτω ‘Let him go to his ruin *at his ease*’. (*Il.* 9, 376); ἠσύχιον δ’ ἄρα μιν πολέμου ἔκπεμπε (Apollo saved Agenor:) ‘He sent him away from the war to return *in peace*.’ (*Il.* 21, 598).

¹⁵ Cf. also with the same suffix ἀμαλός ‘tender’ (*Il.* 22, 310 ἄρν’ ἀμαλήν, *Od.* 20, 14 ἀμαλήσι περὶ σκυλάκεσσι) and ἀκαλά ‘gentle/-ly’ (Hes. fr. 218 ἀκαλά προρέων, of a river). Ἀταλός ‘tender, delicate’ (ἀτάλλω ‘skip, gambol; rear, foster’, ἀτιτάλλω ‘rear’ etc.) has been explained as extracted from ἀταλά φρονέοντες < ἀταλάφρων ‘fearful’ < ταλάφρων ‘courageous’ (cf. [Leumann 1950: 139ff.]), or as related to ἄττα ‘dad’ [Benveniste 1969, 2: 85ff.]. Alternatively, one might consider a derivation from PIE **telH-* ‘be(come) silent’ (OIr. *-tuili* ‘sleeps’, OCS *u-toljō*, *-toliti* ‘to calm, soothe’, Lith. *tilti*, *tyla* ‘become silent’, *tylėti*, *tylia* ‘be silent’, [LIV²: 621] quasi **sm̥-t̥lH-ó-* > **hatalo-* (> **hatalje/o-*, etc.) with intensifying *α-* as in ἄβιος ‘rich’, ἄεδνον· πολύφερνον (Hsch. α 1239) ‘with much dowry’, etc.; WGmc. **stellja-* ‘silent’ (Germ. *still* ‘silent’, *stillen* ‘to breast-feed’, etc.), ON *stilla* ‘to silence’ etc. might belong to this group, too, showing either inherited *s*-mobile (PIE **[s]telH-*) or, if one reconstructs **h₂telH-* (> Gk. ἄτ-), a behaviour comparable to that of Gmc. **smerta-* (OE *smeortan* ‘to cause pain’, etc.) beside Gk. ἀμέρδω ‘to deprive of’ (inner-Germanic *s*-mobile or PIE **sHC-* > **sC-*, if Gk. συμερδαλέος, συμερδνός ‘terrible, frightening’ are related); for the meaning cf. also Lat. *infans* ‘not speaking > child(ish)’ and the general semantic connection between ‘gentle, soft’ and ‘quiet, calm’ exposed *supra*.

(ii) The adjective εὔκηλος ‘at one’s ease, untroubled’¹⁶ is either a remodelling of ἔκηλος or built to PIE **h₁emk-* ‘get/be used to’ (Arm. *owsanim* ‘to learn’, Ved. *uc-ya-* ‘be accustomed’, OCS *učō, učiti* ‘to teach’, etc., [LIV²: 244]); it overlaps with ἥσυχος in the use with ‘sleep’:

(12) εὔδον δ’ εὔκηλοι : Anacr. *iamb.* 6 ἥσυχος καθεύδει (cf. Ὑπνος ἥσυχος in ex. (1)) (*Od.* 14, 479).

(iii) εὔκολος shows a similar polysemy, viz. a general meaning ‘good-natured, peaceful’ (ex. (13)), ‘easily satiated’ in the context of food (ex. 14), and ‘calm(ly)’ (ex. (15)):¹⁷

(13) ὁ δ’ εὔκολος μὲν ἐνθάδ’, εὔκολος δ’ ἐκεῖ.
‘Sophocles was *peaceable* here and will be *peaceable* there.’
(*Ar. Ra.* 82).

¹⁶ The *hapax* δύσκηλος (*A. Eu.* 825) was most probably formed by Aeschylus after the Homeric model of εὔκηλος, cf. [Sideras 1971: 160].

¹⁷ Εὔκολος is likely to have been formed after δύσκολος which may go back to *δυσ-σκολο- related to PIE **skelh₁-* ‘to dry out’ (Gk. σκέλλομαι, σκληρός, σκελετός etc., cf. also [Vine 1998: 60]), i.e. ‘badly > completely dried out, hard, difficult’, cf. *Ar. Pax* 349 κούκέτ’ ἄν μ’ εὔροις δικαστὴν δριμῶν οὐδὲ δύσκολον / οὐδὲ τοὺς τρόπους γε δήπου σκληρὸν ὥσπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ‘And you’ll no longer find me a severe and *colicky** / juror, nor such a *hard* case as I guess I was before.’ (*Henderson’s translation [Loeb] follows the folk-etymology current already in antiquity, cf. *Ath.* 6, 262a, deriving δύσκολος from κόλον ‘intestine’), cf. Gmc. **halla- / *skalla-* (**[s]kolph₁o-* or *o-no-* with loss of *-h₁-* in **skolph₁no-* [“Saussure effect”] or **skolnh₁o-* based on the nasal present, cf. Gk. **sk[e]lnh₁e/o-* (σκέλλομαι with full grade from the aorist), followed by assimilation *-ln- > -ll-*, cf. Gmc. **fulla- < *p[Hno-* ‘full’) in ON *hallæri* ‘dry / bad year / harvest’, MHG *hel* (*-ll-*) ‘weak’ and Germ. *schal* ‘stale, insipid’, MLG *schal* ‘id.; dry’, Swed. *skäll* ‘meagre, thin’, ME *shalowe* ‘shallow, dull’ < **skol[h₁]uo-*², and Latv. *kālss* ‘meagre, slim, bony’, cf. [Heidermanns 1993: 275]. For the intensifying use of *δυσ-* cf. *δυσᾶής* ‘blowing badly/violently, stormy’. A similar simplification of geminate *-s-* is usually assumed for δύστηνος ‘unhappy, wretched’ < **dus-steh₂-* (cf. Ved. *sthāna* n. ‘stand, position’, etc.), cf. also (A.+) δύστομος ‘hard-mouthed’, δύστονος ‘grievous’ (στένω) vs. *δυσσεβής* ‘impious’. It seems less likely that δύσκολος continues the variant without initial /s/ (**kelh₁-*).

- (14) ἦν δὲ περὶ τὰς τροφούς ἐπιμέλειά τις μετὰ τέχνης... ἔτι δὲ εὐκόλα ταῖς διαίταις καὶ ἄσικχα...
 ‘Their nurses, too, exercised great care and skill; ... (they taught the infants) to be *contented and happy*, not dainty about their food.’
 (Plu. *Lyc.* 16).
- (15) Καὶ ἄμ’ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπισχόμενος καὶ μάλα εὐχερῶς καὶ εὐκόλως ἐξέπιεν... (Pl. *Phd.* 117c).
 ‘And on saying this he put the cup to his lips and unflinching and *calmly* he drank it down.’

1.2. Under the hypothesis that ἦσϋ- belongs to PIE **seh₂-*, the meaning ‘in peace, unharmed’ found in the Homeric epics is not likely to be the original meaning, but one that developed out of the meaning ‘having one’s fill, being saturated, satisfied’. Some of the adjective’s early attestations in Hesiod and Pindar may be closer to this putative original meaning, cf. ἡσυχίος and ἡσυχία connected with eating and drinking in Pindar:

- (16) ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ / μὲν συμπόσιον
 ‘Peace loves the symposium.’ (Pi. *N.* 9, 48).
- (17) κεραΐζεν ἀγρίους
 θῆρας, ἧ πολλὰν τε καὶ ἡσυχίον
 βουσὶν εἰρήνην παρέχοισα πατρώαις...
 ‘(She would) slay the wild
 beasts, and truly she provided much *peaceful*
security for her father’s cattle.’ (Pi. *P.* 9, 22).¹⁸

A bridging context in which the meaning ‘saturated, satisfied’ may have developed into ‘peaceful, calm, quiet’ could be the following:

- (18) ... ἐσθλὰ δὲ πάντα
 τοῖσιν ἔην· καρπὸν δ’ ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
 αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον· οἱ δ’ ἐθελήμοι
 ἡσυχιοῖ ἔργ’ ἐνέμοντο σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν.

¹⁸ Cf. [Forssman 1966: 53]: the picture evokes the idea of peacefully grazing cattle (“erweckt die Vorstellung friedlich weidender Rinder”).

ἀφνειοὶ μῆλοισι, φίλοι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.

(Description of the first, “golden”, generation of mankind:) ‘They had all good things: the grain-giving field bore crops of its own accord, much and unstinting, and they themselves, willing, *mild-mannered*, shared out the fruits of their labors together with many good things, wealthy in sheep, dear to the blessed gods.’ (Hes. *Op.* 116–120).

In this context, ἥσυχο- may have been ambiguous between the meaning ‘having one’s fill, satisfied, having enough and more than that’ (Lat. *satis superque*) > ‘calm, gentle’.¹⁹ As already mentioned, the opposite ‘insatiate’, ἄατος, is used with reference to the not very gentle god of war (*Il.* 5.388 Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο, etc.), and in the Latin *Carmen Arvale* his Roman equivalent Mars is asked to be satiated:

(19) *Satur fu, fere Mars. Limen sali. Sta berber.* ‘Be *satisfied*, fierce Mars. Leap (over) the threshold. Stand *berber*.’

One possible interpretation would seem to be that personified war is invoked and asked to cease, i.e. to be calm and peaceful.²⁰

The same connection between ‘satiety’ and ‘contentment, peacefulness’ can be seen in other lexemes and complex NPs such as *contentus* beside *satur* (ex. (20)) and *plenus* beside *aequo animo* (ex. (21)):

(20) *et exacto contentus tempore vita cedit, uti conviva satur.*
‘who, when his time is sped, will quit life *in contentment*, like a guest *who has had his fill*.’ (Hor. *S.* 1, 118).

(21) *Cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis, Aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem?*
‘Why not, like a banqueter *fed full* of life, withdraw *with contentment* and rest in peace, you fool?’ (Lucr. 3, 938).

¹⁹ Note also the co-occurrence of ἥσυχος and ἐθελημός ~ ἔκηλος.

²⁰ On the further interpretation of these parts of this difficult text referring to Mars cf. recently [Willi 2014] and [Willi 2018] on Mars Gradivus as the god of hail (Lat. *grandō*).

Summary: Gk. ἤσυχος ‘calm, gentle, quiet’ may be a derivative with the suffix -χο- of a verbal abstract noun **hāsū-* < **seh₂tu-* ‘satiety, satisfaction’, indirectly attested in Lat. *satur* ‘sated, satisfied’. Its meaning shifted from ‘satiated, satisfied’ to ‘contented, calm, gentle, quiet’.²¹

2. Across the calm: Lat. *tranquillus*

2.1. The etymology of Lat. *tranquillus* ‘calm’ is unclear,²² Vine [2008] has reviewed the gamut of earlier proposals such as Nyman [1979], who starts from PIE **k̑uejt-* ‘shine, be bright’ (Lith. *šviečiù*, etc.), discussing their respective weaknesses and adding his own hypothesis that derives the adjective from a hypostasis of a phrase consisting of *trāns* ‘having overcome’ as a remnant of the aorist participle of PIE **terh₂-* ‘to cross, overcome’ and an *l*-stem **k̑ues-el-* ‘gale, storm’ derived from the root **k̑ues-* ‘to blow, pant’ (Lat. *queror* ‘complain’, Ved. *śvásiti*, *śusma-* ‘power’, etc.), i.e. **trāns quēle/om* ‘having overcome the storm’ → **trānsquēljō-* (like *ē grege* → *ēgregius*) > ‘calm’. This *l*-stem, Vine assumes, might also be continued in Lat. *querēla* ‘complaint’.

²¹ Other sources for words meaning ‘calm, gentle, friendly’ are *inter alia* ‘domesticated, nearby, at (the house)’, cf. κτίλος (Hom.+) related to κτίζω ‘to settle’, πρῶτος (*h.Hom.*+), if from **preh₂* ‘in front, at, close by (*sc.* the house)’, i.e. **preh₂ju-*, cf. [de Lamberterie 1990: 434–437]: π. “désigne l’animal qui fait partie de la maisonnée, qui appartient à un maître et habite avec lui.”, ἤπιος (Hom.+) if from ἐπί ‘at, nearby’, related to Ved. *āpi-* ‘friend’, cf. [Pinault 1988] (differently Van Beek in [Beekes 2010: 523]: **h₂e-h₂p-i-* ‘fitting, allied’); the unexpected initial long vowel in ἡρέμα ‘gently, softly; slightly’ (PIE **h₁rem-*, Ved. *rámate* ‘rests’, etc.) might be due to resegmentation of a negated form **h₁rem-* > **νῆρεμ-* in contexts like **οὐκ ἔχε νηρέμα* ‘was not restless (i.e. calm)’: ἔχεν ἡρέμα ‘kept calm’.

²² Cf. e.g. [Ernout, Meillet 2001: 699]: “Si le premier élément est *trāns-*, on attendrait **trā(n)squillus*. Composé expressif de formation obscure”, [de Vaan 2008: 627]: “The etymology as **trāns* ‘across’ + **k̑w̑lno-* ‘quiet’ (root **k̑w̑ih₁-* ‘be quiet’) is semantically vague (the meaning of *trāns* does not fit); phonetically, the assumed development of **-nsk̑w̑-* > *-nqu-* is disputed. Also, the suffix is unclear.”

Among the many merits of Vine’s discussion are a) his clearly pointing out that *tranquillus* (p. 8) “refers first and foremost (and so probably in origin) to calm weather conditions at sea” against earlier claims that *tranquillus* originally meant ‘transparent, clear’, e.g. *caelum tranquillum* which is best understood as ‘windless sky’, whereas the ‘bright sky’ is *caelum serenum*; b) the clarification that *tranquillus* is most likely to go back to a prepositional phrase with *trāns*; for the sound change *-nsk^w* > *-nk^w* one may compare Lat. *inquit* ‘says/said’ beside *insece* ‘say!’;²³ c) that *-ill-*, may go back to *-īl-* (p. 6, 9) by the “littera-rule”, cf. the variation found in *filius* / *fillius*; if indeed the form does have a short vowel /i/.²⁴ While the following considerations will be based on these premises, they differ from Vine’s account due to the following points: a) the supposition that *trāns*, if it lurks in *tranquillus*, should have retained its etymological perfective meaning ‘having overcome’ only in this word and is not used in its synchronic meaning ‘across’, is per se unverifiable, i.e. the alternative is equally possible; b) the assumption that a phrase ‘having overcome the storm’ would (p. 9) “lead [...] naturally to an adjectival hypostasis with a sense ‘calm’” seems to imply that the subject of the phrase is the sea (Lat. *mare tranquillum*), but there does not seem to be evidence for a frequent construction of the type “the sea has overcome the storm” in Latin; c) the supposed semantic shift from

²³ Cf. [Vine 2008: 5; Weiss 2009: 181]: **en-si-sk^w-e-ti* ‘says’ > **ensk^wit* > *inquit* beside *insece* ‘say’, Gk. ἔννεπε, cf. the analysis in [Hackstein 1997]. Weiss [2020: 197] adds as a further example **ko-en-s(e)k-e-ti* ‘prunes’ > **coincit* → *coinquit* “with hypercorrect labiovelar”.

²⁴ As Vine (loc. cit.) points out, there is “no evidence, either from Latin or Romance, for or against long [i] in this word”, cf. in this sense with “?” [Ernout, Meillet 2001: 699]: “*tranquillus* (-ī-?) de *quiēs*”; cf. also [Sen 2015: 73]: “Where a high, front vowel precedes a clear, palatalized /l/ (see §§ 2.3.4 and 2.3.5), it is notoriously difficult acoustically to pinpoint the moment at which the vowel ends and the /l/ begins [...], inviting the reconstruction of synchronic variation between /V:1/ and /Vll/, e.g. *fi:lius* — *fillius*”, and in the summary on p. 75: “A third group, ‘front vowel + /l/’, was also identified, and again a phonetically based account was forthcoming; both the data and the predictions of the account indicate that a V:C > VCC direction of change was more likely here.”

‘having crossed through (or overcome) a/the gale’ to ‘calm’ does not seem to be compelling, one might also suppose different outcomes such as ‘exhausted, tired’, ‘victorious’, ‘being beyond’ or ‘safe and sound; happy’ as in Gk. ἄσμενος from PIE *nes- ‘to attain one’s goal, return’;²⁵ d) an open question is the phonological development of the supposed sequence **-ēljō-* > **-īljō-* > <ill>, understood “to show the full ‘absorption’ of the high vowel and palatal glide of the suffix into a palatal liquid.” This seems to be contradicted by the general retention of the sequence *īljī* in cases like *filius* (†*fillus*), *familia* (†*familla*) and names like *Aemilius*, *Pompilius*, etc.

2.2. The “standard” interpretation adopted by most scholars²⁶ compares Gmc. **hwīla-* (ON *hvíla* ‘bed’, Goth. *hveila* ‘period, while’, Eng. *while*, Germ. *Weile* ‘period of time’, etc.)²⁷ and reconstructs a pre-form **trāns-quī-lo-* for Latin ultimately related to PIE **k^wieh₁-* ‘to (come to) rest, repose’ (Lat. *quiēscō*, *quiētus*, OP *šiyāta-* ‘happy’, Arm. *hangč’im*, *hangist* ‘(to) rest’, etc., OCS *počiti*, *-čijō* ‘to rest’, cf. [LIV²: 393]). This “both phonologically and morphologically” and “superficially attractive comparison” [Vine 2008: 1] is rejected by Vine due to the semantic difficulties, which arise under the supposition that *trāns* is used here in its etymological sense ‘having overcome s.th.’: the phrase should mean the opposite of what it does, i.e. “‘across or beyond rest/quiet or (still worse, with etymological meaning) ‘getting through or overcoming rest/quiet’.” In what follows it will be argued that a non-selfcontradictory interpretation with *trāns* in its synchronic meaning ‘across’ is possible.

²⁵ Cf. e.g. Pl. *Trin.* 1087 *ego miserrumis periclis sum per maria maxuma / uectus, capitali periclo per praedones plurimos / me seruaui, saluos redii*. ‘Under the most wretched dangers I’ve travelled through the greatest seas, under danger to my life I’ve got safely through very many pirates, and I’ve returned *safe and sound*.’

²⁶ Cf. [Vine 2008: 1] with further references, e.g. [Vaniček 1881: 318]; [Muller 1926: 493]: “Wohl Hypostase < (*in*)*trāns+quīlom* eig. ‘durchdringend, durchmessend die Meeresstille’”; [Pokorny 1959: 638]; and more recently [Hackstein 2003: 56]: “**k^wih₁lo-* > lat. *tranquillus*, **k^wih₁leh₂* > nhd. *Weile*”.

²⁷ Cf. [Kroonen 2013: 266–267].

2.3. It is assumed (a) that the comparison with Gmc. **h^wīla*-²⁸ allows the reconstruction of a similar noun and adjective in early Latin, viz. **quīlos/om* ‘rest(ing), calm’ > **quillos/om*, from PIE **k^wīeh₁-* ‘to rest’, and that, like its supposed successor *tranquillus*, it frequently occurred in the construction ‘sail (across) the calm (sea)’, both as direct object and together with the local particle / preposition *trāns*, i.e. [V] (*trāns*) *quīlum (mare)*, e.g. **vehor, curro, navigo* etc. (*trāns*) *quīlum*, comparable to cases like Verg. *A.* 1, 524 *ventis maria omnia vecti*, Verg. *A.* 1, 67 *Tyrrhenum navigat aequor*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.11, 27 *qui trans mare currunt*, etc.²⁹ As a “transferred epithet” of the type Lat. *terra* ‘(dry →) earth’ **quīlum* may have referred to the ‘calm (*sc.* sea)’ by itself, like the later neuter noun *tranquillum* ‘calm sea’.³⁰

The second assumption (b) made here is that the simplex **quillus/m* was lost and that consequently the phrase **trāns quīlum* was no longer interpretable as consisting of two words. This licenced univerbation, which in turn made the phonological development of the word-internal sequence **-nsk^w-* > *-nk^w-* possible. At this stage, Latin had gained a new noun *tranquillum* ‘the calm sea’ occurring in this specific construction.

Finally, (c) in the phrases [V] *tranquillum* ‘sail the calm sea’ and [V] *tranquillo* ‘sail on the calm (sea)’ (e.g. Liv. 31, 23, 4 *tranquillo pervectus Chalcidem*), the verbal argument / adjunct could be reinterpreted as an adverb ‘calmly’. Formally, this was possible because respective verbs like *navigo, veho(r)* could be used both as intransitives (‘sail’) and transitives

²⁸ For the meaning ‘rest, repose’ cf. beside ON *hvila* ‘bed’ also Grimm *Wb.* s. v. *Weile*: “(2) größeren raum nimmt im freien gebrauch die bed. ‘musze’ ein, von den theoretikern durch synonyma gesichert: tantumne ab re tua est otij tibi? hast du deiner geschäftten halb so vil weyl oder musz? Frisius dict. (1556) 1b; [...] hatt yhm musz und weyl daz zu nommen Luther 8, 354 Weim.”

²⁹ Cf. also the compound verb *trānsveho(r)*, e.g., Sen. *Her. F.* 889 *trans-vectus vada Tartari* ‘He crossed the waters of Tartarus.’

³⁰ The image is common in Latin, cf. with *quiēscō* and *quiētus*, derivatives of the same root **k^wīeh₁-* supposed here for *tranquillus*, Verg. *A.* 7, 6–7 *alta quierunt / aequora* ‘the high sea has become calm’, Hor. *Ep.* 10, 11 *quietiore [...] aequore* ‘on calmer sea’, *placidus*, Ov. *Pont.* 3, 44 *placidis ... aquis, lentus*, Lucr. 5, 434 *aequora lenta iacent, alto torpore ligatae* ‘The sea lay motionless; chained in dead calm’, etc.

(‘sail (across/on) the sea’), and because oblique case forms of nouns and adjectives can be used as adverbs, cf. *modus* ‘measure’ → *modo* ‘even, only’, *continuus* → *continuo* ‘immediately’, *multus* ‘many’ → *multum* ‘much’, *parvus* ‘small’ → *parum* ‘hardly’, *ceterus* ‘other’ → *ceterum*, *cetero*, *cetera* ‘as for the rest’, *creber* ‘frequent’ → *crebrō*, *crebra* ‘often’, etc.; semantically, because in most cases ‘across/on the calm sea’ would imply ‘calmly across/on the sea’. The adverbial interpretation of *tranquillo*, *tranquillum* in turn allowed the creation of other case, number and gender forms for the corresponding adnominal use, following the same models just quoted, i.e. correlations such as *creber* : *crebrō*, *multus* : *multum* triggered a full nominal paradigm *tranquillus*, *-a*, *-um* based on the forms *tranquillum*, *-o*.³¹ The NP *mare tranquillum* is therefore a formal “renewal” of a phrase meaning ‘calm sea’ by itself originally.

2.4. Supporting evidence for this scenario may be seen on the one hand in the Latin (and probably already Italic) productivity of univerbations of prepositional phrases, with and without derivational morphology. For the latter type cf. *pro consule* → *proconsul*, *pro praetore* → *propraetor*, etc. Similarly to what is hypothesized here for *tranquillus*, the PP *pro consule* used adverbially occurs in similar contexts as the noun derived from it, *proconsul*, cf.

- (22) *cum pro consule ex praeturā in Graeciam venisset...*
 ‘When, after his praetor-ship, he went to Greece as *proconsul*.’ (Cic. *Leg.* 1, 20, 53).
- (23) *L. Manlius proconsul ex Hispania redierat...*
 ‘The *proconsul* L. Manlius had returned from Spain.’ (Liv. 39, 29, 4).

³¹ Note that taken together the forms that may have served as pivot for the creation of a full adjectival paradigm are the most frequently attested forms in a raw count of the “Classical Latin Texts” (PHI) database (Available at: <https://latin.packhum.org>, accessed on 12.9.2020): *tranquillo* 77, *tranquillum* 40, *tranquilla* 68 (of which 32× n. pl., cf. the pl. use of words meaning ‘sea’, e.g. Verg. *A.* 2, 203 *tranquilla per alta* ‘over the peaceful depths (i.e. of the sea)’, V. Fl. 2, 608 *tranquilla sub aequora*), *tranquillus* 20 (of which 8 PN *Tranquillus*, hence only 12 tokens of the common noun), *tranquilli* 12, *tranquillae* 10, *tranquillam* 8, *tranquillis* 6, *tranquillas* 5, *tranquillos* 2, *tranquillarum* 1, *tranquillorum* 0.

This may be compared with the prepositional / adverbial use of *tranquillum* e.g. in Terence (ex. (24)) beside the adjective e.g. in Sallust (ex. (25)):

- (24) *tum autem Phaedriae
meo fratri gaudeo esse amorem omnem in tranquillo.*
‘And then I’m delighted for my brother Phaedria, whose whole
affair is *in calm waters*.’ (Ter. *Eu.* 1038).³²
- (25) *tutae tranquillaeque res omnes...*
‘Everything was quiet and *tranquil*.’ (Catul. 16, 5).

A trajectory similar to that of *tranquillus* may be assumed for Lat. *commodus* ‘suitable, proper, due’: Leumann, Hofmann, Szantyr [1977: 402] derive the adjective from the PP **com modō* ‘with measure’ and, as in the case of *tranquillus*, adverbial forms *commodum*, *commodo* ‘even now, just’ (Plt.+) and a neuter noun *commodum* n. ‘advantage, profit’ are attested next to the adjective:

PP	adv.	neuter noun	adj.
<i>*com modō</i>	<i>commodum/-o</i>	<i>commodum, -ī</i>	<i>commodus, -a, -um</i>
<i>*trāns †quillum</i>	<i>*tranquillum,</i> <i>tranquillo</i>	<i>tranquillum, -ī</i>	<i>tranquillus, -a, -um</i>

Derivation with additional morphology is known from many instances beside *ēgregius* already quoted, e.g. *ā viā* ‘off the track’ → *āvius* ‘trackless, untrodden’, *sē dolō* ‘without deceit’ → *sēdulus* ‘diligently’, *per fidem* ‘by oath’ → *perfidus* ‘treacherous’ — the latter example highlights once more the necessity to include phraseology into the etymological account of these cases (as pointed out by Vine (loc. cit.): *quī per fidem decipit* ‘who deceives by/even under oath’).³³

³² Greek influence is possible in this use, cf. S. *El.* 899: ὡς δ’ ἐν γαλήνῃ πάντ’ ἐδερχόμην τόπον... ‘But when I perceived that all the place was *in stillness*’, cf. also the adjective γαλήνός ‘calm, quiet’, e.g. E. *Or.* 279: ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αἰθίς αἶ γαλήν’ ὀρῶ... ‘Once more the storm is past, I see *a calm*’ (Coleridge).

³³ Cf. [Leumann et al. 1977: 402; Vine 2008: 7, fn. 19] with more examples and literature.

On the other hand, as noted above, the frequent use of *tranquillus* in the context of sailing and the sea and the direct or indirect references to this context when used in others make it a strong candidate as the original construction out of which the adjective developed as described above, cf. for the former a case of the co-occurrence of *tranquillum mare* and *tranquillum* with ellipsis of the head noun:

- (26) *quilibet nautarum uectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest; ubi saeua orta tempestas est ac turbato mari rapitur uento nauis, tum uiro et gubernatore opus est. non tranquillo nauigamus.*
 ‘Any member of the crew or passengers can steer a ship *when the sea is calm*; when a raging tempest has arisen and the ship is driven by the wind over a turbulent sea, what is then needed is a man of action, a helmsman. We are not sailing a *calm sea*.’ (Liv. 24, 8, 12).

For the transferred use ‘calm mind, calm state of affairs, etc.’ harking back to the original image, two examples from Plautus may suffice:³⁴

- (27) PAMPH. *Quid agitur, Epignome?* EPIGN. *Quid tu? quam dudum in portum venis?*
 PAMPH. *Hau longissime.* EPIGN. *Postilla iam iste est tranquillus tibi?*
 ANT. *Magis quam mare quo ambo estis vecti.*
 ‘PAMPH. How are you, Epignomus?
 EPIGN. And how are you? How long ago did you come into harbor?
 PAMPH. Not long at all after you.
 EPIGN. Is that chap *calm* toward you now? (points to Antipho)
 ANT. More so than *the sea* you both traveled on.’ (Plt. *St.* 529f.).

³⁴ Cf. [Vine 2008: 8]: “While metaphorical extensions to other states of ‘calm’ (such as a mental state) are already well-established in Plautus, the meteorological and even nautical basis of such extensions is still clear: e.g. Pl. *Poen.* 753 *tranquillitas* [scil. *animi*] *euenit quasi nauis in mari* ‘a calmness [in his spirit] came about, just as for a ship at sea.’ It seems legitimate to compare the Epicurean ἀταραξία and γαλήνη ‘calm sea’ and ‘calmness of mind’, cf. also A. *Ag.* 740 φρόνημα νηνέμου γαλάνας ‘a spirit of windless calm’, Pl. *Leg.* 791a γαλήνην ἡσυχίαν τε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ.

- (28) EVT. *potin ut animo sis tranquillo?*
 CHAR. *quid si mi animus fluctuat?*
 EVT. *ego istum in tranquillo, quieto, tuto sistam: ne time.*
 ‘EUT. Can’t you have a calm mind?’
 CHAR. What if my mind is *being tossed about by the waves?*
 EUT. I’ll place it in a *calm*, quiet, safe place. Stop being afraid.’ (Pl. *Mer.* 890).³⁵

2.5. Summary: Assuming that the similarity between Gmc. **h^wīla-* and Lat. (*tran-*)*quillum* is not fortuitous, but represents one of the many isoglosses of these Western Indo-European languages (similar to **ǵ^heud-* ‘pour’, Lat. *fundere*, *-ō*, Gmc. **geuta-*, Lat. *nassa* ‘basket’, Gmc. **natja-* ‘net’, etc.), a scenario for the inner-Latin development of the adjective *tranquillus* may be proposed that starts from its frequent occurrence in the construction ‘sail (across) the calm sea’, [V] (*trans*) **quillum (mare)*, which, after the loss of the simplex **quillo-*, developed into *tranquillum* which was interpretable as an adverb ‘calm(ly)’ that in turn gave rise to the corresponding adjective *tranquillus* whose use in most instances still betrays the original construction it hails from.

Abbreviations

adj. — adjective; adv. — adverb; aor. — aorist; gen. — genitive; n. — neuter.

Aeol. — Aeolic; Arm. — Armenian; Dor. — Doric; Eng. — English; Gk. — Greek; Germ. — German; Gmc. — Germanic; Goth. — Gothic; Hitt. — Hittite; Hom. — Homeric

³⁵ It seems likely that the frequent phrase *aequo animo* (whence *aequanimitas* Ter., *aequanimitas*) is based on the same metaphor (“with a mind as calm as the sea”), since *aequus* may also refer to the even, i.e. calm surface of the sea, substantivized in *aequor* ‘plane surface (land/sea)’. If ‘sparkling, bright (surface)’ is the original meaning of *aequus* (cf. Gmc. **glada-* ‘even, slippery; shining, glad’ in Germ. *glatt* ‘even’ and NE *glad*) it might be equated with Gk. αἰθροῦς ‘sparkling’ (cf. Hom. αἰθροπα ὄϊνον), i.e. thematized **h₂eǵd^h-h₃(o)k^w-o-* (> **aid(a/o)k^w-o-* > **ai(k)k^w-o-*) with vowel syncope in the context of dental and velar stops (e.g. **audaciter* > *audacter* ‘boldly’) or identical stops (e.g. **ce-date* > *cette* ‘Give!’ [2pl]), assimilation of -TK- > -KK- as in **adkausā-* > *accusā-* ‘to charge’ and simplification of the geminate, cf. the image of the bright and even surface of the sea (*aequor*) in Lucr. 1, 8 *tibi rident aequora ponti* ‘For you the wide stretches of ocean laugh.’

Greek; Lat. — Latin; Latv. — Latvian; Lith. — Lithuanian; ME — Middle English; MHG — Middle High German; MLG — Middle Low German; OCS — Old Church Slavonic; OE — Old English; OIr. — Old Irish; ON — Old Norse; OP — Old Persian; OPr. — Old Prussian; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; Plt. — Proto-Italic; Skt. — Sanskrit; Swed. — Swedish; Toch. — Tocharian; Ved. — Vedic; WGmc. — West Germanic.

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К этимологии древнегреческого теонима Κρόνος: заметки о морфологическом типе на -όνο-

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Аннотация. В статье обсуждается этимология др.-гр. теонима Κρόνος, который рассматривается в составе небольшого класса существительных на -όνο- с агентивно-инструментальной семантикой. В соответствии с этимологическим анализом Г. Д. Мюллера и М. Янды предлагается анализировать это имя как дериват глагольного корня *кер- (ср. κείρω ‘стричь; срубить’, арм. *k'eret* ‘царапать, тереть’ и т. д.) и таким образом объяснять теоним *Кронос* как ‘срезающий / срезатель, стригуший; кастрирующий / кастратор’. Рассматриваются возможные соответствия типа на -όνο- за пределами греческого, среди которых — кельтский тип на -*ono/ā-* и индоиранские образования на -*āna-*, формально совпадающие с медиальными причастиями, образованными от корневых основ и частично, вероятно, поглощенные ими.

Ключевые слова: Кронос, древнегреческий, санскрит, этимология, тип на -όνο-, теоним, медиальное причастие, корневые основы, агентивный.

On the etymology of the Greek theonym Κρόνος: Notes on the morphological type in -όνο-

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Abstract. The article discusses the etymology of the Greek theonym Κρόνος (Cronus), qualified by all dictionaries as etymologically unclear. I argue that this name can be considered as a member of the small class of nouns in -όνο- with agent-instrumental

semantics. Following an old proposal by H. D. Müller (later advocated by M. Janda), I adopt the analysis of this name as a derivative of the verbal root *kerp- (cf. κείρω ‘cut’, Arm. *k’erem* ‘scratch, rub’, Old Norse *skera* ‘cut’, etc.), thus explaining the name of the harvest god Cronus as ‘the one who cuts; castrator’, referring to one of his main functions as well as to the myth of castration of his father Uranus by Cronus. The class of nouns in -όνο- (/ f. -ωνη) arguably includes such nouns as θρ-όνο-ς ‘seat, chair’ (analysable as a derivative of *θερ- < PIE **d^her-* ‘fix, hold’), κλ-όνο-ς ‘excitement, throng’, φθ-όνο-ς ‘malice, envy’ (PIE **d^heg^{wh}-* ‘almost reach’), βελ-όνη ‘needle’ (PIE **g^wel-* ‘throw, pierce’); ἄκ-όνη ‘whetstone’ (PIE **h₂ek-* ‘sharp(en)’). Possible correspondences of this morphological type outside Greek may include the Celtic type in -ono/ā- (cf. *Nechtan*, *Mātronā*) and Indo-Iranian formations in -āna- of the type *yudhāna-* ‘enemy’ (*yudh* ‘fight’) or *budhāna-* ‘sage, teacher’ (*budh* ‘awake; observe, perceive’), formally coinciding with the middle participles made from root stems and, probably, partly absorbed by them.

Keywords: Κρόνος, Greek, Sanskrit, etymology, formations in -όνο-, theonym, middle participle, root stem, agentive.

Древнегреческое имя Κρόνος (греческий бог земледелия) квалифицируется этимологическими словарями [GEW, 2: 24–25; Chantraine 1968: 586] как изолированное в словаре греческого языка и не имеющее надежной индоевропейской этимологии. Предпринимавшиеся до недавнего времени попытки связать этот теоним с какими-либо греческими формами или отыскать индоевропейские параллели за пределами греческого в основном не кажутся удачными¹.

¹ В частности, уже Г. Курциус [Curtius 1858: I, 124; 1879: 154], Л. Преллер [Prel-ler 1872: 44–45] и позднее, например, П. Кречмер [Kretschmer 1950–1952: 66] производят Κρόνος от κρᾶνω ‘приводить в исполнение, исполнять, осуществлять, завершать’ (по Преллеру, в значении ‘приводить к созреванию’); А. Карнуа [Carou 1920: 10] — от κορένωμι ‘кормить, насыщать’ (от того же корня κόρος ‘мальчик, юноша’, κόρη ‘девушка’; т. е. *Кронос* предлагается объяснять как имя бога процветания и роста) и т. д.; критический разбор этих этимологий см. в словаре Фриска. Чрезвычайно подробный перечень и анализ всех имеющихся этимологий содержит работа [Bongiovanni 2014], но собственные выводы автора сформулированы весьма туманно и представляются малоубедительными. Об ошибочном сопоставлении Κρόνος и вед. *krāná-* (корень *kr* ‘делать’) (Г. Курциус, А. Кун и др.) см. ниже.

Тем не менее было бы неверным утверждать, что это имя не допускает никакого осмысленного морфологического анализа. Фундаментальная грамматика Бругманна — Швицера [Schwyzer et al. 1939: 490] помещает его (хотя и помечая вопросительным знаком) в один класс с еще тремя именами на *-όνο-*: *θρ-όνο-ς* ‘сидение, кресло, трон’ (~ праи.-е. **d^her-* ‘держать’), *κλ-όνο-ς* ‘смятение, суматоха, толчея, схватка’ и *χρ-όνο-ς* ‘время’². Краткое обсуждение этого морфологического класса можно найти в [Porzig 1942: 346 (без *Κρόνος*); Bader 1970: 34–35 (однако с ошибочными реконструкциями; см. [Woodard 2018, прим. 75]); Klingenschmitt 1982: 191–192; Janda 2010: 50, 2011: 89–90; Woodard 2018]. К этому же классу, вероятно, относятся также *ἀπλ-έχ-ονο-ν* (вместе с f. *ἀπλεχόνη*) ‘платок, одеяние, одежда’ (т. е. ‘то, что покрывает, охватывает’ ~ праи.-е. **seǵ^h-* ‘одолевать, схватывать’ > др.-гр. *ἔχω* ‘держат, брать, хватать’; ср. вед. *sah* ‘одолевать, побеждать’) и *φθ-όνο-ς* ‘зависть, недоброжелательство’ (~ праи.-е. **d^heg^{wh}-* ‘почти достигать’, см. [Klingenschmitt 1982: 191–192; Janda 2010: 50])³. Сюда же, по-видимому, следует отнести несколько существительных женского рода на *-ονη*: *ἡδ-ονή* ‘удовольствие, наслаждение, удовольствие’ (< праи.-е. **sweh₂d-* ‘быть сладким’); *περ-όνη* ‘булавка, шпилька, заколка’ (~ *πείρω* ‘прокалывать, пронзать’ < праи.-е. **per-* ‘пересекать’); *βελ-όνη* ‘остриё, игла’ (~ праи.-е. **g^{wh}el-* ‘колоть, пронзать’); *ἀκ-όνη* ‘точильный камень, оселок’ (~ праи.-е. **h₂ek-* ‘острый; точить’).

Несмотря на маргинальность и малочисленность этого класса, его семантика просматривается довольно четко: большинство имен на *-όνο-(-ονη)* имеют агентивно-инструментальные значения, ср. трон = ‘держатый’, игла = ‘пропигающий’ и т. д.

Замечу, что ни Порциг, ни Вудард (чей список, по-видимому, наиболее полон), не включают в этот класс *Κρόνος*. Между тем, именно в этом направлении следует, как мне кажется, искать этимон имени *Κρόνος*, которое может анализироваться как агентивный дериват

² Вероятно, также с агентивным этимологическим значением [Kulikov forthc.].

³ Более осторожен при этимологизации этого существительного словарь Беекса / ван Беека, который производит его от корня *φθον-*; см. [Beekes 2010: 1571].

глагольного корня *кер-, хорошо известного как в греческом (глагол κείρω ‘стричь; срубить’), так и за его пределами (арм. *k'eret* ‘царапать, тереть’, др.-исл. *skera* ‘(вы)резать’; также с расширением *-t-*: вед. *kṛt* ‘(от)резать’, ст.-сл. *(о-)чрътати*; см. [LIV² 556–557, 559–560; Martirosyan 2010: 662; EWAia, 1: 315–316]). Как известно, в греческом пантеоне Кронос занимает место бога земледелия и урожая и чаще всего изображается с серпом или косой в руке. Важный эпизод из биографии Кроноса — оскотление им своего отца Урана при помощи всё того же серпа (по другим источникам — косы).⁴ Оба факта недвусмысленно указывают на связь Кроноса со срезанием, отсечением и т. п. Такая интерпретация имени Кронос позволяет этимологизировать этот теоним как ‘срезающий / срезатель, стригущий; кастрирующий / кастратор’ и, соответственно, интерпретировать как агентивное имя с нулевой ступенью корня и суффиксом *-óvo-*, образованное от глагольного корня кер- (< *(s)ker-). Это сопоставление, как кажется, лежащее на поверхности и предложенное Г. Д. Мюллером еще в середине позапрошлого века [Müller 1857: 555–556, 1861: 137–138], удивительным образом было практически забыто этимологами и лишь сравнительно недавно вновь появилось в индоевропеистике [Haudry 1982: 24; Janda 2010: 50–54⁵, 2011: 90 et passim].

Обратимся теперь к морфологической структуре имен типа θρόνος / Κρόνος. Необычным является, в первую очередь, отсутствие нормального *e*-аблаута: корень в нулевой ступени присоединяет тематический суффикс *-óvo-* (праи.-е. * $\sqrt{\text{ø-óno-}}$). Вероятно, это обстоятельство, наряду с малочисленностью рассматриваемого морфологического класса, породило дополнительные сомнения в его реальности: обычно он не включается в число основных дериивационных индоевропейских типов. Возможно, однако, суффикс

⁴ Об этих функциях Кроноса см. в частности [Tralau 2018].

⁵ Строго говоря, Г. Д. Мюллер опирался лишь на связь Кроноса-«срезателя» с урожаем; М. Янда справедливо замечает, что эта этимология поддерживается также мифом о кастрации Урана. Ж. Одри и вслед за ним М. Янда считают, что имя Кронос указывает также на космогоническое разделение Неба и Земли, но такая интерпретация представляется менее очевидной.

*-*óno*- является результатом вторичного развития морфемы *-*é/óno*-, которая по крайней мере в некоторых формах могла иметь полную *e*-ступень. Кроме того, дополнительное влияние на формирование этого типа могли оказать дериваты с т. н. хоффмановским суффиксом *-*h₃no*-⁶ (очевидно, вокализирующимся как *-*ovo*- при присоединении к корню на согласный), среди которых, примечательным образом, как раз немало теонимов.

Несмотря на ряд проблем, связанных с постулированием морфологической структуры **√ø-óno*-, было бы неверно утверждать, что она не имеет никаких параллелей за пределами греческого.

Среди возможных соответствий можно указать кельтский тип на *-ono/ā-* (возможно, имеющий параллели в некоторых италийских языках), который замечательным образом также содержит целый ряд теонимов, таких как *Nechtan* (возможно, соответствует лат. *Neptunus*), *Mātronā* и *Maponos* ‘(великий) Сын’; см., например, [Dumézil 1968: 21–89; Stüber 2004; Lambert 2013: 113f.]. Несмотря на ненулевую ступень аблаута в корне (возможно, вторичного характера), этот тип мог бы восходить в конечном счете к тому же источнику, что и греческий тип на *-óvo-*, и вместе с ним указывать на агентивную (или агентивно-инструментальную?) семантику этого морфологического образования в языке.

Специального рассмотрения заслуживает ситуация в индоиранском. В соответствии с законом Бругманна, гласная *o* в открытом слоге удлиняется, т. е. праи.-е. **√ø-ono*- > индоир. *√ø-āna*-. Дериваты на *-āna*-, образованные от корня в нулевой ступени, хорошо известны в санскрите — это медиальные причастия, образованные от основы, совпадающей с не снабженным какими-либо аффиксами корнем, т. е. (i) либо от основы корневого презенса (II класс, ср. *ās* ‘сидеть’: *āste* ‘сидит’ — *ās-ānā-* ‘сидящий’ (о дублетной форме *āsīna*- см. ниже, прим. 11); *īḍ* ‘призывать’: *īḍte* ‘призываю’ — *īḍ-āna-* ‘призывающий’), (ii) либо от основы корневого аориста (ср. *yuj* ‘запрягать, соединять’: *áyukta* ‘(он(а)) запряг(ла), соединил(а)’ — *yuj-ānā-* ‘запрягший,

⁶ Из недавних работ об этом форманте см. в особенности [Pinault 2000] и [Blanchet 2015–2016].

соединивший’; *syj* ‘выпускать, освобождать’: *ásr̥ṣṭa* ‘(он(а)) выпустил(а), освободил(а)’ — *syj-ānā-* ‘выпустивший, освободивший’), (iii) либо от основы пассивного аориста (ср. *yuj* ‘запрягать, соединять’: *áyoji* ‘(он(а)) был(а) запряжен(а), соединен(а)’ — *yuj-ānā-* ‘запряженный, соединенный’; *syj* ‘выпускать, освобождать’: *ásar̥ji* ‘(он(а)) был(а) выпущен(а), освобожден(а)’ — *syj-ānā-* ‘выпущенный, освобожденный’⁷). *-āna-* является здесь рефлексом причастного праи.-е. суффикса **-mh₂no-*, который в тематических основах отразился как *-māna-* (не вполне регулярным образом, с учетом аналогического преобразования под влиянием *-āna-*; см., в частности, [Gotō 2013: 138], ср. др.-гр. -μενο-).

Наряду с регулярными медиальными причастиями существует, однако, некоторое количество имен на *-āna-*, которые, по-видимому, не могут быть отнесены к парадигме какого-либо корневого презенса или аориста, или, по крайней мере, должны рассматриваться обособленно. Существует три группы таких имен:

1) Формы на *-āna-*, имеющие параллельные медиальные финитные формы корневого презенса или аориста, но обнаруживающие (по крайней мере в ряде своих употреблений) заметный идиоматический сдвиг. Ярким примером такого рода является форма *krāṇā-*, неоднократно обсуждавшаяся в литературе [Grassmann 1873: 343; Bradke 1885: 35–37; Pischel, Geldner 1889: 67; Johansson 1894: 89–90; Oldenberg 1903: 33ff. (= Oldenberg 1967: 1111ff.) с библиографией; Macdonell 1910: 370, §506; Renou 1958 [EVP IV]: 31; Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954: 272, §162aγ]. Формально она относится к медиальной парадигме корневого аориста (3 sg. *akṛta* и т. д.) или пассивного аориста (3 sg. *ākāri*). Некоторые употребления *krāṇā-*, безусловно, следует квалифицировать как причастные (‘делающий, сделавший; сделанный, приготовленный’; см. [Kulikov 2012: 63–64]), однако ряд контекстов обнаруживают специфическое значение ‘усердный, деятельный’⁸, которое, строго говоря, выходит за рамки причастной семантики.

⁷ О причастиях пассивного аориста см. [Kulikov 2006].

⁸ Например, RV 5.7.8 *krāṇā* ‘деятельная, успешная, готовая’ (?); RV 10.92.6 *krāṇā rudrā[h]* ‘деятельные Рудры’; RV 10.132.2 *krāṇāya* ‘для деятельного,

2) Формы на *-āna-*, не имеющие параллельных медиальных финитных форм корневого презенса или аориста. Примером является *ṽṛdhāná-* ‘выросший; усилившийся’. Для корня *ṽṛdh* ‘расти’ не существует ни корневого презенса, ни корневого аориста (***áṽṛddha* и т. д.). Грамматика Макдонелла [Macdonell 1910: 373, §512] с некоторыми колебаниями относит эту форму к парадигме тематического аориста (для которого регулярным медиальным причастием было бы **ṽṛdhámāna-*), но и для тематического аориста медиальных финитных форм не засвидетельствовано.

В этот же подкласс попадает еще несколько изолированных форм (среди которых есть гапаксы), таких как *tṛṣāná-* (RV) ‘жаждущий, испытывающий жажду’ и *dhr̥ṣāná-* (AV 6.33.2) ‘дерзающий’; см. перечень в грамматике Вакернагеля и Дебруннера ([Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954: 272, §162aγ], под рубрикой «Ohne Anschluß an einen Wurzelaoist»).

3) Наконец, есть ряд образований на *-āna-*, которые занимают совершенно изолированную позицию в системе дериватов соответствующего корня; см. [Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954: 274, §162c]. Большинство таких имен не встречаются в реальных текстах (или появляются лишь в классическом / позднем санскрите) и зафиксированы только лексикографами. Сюда относятся, в частности, *yudhāna-* (кл. скр. / лекс.) ‘враг’ (*yudh* ‘сражаться’) и *budhāna-* ‘мудрец, учитель’ (лекс.) (*budh* ‘просыпаться; наблюдать, замечать’).

Статус таких форм в санскритском лексиконе неясен; не исключено, что они могли существовать в древнеиндоарийских диалектах, не зафиксированных в санскритских текстах. Грамматика Вакернагеля и Дебруннера [Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954: 274, §162c] рассматривает их как результат позднейшей адъективизации или субстантивизации⁹, но это не объясняет их появление в парадигме, где отсутствует корневой презенс и/или аорист. Примечательно также, что в этом классе преобладают существительные с агентивными значениями.

активного [жертвователя]»; возможно, также RV 1.139.2 *krāṇā* ‘деятельный’ или ‘деятельно’ (?) (см. [Renou 1958 [EVP IV]: 31]).

⁹ “Wie alle Partizipia, so können auch die auf *-āna-* zu reinen Adjektiven und zu Substantiven werden...”

Сопоставление основ на *-óvo-* с причастиями не является совершенно новым: К. Бругманн и Г. Остхоф упоминали эту связь в ряде работ еще в 70–80-е годы XIX в. [Brugman 1878: 50–51, 1879: 203, 1880: 20, прим. 2; Osthoff 1881: 374–375], а Остхоф [Osthoff 1881: 374] даже квалифицировал греческие формы как субстантивированные причастия (“zu substantiven erstarrte participien mit *-ono-*”)¹⁰. Впоследствии это сопоставление было отвергнуто, и сам класс образований на *-óvo-* надолго выпал из поля зрения индоевропеистов. Тем не менее, хотя возвращение к причастной трактовке имен на *-óvo-* представляется неоправданным, интерпретация образований этого класса как обозначений имен деятеля (или, шире, существительных с агентивно-инструментальной семантикой) кажется вполне уместной.

Существование значительной группы изолированных форм на *-āna-*, возможно, указывает на реликты маргинального праи.-е. типа **√ø-ono-* — во всяком случае, именно таковы могли быть рефлексы этого гипотетического класса в индоиранском. Не исключено, что следы этого агентивного образования (соответствующего греческому агентивно-инструментальному типу *θρόνος* / *Κρόνος*) могли сохраниться в общеиндоиранском¹¹. После изменений, связанных,

¹⁰ Сопоставление *krāná-* ~ *Κρόνος* (таким образом, этимологическое значение этого теонима было бы ‘создающий; деятельный’), предложено еще Г. Курциусом [Curtius 1858: 124, 1879: 154], поддержанное, в частности, А. Куном [Kuhn 1873: 148] (“mit wahrscheinlichkeit dem indischen *krāna*, der für sich schaffende, gleich”) и неоднократно встречающееся, например, у Бругманна и Остхофа, невозможно: для санскритского корня реконструируется этимон с лабиовеллярным **kʷ*, **kʷer-* (см. например, [EWAia, 1: 308–309; LIV²: 391–392]), который не мог отразиться в греческом как к. Малоубедительной представляется также попытка М. Янды [Janda 2010: 55–56] возводить индоиранский корень **kar-* (вед. *kr*) к праи.-е. **(s)ker-* (вопреки EWAia, LIV² и т. д.), предполагая вторичное развитие значения ‘резать, вырезать’ → ‘делать’.

¹¹ Возможно, среди медиальных причастий, образованных от корневых основ, сохранились также следы имен с хоффмановским суффиксом **-h₃no-*. В частности, не получившая до сих пор удовлетворительного объяснения форма медиального причастия корневого презенса глагола *ās* ‘сидеть’, *ásīna-* (см. [Wackernagel, Debrunner 1954: 432, §265c]), существовавшая наряду с регулярной формой

в первую очередь, с законом Бругманна, рефлекс суффикса *-ono-* должен был совпасть с рефлексом причастного суффикса в тематических основах, так что часть этих агентивных имен могли влиться в парадигмы соответствующих глаголов как причастия. Тем не менее — и, в особенности, в случае отсутствия медиальных корневых презенсов или аористов в парадигме соответствующих глаголов, — они могли сохранить особый статус и даже некоторую автономию, не полностью смешавшись с атематическими причастиями; в некоторых диалектах этот тип, возможно, сохранялся дольше, чем в стандартном (ведийском) санскрите.

Список условных сокращений

3 — 3-е лицо; f. — женский род; sg. — единственное число.
 лекс. — древнеиндийские лексикографы; AV — Атхарваведа; RV — Ригведа.
 арм. — армянский; вед. — ведийский; др.-гр. — древнегреческий; др.-исл. — древнеисландский; индоир. — индоиранский; кл. скр. — классической санскрит; праи.-е. — праиндоевропейский; скр. — санскрит; ст.-сл. — старославянский.

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āsānā- (засвидетельствованной лишь два раза в VI мандале «Ригведы»), может отражать хоффмановский дериват на *-īna-* < **-h₃no-*, существовавший параллельно с именами на **-ono-* и занимавший, вероятно, смежное положение в словообразовательной системе.

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On new reconstructions of PIE “laryngeals”, especially as uvular stops

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Abstract. More than hundred years after the partial confirmation of the laryngeal theory by the Hittite evidence this aspect of the phonological reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European has remained one of the most controversial ones. While there is widespread agreement about the reconstruction of three “laryngeals”, their phonological interpretation is less clear. Recently, two radically different new interpretations have been proposed: 1) a reconstruction of just one “glottal fricative” (corresponding to $*h_2$) by Pyysalo [2013] with sharp critique of most assumptions of the received theory, and 2) a reinterpretation of $*h_2$ and $*h_3$ as uvular stops by Kloekhorst [2018], mainly based on their continuation as velar stops in Lycian and Carian. While the former proposal suffers from severe methodological weaknesses and is therefore not further discussed here, the latter seems more promising, as it is based on the usual methodology of comparative reconstruction applied to the actual evidence of Anatolian. After reviewing the most crucial general evidence for the reconstruction of “laryngeals”, especially cases of preserved consonants (including hitherto rarely considered evidence from Iranian), the arguments for uvular stops are discussed. Some problematic phonetic details of Kloekhorst’s proposal are criticized, with the result that a reinterpretation according to this critique may even strengthen the general idea of uvular stops. Especially the assumption of $*h_3$ being a labialized fortis is rejected, instead it is argued that the evidence points to a non-labialized lenis obstruent, thus introducing a distinction typical for stops within the IE system. At the end, remaining problems are discussed, and an alternative scenario for the Anatolian development is mentioned (though not extensively discussed). The conclusion is that uvular stops might indeed be the original value of PIE $*h_2$ and $*h_3$ but they might have become uvular fricatives already in PIE, or in late Proto-Anatolian, and the stop reflexes of younger Anatolian languages could also be secondary, independent of the original status of the PIE sounds.

Keywords: Anatolian, Fricatives, Indo-European, Iranic / Iranian, Labialization, Laryngeals, Phonological reconstruction, Phonological typology, Stops, Uvulars.

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О новых реконструкциях праиндоевропейских «ларингальных» как увулярных смычных

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Аннотация. Спустя сто лет после частичного подтверждения ларингальной теории хеттскими данными этот аспект фонологической реконструкции праязыка остается одним из наиболее противоречивых. Широко распространена реконструкция трех ларингальных, но их фонологическая интерпретация остается неясной. В последнее время появилось две радикально различающиеся новые идеи: 1) реконструкция только одного «глоттального фрикативного» (соответствующего $*h_2$), с резкой критикой большинства положений ларингальной теории [Ruysalo 2013], и 2) интерпретация $*h_2$ и $*h_3$ как увулярных смычных [Kloekhorst 2018], которая в первую очередь основана на их рефлексах как веларных смычных в ликийском и карийском. Первое из этих предположений характеризуется существенными методологическими недостатками и по этой причине здесь далее не рассматривается. Второй вариант представляется более перспективным, так как он основан на стандартной методологии сравнительно-исторической реконструкции, примененной к имеющемуся анатолийскому материалу. За обзором основополагающих данных для реконструкции «ларингальных», особенно случаев сохранения согласных (в том числе редко привлекаемых иранских примеров), следует обсуждение аргументов в пользу увулярных смычных. В статье подвергаются критике отдельные аспекты гипотезы Клухорста; тем не менее эта критика скорее даже подтверждает реконструкцию ларингальных как увулярных смычных. Автор отвергает идею о том, что $*h_3$ является огубленным сильным согласным (fortis), и вместо этого приводит данные, указывающие

на неогубленный слабый шумный согласный (lenis), благодаря чему для праязыка можно реконструировать типичную для праиндоевропейских согласных оппозицию. После обсуждения остающихся проблем кратко упоминается альтернативный сценарий развития согласных в анатолийских языках. Автор приходит к выводу, что праиндоевропейские $*h_2$ и $*h_3$ могли быть увулярными смычными, превратившимися в увулярные фрикативные уже в праиндоевропейском или в позднем пра-анатолийском; в таком случае смычный характер рефлексов этих звуков в ликийском и карийском вторичен.

Ключевые слова: Анатолийские языки, иранские языки, праиндоевропейский, фонологическая реконструкция, фонологическая типология, ларингальные, фрикативные, увулярные, смычные.

1. Introduction

1.1. The current mainstream reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European (PIE)¹ phonological system includes three so-called “laryngeals” $*h_1$, $*h_2$, $*h_3$; some also reconstruct a fourth “laryngeal” $*h_4$.² Since these sounds have largely disappeared in most IE languages, leaving only indirect traces, their reconstruction is more difficult. While $*h_1$ (the one “laryngeal” that left the fewest traces) is often reconstructed as a glottal stop $*[ʔ]$ or a glottal fricative $*[h]$, most treatments agree that $*h_2$ and $*h_3$ which are more often preserved as consonants (cf. below) were some kind of back fricatives, ranging from velar to pharyngeal.³

¹ In contrast to Kloekhorst [2018], I follow Olander [2019] in using Proto-Indo-European (PIE) and not Proto-Indo-Anatolian (PIA) as the designation of the whole family, but in contrast to Olander I use (Proto-)Core IE (CIE) and not Indo-Tocharian for the potential branch of IE comprising all subfamilies other than Anatolian.

² For $*h_4$ cf. especially [Mallory, Adams 1997 (passim); 2006: 55]. The arguments for three laryngeals are well exposed by Eichner [1988], from an Anatolian perspective.

³ E.g., cf. the following proposals for $*h_1$, $*h_2$ and $*h_3$: /ç/, /x/, /xʷ/ [Tichy 2004: 31; Ringe 1996]; /h/, /x/, /xʷ/ [Rasmussen 1983; 1994]; /x>h/, /χ>x/, /xʷ/ [Normier 1977]; /h/, /χ/, /h/ [Kümmel 2007: 336]; /ʔ/, /h/, /ç/ [Gippert 1994]; /ʔ/, /ç/, /çʷ/ [Beekes 1989; 1994].

1.2. However, some recent proposals for the reconstruction of **h₂* and (partly) **h₃* propose either a “weaker” sound, a glottal fricative, or “stronger” ones, namely uvular stops:

1) Only one glottal fricative (though with variants) corresponding (largely) to **h₂* is reconstructed by the “glottal fricative theory” [Pyysalo 2013] (cf. [Pyysalo, Janhunen 2018a; 2018b; 2019]) which rejects all other “laryngeals” and assumes a radically different system for PIE. However, this model and the applied methodology is deeply problematic, and may be neglected here, as I have treated it elsewhere [Kümmel *forthc.*]. A glottal fricative can hardly be reconciled with the Anatolian evidence for these sounds as discussed below.

2) Quite on the contrary, Kortlandt [2014: 79] proposed to reconstruct **h₂* and **h₃* as uvular stops **q*, **q^w* in a rather short remark, and Kloekhorst [2018] has discussed this at length, starting from the Anatolian evidence. This proposal is the main topic of the present article, but before we proceed to its discussion, we shall have a look at the kind of evidence used for the reconstruction of these two “laryngeals”.

2. The reconstruction of PIE “laryngeals”

2.1. Lost sounds of PIE had already been reconstructed by de Saussure [1879] based on certain peculiarities in the distribution of vowels in the then known ancient IE languages, the morphonology of which would become more regular and transparent by the assumption of lost “sonants” producing rarer types of vowels, i.e. long vowels and rare “colours” of vowels, namely **a* and **o* in places where **e* would be expected. Further research had extended this proposal and added a third such sound not causing any “colouring”, and the term “laryngeals” was introduced.⁴ However, these hypotheses were not accepted by most scholars due to being only “theoretical”, until new evidence showed that the newly deciphered Hittite language and its Anatolian sisters had a consonant

⁴ First by Møller [1906; 1911; 1917] who explicitly compared the Semitic “laryngeals”.

corresponding to zero in other IE languages, namely Hittite/Luwian \check{h} = elsewhere \emptyset :⁵ cf. the following examples of Anatolian words with older IE reconstructions (as those found in [Pokorny 1959]): Hitt. *ḫant-* = IE **ant-* ‘forehead’; Hitt. *ḫast-* = IE **óst-/ást-* ‘bone’; Hitt. *ḫāran-* = IE **oron-* ‘eagle, bird’; Luw. *ḫawi-* = **ówi-* ‘sheep’; Hitt. *ḫartakka-* = **řkpo-* ‘bear’; Hitt. *ḫaster-* = IE **(a)stér-* ‘star’; Hitt. *ḫapp-* = IE **ap-* ‘fit’; Hitt. *ḫark-* = IE **ark-* ‘to hold’; Hitt. *ḫarki-* = IE **argi-* ‘white, bright’; Hitt. *ḫass-* = IE **ās-* ‘ashes’, Hitt. *ḫassa-* = IE **āsā-* ‘hearth, altar’; Hitt. *ḫissa-* = IE **īsā-* ‘Deichsel’; Hitt. *ḫuwant-* ≈ IE **(a)wē-* ‘to blow’, **wēnto-* ‘wind’; Hitt. *ḫuḫḫa-* = IE **awo-* ‘grandfather’; Hitt. *paḫḫur/paḫḫuen-* = IE **pūr, pun-/pan-* ‘fire’; Hitt. *paḫs-* = IE **pās-* ‘to protect’; Hitt. *eḫar-* = IE **ésr* ‘blood’; Hitt. *iḫi-* = IE **si-* ‘to bind’; Hitt. *tarḫu-* = IE **ter(w)-* ‘to overcome’; Hitt. *-ḫḫa* = IE **-a* 1st singular (perfect). As this Anatolian consonant was clearly phonemic and contrasted with zero, and no conditions could be detected for a secondary development, it became clear that the new correspondence set Anatolian \check{h} = zero required one or more sounds of the parent language which were lost outside of Anatolian. And the distribution of these newly discovered sounds seemed to largely match that of the already postulated “laryngeals”, and so the currently dominant theory was established. However, the exact phonetics of these sounds remained contentious, and thus the “algebraic” notation **h₁*, **h₂*, **h₃* reflects the consensus better than anything more concrete. Still, to understand the developments of these sounds and the phonological system, more concrete knowledge about their probable phonetic features would be useful. In order to make such inferences, the most direct evidence comes from direct preservation of these sounds. In the following I will present this type of evidence for the two “laryngeals” which are actually preserved as consonants, i.e. **h₂* and **h₃*.

2.2. The clearest case is **h₂* > Hittite, Palaic, Luwian ($\check{h}\check{h}$), lenited (\check{h}). Akkadian \check{h} continues Common Semitic **x/χ*; it was also used for West Semitic *ḫ*, *ḥ*, *ḫ* (but not *h*, *ḥ*), so its sound value may have been a velar, uvular or (less probably) pharyngeal fricative. In addition, we find some cases of an alternation $\check{h} \sim k/k \sim \check{h}$ in Hittite. Hittite and Luwian words

⁵ Cf. [Kuryłowicz 1927; Hendriksen 1941].

with ⟨h(h)⟩ are transcribed in Ugaritic by ⟨ḥ | ġ⟩ = [χ | ʁ], and not by the pharyngeals ⟨ḥ | ʕ⟩ = [ħ | ʕ], so the by far most probable value seems to be a velar-uvular fricative, fortis (voiceless) and lenis (voiced?). In the younger Anatolian languages, all the evidence, especially transcription in Greek and Egyptian, points to a velar stop: Lycian ⟨χ⟩ /k/, Carian *k*;⁶ labialized Lycian, Carian ⟨q⟩ /k^w/,⁷ also Lydian *k* in at least some cases.⁸

The rarer sound **h₃* appears to have been lost more often even in Anatolian, but it was preserved at least in some cases (in initial position and beside a sonorant), its reflexes are cuneiform ⟨ḥ⟩ (normally not geminated/fortis in inlaut), and probably also Lycian ⟨χ⟩ /k/, so it merged with reflexes of **h₂*.⁹

2.3. Outside of Anatolian, preservation of consonantal laryngeals is rare or exceptional, while we often find vowels instead of “laryngeals” (mostly **a*, but **i* in Indo-Iranic and **e/a/o* in Greek and Phrygian). However, there seems to be some evidence for consonantal reflexes of **h₂* in (Indo-)Iranic, preserved as some kind of *h*, for the sake of clarity here written as **h*.¹⁰ First, there is quite secure evidence for aspirating effects in Indo-Iranic and devoicing effects only in Iranic, from which we can reconstruct a PIIr. **h*, cf.

⁶ Cf. [Melchert 1994: 282–285, 305ff.; Kloekhorst 2006: 96–106; Adiego 2007: 243, 261; Kloekhorst 2018: 71ff.] and below.

⁷ Cf. [Kloekhorst 2006: 97–101, 106; Adiego 2007: 244f., 261; Kloekhorst 2018: 72f.] and below. According to Kazansky [2012] a possible trace of **Hw > k^w* is already attested much earlier in the ideogram for ‘sheep’ in the Linear A syllabary and its syllabic value *qi* /k^{wi}/ in Linear B. However, this would only guarantee a labiovelar, not necessarily a stop.

⁸ Cf. [Melchert 2004]; possibly also word-initially in *koful* (dative) ‘water’ if a cognate of Hitt. *ḥapa-* ‘river’ (I. Yakubovich in eDIAna s. v., <https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=352>)

⁹ Cf. [Melchert 1987; 1994; 2011; Kloekhorst 2006: 85–96, 102f.; 2018: 71ff.]. There is some controversy whether **h₃* was lost in Lycian, in contrast to Luwian (as argued by [Kimball 1987], followed by [Melchert 1994: 72]), but I follow Rasmussen [1992: 56–59] and Kloekhorst [2006: 102f.] in not being convinced by the only potential examples.

¹⁰ Cf. [Kümmel 2016: 82f.; 2018: 162–166; 2020: 245f.].

PIIr. **pánt-ah-* ~ **pat-ḥ-* ‘path’ > **pántā-* ~ **patḥ-* > YAv. *pañtā̃*, *pañtaṃ* ~ *paθ-*, Ved. *path-*

PIIr. **maj-áh-* ~ **maj-ḥ-* ‘great’ > PIr. **majā-* ~ **majḥ-* > YAv. *mazā-* ~ *mas-*; Ved. **majh-* > *mah-*

PIIr. **dahiwár-* ‘husband’s brother’ > PIr. **dhaiwar-* > **thaiwar-* > **θaiwar-*, Ved. *devár-*

Second, it seems that initial **h* was partially preserved as *h/x* in marginal Iranian varieties both in South-Western Iranian (Middle and New Persian) and in Khotanese Saka, cf.

PIIr. **hýtá-* ‘bear’ > **hýtša-* > Ved. *ṛkṣa-*; PIr. **hərča-* > Av. *arša-* / Pers. *xirs*; cf. Hitt. *ḫartka-*

PIIr. **hays-/ḫiš-* ‘thill, pole’ > Ved. *īṣá-*; PIr. **haysḥ-* > Av. *aēs(a)-* / NP *hēs*, *xēs*; cf. Hitt. *ḫissa-*

PIIr. **hās-* ‘ash’ > Ved. *āsa-*; CIr. **hāsa-ka-* > Kurdish *ax* / NP *xāk*; cf. Hitt. *ḫāss-*

PIIr. **hṛští-* ‘spear’ > Ved. *ṛṣṭí-*; PIr. **həršti-* > Av. *aršti-* / Khot. *hālštā*, Pers. *xišt*; cf. Hitt. *ḫars-*

PIIr. **haja-* ‘to drive’ > Ved. *ája-*; PIr. **haja-* > Av. *aza-* / Khot. *hays-*; cf. Gk. *ἄγω*, Lat. *agō* etc.

PIIr. **hukš-* ‘to grow’ > Ved. *ukṣá-*; PIr. **huxš(y)a-* > Av. *uxšii-a-* / Khot. *huṣṣ-*; cf. Gk. *ἄέξω* / *αὔξω*

In addition, it has also been argued that Indo-Iranic laryngeals were substituted by **k*, **γ/x* and **š* in Uralic loanwords [Koivulehto 1991; 2001a; 2001b; Katz 2003]; however, it seems that only very few of these etymologies are secure enough, or that they may rather belong to a pre-Indo-Iranic stratum, so that they do not inform us about Indo-Iranic (cf. [Holopainen 2019: 393f.]).

Aside from these direct reflexes, the “colouring” effects of **h₂* and **h₃* are best explained by “faucal” sounds, i.e. uvulars or pharyngeals (cf. [Cohen, Hyllested 2012: 54–57]), and therefore, uvular fricatives are currently most favoured, with a potential Core IE change to pharyngeals [Kümmel 2007: 336; Weiss 2016: 337]. However, one particular type of reflex does not directly favour this reconstruction, and this is the velar stop found in the later Western Anatolian languages, the main basis for Kloekhorst’s new proposal.

3. Arguments for uvular stops

1) The main argument by Kloekhorst [2018] for reconstructing uvular stops builds on the Lycian and Carian reflexes. In Lycian, the main reflex of (unlenited) $*h_2$ is $\langle\chi\rangle$ /k/ (vs. palatal $\langle k\rangle$ /c/ < $*k$), and likewise, original $*h_2w$ (cf. [Kloekhorst 2006: 97–100]) is reflected as $\langle q\rangle$ /k^w/, and Carian appears to show the same reflexes. So, Lycian+Carian /k/ vs. Luwian h /χ/ is the situation from which we should reconstruct Proto-Luwic, and the best reconstruction for this correspondence seems to be a uvular stop $*q$ /q/. This procedure can be repeated by comparing Proto-Luwic $*q$ with Hittite $*\chi$, and again the best reconstruction would be Proto-Anatolian $*X = *q$ /q/, and this can again be repeated for Proto-Anatolian vs. Core IE $*\chi$ (or even $*h$), so we arrive at Proto-Indo-Anatolian (= Proto-Indo-European proper) $*q$. The main reason for assuming a stop as the original sound is that an unconditioned development from stop to fricative is much more probable than vice versa, and probably even more so in the case of uvulars.¹¹ The same would be valid for $*h_3$ which he assumes to have been the labialized version of $*h_2$, i.e. $*q^w$. More specifically, Kloekhorst assumes fortis (= geminated) stops $*q:/$ and $*q^w:/$ which could be lenited to lenis (= simple voiceless) $*q$ and $*q^w$ but this is a separate question connected to the reconstruction of the other stops (which he also reconstructs as fortis geminates for both Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Indo-Anatolian, see [Kloekhorst 2016]; for arguments against the latter reconstruction cf. [Kümmel 2018]).

Kloekhorst also presents some additional arguments:

2) The clear fortis character of $*h_2$ and its participation in the Anatolian lenition, i.e. weakening after long and between unaccented vowels, parallel to old fortis stops but different from the old IE fricative $*s$.

3) The treatment of initial $*sh_2$ parallel to $*sT$ (but different from $*sR$), showing a prothetic vowel *i*, cf. Hittite *ish-* like *isk-*, *isp-*, *ist-*.

4) Sound substitutions like Hitt. *Ahhijawa* for Gk. *ak^haiw-*.

¹¹ Cf. the relative frequencies of such changes in [Kümmel 2007: 61–64 vs. 147f.].

4. Discussion

In general, the main line of his argumentation seems sound, and the general scenario is certainly a viable hypothesis (depending on the correct interpretation of the younger Anatolian graphemes and sounds). However, there are some problems with details.

4.1. Some of these are relevant for the general development:

1) The development of the PIE (PIA) fortis stops into Anatolian was probably not just one of original geminates undergoing conditioned lenition, but it is equally possible (and in my view more probable) that there was a conditioned fortition (gemination) of PIE $p, t, k > PA pp, tt, kk / V_V$ (cf. [Yates 2019; Kümmel 2019] contra [Kloekhorst 2016]). Likewise, we could also assume PIE $*h_2 > PA *XX$. This difference would in fact even strengthen the argument for an original uvular stop, since the gemination would be an innovation parallel to the other stops and not just retention.

2) Kloekhorst must assume fricativization of a fortis geminate $*[q:]$, $*[q^w:]$ but this is hardly plausible: geminate stops cannot be directly fricativized. However, one possible path might work via affrication $[q:] > [q\chi] > [\chi:]$, cf. the change of fortis stops to OHG geminate (!) fricatives, probably via affricates (cf. [Kümmel 2007: 68]).

3) Allophonic voicing of $[\chi:] > [ʁ:]$ (as assumed by [Kloekhorst 2018: 82]) is equally impossible: geminates are never allophonically voiced. The only way to get from $[\chi:]$ to $[ʁ]$ is via degemination to $[\chi]$ and following voicing to $[ʁ]$. This would become easier if the original value was not a geminate in the first place.

4.2. More specific problems occur with the assumption that $*h_3$ was a fortis $*q^w [q^w:]$, i.e. just the labialized counterpart of $*h_2$, and these are independent of the question whether it was a stop or a fricative.

The main problem is that reflexes of $*h_3$ show no trace of labialization in Anatolian. This would be surprising in a language family that not only preserves labialization in IE labiovelars, but even developed a new labialized fricative from $*h_2w$ (as shown by Kloekhorst [2006] himself), i.e. more or less exactly the sound assumed for $*h_3$. In this context loss of labialization seems very improbable. The second problem is that we

have good evidence for weaker reflexes of $*h_3$ in Anatolian: most significantly it was apparently lost between vowels while $*h_2$ was preserved. If both had only differed in labialization, this would be hard to understand. Kloekhorst's assumption of a special lenition of $*[q^w:] > [\chi^w:]$ [Kloekhorst 2018: 90] is not only typologically problematic (as discussed above) but also completely *ad hoc*. Alleged parallels such as Latin $g^w > w$ are not valid for a fortis stop and furthermore still show the preservation of labialization.

The main argument given for the frequent reconstruction of $*h_3$ as a labialized sound appears to be the "colouring" of PIE $*e > *o$ caused by adjacent $*h_3$, interpreted as a labialization [-round] > [+round]. However, this sound change (if it happened like that which is far from sure) would have to be primarily classified as a backing [-back] > [+back], since contrastive rounding was not a relevant feature of the PIE vowel system but rather a concomitant feature of back vowels. To explain the *o*-colouring, it may be noted that more *o*-like vowels can also be triggered by a nonlabialized uvular fricative or approximant, e.g. the reflexes of uvular *r* in Danish and German dialects (cf. [Kümmel 2007: 333, n. 261; 2012: 313f.]).

To sum up, there is in fact no good evidence for labialization of $*h_3$ as a feature distinguishing it from $*h_2$. Instead, we have more evidence for lenis character as a distinctive trait: in addition to the weaker reflexes in Anatolian together with merger in case of preservation we also find potential supporting evidence in Core IE: one possible though controversial example is the famous leniting effect in $*pí-b(h_3)-e/o- < *pi-ph_3-e/o-$ 'to drink' from $*poh_3-$ (and in other, less clear cases, cf. [Kümmel 2007: 332, n. 260]). Another possible argument might come from a different development possibly shown by Greek $*h_3j- = *j- > z-$ (in ζοφός 'evening', ζέφυρος 'western wind' from $*h_3jeb^h-$ 'to enter', cf. [Janda 2000: 206]), merging with $*dj, *gj$ in contrast to $*h_{ij}- > h-$ (cf. [Bozzone 2013]) and (pace Bozzone) also $*h_2j- > h-$ (cf. $*h_2ju- > *hu-$ in υγής 'healthy', [Weiss 1995]).

Assuming a fortis vs. lenis contrast for $*h_2$ vs. $*h_3$ would even support Kloekhorst's reconstruction of stops vs. fricatives in the PIE system. So we could modify his reconstruction to PIE $*q, *G$ (with fricative

allophones?) which later turned into CIE $*\chi$, $*\varkappa >$ (dialectal?) $*\hbar$, $*\zeta$. Such a reconstruction would cause problems, if the traditional “velar” stops are reconstructed as uvular $*q$, $*G$ etc. (cf. [Kümmel 2007: 324–327]) but neither the existence of distinct “velars” nor their reconstruction as uvulars are universally accepted.

4.3. However, two problems would remain, one within PIE, and one for the Anatolian development:

1) It is generally assumed that all “laryngeals” patterned like the fricative $*s$ in PIE root structures, but if they were uvular stops, they should rather agree with the other stops, e.g. they should rather not occur in onsets before a stop, or at the end after a stop. But maybe this is less problematic than often assumed, since it seems possible that PIE allowed sequences of two or even three stops in these environments, cf. roots and words like $*t\acute{k}ei-$ ‘to settle’, $*d^h\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m-$ ‘earth’, $*p\acute{k}ten-$ ‘comb’, $*tper-snah_2-$ ‘heel’.

2) It remains a bit suspicious that all older Anatolian languages show uvular fricatives while only the younger languages in the west have velar stops. This distribution seems to favour the (typologically less favoured) possibility of a secondary younger, probably areal development. Then, even if PIE originally had uvular stops, these might have turned into fricatives, either already in PIE or in PA (after the fortis/lenis split parallel to the other stops). The uvular fricatives then could have turned into uvular stops (which then were further fronted to velars) in Western Anatolian, triggered by an areal contact phenomenon, possibly a substratum that did not possess back fricatives. In fact, we have some potential evidence that in contrast to Central and Eastern Anatolia where such sounds are also found in the non-IE languages, they might have been absent in the west: if it is true that Etruscan and its relatives originally were spoken in (North-)Western Anatolia (as argued by [Kloekhorst 2012]), their features might reveal something about the areal tendencies there, and it happens that Etruscan indeed may not have had a dorsal fricative, only sibilants, f and h .¹² If that was an areal feature of Western Anatolia, it may also

¹² So according to Wallace [2008: 30f.] who argues for Etruscan $\langle\chi\rangle = /k^h/$ contra Rix [1985; 2004] and Steinbauer [1999] who assume $/x/$ or $/kx/$. I have to thank

have affected the IE Anatolian languages spoken there, leading to a typologically rare hardening of original $[\chi] > ([q] >) [k]$.

5. Conclusion

While the Anatolian evidence certainly does not support the reconstruction of $*h_2$ as a glottal fricative, it can be interpreted in such a way that it points to uvular stops as the original Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Indo-European values of $*h_2$ and $*h_3$. However, this largely depends on the inner-Anatolian evidence, and the possibility of a later, areal Western Anatolian change from fricatives to stops cannot be dismissed.

As for the difference between $*h_2$ and $*h_3$, there is no good evidence for the latter being a labialized counterpart of the former, while a fortis vs. lenis distinction is much better supported. This can even be taken to support an original stop value for these sounds for PIE, but this is independent of the question whether this was preserved in Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Luwic.

Abbreviations

Av. — Avestan; CIE — Core Indo-European; Gk. — Greek; Hitt. — Hittite; IE — Indo-European; Khot. — Khotanese; Lat. — Latin; Luw. — Luwian; OHG — Old High German; PA — Proto-Anatolian; Pers. — Persian; PIA — Proto-Indo-Anatolian; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; PIr. — Proto-Indo-Iranian; PIr. — Proto-Iranian; Ved. — Vedic; YAv. — Younger Avestan.

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Young Avestan *pašne* and its etymology

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Abstract. Young Avestan *pašne* is attested ten times in constructions with genitive and accusative used to indicate the position of the figures at the moment of the worship of various deities. The only occurrence of the construction with the accusative in Yt 5.108 must be due to an analogy with the *upa* + accusative construction that occurs earlier in the text. The author argues that *pašne* does not mean ‘in the sight of’, but rather ‘at the shore of’ and is a loc. sg. of *pašna*- n. ‘bank, shore, side’. This word is most likely identical with *pašna*- ‘eyelid’ or ‘eyelash’. Similar semantic development can be found in Skt. *vārtman*- ‘track of a wheel, way’ (RV+) besides ‘eyelid’ (AV) or Skt. *vartani*- ‘way, wheel rim, track of a wheel’ (RV+) and ‘eyelashes’ (ŚBr.), with the meanings ‘eyelid’ and ‘eyelashes’ being derived from the meaning ‘circumference’.

From the etymological point of view, Young Avestan *pašna*- can be compared with other Indo-Iranian words for ‘side, flank’, like Skt. *pājas*- n. ‘side, surface’, Khot. *pāysa*- ‘surface, breast’, Sogd. *p’z* ‘face’, Oss. *faz / fazæ* ‘half, side; back, buttocks’. The semantic development ‘side’ > ‘shore’ is trivial, cf. English *river side*. These words are derived from the PIE root **peh₂ǵ-* ‘to attach, fix’ (Gk. πῆγνυμι ‘to fix, join, congeal’, Lat. *pangō* ‘to attach, join’, etc.), PIIr. **paHj-* (this root loses its laryngeal, when followed by a consonant, cf. Skt. *pajrá-* ‘solid, strong, firm’ (RV) < PIE **peh₂ǵ-ro-*). Avestan *pašna*- goes back to PIIr. **paj-na-* < **paHj-na-*, which, in theory, can reflect three PIE formations: **peh₂ǵ-no-* (cf. Lat. *pignus* ‘pledge, hostage’), **peh₂ǵ-mn-o-*, thematic variant of **peh₂ǵ-m(e)n-* (cf. Gk. πῆγμα ‘joint together, stage, scaffold’) and **peh₂ǵ-(e)n-* (cf. Lat. *pāgina* ‘side, sheet of paper’). Of these options, the latter is clearly preferable.

Keywords: Avestan, Yashts, Indo-European etymology, Glottalic theory, Historical linguistics.

Младоавестийское *pašne* и его этимология

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Аннотация. В статье обсуждается словоформа *pašne*, встречающаяся в ряде младоавестийских гимнов в контекстах, описывающих местоположение персонажей, обращающихся к божеству с просьбой. В этих контекстах за *pašne* следует обозначение водоема в генитиве (единственное употребление конструкции с аккумулятивом в Yt 5.108 следует считать отклонением, развившимся, вероятно, по аналогии с конструкцией *upa* + аккумулятив). Автор отказывается от предложенной Х. Бартоломе интерпретации *pašne* как деривата от корня *spas-* ‘видеть’ со значением ‘в поле зрения’ и поддерживает предположение о том, что *pašne* является формой локатива единственного числа от *pašna-* ‘берег, сторона’. Далее предлагается идентифицировать это слово с *pašna-* ‘веко’ или ‘ресница’. Примером аналогичного семантического развития могут служить др.-инд. *vártman-* ‘колея, путь’ (RV+) наряду с ‘веко’ (AV) или др.-инд. *vartani-* ‘путь, обод колеса, колея’ (RV+) и ‘ресницы’ (ŚBr.), где значения ‘веко’ и ‘ресницы’ являются производными от значения ‘окружность’.

Автор возводит восстановленное таким образом многозначное авестийское *pašna-* к инд.-ир. **paj-na-* (ср. оглушение в мл.-ав. *barəšnu-* ‘высота’ из инд.-ир. **b^harj^h-nu-*) из **paHj-na-* (с выпадением ларингального перед согласным, ср. др.-инд. *pajrá-* ‘прочный’ < и.-е. **peh₂ǵ-ro-*) от инд.-ир. **paHj-*, ср. скр. *pájas-* ‘сторона, поверхность’, хот. *pāysa-* ‘поверхность, грудь’, согд. *p’z* ‘лицо’, оссет. *faz / fazæ* ‘половина, сторона; задняя сторона, ягодицы’. Семантическое развитие ‘сторона’ > ‘берег’ находит многочисленные параллели, ср. англ. *river side*. Инд.-ир. **paHj-* далее возводится к и.-е. **peh₂ǵ-* ‘прикреплять, скреплять’, ср. др.-гр. *πῆγνυμι*, лат. *pangō* ‘скреплять, соединять’, etc.

Из трех рассмотренных вариантов реконструкции инд.-ир. **paHj-na-* — и.-е. **peh₂ǵ-no-* (ср. лат. *pignus* ‘заклад’), и.-е. **peh₂ǵ-mn-o-*, тематизированный вариант **peh₂ǵ-m(e)n-* (ср. др.-гр. *πῆγμα* ‘скрепление’), и.-е. **peh₂ǵ-(e)n-* (ср. лат. *pāgina* ‘сторона, страница бумаги’) — автор отдает предпочтение последнему.

Ключевые слова: авестийский, яшты, индоевропейская этимология, плотная теория, историческое языкознание.

1

Yasht 5 to Anāhitā, Yasht 9 to Druuāspā, Yasht 15 to Vāiiu, and Yasht 17 to Aši all contain a list of suppliants who ask the respective deity for a boon, which is either granted or denied. For most of the figures it is indicated where they were at the moment of the worship. The locations are indicated with the help of different constructions, conveniently listed in [Kellens 1999–2000: 736–739]. These are in general not problematic except for the construction *pašne* plus a genitive (9×) or accusative (1×), which has not yet found a satisfactory solution.

Geldner in his edition [Geldner 1896] everywhere edits *pasne*, but as already pointed out by Bartholomae [1904: 885], the overwhelming majority of the manuscripts, including the most reliable ones, read *pašne*¹. The latter reading is since then adopted in all subsequent publications and editions².

The attested constructions are:

- ⁺*pašne varōiš pišinaḡhō* (Yt 5.37) ‘*p.* of the lake Pišinah’;
- ⁺*pašne varōiš* ⁺*caēcistahe* (Yt 5.49, Yt 9.18, 21, 22) ‘*p.* of the lake Caēcista’;
- ⁺*pašne āpō dāitiiaiiā* (Yt 5.112, Yt 9.29, Yt 17.49, 61) ‘*p.* of the river Dāitiiaiiā’;
- ⁺*pašne āpəm frazdānaom* (Yt 5.108) ‘*p.* of the river Frazdānauu’.

¹ The manuscript readings in Geldner’s critical apparatus are: Yt 5.37: *pasne* P13, K19; *pašne* F1, Pt1, E1, L18; *pasni* K12; *pišne* J10 // Yt 5.49: *pašne* F1, Pt1, E1, L18, M12; *pasni* K12; *pašni* P13, K19; *pišne* J10 // Yt 5.108 = 112: *pašne* F1, Pt1, E1, L18, P13; *pišne* J10 // Yt 9.18: *pasne* Jm4; *pasni* Pt1, L18, P13, O3; *pašne* F1, E1, M12 // Yt 9.21: *pasni* Pt1, L18, P13, O3; *pašne* F1, E1, Jm4 // Yt 9.22: *pašne* F1, E1, M12; *pasnahe* Pt1, L18, P13, O3 // Yt 9.29: *pašne* F1, E1, M12; *pasni* Pt1, L18, P13; *pasnəm* O3 // Yt 17.49 = 61: *pašne* F1, Pt1, E1, H3, M12; *pisne* J10.

² On the basis of the reading *pasne*, Darmesteter [1882] translates with ‘behind’, presumably connecting *pasne* with *pasca*, etc. In his French translation [1892], he renders it with ‘derrière’ and explains in a footnote [1892: 376]: “Derrière, **pasnê**, signifie sans doute à l’ouest du lac, le visage étant dirigé vers l’orient.”

I agree with Kellens [1999–2000: 737] that the accusative in Yt 5.108 ⁺*pašne āpəm frazdānaom* is “une aberration”³, probably due to the parallel construction of *upa* + acc. in the preceding passage Yt 5.76 *upa āpəm yaṃ vītaṃ^vhaitīm* ‘at the river Vītaṃ^vhaitī’, so that we can state that, normally, *pašne* requires a genitive.

2

Bartholomae assumed that *pašne* is a loc. sg. of *pašna-* m., which he glossed with “‘Hinsehen auf -’; nur LS. ‘in conspectu, angesichts’”, and derived from the root *spas-* ‘to see’. This etymological meaning was taken over by Malandra [1983] (‘within sight of’) and Oettinger [1983] (‘im Anblick + gen.’). Lommel [1927: 35] is agnostic and puts in his translation ‘bei (?)’ with a footnote “‘hinter?’; ‘angesichts?’”, the former referring to the translation of Darmesteter (see footnote 2), the latter to that of Bartholomae.

There are two problems with Bartholomae’s analysis. First, unlike Skt. *(s)paś-*, the Iranian root **spas-* is never attested without the initial *s-*. Secondly, as noticed by Kellens [1999–2000: 737], *pašne* is only used with hydronyms (*varōiš* ‘lake’, *āpō* ‘river’), which rather suggests the meaning ‘on the shore / riverside of’, so that *pašne* would then be a locative to *pašna-* ‘side, shore’⁴.

To my mind, these considerations suffice to demonstrate that Bartholomae’s etymological connection of *pašne* with the root for ‘to see’ must be abandoned, but before looking for cognates in other languages let us first consider possible parallels in Avestan itself.

³ Less probable is Bichlmeier’s suggestion [2011: 213] that “hier könnte noch ein Rest der Verbalrektion des dem Substantiv zugrunde liegendes Verbs vorliegen”. He probably has the root *paś-* ‘to see’ in mind, but this root (without the initial *s-*) is not found in Iranian (see further below).

⁴ Kellens’ suggestion was — implicitly — followed by Skjærvø [2011: 114], who translates the Yt 5.37 passage “on the shore of deep Lake Chaēchasta”.

3

Next to ¹*pašna-* m. ‘Hinsehen auf -’, Bartholomae gives ²*pašna-* n. ‘Augenlid’. This ²*pašna-* refers to the entry *pašnəm* in the ‘Frahang ī oīm’ (F 122), which appears between ‘eye’ and ‘nose’ and is glossed by Pahl. *pyš ZY čšm /pēš i čašm/* ‘before the eye’. Bartholomae therefore translated it as ‘eyelid’⁵ and connected Skt. *pákṣman-* n. (sg. and pl.) ‘eyelashes’ (YV+) and the Iranian words for ‘wool’ (Khot. *pe ‘ma-*, Bactr. *παμνο*]; Pahl. *pšm /pašm/*, NP *pašm*, Yi. *pām*, San. *pām*, Oss. *fæsm /fans* ‘wool from the autumn shearing’, etc. <PIr. **pašman-*). This etymological connection has been taken over by Mayrhofer [1986–2001, 2: 62].

The problem with this etymology is that Skt. *pákṣman-* and PIr. **pašman-* point to a common Proto-Indo-Iranian form **pačšman-* with the original meaning ‘wool’ (probably, related to Gk. *πέκω* ‘to comb, pluck’; Gk. *πέκος* n. ‘wool, fleece’, etc.). In order then to explain *pašnəm*, we have to assume that the meaning ‘eyelid / eyelash’ was already present in Proto-Indo-Iranian (<‘*eye wool’), but then lost everywhere in Iranian except for Avestan, and that *pašnəm* goes back to a thematicized **pašmna-* with the loss of *-m-*, whereas the rest of Iranian has kept the athematic stem. Both assumptions are not impossible, but require a lot of special pleading⁶.

It seems much simpler and more probable to identify *pašna-* ‘side, shore’ and the Frahang word *pašnəm*⁷. From the viewpoint of semantics, ‘side, shore’ seems to be a good candidate for both ‘eyelid’ and ‘eyelash’, for a parallel cf. Skt. *vártman-* n. ‘track of a wheel, path, course’ (RV+) and ‘eyelid’ (AV) or Skt. *vartani-* f. ‘track, way, course, felloe of a wheel, track of a wheel’ (RV+) and ‘eyelashes’ (ŚBr.), where the

⁵ It is also conceivable that the Avestan word meant ‘eyebrow’ or ‘eyelash’. Klingenschmitt [1968: 51] reckons with ‘eyelash’ as an option.

⁶ An additional difficulty is that thematicizations of this kind are only typical of masculine derivatives in *-men-* and not of neuters, see further below, sub 6.

⁷ Bartholomae considered ¹*pašna-* m. ‘Hinsehen auf -’ and ²*pašna-* n. ‘Augenlid’ as homonyms of different origin, but even with those meanings one might have considered their identity, cf. Gk. *βλέφαρον* ‘eyelid’ next to *βλέπω* ‘to see, look’.

meaning ‘eyelid / eyelash’ has developed out of ‘circumference’. The similar meaning of Skt. *pākṣman-* would then be coincidental.

In this way we can also ascertain that *pašna-* ‘side, shore, eyelid’ was a neuter and not masculine as was guessed by Bartholomae.

4

In his entry ^{+l}*pašna-*, Bartholomae refers to *nipašnaka-*, which he considers its derivative. Unfortunately, the meaning of the hapax *nipašnaka-* is impossible to determine. It occurs in a difficult passage Yt 5.95, where Anāhitā gives an answer to Zarathuštra’s question (Yt 5.94) as to what becomes of the libations to her which the *daēuua-*worshippers bring after sunset. Obviously, the general meaning of Yt 5.95 must entail the message that Anāhitā declines these libations, but the passage is most probably corrupt.

Yt 5.95 *āaṭ aoxta arəduuī sūra anāhita*
 ərəzūuō ašāum spitama zaraθuštra
 niuuaiiaka nipašnaka
 apa.skaraka apa.xraosaka
 imā paiti.vīsəṅte
 yā māuuōiia pasca vazəṅti
 xšuuas̄.satāiš hazarəmca
 yā nōiṭ haiti vīsəṅti
 daēuuanəṃ haiti yasna

The four forms *niuuaiiaka*, *nipašnaka*, *apa.skaraka*, *apa.xraosaka*, all hapaxes, are usually taken as the derogative terms for the *daēuua-*s or for the *daēuua-*worshippers (in nom. pl.), although the translations are only based on etymological guesses. Bartholomae-Wolff [1910: 177] translate “Die Schaudererregenden, die Schelsüchtigen, die Hohnsüchtigen, die Schmäh-süchtigen”, Oettinger [1983: 120] ‘das Schreckende (Plural), das Neidische, das Beleidigende (und) das Schmähende’, whereas Lommel [1927] and Malandra [1983] refrain from translating most of these terms, including *nipašnaka*.

Skjærvø [2011: 62] takes the four words as standing in instr. sg. and translates: “Thus she spoke, Ardwi Sūrā Anāhitā: «O upright Spitāma-son, sustainer of Order, they are to be rejected with words of woe, to be ground under the heels, to be laughed back, to be booed back, these libations that fly after me by six-hundreds and a thousand, which are not accepted even at the sacrifice to the evil gods!»”. Since Skjærvø does not comment on his translation, it is not clear how he emends the text in order to arrive at his rendering. From Skjærvø’s translation of *nipašnaka* ‘to be ground under the heels’ it follows that he assumes an original **nipāšnaka*, containing *pāšnā*- ‘heel’ with irregular shortening⁸.

We must conclude that *nipašnaka* is so obscure that it does not contribute anything to our analysis of *pašna*.

5

We arrive thus at a Young Avestan word *pašna*-, which means ‘lake shore, river bank’ and also ‘eyelid or eyelash’. Since it can be connected neither with the root for ‘to see’ nor with the Iranian word for ‘wool’, we must look for another etymology. The Avestan group *-šn-* — in a non-RUKI context — can go back to PIIr. **-ć(š)n-* or to PIIr. **-j^(h)n-* with devoicing, which is phonetically regular, e.g., YAv. *barəšnu-* m. ‘height, top’ < PIIr. **b^harj^h-nu-*; YAv. *barəšna* instr. sg. m. ‘elevated place, height’ < PIIr. **b^harj^h(m)nā*; YAv. *zi-xšnā-ŋhəmna-* ptcp. desid. mid. < PIIr. **ji-jnaH-sa-* (cf. [Hoffmann & Forssman 2004: 102]).

The meaning ‘shore, bank’ often develops out of ‘side’, cf. English *river side*, *lake side*, and it is therefore attractive to assume that *pašna*- is a derivative of the PIE root **peh₂ǵ-* ‘to attach, fix’ (Gk. *πῆγνυμι* ‘to fix, join, congeal’, Lat. *pangō* ‘to attach, join’, etc.), because various nouns derived from this root do show the meaning ‘side’ < ‘attachment, fixation’.

⁸ A similar interpretation had already been given by Gershevitch [1959: 201], who translates the four terms ‘chasing (?), heeling (??; cf. *pāšna*-, Sogd. *pšn* ‘heel’), shuffling (cf. Skt. *ava-caskarire*, *apa-skirate*, ‘to scrape with the feet’), reviling’.

In Indo-Iranian, for instance, we find PIIr. **paHjas-*, reflected in Skt. *pájās-* n. ‘side, surface’ (RV), *pājasyà-* n. ‘belly (of an animal); flanks, side’ (AV, YV) and in Khot. *pāysa-* ‘surface, breast’, Sogd. *p’z* ‘face’; Oss. *faz / fazæ* ‘half, side; back, buttocks’; Khwar. *p’z* ‘breast’; Wa. *pɔɪz* ‘breast, breast-bone, forepart (of an animal)’⁹. This *s*-stem is likely to be of PIE origin as it is also found in Lat. *compāgēs* f. ‘framework, joint’ and Gk. εὖ-πιηής adj. ‘well-built’.

The PIIr. root **paHj-* sometimes loses its laryngeal, most probably when followed by a consonant (cf. [Lubotsky 1981] for the mechanism and phonetic justification)¹⁰. A clear example of this loss is Skt. *pajrá-* ‘solid, strong, firm’ (RV) < PIE **peh₂ǵ-ro-* (with restored full grade)¹¹, and we may suggest that Avestan *pašna-* goes back to PIIr. **paj-na-* < **paHj-na-*.

6

There are several ways to provide PIIr. **paj-na-* < **paHj-na-* with a derivational history. First, we can take the form at face value and project it into PIE **peh₂ǵ-no-*. We may then compare Lat. *pīgnus, -eris / -oris* n. ‘pledge, surety, hostage’ (< **peg-nos-*), the meaning of which strongly suggests a connection with *pango* [Sandoz 1986], since ‘pledge, surety’ is the ‘fixation’ of an agreement. This connection was interpreted by de Lamberterie [1996: 135–136] as being due to the PIE loss of the laryngeal **peh₂ǵ-no-* > **peg-no-*, a development which, however, remains uncertain because of the very scanty evidence. Moreover, the suffixes *-no-* and *-nos-* are not necessarily of the same origin.

⁹ This word is possibly also contained in YAv. *pāzaṇ’hant-* (F 721), although the meaning of the latter is unknown.

¹⁰ Recently, Neri [2017: 312f.] has explained these forms by a general loss of laryngeals before two consonants in PIE (the so-called *Wetterregel*), which is based on a number of weak etymologies and is unacceptable to me.

¹¹ Less clear is this conditioning in Skt. *pāpaje* 3 sg. pf. mid. ‘to stay behind = *to stand stiff’ (RV 10.105.3).

Another option is to reconstruct a derivative with the suffix *-men-*, PIE **peh₂ǵ-m(e)n-* ‘framing’ (cf. Lat. *prōpagmen* ‘prolongation’ (Enn.), *antepagmentum* ‘the facing of a door- or window-frame’ (Cato+); Gk. πῆγμα n. ‘joint together, stage, scaffold’) and assume that PIIr. **paj-na-* is due to its thematicization with concomitant loss of *-m-*, PIE **peh₂ǵ-mn-o-* > PIIr. **paj-mn-a-* > PIIr. **paj-na-*, like in PIE **bʰudʰmno-* (Gk. πῶθμῆν m. ‘bottom, depth, root’) > PIIr. **bʰudʰna-*, Skt. *budhná-* m. ‘bottom, ground, depth’, Plr. **buna-* < **budna-*. This scenario is conceivable, but the problem is that thematicizations of this kind are only typical of masculine derivatives in *-men-* and not of neuters, and, further, the Greek and Latin formations are so productive that we cannot be sure that this *-men-* stem is of Indo-European age.

In my view, the most promising solution is to posit a PIE *n*-stem **peh₂ǵ-(e)n-*, which is reflected in Lat. *pāgina* f. ‘side, sheet of paper’. This stem was later thematicized in (Indo-)Iranian to **paHǵ-na-* > **paj-na-* ‘side’ with loss of the laryngeal before the cluster. In this way, we do not have to make additional assumptions and the semantics are straightforward.

Abbreviations

adj. — adjective; desid. — desiderative; f. — feminine; loc. — locative; m. — masculine; mid. — middle; n. — neuter; pf. — perfect; pl. — plural; ptcp. — participle; sg. — singular.

Bactr. — Bactrian; Gk. — Greek; Khot. — Khotanese; Khwar. — Khwarezmian; Lat. — Latin; NP — New Persian; Oss. — Ossetic; Pahl. — Pahlavi; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; PIIr. — Proto-Indo-Iranian; PIr. — Proto-Iranian; San. — Sanglechi; Skt. — Sanskrit; Sogd. — Sogdian; YAv. — Younger Avestan; Yi. — Yidgha; Wa. — Wakhi.

AV — Atharvaveda, RV — Ṛgveda; ŚBr. — Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, Yt — Yasht; YV — Yajurveda.

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The verb *aréskein* in Ancient Greek: Constructions and semantic change

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Abstract. The paper discusses the diachrony of the semantics and syntax of the verb ἀρέσκειν *aréskein*. This verb means ‘repair, make amend, appease, please’ in Homeric Greek, in which it mostly features the aorist stem, and always indicates an inchoative situation. In Homer, it takes an argument structure construction that contains a human first participant encoded in the nominative, and possibly a human second participant encoded in the accusative. Co-occurring dative constituents had inanimate referents and encoded the semantic role of instrument. A single occurrence from Hesiod shows an alternative construction with a partitive genitive in the place of the instrumental dative, which conforms to the construction of verbs of satiation. In Herodotus a new construction appears with a human participant encoded in the dative. The verb ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* occurs most frequently in the present stem, hence indicating a state. The dative constituent encodes an experiencer and qualifies as first argument in the construction, based on semantic and pragmatic evidence. In such construction the stimulus is generally encoded in the nominative and agrees with the verb, but impersonal occurrences with no nominative constituents are also attested. Attic prose writers feature two constructions containing either a dative or an accusative experiencer accompanied by a nominative stimulus. Both the dative and the accusative experiencers qualify as first argument in most cases. Beside the rise of new argument structure constructions, the verb ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* also undergoes a semantic change and shifts to the domain of experience. This shift was at its onset in Homeric Greek, in which most occurrences had the meaning ‘repair’, ‘make amend’, that did not refer to an experiential situation. This is also shown by the different distribution of aspectual stems in Homer (mostly aorist; no present occurrences) and Herodotus (mostly present).

Keywords: experiential domain, constructions, non-canonical constructions, mental and emotional states.

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Глагол *aréskein* в древнегреческом языке: конструкции и семантические изменения

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Аннотация. В статье обсуждается семантика и синтаксис глагола ἀρέσκειν *aréskein*. В гомеровском греческом данный глагол означал ‘исправлять, улаживать, умилюстивлять, угождать’; он неизменно является показателем инхоативной ситуации и употребляется в конструкции, в которой первый участник обозначается номинативом, а второй участник может обозначаться аккузативом (если речь идет о человеке) или дативом (в случае неодушевленного участника). У Геродота появляется новая конструкция, в которой второй участник-человек обозначается дативом. В аттической прозе гомеровская и геродотовская конструкции представлены попеременно, так что не всегда очевидно, который из двух именных компонентов конструкции характеризуется как основной участник.

Ключевые слова: экспериенциальность, синтаксические конструкции, неканонические конструкции, ментальные и эмоциональные состояния.

1. Introduction

In this paper I describe and discuss the contractions of the verb ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* ‘make amend, appease, please’ in Ancient Greek. I analyze the use and the constructions of the verb in texts ranging from Homer to Classical Attic-Ionic. In recent literature [Barðdal et al. 2012; Viti 2017], this verb has been argued to belong to the experiential domain, corresponding to English *like*, and to offer evidence for a non-canonical construction with either a dative or an accusative experiencer subject. In fact,

taking a diachronic perspective, one can see that during the timespan covered by Ancient Greek texts the verb has undergone semantic and syntactic changes. I argue that the meaning ‘like’ only appears after Homer, and that the verb likely did not belong into the experiential domain in origin. Non-canonical constructions are likewise post-Homeric.

The paper is organized as follows. In *Section 2* I introduce the notion of non-canonical subject and discuss some research on this topic. In *Section 3* I analyze the Greek data. *Section 4* contains the conclusion.

2. Dative experiencers and non-canonical subjects

Constructions involving dative experiencers common in several Indo-European languages, such as Italian *mi piace*, German *mir gefällt* or Russian *mne nravitsja*, all meaning ‘I like’, with a dative first person pronoun and a verb inflected in the third person singular, have recently been described as containing a non-canonical dative subject (see, e.g., [Barðdal, Eythórs-son 2009] and several other publications by Barðdal and her associates). Evidence for such constructions has been adduced from virtually all Ancient Indo-European languages, especially for experiential verbs ([Barðdal et al. 2012; Viti 2017] among others). [Viti 2017] pointed out that it is exactly the meaning ‘like’ that tends to show non-canonical subjects most consistently across the Indo-European languages and cross-linguistically.

In most Ancient IE languages, dative experiencers with ‘like’ verbs (and, depending on the language, with other experiential verbs) may occur in sentences that contain a nominative stimulus, or in sentences that contain an infinitive, as in the Latin examples (1) and (2).

- (1) *quod tibi lubet, idem mihi lubet*
REL.NOM 2SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG same.NOM 1SG.DAT like.PRS.3SG
‘What you like, I like as well’ (Plaut. *Most.* 1, 3, 138).
- (2) *non libet mihi deplorare vitam*
NEG like.PRS.3SG 1SG.DAT complain.INF.PRS life.ACC
‘I don’t like to complain about life.’ (Cic. *de Sen.* 23.84).

In example (1), nominative stimuli, *quod* and *idem*, occur alongside the dative experiencers *tibi* and *mihi* and trigger verbal agreement: for this reason, they might qualify as subject, even though other subject properties are arguably shown by the dative argument. In (2), on the other hand, the dative experiencer is the only NP in the sentence, and the verb takes a dependent infinitive. This type of construction is traditionally considered impersonal.

In cases in which both a dative experiencer and a nominative stimulus occur, subject properties other than verb agreement must be taken into account. A list of subject properties has first been provided by [Keenan 1976]. They include coding properties (besides nominative case marking and verb agreement, the position in the sentence is also included), behavioral properties, including the possibility to govern control infinitives, conjunction reduction and various cross-reference properties, reflexive control, and semantic properties, including agency, autonomous existence and selectional restrictions [Keenan 1976: 324].

Coding properties characterize the nominative constituent (the stimulus) in occurrences such as (1), but it needs to be remarked that the role of position is hard to assess in free word order languages. Behavioral properties have been shown to shed little light on subjecthood in Ancient IE languages, except Germanic, and remain inconclusive for Old Indo-Aryan, Latin, Greek, and Slavic [Barðdal, Eythórsson 2020: 259–260]. Semantic properties seem more helpful, because the experiencers are generally more agent-like than the stimuli, as the former, but not the latter, also undergo selectional restrictions, being necessarily sentient hence animate (mostly human). Still, in specific occurrences stimuli may be more subject-like than experiencers. Consider examples (3) and (4) from Italian.

- (3) *A* *Giovanna* *piace* *Maria* *e* *la* *vede*
 to *Giovanna* *like.PRS.3SG* *Maria* *and* *3SG.ACC* *see.PRS.3SG*
sempre *volentieri*.
 always *gladly*

‘Giovanna likes Mary, and she (i.e. Giovanna) is always happy when she sees her.’

- (4) *Giovanna* *e* *Paola* *piacciono* *a* *tutti* *e*
Giovanna *and* *Paola* *like.PRS.3PL* *to* *all.PL* *and*

hanno molti amici.
 have.PRS.3PL many.PL friend.PL

‘Everybody likes Giovanna and Paola, and they (i.e. Giovanna and Paola) have many friends.’

While in (3) the experiencer PP *a Giovanna* is in initial position (a property of subjects in Italian) and controls the elliptical subject in the coordinated clause, in (4) the stimulus participant, *Giovanna e Paola*, may well be considered more prominent than the experiencer *tutti* ‘everybody’, both because of referential properties (individuation), and because it stands in initial position and controls the elliptical subject in the coordinate clause. Hence it qualifies as first argument in the argument structure of the verb *piacere* [Luraghi 2020: 43–44].

Among ‘like’ verbs that allow ‘impersonal’ constructions in Ancient Greek, Viti [2017: 375] mentions ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* and ἀνδάνειν *handánein*, both usually translated as ‘please’. Examples are (5) and (6).

(5) Ταῦτα ἤρεσέ σφι ποιέειν
taúta éresé sphi poiéein
 DEM.ACC.PL please.AOR.3SG 3PL.DAT make.PRS.INF

‘All this they agreed to do.’ (lit.: ‘it pleased them to do these things’)
 (Hdt. 8, 19, 2).

(6) καί σφι ἀδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω μηκέτι
kai sphi hadeîn tò prosōtérow mēkéti
 and 3PL.DAT please.INF.AOR ART.ACC further NEG
 πλέειν
pléein
 navigate.INF.PRS

‘And they preferred to sail no further.’ (Hdt. 3, 45, 1).

Considering the earliest attestations of the language, the Homeric poems, however, it is striking to find that no impersonal constructions occur. Dative experiencers (attested only with ἀνδάνειν *handánein* in Homer), when present, occur with nominative stimuli. Remarkably, Conti [2010] has shown that in the case of the verb μέλειν *mélein* ‘be a matter of concern for’ and its compounds, too, impersonal constructions only started

occurring in post-Homeric Greek. In fact, impersonal constructions, though attested in Ancient Greek for a limited number of experiencer verbs, do not occur with experiential verbs in Homeric Greek, with the exception of the verb *δοκέω* *dokéō* ‘seem’, a verb of appearance that can take both nominative stimuli with dative experiencers and control infinitives with dative experiencers (see [Luraghi 2020: 159–160]).

More in general, it is remarkable that Ancient Greek is not a language that favors dative experiencers even in personal constructions, as has been pointed out in Viti [2016] and Luraghi [2020: 79–80]. This is especially true of Homeric Greek. Notably, even with the verb *ἀνδάνειν* *handánein* it is not always the case that the dative experiencer is the most salient participant in Homeric Greek. Indeed, along with occurrences such as (7), we also find occurrences such as (8).

- (7) δῖχα δέ σφισιν ἦνδανε βουλή
díkha dé sphisin héndane boulé
 double PTC 3PL.DAT like.IMPF.3SG opinion.NOM
 ‘They favored two different opinions.’ (*Il.* 18, 510).

- (8) Ἀμφίνομος... Νίσου φαίδιμος υἱός...
Amphinomos... Nísou phaidimos huiós ...
 Amphinomos.NOM Nisos.GEN glorious.NOM son.NOM
 μάλιστα δὲ Πηνελοπέει ἦνδανε μύθοισι
málista dé Pēnelopeíēi héndane múthoisi
 especially PTC Penelope.DAT like.IMPF.3SG word.DAT.PL
 ‘Amphinomos, the glorious son of Nisos, especially pleased Penelope with his speech.’ (*Od.* 16, 394–398).

In example (7) the stimulus is inanimate and the experiencer is clearly more salient and more agent-like. In (8), on the contrary, not only is the stimulus human, it also is portrayed as actively and intentionally trying to please the experiencer: it shares features of agents, and it does not seem to be less prominent than the experiencer in such a situation. Similar to the case of Italian *piacere* ‘like’ in (4), from the point of view of the argument structure of the verb, the stimulus constituent qualifies as first argument in this occurrence (see the discussion in Luraghi [2020: 241–245]).

3. The verb ἀρέσκειν *aréskein*

In this section, I analyze the meaning and the constructions of ἀρέσκειν *aréskein*. I review data from Homer (Section 3.1), post-Homeric epics (Section 3.2), Herodotus (Section 3.3) and Attic prose writers (Section 3.4). I then discuss the findings (Section 3.5).

3.1. Homer

The verb ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* is attested only in the aorist and once in the future stem in Homeric Greek, hence expressing an inchoative, rather than a stative meaning. This points to a different semantics from the one typical of verbs that indicate mental or emotional states, such as ‘like’. The verb seems to have been in the process of undergoing a semantic shift toward the experiential domain: indeed, in the *Iliad* it only partly belongs into this domain. Out of 10 occurrences, six are from the *Iliad* and four from the *Odyssey*. When the verb takes a human second argument, this is encoded in the accusative: dative constituents occurring with this verb are typically inanimate and indicate instrument.

In the *Iliad*, we find in the first place two formulaic contexts. The former features two almost identical occurrences of the middle aorist with neuter pronouns as direct objects, in which the verb means ‘repair’, ‘amend’, as in (9). In the second formulaic context the active aorist infinitive occurs twice, in two identical passages, and means ‘make amends’. It does not feature a stimulus, as shown in (10).

- (9) ἀλλ’ ἴθι ταῦτα δ’ ὀπισθεν’
all’ íthi taúta d’ ópisthen
 but come.IMP.PRS.2SG DEM.ACC.PL PTC later
 ἀρεσσόμεθ’
aressómeth’
 appease.AOR.MID.1PL

‘Come on, we’ll amend these things later.’ (*Il.* 4, 362).

- (10) ἄψ ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι, δόμεναί τ'
àps ethélō arésai, dómenai t'
 back want.PRS.1SG appease.INF.AOR give.INF.AOR PTC
 ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα
apereísi' ápoiνα
 endless.ACC.PL ransom.ACC.PL

'I want to make amends, donate an endless ransom.' (*Il.* 9, 120 = 19, 138).

Remarkably, the form ἀρέσαι *arésai* in (9) does not indicate an emotion, nor does it contain any possible experiencer. Here and in a similar passage in *Il.* 6, 526 the sentence that contains ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* follows the description of a confrontation between two human participants, with one taking the initiative to end the confrontation and to leave more discussion for a later time. The verb indicates mutual reparation. Similarly, (10) indicates that someone is willing to make reparation. It does not contain an experiencer, and not even a beneficiary. In fact, the verb ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* in these occurrences cannot be viewed as belonging to the experiential domain, and human participants involved in the situation are encoded through the nominative, not through the dative.

The same meaning is shown, outside formulaic expressions, in (11).

- (11) Εὐρύαλος δέ ἐ αὐτὸν ἀρεσσάσθω
Eurýalos dé he autòn aressásthō
 Euryalus.NOM PTC REFL DEM.ACC appease.IMP.AOR.MID.3SG
 ἐπέεσσι καὶ δῶρω, ἐπεὶ οὐ τί ἔπος
epéessi kai dōrōi, epei ou ti épos
 word.DAT.PL and gift.DAT as NEG INDEF.ACC word.ACC
 κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπεν Ἀλκίνοε κρεῖον
katà moíran éeipen Alkínoe kreíon
 according right.ACC speak.AOR.3SG Alcinous.VOC powerful.VOC
 τοι γὰρ ἐγὼ
toi gàr egō
 PTC PTC 1SG.NOM
 τὸν ξεῖνον ἀρέσσομαι ὡς σὺ
tòn xeínon aréssomai hōs sù
 DEM.ACC stranger.ACC appease.FUT.MID.1SG as 2SG.NOM

κελεύεις...	ξίφεός	ὃ	δή	μοι	δῶκας
<i>keleúeis...</i>	<i>xípheós</i>	<i>hò</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>moi</i>	<i>dōkas</i>
order.PRS.2SG	sword.ACC	REL.ACC	PTC	1SG.DAT	give.AOR.2SG
ἄρεσσάμενος		ἐπέεσσιν			
<i>aressámenos</i>		<i>epéessin</i>			
please.PTCP.AOR.MID.NOM		word.DAT.PL			

‘And let Euryalus make amends to the stranger himself with words and with a gift, for the word that he spoke was in no wise seemly ... Lord Alcinous, I will indeed make amends to the stranger, as you order me. ... This sword which thou hast given me, making amends with gentle speech.’ (*Od.* 8, 396–397, 401–402, 414–415).

In (11), ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* takes an accusative second argument that refers to a human being. In principle, accusative participants, too, might be taken as non-canonical subjects, as in Latin impersonal verbs of the type *me pudet* ‘I feel shame’. However, in (11) the nominative constituent qualifies as first argument: in the second part of the passage, it refers to the participant which ranks highest on the individuation hierarchy, the first person singular. The state of affairs is presented taking Euryalus as its starting point, and not the second human participant, which is referred to once with a demonstrative, and once with an epithet, ξείνον *xeínon* ‘the stranger’. In the final part of the passage, the stranger is reported as speaking, and praises Euryalus for making amend. The aorist participle ἄρεσσάμενος *aressámenos* here does not take any other nominal argument except for the instrumental dative ἐπέεσσιν *epéessin* ‘with words’.

In (12) the verb more clearly belongs into the experiential domain, and means ‘please’, ‘appease’.

(12)	ἀλλ’	ἔτι	καὶ	νῦν	φραζόμεσθ’	ὥς	κέν
	<i>all’</i>	<i>éti</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>nún</i>	<i>phrazómesth’</i>	<i>hōs</i>	<i>kén</i>
	but	yet	and	now	show.SUBJ.PRS.MP.1PL	so	PTC
	μιν	ἄρεσσάμενοι			πεπιθώμεν		
	<i>min</i>	<i>aressámenoi</i>			<i>pepithōmen</i>		
	3SG.ACC	please.PTCP.AOR.MID.NOM.PL			persuade.SUBJ.AOR.1PL		

δώροισίν	τ'	ἀγανοῖσιν	ἔπεσσί	τε
<i>dōroisín</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>aganoîsin</i>	<i>épepsi</i>	<i>te</i>
gift.DAT.PL	PTC	mild.DAT.PL	word.DAT.PL	PTC

‘Let us think of how we may persuade him, pleasing him with kindly gifts and with gentle words.’ (*Il.* 9, 111–113).

In (12) the subject, not overtly expressed, is the first person plural, a participant from the top of the individuation hierarchy that shares properties of agents rather than of stimuli, including the possibility of manipulating an instrument, here δώροισιν *dōroisín* ‘presents’ and ἔπεσσι *épepsi* ‘words’. The second human participant is portrayed as the target of the first participant’s action, and can be taken as the second constituent in the construction.

Summing up, the verb ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* in Homeric Greek is only marginally a verb that can be seen as belonging into the experiential domain. In fact, the formulaic nature of the occurrences in which the verb means ‘repair’, ‘amend’ and does not take a second argument points toward a development of the verb that started shifting to the experiential domain during the time span covered by the Homeric poems. It takes a construction that involves a nominative and an accusative constituent, often accompanied by a dative. Of these, the nominative must be taken as first argument: it always refers to a human participant actively involved in the situation. The accusative constituent is the second argument, likewise human, targeted by the action of the first participant. The dative constituent must be taken as third argument. It is always inanimate and indicates an instrument. Hence, constructions exhibited by this verb are NomAcc and NomAccDat, with the nominative always to be taken as first argument.

3.2. Post-Homeric epics

Post-Homeric epics offer evidence for a single occurrence of ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* in (13). The passage is remarkable, because in the place of the instrumental dative we find a partitive genitive.

- (13) αἱ δὲ ψρένας εὔτ' ἀρέσαντο αἵματος
hai dè phrénas eút' arésanto haímatos
 DEM.NOM PTC soul.ACC when satisfy.AOR.MID.3PL blood.GEN

ἀνδρομέου
androméou
 human.GEN

‘And when they had satisfied their souls with human blood.’ (Hes. *Sh.* 255–256).

This occurrence, which remains isolate, shows an extension of the construction of verbs of satiation to ἀρέσκειν *aréskein*. Notably, verbs of satiation may take either the partitive genitive or, similar to ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* in other occurrences, the instrumental dative [Luraghi 2020: 101–103]. In this occurrence, we can observe the extension of the NomAccGen construction typical of verbs of satiation to ἀρέσκειν *aréskein*.

3.3. Herodotus

In Herodotus a new construction emerges, in which ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* occurs with a dative constituent denoting a human participant. The verb most often occurs in the present (imperfective) stem, more suitable for a verb indicating a mental state: more specifically, 15 out of 19 occurrences feature the present stem, and only four the aorist. Let us consider examples (14) and (15).

- (14) ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλοι
emoi dè hai sai megáloi
 1SG.DAT PTC ART.NOM.PL POSS.2SG.NOM.PL great.NOM.PL
- εὐτυχία οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι
eutukhíai ouk aréskousi
 fortune.NOM.PL NEG like.PRS.3PL

‘I don’t like these great successes of yours.’ (Hdt. 3, 40, 2).

- (15) εἴτε δὴ οἱ ἡ χώρα ἤρεσε
eíte dé hoi hē khōrē érese
 either PTC 3SG.DAT ART.NOM land.NOM like.AOR.3SG

εἶτε	καὶ	ἄλλως	ἠθέλησε	ποιῆσαι	τοῦτο
<i>eíte</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>állōs</i>	<i>ēthélēse</i>	<i>poiēsai</i>	<i>toúto</i>
or	and	otherwise	want.AOR.3SG	make.INF.AOR	DEM.ACC

‘Either because he found the land to his liking, or because for some other reason he desired to do so.’ (Hdt. 4, 147, 4).

In both examples, the verb ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* indicates a positive attitude of a human participant, the speaker (μοι *moi*) in (14) and a third person that has already been previously introduced in (15), toward some entities. In particular, in (14) the speaker expresses his dissatisfaction with some circumstances, αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι *hai sai megálai eutukhíai* ‘your great successes’, while (15) refers to a situation in which a concrete referent, ἡ χώρα *hē khórē* ‘the land’, is the object of wish and desire of a human being.

In both passages, the dative denotes an experiencer, and qualifies as first constituent in the construction, as it refers to a more salient participant than the one referred to by the nominative NP. As for other subject properties, example (15) is especially enlightening, as it features two coordinated clauses, in which the experiencer is both the dative argument of ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* and the subject of ἠθέλησε *ēthélēse* ‘he wanted’, which is not overtly realized but would normally be encoded in the nominative. If we look at the wider context from which this example is taken, we can see that both the dative οἱ *hoi* and the null subject in the coordinated clause refer to a participant which is the topic of this particular stretch of discourse: ‘**Cadmus** son of Agenor landed at the place now called Thera during his search for Europa; and having landed, either because **he** (οἱ *hoi*) found the land to his liking, or because for some other reason **he** (∅) desired to do so, **he** left on this island his own kinsman Membliarus’. This example also shows one of the four occurrences of the aorist stem. In this passage, the experiencer is depicted as suddenly experiencing the rise of a favorable attitude triggered by the stimulus.

Out of 19 occurrences of ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* in Herodotus’ *Histories*, nine are similar to (14) and (15), one contains the impersonal construction shown in example (5), also with a dative experiencer. Four other

occurrences also contain a dative experiencer and a nominative stimulus, but they feature a middle verb form as in (16).

- (16) μάλιστα τῶν μνηστήρων ἠρέσκοντο
málista tón mnēstérōn ēréskonto
 most ART.GEN.PL suitor.GEN.PL like.IMP.F.MP.3PL
 οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων ἀπιγμένοι
hoi ap' Athēnéōn apigménoi
 ART.NOM.PL from Athens.GEN.PL arrive.PTCP.PF.NOM.PL

‘Among the suitors he liked best those that had come from Athens.’
 (Hdt. 6, 128, 2).

Summing up, the constructions shown in Herodotus are DatNom or simply Dat in the case of the impersonal construction, with the dative experiencer functioning as first argument in the construction and the nominative stimulus, if present, as the second argument.

The Homeric construction with a nominative and an accusative human participants, possibly accompanied by an instrumental dative, shown in (11), does not occur in Herodotus. However, in four occurrences we find a passive verb, that roughly provides a passive counterpart to the Homeric occurrences, as in (17).

- (17) βασιλεύων δὲ Σκυθέων ὁ Σκύλης
basileūōn dē Skuthéōn ho Skúlēs
 reign.PTCP.PRS.NOM PTC Scythian.GEN.PL ART.NOM Scyles.NOM
 διαίτη οὐδαμῶς ἠρέσκειτο Σκυθικῇ
diatēi oudamōs ēréskeito Skuthikēi
 way_of_life.DAT NEG please.IMP.F.MP.3SG Scythian.DAT

‘Though being king of Scythia, Scyles was in no way pleased with the Scythian way of life.’ (Hdt. 4, 78, 3).

Note however, that, as verbs that take the dative or the genitive can passivize in Classical Greek [Conti 1998], one can also hold the construction in (17) as the passive of the DatNom construction that we found in other occurrences.

3.4. Attic prose writers

Plato's *Dialogues* provide evidence for both constructions, with the dative and with the accusative, as shown in (18) and (19).

- (18) ὁποτέρως οὖν σοι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,
hopotérōs oûn soi, ên d' egô,
 which_way PTC 2SG.DAT say.AOR.1SG PTC 1SG.NOM
 ἀρέσκει;
aréskei?
 please.PRS.3SG

'Which (method) you prefer?' (*Rep.* 1.348b).

- (19) πότερον τοῦτο οὐκ ἀρέσκει σε;
póteron toúto ouk aréskei se?
 whether DEM.NOM NEG please.PRS.3SG 2SG.ACC

'Does this not please you?' (*Crat.* 433d).

In (18) the experiencer is a second person pronoun, σοι *soi*, and the stimulus is an adverb ὁποτέρως *hopotérōs* 'which (of two) way', while in (19) we find again a second person pronoun encoding the experiencer, this time in the accusative σε *se*, and a nominative stimulus, τοῦτο *toúto* 'this'.

Other Attic prose writers, similar to Herodotus, show a preference for dative experiencers, as shown by Attic orators Demosthenes and Isocrates in (20) and (21) respectively.

- (20) τῶν ἄλλων ἓν τι ἀδυνάτων,
tôn allôn hén ti adunátōn,
 ART.GEN.PL other.GEN.PL one.ACC INDEF.ACC impossible.GEN.PL
 οἰομένων εἶναι τὸ τοῖς ἀπάντων
oioménōn eínai tò toîs hapántōn
 think.PTCP.PRS.GEN.PL be.INF.PRS DEM.ACC ART.DAT.PL all.GEN.PL
 τρόποις ἀρέσκειν
trópois aréskein
 type.DAT.PL please.INF.PRS

'While the others think it one of the impossible things to please men of every type.' (Dem. 61, 19).

- (21) εἰ γὰρ τοῖς μὲν δι' ἀρετὴν
ei gàr toîs mèn di' aretèn
 if PTC ART.DAT.PL PTC through virtue.ACC
 δωρεὰς εἰληφόσιν ἥρεσκον
dōreàs eilēphósin hēreskon
 reward.ACC.PL receive.PTCP.PF.DAT.PL like.IMPF.1SG
 'If those who have received rewards for their virtues like (me).'
 (Isoc. 15, 96).

In Thucydides we find both constructions, as shown in (22) with the accusative *σε se* 'you' and in (23) with the dative *τούτοις touitois* 'those ones'. However, it must be pointed out that the construction with an accusative experiencer is infrequent: it only occurs in (22). A limited number of occurrences with the passive seem to provide a passive counterpart to this latter construction, rather than to the construction containing a dative, as shown in (24).

- (22) εἰ οὖν τί σε τούτων ἀρέσκει
ei oún tí se toutōn aréskei
 if PTC INDEF.NOM 2SG.ACC DEM.GEN.PL please.PRS.3SG
 'If any of these pleases you...' (Thuc. 1, 128, 7).
- (23) τούτοις δὲ οὐκ ἥρεσκε τὰ
touitois dè ouk hēreske tà
 DEM.DAT.PL PTC NEG like.IMPF.3SG ART.NOM.PL
 πρᾶσσόμενα
prassómēna
 make.PTCP.PRS.MP.NOM.PL
 'They did not approve of these proceedings...' (Thuc. 5, 17, 2).
- (24) ὁ μέντοι Λίχας οὔτε ἠρέσκετο
ho méntoi Líkhas oúte ēréskeeto
 ART.NOM PTC Lichas.NOM NEG please.IMPF.MP.3SG
 αὐτοῖς ἔφη τε
autoîs ēphē te
 DEM.DAT.PL say.IMPF.3SG PTC
 'Lichas was not pleased. He told them...' (Thuc. 8, 84, 5)

Comparison of examples (18)–(23) seems to indicate that the two constructions do not convey any special semantic difference, and it is rather a matter of choice by different authors to favor one construction over the other.

As for the structure of the constructions shown in examples from Attic prose writers, we can at least observe that in (18), (19), (22) and (23) the experiencer ranks higher on the individuation hierarchy than the stimulus: in examples (18), (19), (22) we find the second person singular, i.e. one of the participants of the speech act, while in (23) we find a demonstrative that refers back to groups of people (some of the allies of the Spartans), hence continuing the topic of the preceding sentence. As stimuli we find entities that are not only inanimate, but also characterized by a low degree of individuation, such as neuter pronouns as in (19) and (22), or abstract circumstances, such as τὰ πρασσόμενα τὰ *prassómena* ‘what was being done’ in (23). Notably, however, in (21) not only the experiencer (those who have received rewards for their virtues) but also the stimulus (not overtly realized) is human, and it outranks the experiencer in the scale of individuation, being the first person singular. In (20) the stimulus is abstract, and even if the experiencer is scarcely individuated (τοῖς ἀπάντων τρόποις *toîs hapántōn trópois* ‘men of all types’) it remains more salient.

Example (18) from Plato does not contain a nominative stimulus alongside the dative experiencer: the stimulus is indicated by an adverb. This comes close to an impersonal construction such as the one in (6). In general, however, occurrences of the impersonal construction, in which ἀρέσκει *aréskei* governs an infinitive without any other nominal constituents besides the dative experiencer, quoted in lexicons from inscriptions or late authors, have limited parallels in classical prose writers.

3.5. Discussion

From the data discussed in this section one can see a clear semantic development from the meaning ‘repair’, indicating an act of reciprocal appeasement, to ‘make amends’, with a shift to the experiential domain and the development of the meaning ‘please someone’. The events denoted

by the verb are always inchoative, as indicated by the aorist stem. After Homer, one can observe, on the one hand, the emergence of a shift to the domain of sensations with the extension of the construction of verbs of satiation, also with inchoative meaning, which however remained confined to post-Homeric epics. On the other hand, starting from Herodotus one finds the development of the stative meaning ‘like’ mostly in connection with the present stem of the verb, accompanied by a new construction that features a dative experiencer. This constituent shows subject properties, and qualifies as first argument in the construction. Occasionally, it can also occur as only nominal constituent in the sentence (so-called impersonal construction).

The developments outlined thus far can be represented as in Figure 1.

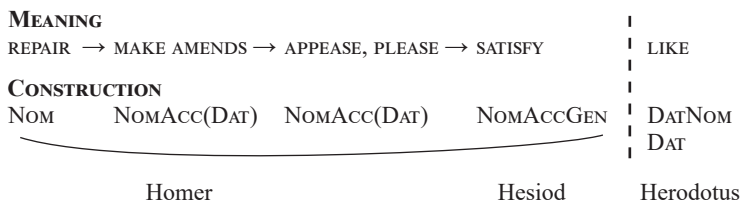


Figure 1. The semantic and syntactic development of ἀρέσκειν *aréskein*

In *Figure 1* I used arrows to connect the meanings in Homer and Hesiod, but I separated the development in Herodotus with a dotted line, indicating that this was a completely new meaning and a new construction loosely related to the earlier ones.

In Attic prose writers, both a construction with a dative experiencer, as in Herodotus, and one with an accusative experiencer, as in Plato and Thucydides, are attested. The meaning of the two constructions seems to be very close: notably, the verb can indicate states in both cases, as shown by the occurrence of the present stem also with the accusative in (19) and (22). Not only the dative, but also the accusative seems to have subject properties. However, it must be pointed out that in some occurrences such as (21) it is possible that the nominative argument is considered the subject. In addition, passive occurrences such as (24) show that the argument that can be passivized qualifies as subject. Based

on comparison with active occurrences in Thucydides, it is likely that in a possible active counterpart one would find an accusative rather than a dative. Tentatively, one can conclude that Attic prose offers evidence for three or possibly four constructions: DatNom (possibly most frequent), NomDat, NomAcc and AccNom, even though a wider research on a larger corpus is needed to reach a better understanding of the distribution of all potential constructions.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have tested the claim that the verb ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* means ‘like’ and features dative and accusative non-canonical subjects in Ancient Greek. Through a careful analysis of the extant evidence, I have shown that this was certainly not the case in Homeric Greek (or in post-Homeric epic). In the first place, in Homer ἀρέσκειν *aréskein* did not indicate a mental or emotional state, as shown by the occurrence of the aorist stem that denotes an inchoative situation. In the second place, semantically it only marginally belonged to the experiential domain. Its original meaning was arguably ‘repair’, ‘amend’, and indicated an act of reciprocal reparation between two human beings. The meaning ‘appease, please’, which is also attested in Homer, features a NomAccDat construction, with the nominative encoding the first argument and denoting a participant actively engaged in an action targeting the second participant (the accusative second argument, in such occurrences an experiencer) making use of an inanimate entity (encoded in the dative). Post-Homeric epics offer evidence for the extension to this verb of the construction typical of verbs of satiation, NomAccGen.

In Herodotus a completely new construction occurs in which the verb, now conveying a stative meaning through the present (imperfective) stem, means ‘like’ and features a dative experiencer. As the latter can be shown to bear subject properties, one has to reckon with a DatNom construction, which does not occur in Homer. Attic prose writers show a mix of the construction containing a dative experiencer and the one containing

an accusative experiencer. The experiencer seems to bear subject properties in most cases in which it is expressed in the dative, although not all occurrences support this claim. Its status remains less clear in cases in which it is encoded in the accusative.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; acc. — accusative; art. — article; aor. — aorist; dat. — dative; dem. — demonstrative; fut. — future; gen. — genitive; imp. — imperative; impf. — imperfect; indef. — indefinite; inf. — infinitive; mid. — middle; mp. — mediopassive; neg. — negation; nom. — nominative; pl. — plural; pf. — perfect; prs. — present; ptc. — participle; ptcp. — participle; refl. — reflexive; rel. — relative; subj. — subjunctive; sg. — singular; voc. — vocative.

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Hittite reflexes of the PIE root **welH-*

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Abstract. PIE root structure is problematized by the status of so-called “root extensions” or “enlargements” root finally. The nature of the evidence for laryngeals root initially and root finally creates further difficulties both in establishing their existence and in their precise identification. The present inquiry (re)evaluates the merits of one proposed redefinition of a PIE standardly reconstructed as **CeCH(d^h)-* rather as **HCeCH(d^h)-*. The textual evidence upholds the formally attractive derivation by Kloekhorst [2008: 360] of the Hittite verb *ḫullīa-* from the PIE root **welH-* ‘to be powerful, rule’ redefined as **h₂welh₁-*. The verb’s genuine sense ‘to defeat; to do violence to’ is compatible with such an historical account. A parallel semantic development is provided by German *Gewalt* ‘power, violence’ and its derivatives. Thus, the denominal verb *gewältigen* is attested historically with meanings both ‘to have power (over)’ and ‘to overcome’ and ‘to do violence to’. However, the existence of an extended variant **h₂welh₁-d^h-* in Anatolian remains entirely unproven. The evidence for reconstructing a verbal base **ḫult(a)-* is sparse, and the only context leaves open many possibilities for its interpretation. Likewise, the meanings of its likely derivatives, ^(L^U)*ḫuldāla-* and *ḫuldalā(i)-* as well as its possible Luvian cognates, ^(L^U)*ḫūwandāla-* and *:ḫūwantalā(i)-*, are uncertain, although they may refer to protection or guarding. Overall, there is nothing to motivate their connection with a presumed extended root **h₂welh₁-dh-* ‘to be powerful’.

Keywords: Hittite *ḫullīa-*, *ḫuldāla-*, *ḫuldalāi-*, Luvian *ḫūwandāla-*, **ḫūwantalā(i)-*, PIE **wal-/wald^(h)-*, **welH(d^h)-*, **h₂welh₁(d^h)-*, root extensions.

Хеттские рефлексы праиндоевропейского корня **welH-*

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Аннотация. Анализ структуры праиндоевропейского корня осложняется статусом так называемых «расширителей корня». Реконструкция ларингальных в начале и конце корня затруднена тем, что основывается в значительной степени на косвенных данных. В данной статье дается критическая оценка пересмотру реконструкции индоевропейского корня **CeCH(dʰ)-*, который теперь предложено восстанавливать как **HCeCH(dʰ)-*. Анализ контекстов поддерживает формально привлекательную этимологию А. Клуххорста [Kloekhorst 2008: 360], возводящего хеттский глагол *ḫulli/a-* к праиндоевропейскому корню **h₂welh₁-* ‘быть могущественным, править’ (ранее реконструируемому как **welH-*). Исходное значение корня ‘побеждать, применять насилие’ сопоставимо с подобной этимологией. При этом на текущий момент недостаточно данных для подтверждения существования расширенного варианта этого корня **h₂welh₁-dʰ* в анатолийских языках.

Ключевые слова: хеттский, *ḫulli/a-*, *ḫuldāla-*, *ḫuldalāi-*, лувийский, *ḫūwandāla-*, **ḫūwantalā(i)-*, праиндоевропейский **wal-/wald^(h)-*, **welH(dʰ)-*, **h₂welh₁(dʰ)-*, расширители корня.

1. Introduction

Our honorand’s extensive range of interests includes the problem of the structure of the PIE root: I cite here merely [Kazansky 2016] and the ongoing project *The Proto-Indo-European Root and Stem-Formation Constituents*. This very modest contribution in his honor cannot hope to treat this issue more than tangentially, but may serve as a further example of the complexities and indeterminacies that confront us.

We find in the standard handbooks a PIE root ‘to be strong, to hold power, rule’, represented by verbal reflexes in Lat. *ualēre* ‘to be strong’, OIr. *follnadar* (and variants) ‘rules’, and ON *olla* ‘ruled’ and by nominal forms such as OIr. *flaith* ‘rule, ruler’ and TochAB *wāl/walo* ‘king’. There are also derivatives of an “enlarged” or “extended” root in Goth. *waldan* ‘to rule’ (and Germanic cognates), Lith. *veldėti* ‘to govern; possess’, etc. See for further material [Pokorny 1959: 1111–1112] and [LIV²: 676–677].

For an analysis of at least some root “extensions” in **-d^h-* as reflecting “light verb” constructions with **d^heh₁-* ‘to put’ I refer readers to [Kölligan 2018], building on [Hackstein 2002: 8]. For such a derivation of the extended **-d^h-* reflexes of **(h₂)welh₍₁₎-* compare also [Kroonen 2013: 569]. Here I note only that per Kölligan [2018: 231–233] Hitt. *mald-* ‘to solemnly recite, vow’ attests that Anatolian has at least one example of the phenomenon, even if it was of limited productivity there. We may thus entertain the possibility of further examples.

LIV² gives the root as **welH-*, but none of the subfamilies in which it is attested preclude an initial laryngeal. Kloekhorst [2008: 360] suggests that Hitt. *hulli/a-* ‘to smash, defeat’ (sic!) may belong to this root, redefined as **h₂welh₁-*, while Puhvel [1991: 370] with due reserve argues that if the verb **hultā(i)-* (attested only in the hapax *hulteškezzi*) really means ‘to be in charge, officiate’, then it may well reflect the “extended” variant. Neither of these proposals has to my knowledge received much attention — unsurprisingly, since further possible related Hittite material for the latter is sparse, and the prevailing view is that the primary sense of *hulle/a-* is that of ‘to strike’, from which ‘to defeat’ is secondary.¹ By this reasoning its derivation from a root ‘to be strong, rule’ is not straightforward. I contend in what follows that a thorough review of the attestations makes Kloekhorst’s derivation of *hulle/a-* entirely viable, but any connection of **hultāi-* with **h₂welh₁-d^h-* is unprovable at best.

¹ As the author kindly reminds me (p. c.), Shatskov [2017: 74–75] attractively compared TochA *wāl^ā-* ‘to shatter’, derived following Hackstein from a root **h₂welh₁-*. The status of TochA *wāl-* ‘to die’ remains debated. Compare [Malzahn 2010: 893–894].

2. Hittite *ḫulli/a-*

Before turning to the semantic issue, I must first address the formal aspects of *ḫulli/a-*. Already Neu [1974: 73–78] established that the Old Hittite inflection is that of a *mi*-verb with allomorphy *-e/i~-a-*. The *mi*-verb *ḫulliyē/a-* and the *ḫi*-inflected present third singular *ḫullai* and preterite third singular *ḫullaš* are later innovations with ample parallels.² It is important to insist that the implication by Puhvel [1991: 363–368] that the only stems are *ḫulla-* and the secondary *ḫulliyē/a-* is patently false. There is now a consensus that the correct prehistoric morphological analysis of *ḫulli/a-* is that of Kloekhorst [2008: 359]: it represents a nasal-infix present to a root in a final first laryngeal: a virtual **h₂w_l-né-h₁-ti*, **h₂w_l-n-h₁-énti*. See among others [Melchert 1994: 82; Oettinger 2002: xx; Yates 2015: 148] against [Oettinger 1979: 264; Melchert 1984: 16]. This verb is entirely parallel to *d(u)warni/a-* ‘to break’ and *zinni/a-* ‘to finish, bring to an end’ [Oettinger 1979: 303–313] and [Kloekhorst 2008: 906, 1037].³

I was correct [Melchert 1984: 114–115] to insist on the *i*-vocalism of the allomorphs *ḫulli-*, *duwarni-*, and *zinni-*, but about nothing else. As stated there, a reading as /i/ is unavoidable for the last two, consistently spelled through the history of Hittite with the unambiguous sign <ni>, despite the availability of <ne> for /ne:/, expected from **-né-h₁-*. The variant *ḫulliš* also only makes sense if the regular preterite third singular was *ḫul-lit* (cp. the opposite use of *(i)yannit* for regular *(i)yanniš*). There is, however, a phonological account for the unexpected short(!) /i/: the Anatolian “accent retraction” rule as explicated by Yates [2015].

I have rehearsed the preceding facts, because the existence of the allomorph *ḫulli-* and its manifest parallelism with *duwarni-* and *zinni-* are fatal to attempts to derive *ḫulli/a-* from the same root as Hitt. *walḫ-* ‘to strike,

² See [Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 201] with notes. Against both Neu and Hoffner, Melchert we find *ḫūllai* already in Middle Hittite (*HKM* 47 Ro 5), while one must add the New Hittite preterite third singular *ḫullaš* in *Bo* 86/299 i 98.

³ But for the root etymology of *zinni/a-* < **k^wi-né-h₁-ti*, **k^wi-n-h₁-énti* see [Rieken 2019: 312–315].

beat'. Even if one concedes an ad hoc dissimilation of **h₂welh₂-* to *walh-* [Melchert 1984: 16], following [Oettinger 1979: 264] or grants the existence of three extra laryngeals, allowing a preform **H₁w_l-nê-A^{w₁}-ti* [Puhvel 1991: 368], it is not credible that the putative root-final **h₂* or variant of **h₃* would have failed to color the suffixal *-e-*.⁴ In formal terms Kloekhorst's account of *hulli/a-* is impeccable and without credible competition.⁵ The remaining issue is: is it viable semantically?

A reexamination of all evidence for *hulli/a-* shows that the basis for a sense 'to strike, smash' is not nearly as solid as the standard translations in Hittite lexica and text editions imply. The overwhelming majority of examples (more than fifty) is found in military contexts, always with persons as objects, and in all clear instances the meaning is 'to defeat'. The facts are ably presented in [HW², 3: 686–688], and full citations are unnecessary. Unsurprisingly, a generic 'enemy' is the most frequent object, but one also finds 'troops', 'horses' and 'chariots' (as correctly per HW², loc. cit., the latter stand for 'chariot fighters'), kings, and specific enemies (e.g., Hurrians or named individuals, such as Aparru in the Annals of Muršili II, *KBo* 16.17+2.5 iii 39–40).

What one must insist upon is that in all unambiguous cases the meaning is 'defeat', *not* merely 'strike, attack' (for which the well-established term

⁴ Derivation from a nasal-infix verb also explains directly (without analogy) the shape of the original preterite first-person plural *hullumen* and the verbal noun *hullumar* ([Melchert 1994: 82], but anaptyxis following [Eichner 1988: 136–137] is likelier than a "Sievers" treatment as per [Melchert 1994: 57]).

⁵ [LIV²: 676] leaves the identification of the root-final laryngeal open but cites McCone's suggestion [McCone 1991: 16] that the earliest inflection of OIr. *follnadar* favors **h₂*. However, lack of assimilation of the **-In-* precludes direct derivation from a nasal-infix present and suggests influence from the adjective *follán* 'sound, hale': see [Joseph 1982: 48] and [Schumacher 2004: 655–656]. The attested inflection of *follna-* thus provides no probative evidence for the identity of the root-final laryngeal. As Lionel Joseph reminds me (p. c.), OIr. *denaid* 'sucks' and cognates < PIE **d^heh₁(i)-* also point to a Celtic preform **di-na-* (cp. [Schumacher 2004: 274]). One must conclude with Joseph [1982: 42], Schumacher, loc. cit., and Zair [2012: 166] that Celtic evidence cannot identify the root-final laryngeal of **welH-*. I am grateful to Lionel Joseph and Stefan Schumacher for their counsel on this issue.

is *walḥ-*) or ‘fight (against)’, which is expressed consistently by *zahḥiya-* (or a syntagm with the noun *zahḥāi-*). The ritual in *KUB* 17.28 iv 45–56 clearly is for a *defeated* army, not one that is merely “struck” (attacked). The verbal noun *ḥullumar* in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (*KBo* 14.4 i 28) also undeniably refers to a defeat, not merely a battle or attack (thus with [Güterbock 1956: 80]). The meaning ‘to defeat’ is confirmed by the Akkadian equivalents.⁶ In the *res gestae* of Hattušili I, Hittite *ḥulliyānun* in *KBo* 10.2 i 35 and ii 16 matches Akkadian *aduk* in *KBo* 10.1 Ro 16 and 33, rendered correctly by de Martino [2003: 41, 53] as “I routed” (*sbaragliai*) and by Devecchi [2005: 41, 45] as “I defeated” (*sconfissi/provocai sconfissa*).⁷ Similarly, we find in the same text *ḥulli/a-* equated to Akkadian *abāku*, once with “chariots” (i.e. chariot fighters) and once with “troops” as object (*KUB* 40.6+23.33:9 = *KBo* 10.1 Ro 26 and *KBo* 10.2 iii 33 = *KBo* 10.1 Vo 21 respectively).⁸

As correctly asserted by Puhvel [1991: 366–367], the meaning ‘defeat’ likewise imposes itself for some instances of the derived noun *ḥullanza(i)-* and is compatible with the rest, as well as for *ḥullanzatar* and *ḥullanzeššar*. Otten [1973: 38] concedes that ‘fight’ cannot be correct for *ḥullanza(i)-*, since in *KBo* 4.14 iii 29 it refers to something negative. However, he then

⁶ As per Neu [1974: 76], the supposed restoration and equation of Hitt. [*h*]ullattēni in *KUB* 26.35 Vo 5 with Akk. *tašallāta* in *KBo* 1.1 ii 23 (Treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Šattiwaza) is quite doubtful. More likely is [*š*]ullattēni ‘you shall [not] act overweeningly’ matching Akk. ‘you shall not act high-handedly.’ Cp. [Beckman 1996: 42, §11] and [CAD, 17: 239a]. The Akkadian verb does *not* mean ‘to split’ (*pace* [Puhvel 1991: 364]).

⁷ For Akkadian *dāku* as ‘defeat’, especially in texts of Boğazköy, see [CAD, 3: 41b] and Beckman’s translation [1996: 38] of *KBo* 1.1 Ro 14 and of other passages. Just what nuance the accusative *damta=šū/ danta=šunu* adds to the force of the verb is not clear: see [Devecchi 2005: 40⁹⁶] with references. Compare perhaps [CAD, 3: 74a] sub *damtu* A.

⁸ The example with “chariots” as object might suggest “overturned” (see [CAD, 1: 8–10] under *abāku* B), as it is taken by Saporetti [1965: 81], but this does not fit the second. More likely we are dealing with *abāku* A in its sense ‘to drive away’ (see CAD, 1: 5b). Devecchi [2005: 43 and 57] renders accordingly as *ha sbaragliato/mise in fuga*. De Martino [2003: 49 and 75] likewise has *sbaragliai* for the first Hittite passage, but wrongly substitutes *ha combattuto* for the second. The sense is “defeated, routed/put to flight,” in both instances.

without justification declares that the word must refer to an *internal* problem and argues for ‘rebellion, revolt’. He is then forced to suppose that *ḫullanzan ḫullanun* in the Anitta Text (*KBo* 3.22 Ro 11) means ‘I put down the rebellion,’ despite the fact that such an interpretation is quite impossible for a *figura etymologica*, in which the noun must express a result of the verb. Nevertheless, he has been widely followed: see among others Neu [1974: 77–78] and (with due hesitation!) [HW², 3: 696].

Otten’s premise that the noun refers to an internal problem is refuted by *KUB* 23.16: 8–15, where the *Ḫurlaš ḫullanzain* (line 15) has clearly been inflicted (*ḫulliyawen* line 9) by the Hittite king Tutḫaliya and Kantuzzili (see line 7). Only “we defeated” and “the defeat of the Hurrian(s)” makes coherent sense. Likewise, then, one must understand *ḫullanzan ḫullanun* with Puhvel [1991: 364] as a genuine *figura etymologica* “I inflicted a defeat,” in which the action of the verb brings the result expressed in the noun. As correctly seen by Beckman [2019: 130], *ḫullanzaiš* in *KBo* 4.14 iii 29 refers also to a potential defeat. The appearance of *ḫullanzai-*, *ḫullanzatar*, and *ḫullanzeššar* in lists of evils (sometimes specified as “evil, bad”) is entirely compatible with the sense ‘defeat’.⁹ I add in conclusion that we know the real Hittite word for ‘to rebel, revolt’ and matching nouns: the verb *waggariya-* and derivatives: see correctly Tischler [2016: 219–222], including reference to the Akkadian equivalent.

The second well-established use of *ḫulli/a-* (with perhaps a dozen attestations) is seen in the following:

- (1) *AWAT tabarna* ^m*Ḫattušili* LUGAL.GAL *U*^f*Puduhepa* MUNUS.LU-GAL.GAL ^{URU}*KÜ.BABBAR-ti ŠA LĀ NĀDIYAM ŠA LĀ ŠE[BE]* *RIM kuiš=ma=an ḫullai*
 ‘The word of the *tabarna*, Hattušili, the Great King, and of Puduhepa, the Great Queen, of Hatti is not to be rejected/repudiated (and) is not to be broken. Whoever rejects/repudiates it...’ *KBo* 6.28+*KUB* 26.48 Vo 28–29 (Decree of Hattušili III; New Hittite).

⁹ The instance of *ḫullātar* in *KBo* 21.8 iii 15 has the same status. In *KUB* 29.1 ii 36–37 it is used rather as ‘ability to perform the act of *h.*’, which is as compatible with ‘to defeat, subdue’ as it is with ‘to strike’ (cp. [Puhvel 1991: 366] and [HW², 3: 698]).

“Word” here and in similar passages refers to a verbal expression of will and thus a decree, injunction, or decision. Some contexts are compatible with a sense ‘to contest, challenge’ for *ḫulli/a-*, and one finds this rendering (or equivalents like *anfechten*, *bestreiten*) in both lexica and text editions.

There is evidence, however, that this is not a valid interpretation. First, one must reject the claim of [HW², 3: 685], following [Hoffner 1997: 3], that in the land-grant texts the Akkadian equivalent of *ḫulli/a-* is *ragāmu*. It is clear that in these formulaic texts the Akkadian match for *ḫulli/a-* is *nadû* in the sense ‘to reject, repudiate’, just as in the example cited: see [Rüster, Wilhelm 2012: 36–37]. Second, there are instances where ‘to contest, challenge’ makes no sense, because the subjects of *ḫulli/a-* are annulling their own previous verbal declaration:

- (2) *uet=ma maḫḫan ABU=YA memian IŠME nu memiyan ABU=YA=pat ḫullaš*

‘But when it happened that my father heard (of) the text, my father himself repudiated the decree.’¹⁰ *Bo* 86/299 i 97–98 (Treaty of Tuḫaliya IV with Kurunta; New Hittite).

The full context shows that the two instances of *memiyan* ‘word’ have different referents, and the second refers to subject’s own previous decree.

Against [Hoffner 1997: 39] and [HW², 3: 688], it also makes no sense to say that the parents of a daughter whom they have betrothed “contest” a commitment they have made. They clearly annul it (at the cost of returning twice the paid bride-price):

- (3) *takku DUMU.MUNUS-aš LÚ-ni ḫamenkanza nu=šši kūšata pid-daizzi appezzin=at attas annas ḫullanzi*

‘If a daughter has been betrothed to a man, and he pays a bride-price for her, but afterwards the father (and) mother reject/repudiate it...’ *KBo* 6.3 ii 11–12 (Hittite Laws; New Hittite copy of Old Hittite text).

¹⁰ Likewise, but more freely Otten [1988: 15]: “Wie es aber geschah, (daß) mein Vater den Wortlaut erfuhr, da stieß mein Vater selbst (seine) Entscheidung um.” So also Beckman [1996: 111]: “But when it happened that my father heard the text, then my father himself reversed the decision.”

One should also likely understand *arḫa ḫūllai* in *HKM* 47 Ro 5 with a bird of augury as subject as “rejects” (with [HW², 3: 689]), used for the standard technical term *arḫa peššiya-* ‘to reject’ (see [Sakuma 2009, 1: 64–65]).¹¹ Unsurprisingly, verbal requests/demands (expressed by the Hittite verb *wēk-*) may also be subject to rejection (e.g., in *KUB* 34.53 Vo 9 and *KBo* 20.82 ii 27).

Given the preceding evidence and the extraordinarily severe punishment prescribed, it is also hardly credible to interpret *DIN LUGAL* and *DIN*^{LÜ}*DUGUD...ḫullizzi/ḫūllazzi/ḫūlliyazzi* of §173a of the Hittite Laws as merely “contests” (*anfechten* in [HW², 3: 688]). One must with Hoffner [1997: 138] understand the offense as one of rejecting the legal judgment of the king or high dignitary. The example in *KBo* 6.29 iii 41–43 (a decree of Hattušili III) involving a claim to the priesthood of Šauška of Šamuha is as compatible with “rejects” as it is with “contests.”

Of the four putative examples of ‘to smash, shatter’ cited by [HW², 3: 688], one may be set aside at once. The duplicate *KBo* 8.41: 4–5 assures us that [(*kī mān ḫ*)*ul*]attati^m*Ḫapruziašš=a* [*QATA(M)M(A ḫ)*]uladaru in *KBo* 3.29: 14–15 is a simile: “As this was/has been *h*-ed, may also *Ḫapruzziya* be likewise *h*-ed.” But there is no way to determine what the comparandum “this” refers to: the tentative suggestion *Becher* “cup” in HW², loc. cit., is pure speculation and carries no weight. Nothing refutes “was defeated” and “shall be defeated” [Puhvel 1991: 365–366].

The preceding context also makes less than probative the interpretation by Neu [1974: 13] of *ḫullizzi* said of a tablet in the Anitta Text:

- (4) *kē udd[ā]^or [(tuppiya)]z INA KÁ.GAL=YA x[...] URRAM ŠER[AM] k[ī] tuppi [l]ē kuiški ḫul[(liēzzi)] kuiš=at ḫulli[zzī]*¹²

‘These words on a tablet at my gate [...]. Henceforth let no one *h*.th[is tablet]! Whoever *h*’s it...’ *KBo* 3.22 Ro 33–35 (Anitta Text; Old Hittite text and tablet).

¹¹ Less likely is “defeats,” as per [Hoffner 2009: 180].

¹² Restorations after the New Hittite copy *KUB* 36.98a: 4–5. The Old Hittite surely had *tuppit* and *ḫullizzi*.

Neu proposes *zerschlägt* “smashes, shatters,” but the chances are at least equal that “tablet” is merely metonymic for “the words of the tablet,” and that the sense is “rejects” (with [Carruba 2003: 320–321]; cp. also [Puhvel 1991: 364] “quashes”).

There are, however, two incontrovertible examples referring to physical destruction:

- (5) *nu šumenzan ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ ALAM.ḪI.A arḫa ḫuller*
 ‘And they have smashed your statues.’ *KUB* 31.24 ii 12 = *KUB* 17.21 ii 26–27 (Prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal; Middle Hittite text and tablet).
- (6) *nu ŠA ḏIŠKUR linkiyaš^{NA4}KIŠIB arḫa ḫullanzi*
 ‘They will smash/break the seal of the oath of/by the Storm-god.’
KUB 17.21 iv 19 (same text).

I follow Puhvel [1991: 364] and [HW², 3: 688] in assuming also in (6) a physical sense. The hesitant attempt by [CHD, L-N: 66a] (“will nullify(?)”) to assign this to ‘to reject, repudiate’ seems quite strained. A seal does not refer to the content of a document.

There is one other example whose relevance for the sense of *ḫulli/a-* seems not to have been appreciated (it is missing in [HW², 3: 686–687] and merely listed by Puhvel [1991: 365]):

- (7) *kāša DUMU-an [DUMU.LÚ].U₁₉.LU ḫullit anzaš«š»=a=war=an*
[aniy]auwanzi piēr
 ‘One has *h*-ed the child, the mortal; to us they have given him to treat ritually.’ *KUB* 12.26 ii 22–24 (Myth and Ritual; pre-New Hittite text, New Hittite copy).

Lines ii 1–17 were edited by Watkins [2010: 358–360]. The entire extant text is edited by Melzer [2015]. As often in such texts, especially those available only in copies, it is hard to extract a coherent narrative for some portions. I will not try to do so here. I am confident in restoring “to treat ritually” in ii 24, based on lines ii 10–11. Despite one apparently successful treatment of the human child by the Sun-god and Kamrušepa (see ii 17), someone *h*-es the child, requiring further ritual treatment. We

may leave open the identity of the perpetrator and of those to whom the child was given for the second treatment. What does seem clear (with Melzer, who takes *hullit* as *schlag* “struck”) is that someone has done physical violence to the child that requires healing. This example thus belongs with those preceding, not with ‘to defeat’ or ‘to reject, repudiate’.

Our survey of the attested meanings of *hulli/a-* is complete. Rare as they are, the examples referring to physical violence done to persons and things cannot be dismissed. We should also not be unduly influenced by the Akkadian equivalents in defining Hittite *hulli/a-*. All examples in military context may be analyzed as ‘to defeat’, while ‘to rout, put to flight’ (cp. Akk. *abāku*) is not strictly provable for Hittite. Likewise, Akk. *nadû* ‘to abandon, reject’ does not preclude that the Hittite use with verbal expressions of will (decrees, legal judgments, etc.) also stems directly from ‘to do violence to, violate’ (cp. the English rendering ‘to quash’ by Puhvel [1991: 363–366] for this usage).¹³

Deriving a sense ‘to defeat’ from one of ‘to strike’ or ‘to beat’ is trivial (cp. German *schlagen* and English ‘to beat’ in that sense), and ‘to quash’ in both the physical and extended sense is also easily explained from the same source. However, the association of violence with power is also quasi-universal in human societies since recorded history, both sanctioned (in military context) and unsanctioned. There are comparanda within Indo-European suggesting that through this association roots originally referring to ‘power, strength’ can lead to derivatives with senses equivalent to those of Hittite *hulli/a-*. Latin *uis* ‘(physical) strength, power’ acquires the sense of ‘violence’: cp. *aliqui uim adferre* ‘to do violence to someone’, and the denominal verb *uiolō* attests not only the moral sense ‘to violate’ with objects such as *foedus* ‘treaty’ and *iūs* ‘law’ as well as persons, but also ‘to do violence to’ persons in a military context (see s. v. sections 2.b and 4 in [OLD²: 228]). One must concede, however, that the latter use is rare, and the verb does not mean ‘to overcome, defeat’.

¹³ There is a possible parallel in Lycian, where *xtta-* ‘to do violence to, harm’ is used in N320, 34–5 and likely also in TL 45B, 4–5 with *mara* ‘regulations, laws, stipulations’: see [Melchert 2021], citing for the second [Schürr 2005: 151].

A better parallel for the full range of Hittite *ḫulli/a-* is provided by derivatives of German *Gewalt*, whose source is the extended form of our putative root **h₂welh₁-*. Like Latin *uīs*, the German noun acquires in its history the sense of ‘violence’, *in addition to* the original meaning ‘power’: see [DWb, 6: 4915 sub γ, 4944–4945, 4976–4977] for OHG, MHG, and NHG respectively. In standard current New High German derived verbs with the meanings ‘to do violence to, violate’ and ‘to overcome, defeat’ require prefixes (*vergewaltigen* and *überwältigen* respectively). But the simple denominal *gewältigen* is well attested historically not only as the expected ‘to have power (over)’ (from OHG), but also as ‘to overcome’ and ‘to do violence to’, both physically and morally (see [DWb, 6: 5177–5178]). I therefore see no obstacle to supposing that Hittite *ḫulli/a-*, with a nasal infix well-known for transitivity effects (cp. Hitt. *ḫarnink-* ‘to destroy’ < *ḫark-* ‘to perish’), likewise reflects the same root.

For reasons that should be obvious, I do not assert that the derivation of the meanings of *ḫulli/a-* ‘to do violence to; defeat’ from **h₂welh₁-* ‘to be strong’ imposes itself. I do contend that it is well within the normal parameters of semantic change, and in view of the manifest superiority of Kloekhorst’s account of its shape and inflection, the latter should be given priority in the absence of any credible etymology from a root meaning ‘to strike’.

3. Hittite **ḫultā(i)-*, ^{LÚ}*ḫuldāla-*, *ḫuldalā(i)-*

While Hittite *ḫulli/a-* is widely attested, the evidence for the set of words pointing to a base **ḫult(a)-* is sparse, and the contexts are of limited help in determining their meaning. The putative verbal stem **ḫultā(i)-* is at best attested just once:¹⁴

¹⁴ The iterative stem *ḫulteške/a-* in a New Hittite copy is compatible with several stem classes in the base verb, including **ḫult-*, **ḫulte/a-* and **ḫultiye/a-* (see on this problem [Melchert 1984: 147–148]). This indeterminacy is irrelevant for the issue of the meaning.

- (8) []x LUGAL-*uš* ĤUR.SAG-*i paizzi* GAL-*in* ^dUTU-*un karapzi* [*nu ĥū*]kⁱškezzi *ħulteškezzi* [LUGAL-*i=wa*[?]=*k*]an *kāš kāš ištarningain* EGIR-*pa dāš*...

‘The king goes to the mountain (and) “lifts/raises” the great Sun-god.¹⁵ He recites incantations and *h*-s (saying): ‘This (or) that one has taken back the sickness [from the king]’...’ *KUB* 29.1 ii 30–32 (Building Ritual; New Hittite copy of Old Hittite text).

I follow [Kellerman 1980: 14] and others in restoring dative singular of ‘king’ in the first line of the quoted speech, based on the “to him” in the following lines ii 36–38 and the partially parallel ii 17–22.

The context leaves open many possibilities for the meaning of *ħulteškezzi*, and there are many competing suggestions. Kellerman [1980: 28, 52] and Marazzi [1982: 155] prudently leave the meaning open. Likewise Tischler [1983: 282], though he entertains the possibility that ^Lĥuldāla- and further derivatives are related. Kloekhorst [2008] makes no mention of the word. Goetze [1969: 358] suggests “performs various incantations” (similarly [Mouton 2016: 103 with note 2], et al.). Puhvel [1991: 369–370] tentatively suggests “officialates,” but explicitly characterizes this as “unproven.” One must honestly conclude that no proposed interpretation remotely imposes itself.

Purely in formal terms, it is reasonable to suppose that the likewise hapax noun ^Lĥuldāla- is either derived directly from the base of *ħulteške/a*- [Puhvel 1991: 370] or from a substantive that is the base of both. Unfortunately, the context of ^Lĥuldāla- is hardly more informative than that of *ħulteške/a*-:

- (9) [^Lĥuldālaš=*a* ^Ēħa[(*lentiwaz kurš*)]an *dāi* [*t=ašta pa*]rā *pēda*[(*i*)]
(The king goes outside,) ‘while the *h*-man takes *a*/the hunting bag from the *h*-building and carries it out.’ *ABoT* 1.9+*KBo* 17.74 i 33–34¹ with duplicates (Thunderstorm Ritual; Middle Hittite copy of Old Hittite text).

¹⁵ The force of *karp*- ‘to lift, raise’ in this expression is less than obvious, but there is no doubt that the king invokes the Sun-god.

One must reject the equation of this word with LÚ UR.GI₇ ‘hound master’ (likely ‘hunter’) by Neu [1970: 39–40], merely on the basis of LÚ U[R.TU]R *kuršan udanzi t=an āppa kankanzi* in ii 27 of the same text. The second passage occurs minimally more than fifty lines after the first, many of which are very fragmentary. There is thus no assurance that the reference is to the same hunting bag. If it is, given the plural form of the verbs (a problem Neu recognizes, but brushes aside), one should rather understand: “They bring the hunting bag of the hound master and hang it up again.” The context of LÚ *huldāla-* tells us only that it refers to some functionary who *may* have some particular connection with the *kurša-*, but even the latter is inferential.

Despite attempts to deny it (see below), it is also clear that the verb *huldalā(i)-* is denominal from (LÚ)*huldāla-*, and the context of its occurrence is more informative as to its meaning, though not necessarily as determining as has been assumed:

- (10) *nu INA URU Kappēri tuzziyanun nu=ššan INA URU Kappēri kuit*
 É. DINGIR-LIM ŠA^d *Hatipunā EGIR-an n=at huldalānun n=at ŪL*
šaruwāir

‘And I pitched camp in K. And the temple of Hatipunā that was behind K. I *h*-ed, and/so they did not plunder it.’ (And also the servants of the deity who were behind K. I left alone, and/so they continued to abide there.) *KUB* 19. 37 iii 35–38 (Annals of Muršili II; New Hittite).

A second example in the next paragraph iii 41–45 is entirely parallel, except that the action of *huldalā(i)-* follows destruction of the city of Hurna and the temple is that of the Storm-god of Hurna.

Since the *editio princeps* by Götze [1933: 177], *huldalā(i)-* has been understood as ‘to spare’ (*schonen*), and objectively that is undeniably the effect of the action expressed by the verb. One should note, however, that the king’s action is preemptive, especially in the first case, where there is no indication that any harm had been done to the city. Several actions by the king could thus result in the lack of plundering. For example, ‘to secure’, either in the sense of ‘to take control of’ or ‘to protect, safeguard’ — or both.

Before proceeding further, we must deal with the possible relationship of our set of words with the Luvian loanword ^{LÚ}*hūwandāla-* and its derived verb *:hūwantalā(i)-*, especially since the analyses offered on this point have been contradictory and in part incoherent. The Luvian form of the base noun is attested in provisions of the Hittite king for local cults:

- (11) 1 É 10 NAM.RA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*hūwandālanzi :warmamienzi* ^dUTU=ŠI p[āi]
 ‘His Majesty gives one household (comprising) ten transportees,
w. h-men.’ *KBo* 12.53 Vo 8 + *KUB* 48.105 (Cult Inventories; New
 Hittite).

See Cammarosano [2018: 284–285], who plausibly argues [ibid. 273] that *hūwandālanzi warmamienzi* is an apposition to NAM.RA “transportees,” describing their assigned duties/function.

The word appears in Hittitized form in *Bo* 86/299 i 93 as nominative plural ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*hūwantaluš*, listed among workers and functionaries whom Tuḫaliya IV explicitly cedes to Kurunta along with the cities in where they reside. So far as they can be identified, the other categories belong to a wide spectrum, military and non-military (see [Otten 1988: 14–15] and [Beckman 1996: 110–111], with in part divergent translations), leaving quite open the role of the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*hūwantaluš*.

Finally, there is the verb *:hūwantalā(i)-*, attested twice in mutually restoring occurrences in a suggestive, but frustratingly incomplete context:

- (12) [...Ḫ]UL-*lu* ŪL *takkēšta* [...ḪI].A ^{GIŠ}KIRI₆.ḪI.A *:hūwantal[āit...]*
x katta arḫa ḫarganut
 ‘[...]did no evil to [...] *h-ed* []s and gardens [...] destroyed []’
KUB 21.8 ii 3–5 (Restoration of Nerik; New Hittite).

ANA LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Nerik* ḪUL-*lu* [ŪL *tak*]kēšta A.ŠÀ.A.GÀR.
 ḪI.A=*ma*<*a*=š>*maš* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN.[Ḫ]I.A [...:*hūw*]antalāit KUR.
 KUR. ḪI.A=*ma*=š*maš* [...*arḫ*]a [*ḫarg*]anut
 ‘...did no evil to the people of Nerik, but [...] *h-ed* their fields,
 meadows, [and] vines, but [...] destroyed their lands.’ (ibid. 8–11).

The passage has, not unreasonably, been restored and understood as contrasting ‘to do evil to’ and ‘to destroy’ with *:hūwantalāi-* ‘to spare’,

thus taking the latter as effectively equivalent to *huldalā(i)-* (e.g. [Neumann 1971: 301; Puhvel 1991: 429]).

The semantic comparison cannot be regarded as certain, but it is plausible. Attempts to equate the two verbs and their base nouns formally are not persuasive. Puhvel [1991: 370] derives both Hittite *hultāla-* and Luvian *hūwantāla-* from a preform **hūwaltāla-* by syncope and dissimilation respectively. However, he denies any connection of *:hūwantalāi-* and *huldalā(i)-* with the respective nouns, deriving the latter verb by *assimilation* from the former [Puhvel 1991: 429]. His motivation is the inherently *recherché* account of *:hūwantalāi-* as a univerbation *hūwanta lāi-* ‘to set loose to the wind’, originally used of setting birds free.

This fanciful account must be firmly rejected on multiple counts.¹⁶ First, as noted by Kloekhorst [2008: 368], the photo shows against the autograph that there is no space between the signs <ta> and <la> in [*hūw*]antalāit of *KUB* 21.8 ii 10, removing any independent support for a univerbation (likewise there is no space in line ii 4, *pace* [Cornil, Lebrun 1972: 17]). More importantly, there is no evidence that Luvian had a word †*hūwant-* ‘wind’ or a verb †*lā(i)-* ‘to let go’ (Luv. *lā-* means ‘to take’ and is cognate with Hitt. *dā-* ‘idem’). One patently cannot analyze a Luvian word in terms of Hittite lexemes. Furthermore, that a Hittite stem *hult-^o* attested in Old Hittite is either the source of or the reflex of a Luvian base **hūwant-* defies credibility.

Whatever the base nouns mean, Hittite(!) *huldalā(i)-* and Luvian(!) *hūwantalāi-* are manifestly denominal to the respective base nouns ^{LÚ}*huldāla-* and ^{LÚ}*hūwandāla-*, as per [Kronasser 1966: 480; Neu 1970: 39; Tischler 1983: 282]. Lack of a determinative in the derived verbs is not problematic: cp. Hitt. *šullā-* ‘to treat as a hostage’ to ^{LÚ}*šullai-* ‘hostage’. Hittite scribes rarely use determinatives on verbs. That the two languages developed putative near synonyms by quite different means is entirely in order. To force a direct formal connection based on no more

¹⁶ Likewise the similar univerbation accounts of Cornil and Lebrun [1972: 20] and Eichner [1979: 205], based on supposing that the alleged *hūwanta* belongs to the verb ‘to run’ (in different senses). The Luvian stem for ‘to run’ (*recte* ‘to move’) shows consistently *hui(ya)-*, and again there is no Luvian verb †*lā(i)-* ‘to let go’.

than a shared initial sequence *hu-* and requiring ad hoc reshapings is wholly unjustified.

The contexts of both Hitt. *huldalā(i)-* and Luv. *hūwantalāi-* suggest a meaning ‘to offer protection to’; more precisely given their derivation, ‘to provide a guard for’. Despite the summary dismissal by Puhvel [1991: 429], a similar sense is reasonable for Hitt. ^{LÚ}*huldāla-* [Tischler 1983: 282], following [Neu 1970: 39]. He may be the keeper, caretaker, or similar of the hunting bag. The most that one can say is that a similar sense is compatible with the contexts of Luvian ^{LÚ.MES}*hūwandālanzi* (see (11) cited above) and that of the Hittitized ^{LÚ.MES}*huwantaluš* (see [Otten 1988: 41] and more cautiously [Beckman 1996: 110]).

As properly underscored by Neu [1970: 40], the question remains open whether this tentative interpretation can be reconciled with the use of *hulteškezzi* to the putative base **hultā(i)-* cited in (8) above. I must furthermore emphasize the fragility of the very premise that Hitt. ^{LÚ}*huldāla-* and *huldalā(i)-* (and by implication the supposed Luvian synonyms ^{LÚ}*hūwandāla-* and *hūwantalāi-*) refer to protection or guarding/caretaking. Finally, even if all of this were proven to be more or less accurate (which is far from the case!), I see nothing to motivate any connection with a presumed extended root **h₂welh₁-dʰ-* ‘to be powerful’. Any etymologizing of the entire set of Hittite words must await further, more illuminating textual evidence.

Abbreviations

Akk. — Akkadian; Goth. — Gothic; Hitt. — Hittite; Lat. — Latin; Lith. — Lithuanian; MHG — Middle High German; NHG — New High German; OHG — Old High German; OIr. — Old Irish; ON — Old Norse; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; TochA — Tocharian A; TochAB — Tocharian A and B.

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Greek $\mu\alpha\pi\text{-}$ and its congeners

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Abstract. Ancient Greek (aor.) $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}\text{-}$ ‘to seize’ ([Hes.] *Sc.* 231, 252, 304) has not yet received a satisfactory etymology which this paper aims to provide. Ever since antiquity it has been argued that aor. $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}\text{-}$ is a secondary replacement of $*\mu\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}\text{-}$ made from nearly synonymous and much better attested verb $\acute{\mu}\alpha\rho\pi\tau\omega$ ‘seize, overtake, strike’ (for which only sigmatic aorist is attested). This view does not carry conviction; the present paper argues that aor. $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}\text{-}$ is real and its root $\mu\alpha\pi\text{-}$ is distinct from that of $\acute{\mu}\alpha\rho\pi\tau\omega$ for which a new etymological analysis is offered (PIE $*merk^w\text{-}$ ‘snatch, take away’, Toch. A $m\acute{a}rk\text{-}$ ‘to take away’). My proposal is to view $\mu\alpha\pi\text{-}$ as a zero-grade root allomorph $*m\eta\pi\text{-}$ formed from a full-grade root $*memp\text{-}$ (< $*menp\text{-}$) cf. $\mu\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}\text{-}$ (< $*b^h\eta d^h\text{-}$): $\mu\epsilon\nu\theta\text{-}$ (< $*b^h\text{end}^h\text{-}$), $\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}\text{-}$ (< $*d^r\acute{k}\text{-}$): $\delta\epsilon\rho\kappa\text{-}$ (< $*derk\text{-}$), etc. The hypothetical full-grade root $*memp\text{-}$ (< $*menp\text{-}$) can be analyzed as a verbal governing compound of PIE $*men\text{-}$ ‘hand’ (Lat. *manus* ‘hand’, OIr. *muin*₂ ‘protection’, OE *mund* ‘hand’, Hitt. *maniyahh-* ‘to hand over’) and the root $*h\eta p\text{-}$ ‘take’ (Lat. *coepi* ‘I began’, *apiō* ‘I tie’, Hitt. *epp-*^{zi} ‘grabs’, Ved. *āpa* ‘has reached’): $*men\text{-}h\eta p\text{-}$ ‘take with one’s hand; seize’. Similar compounds with PIE $*men\text{-}$ ‘hand’ used as the first member are reflected in Lat. *mancipium* ‘laying hold of a thing; ownership’ (*quasi* $*men\text{-}$ + $*keh_2p\text{-}$) and *mandāre* ‘to hand over’ (*quasi* $*men\text{-}$ + $*d^heh_1\text{-}$). This nominal compound underlies the neo-root $*menh_1p\text{-}$; compare Ved. *gup-* ‘to protect’ (based on the compound *go-pā-* ‘cow-herd’), Lat. *crēd-* ‘believe’ (< $*kreds\text{-}d^heh_1\text{-}$) or PIE $*uelh_1b^h\text{-}$ ‘speak lies’ (< $*uelh_1\text{-}b^heh_2\text{-}$). In aor. $*(h_1)e\text{-}menh_1p\text{-}t$ ‘seized’ the laryngeal would be lost in a heavy CHCC cluster by Schmidt-Hackstein’s rule, hence 3 sg. $*(h_1)e\text{-}menp\text{-}t$ (> $*(h_1)e\text{-}memp\text{-}t$ with place assimilation), 3 pl. $*(h_1)e\text{-}m\eta\pi\text{-}ent$, remade as thematic aorist $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}\text{-}$. A neat parallel to the proposed development may be found in another verbal governing compound of PIE date, namely, $*men(e)s\text{-}d^heh_1\text{-}$ ‘to implement thinking’ > $\mu\epsilon\nu\theta\text{-}$ (remade as $\mu\alpha\nu\theta\text{-}$) which in turn engendered a new zero-grade $\mu\alpha\theta\text{-}$.

Keywords: Greek epic poetry, Greek etymology, compounds, formulaic collocations, laryngeal theory, Hittite, Tocharian.

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К этимологии др.-гр. *μαλ-*

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Аннотация. Древнегреческий глагол *μαλέ/ό-* (aor.) ‘хватать’ ([Hes.] Sc. 231, 252, 304) до сих пор не получил удовлетворительного этимологического толкования, предложить которое — цель настоящей статьи. Начиная с античности, тематическая аористная основа *μαλέ/ό-* объяснялась как вариант основы **μαρπέ/ό-*, образованной от хорошо засвидетельствованного глагола *μαρπτο* сходного значения ‘хватать, нападать’. Однако глагол *μαρπτο* образует только сигматический аорист, а возможность выпадения *ρ* в гипотетической основе **μαρπέ/ό-* не подтверждается параллелями; столь же маловероятно, что в эпической поэме VI века до н. э. мог сохраниться такой просодический архаизм, как */mρpe/o-/* со слоговым сонантом. В силу этих причин традиционное объяснение не выдерживает критики. В настоящей статье утверждается, что корень *μαλ-* этимологически не связан с корнем глагола *μαρπτο*, для которого предлагается новое сопоставление с тох. А *mārĕk-* ‘забирать’ (и.-е. **merk^{u-}*). Аористная основа *μαλ-* рассматривается как отражение алломорфа **mŋp-* с нулевой степенью аблаута в корне, образованного от корня **memp-* по модели *παθή/ό-* (< **b^hŋd^h-*): *πενθ-* (< **b^hend^h-*), *δρακέ/ό-* (< **d^hrĕk-*): *δερκ-* (< **derĕk-*) и т. д. Корень **memp-* (< **menp-*) восходит к древнему композиту, состоящему из и.-е. **men-* ‘рука’ (лат. *manus*, др.-ирл. *muin₂*, др.-англ. *mund*) и и.-е. **h₁ep-* ‘брат’ (лат. *coepi* ‘я начал’, хетт. *ep^{-zi}* ‘хватает’, др.-инд. *āpa* ‘достиг’). В хеттском языке глагол *ep(p)-/app-* употребляется в сочетании со словом для руки (*kiššarta ep(p)-*), а в латинском языке мы находим *manū capere*, равно как и следы сходной синтаксической конструкции с корнем **men-* в сложных словах *mancipium* ‘покупка, право собственности’ и *mandāre* ‘вручать’. Реконструкция композита **men-h₁p-* ‘брат рукой, хватать’, тем самым, может быть подтверждена на синтаксическом уровне. Этот композит лег в основу корня **menh₁p-*; в качестве параллели к появлению новых глагольных корней из сложных слов можно привести др.-инд. *gup-* ‘защищать’ (из *go-pā-*), лат. *cred-* ‘верить’ (из **kreds-d^heh₁-*) или и.-е. **uelh₁b^h-* ‘говорить неправду’ (из **uelh₁-b^heh₂-*). В аористе **(h₁)e-menh₁p-t* ‘схватил’ ларингал был закономерно утрачен согласно т. н. правилу Шмидта — Хакштайна, следствием чего явилась парадигма 3 sg. **(h₁)e-memp-t* (с ассимиляцией по месту артикуляции), 3 pl. **(h₁)e-mŋp-ent*, в древнегреческом языке отразившаяся как тематический аорист *μαλέ/ό-*. Предлагаемый в статье сценарий находит полную параллель в еще одном праязыковом сложном слове, а именно, **men(e)s-d^hh₁-* ‘вкладывать

ум' (др.-инд. *medhā* 'мудрость') > др.-гр. μενθ-/μανθ- и аорист с нулевой ступенью аблаута μαθέ/ό-

Ключевые слова: греческая эпическая поэзия, греческая этимология, композиты, ларингалы, хеттский, тохарский.

The root μαπ- 'to seize' is scarcely attested in Ancient Greek and its forms have not yet received a satisfactory explanation. Thematic aorist μαπέ/ό- is attested in the epic poem *Shield of Heracles* traditionally (and wrongly) ascribed to Hesiod, but now usually dated to the first third of the sixth century BCE:¹

- (1) Γοργόνες ἄπλητοί τε καὶ οὐ φαταὶ ἐρρώοντο
 ἰέμεναι μαπέειν
 'The Gorgons, dreadful and unspeakable, were rushing after him
 (*scil.* Perseus),
 eager to catch him.' (*Sc.* 230–1, ed. and trans. Most)
- (2) τοὶ δ' ὠκύποδας λαγὸς ἦρευν
 ἄνδρες θηρευταί, καὶ καρχαρόδοντε κύνε πρό,
 ἰέμενοι μαπέειν², οἱ δ' ἰέμενοι ὑπαλύζαι.
 'Others, huntsmen, were overtaking swift-footed hares,
 and there was a brace of jagged-toothed dogs in front,
 eager to catch them — while the others (*scil.* hares) were eager
 to escape.' (*Sc.* 302–4).

Two more forms of this aorist stem have been tentatively identified in fragments of archaic Greek lyric poetry, but in both cases the text is

¹ The *Shield of Heracles* was probably composed between 570 BCE (according to the scholia, Stesichorus knew the poem, and the name of centaur Melanchaetes on François vase is based on *Sc.* 186 μελαγχαιτήν τε Μίμαντα) and ca. 590 BCE (if Cycnus' demise has anything to do with the fall of Crisa in the Sacred War in 591 BCE); see [Bing 2012: 179] for further discussion and bibliography.

² μαπέειν Ω: μαρπέειν Leid. Voss. Q 59, Ambros. E 39; μαρπέειν Vatic. 1332, acc. to Russo's app. crit.

uncertain in the extreme.³ A reduplicated aorist is found in *Sc.* 252 ὄν δὲ πρῶτον μεμάποιεν[#] ‘whomever they (= Keres) caught first’.

Next to the verbal root *μαπ-* we find the adverb ἐμμαπέως (⁴ ∪ ∪ ⁵) ‘quickly, readily, hastily, promptly, *unverzüglich reagierend*’,⁴ attested from Homer on, e.g. *Il.* 5, 836 ἐμμαπέως ἀπόρουσεν ‘he speedily leapt down’; *Od.* 14, 485 ἐμμαπέως ὑπάκουσε ‘at once he gave ear’.⁵ The connection with *μαπέ/ό-* ‘to seize’ is beyond doubt: for semantics cf. Latin *rapidus* ‘quick’ from *rapiō* ‘to seize’.⁶ Finally, a form of *μαπ-* may be found in Laconian personal name ΣΙΑΦΙΟΜΑΨΟΣ if Wachter [2001: 162] is justified in taking it as ‘the one who seizes silphion’.⁷ Let us take a closer look at all these forms.

³ Archil. 48, 3 West (via P.Oxy. 2311) has *μαπ_ς εκαρ* and a verb meaning ‘to seize’ *vel sim.* appears appropriate in view of the clearly sexual narrative of the poem (for which see [Swift 2019: 270–1]). Alcman fr. 120 [PMGF] (= 177 Calame) is a hopelessly corrupt quotation transmitted by Herodian as τῷ δὲ †σηομυθια κατ’ αν κάρραν μάβως† ἐπίαξε where Martin West (*apud* [PMGF] and [1990: 216]) replaced the unclear †μάβως with *μαποῖσ*’ (but there is no shortage of alternative solutions for which see the app. crit. in Calame’s edition and [Sitzler 1883: col. 932]).

⁴ Paraphrased in the scholia as ἐνεργῶς, ταχέως, ἐτοίμως, σπουδαίως, μετὰ σπουδῆς.

⁵ Another adverb often compared with ἐμμαπέως is μάψ ‘in vain, without result, aimlessly, recklessly’ and its derivatives: *μαψίδιος* (ῖ) ‘vain, empty, false’, *μαψιδίως* ‘randomly’ (*Od.* 3, 372), *μαψιλόγος* ‘vainly speaking’ *h. Merc.* 546, *μαψυλάκας* ‘barking for no reason’ *Sapph.* 58, 21+, PN *Μάψιχος (cf. nomen gent. *Μαψιχίδα*, Delos, 3rd cent. BCE [IG 11²: 205 ff.]). While in theory the meaning of μάψ (on which see [Spatafora 1997] and [Radif 1998]) can be reconciled with that of ἐμμαπέως under the assumption that μάψ qualifies an action done in haste and therefore not achieving the desired result, the semantic distance remains considerable; I therefore prefer the interpretation advanced by le Feuvre [2015: 535–533] who argued that the original meaning of μάψ was ‘condemnable’ and derived it from the root of μέφομαι: **mmb^h-s* > *μάψς ‘de façon blâmable’.

⁶ Compare further SCr. *hitar* ‘hastily’, *hitnja* ‘haste’ from the same root as OCS *xitati* ‘seize, snatch’; OE *scēot* ‘quick’ from the same root as Ved. *cud-* ‘to press forth’; OHG *behende* ‘fast’ < *bi hendi* ‘at hand’; Gk. ἐμπλήκτως ‘rashly, madly’ from ἐμπλήσσω ‘at-tack’; or Italian *immantinente* ‘immediately’ < *in manu tenente* ‘while holding in hand’.

⁷ Cypriot PN *ma-pi-so-ni-yo* (Kafizin) is probably non-existent: Neumann [1989: 168–169] suggests]-*ma pi-so-ni-yo*, see also [Egetmeyer 2010: 353].

Adv. ἐμμαπέως ‘quickly’ looks like a derivative made from an *s*-stem adjective *ἐμμαπής (cf. ἀσκελέως ‘stubbornly’ from ἀσκελής ‘withered’). However, *ἐμμαπής does not guarantee a simplex nominal *s*-stem *μάπος (cf. γένος : εὐγενής) since the second members of verbal governing compounds of this type were often formed directly from thematic aorist stems in Greek, cf. θυμοδακής ‘biting the heart’ (aor. δακέ/ό-), δισθανής ‘twice dead’ (aor. θανέ/ό-) or αἰνοπαθής ‘suffering dire ills’ (aor. παθέ/ό-) (see [Meissner 2006]). *ἐμμαπής → ἐμμαπέως is therefore best taken as based on thematic aor. *μαπέ/ό-.⁸

For μεμάποιεν at *Sc.* 252 several manuscripts⁹ offer a different reading, namely, μεμάρποιεν made from a nearly synonymous and much better attested verb μάρπτω ‘seize, overtake, strike’.¹⁰ Even though the form would not scan properly (μεμάρπ- would fill the biceps of the fifth foot), this reading has been accepted by some authorities, notably by Jacob Wackernagel who viewed it as another instance of “ἀνδροτήτα-scansion” (viz. *memyp- ∪ ∪*).¹¹ But a sixth-century poem is an unlikely place to look for a precious archaism of prosody, and the irregular scansion is better explained with Hackstein [2002a: 4, fn. 7] as “*ad-hoc-Flexion*” of verse-final μεμάρπεν used a few lines earlier. This said, the editors of the *Shield* usually print the reading μεμάποιεν of the paradosis at *Sc.* 252, and with

⁸ See [Blanc 2018: 424]: “la dérivation directe à partir du verbe est probable, bien que la maigreur des données ne permette pas de la démontrer.” In theory, ἐμμαπέως could also be *kunstsprachlich* in which case the derivational basis of the adverb would not have to be an *s*-stem (cf. ἀπτερέως or προφρονέως that are not based on *ἀπτερήs or *προφρονήs).

⁹ See F. A. Wolff *apud* [Ranke 1840: 225]. For the reading μαρπέειν offered by a single codex at *Sc.* 303 see fn. 2 above.

¹⁰ μάρπτω is well attested in early epic, lyric, and tragic poetry; the reliable γλωσσαι κατὰ πόλεις attribute the verb to Cypriot dialect (Κυπρίων. ἔμαρψεν· ἔλαβεν, see [Bowra 1970 (1934): 43]), and Ruijgh [1957: 166] assigned this word to the “Achaean” lexical stock. Egetmeyer [2010: 488] points out that λαμβάνω is not attested in Cypriot inscriptions possibly because it was replaced by μάρπτω in everyday use as the default verb ‘to take’.

¹¹ See [Wackernagel 1914: 113 (= 1955: 1170), fn. 1], following [Ehrlich 1910: 31]; on the problem of ἀνδροτήτα see [Barnes 2011; Maslov 2011].

good reason: verse-final $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{\omicron}-$ can be unproblematically taken as a *metri causa* formation created from $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{\omicron}-$ on the model of $\lambda\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{\omicron}-$ ‘to obtain (by lot)’ : $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{\omicron}-$ ‘to grant’. Given its ambiguity, the reduplicated form is best left aside in the discussion that follows and we can focus on the plain thematic aorist stem.

Ever since antiquity,¹² $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{\omicron}-$ has been taken as a secondary replacement of $*\mu\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{\omicron}-$ made from verb $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\omega$, mentioned in the previous paragraph, even though only sigmatic aorist stem is attested for the latter verb in Greek. In support of this view Friedrich Schwarz [1932: 81–82] marshalled the parallel context in a Hesiodic fragment describing sons of Boreas yearning to catch the Harpies: $\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota\] \mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\psi\alpha\iota$ (fr. 150, line 29 Merkelbach–West = fr. 98 Most = fr. 63 Hirschberger).¹³ But even if the poet of the *Shield* used the verse from the *Catalogue* as his model and adopted the phrase with verse-initial $\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota$ (> $-\alpha\iota$) from it, why did he replace $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\psi\alpha\iota$ with a different yet synonymous aorist infinitive? An additional problem with Schwarz’s view is that an infinitive in $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon$ can only be made from a light monosyllabic root, cf. $\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon$, $\varphi\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon$, $\beta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon$ [Nikolaev 2013], and while the poet of the *Shield* is ostensibly quite fond of the distended ending (cf. *Sc.* 240 $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon$, 332 $\lambda\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon$, 337 $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon$), in order to use it here he would have to create a root $\mu\alpha\pi-$ from $\mu\alpha\rho\pi-$ by dropping the medial $-\rho-$, which defies belief as it would be an unparalleled poetic license. We do not expect the poet of the *Shield* — who is deeply steeped in traditional epic language — to engage in bold linguistic experiments or create completely artificial forms.

Since a linguistically compelling scenario for either a change of (un-attested!) aor. $*\mu\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{\omicron}-$ to $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{\omicron}-$ or a creation of root allomorph $\mu\alpha\pi-$ from $\mu\alpha\rho\pi-$ does not present itself,¹⁴ and the adverb $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$

¹² For Ioannes Peditasimus (*scholia paraphrastica* on *Sc.* 231) $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon$ comes “ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ τοῦ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\omega$ ” with “ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ βολῆ τοῦ ρ ”; this formulation is mirrored by Curtius [1873: 26] who speaks of an “Ausstossung eines ρ ”.

¹³ Mason [2015: 30] similarly argues that the poet of the *Shield* adapted the line from the *Catalogue*; he even suggests that it may have been the same poet [2015: 310].

¹⁴ To cite one example of an unconvincing solution, Mahlow [1926: 404] assumed the following analogical proportion: $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta(\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega) : \lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{\omicron}- = \mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi(\tau\omega) : X$, where X is

independently confirms the existence of a root $\mu\alpha\pi-$, it appears prudent to accept the linguistic reality of aor. $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}-$ and view it as etymologically distinct from $\acute{\mu}\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\tau\omega$.¹⁵ It remains entirely possible that these two very similar-sounding roots were confused in early Greek and the meaning of $\mu\alpha\pi-$ was secondarily adjusted to match the semantics of $\mu\alpha\rho\pi-$, but due to the scarce attestation of the former root this hypothesis cannot be verified.¹⁶

What is the etymology of the root $\mu\alpha\pi-$ ‘seize’?¹⁷ Since zero grade of the root is the canonical ablaut marker of thematic aorist in Greek, the default assumption is that aorist stem $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}-$ goes back to either $*m\acute{N}p-\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}-$ or $*m\acute{N}k^w-\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}-$ made from the root $*meNp-$ or $*meNk^w-$,¹⁸ cf. aor. $\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}-$ ‘to see’ (< $*d_r\acute{k}-$): prs. $\delta\epsilon\rho\kappa\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}-$ (< $*der\acute{k}-$), aor. $\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}-$ ‘to leave’ (< $*lik^w-$): prs. $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\epsilon/\acute{o}-$ (< $*lej\acute{k}^w-$), aor. $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}-$ ‘to come’ (< $*h_1lud^h-$): fut. $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\epsilon/\acute{o}-$ (< $*h_1leud^h-$), etc. The hypothetical root

resolved as $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}-$, the relationship between $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ and $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}/\acute{o}-$ having been reinterpreted by the speakers as showing a loss of root-internal consonant in the aorist stem.

¹⁵ Cf. [Beekes 2010: 903]: “[i]n spite of its semantic agreement with $\acute{\mu}\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\tau\omega$, $\mu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$ can hardly be connected with it in formal terms.”

¹⁶ The verb $\acute{\mu}\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\tau\omega$ has no etymology: ancient connection with (non-existent) $\acute{\mu}\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$ ‘hand’ can be safely discarded, while Egetmeyer’s hesitant comparison with $\acute{\mu}\acute{\alpha}\rho\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ < $*merh_2-$ is a counsel of despair [2010: 488]. I would like to draw attention to Toch. A $\acute{m}\acute{a}rk-$ ‘to take away’ (which is etymologically distinct from B $\acute{m}\acute{a}rk-$ ‘to besmirch’, see [Malzahn 2010: 755–756]; perhaps from $*h_2\beta\acute{m}er\acute{g}-$ ‘to touch’, Ved. $m\acute{r}j-$): a privative compound $sne-\acute{m}\acute{a}rklune$ (A 359.15) translates Skt. $ah\acute{a}ry\acute{o}$ ‘not to be taken away’ and pret. III $mark\acute{a}s$ is found in A 120 b 5: $t\acute{a}m\ pra\acute{s}t\ penu\ sundari\ nandes\ p\acute{a}p\acute{s}une\ mark\acute{a}s$ “Zu dieser Zeit hatte Sundari das sittliche Verhalten des Nanda weggenommen ...” (trans. by Carling [2000: 285]). PIE $*merk^w-$ ‘to snatch, take away’ would be expected to give PToch. $*\acute{m}\acute{a}rkw->$ A $\acute{m}\acute{a}rk-$ with elimination of labial coarticulation before another consonant: 3 sg. aor. $*\acute{m}\acute{e}rk^w-s(t)$ > Toch. A pret. III $mark\acute{a}s$, cf. $*h_3\acute{o}k^w-s$ ‘eye’ > Common Tocharian $*\acute{a}k$ > Toch. A ak , B ek (for the phonology see [Pinault 2008: 456–457]). The reconstruction $*merk^w-$ is found in [Kösling 1998: 247], but it is not supported by any comparative material.

¹⁷ Cf. [Beekes 2010: 903]: “etymology unknown”; [Blanc 2018: 424]: “pas d’étymologie”.

¹⁸ Since the root is not attested in Mycenaean, the choice between root-final $*k^w$ and $*p$ cannot be made on Greek-internal grounds.

**memp-* (< **menp-* with place assimilation) can be given an Indo-European etymology. I propose to analyze it as a verbal governing compound with PIE **men-* ‘hand’¹⁹ as its first member (Lat. *manus*, *-ūs* ‘hand’, OIr. *muin_z* ‘protection’, OE *mund* ‘id.’ (< **m_h-to-*), Hitt. *maniyah_h-* ‘to hand over’ and perhaps *maninkuwa-* ‘near, close’²⁰) and PIE **h₁ep-* ‘take’ as its second member (Hitt. *epp^{-zi}* ‘grabs, seizes’, Lat. *apīscor* ‘I seize’, *coepeī* ‘I began’, Ved. *āpa* ‘has reached’, OAlb. *ep* ‘gives’, [LIV²: 237]).

Even though the meaning of the postulated verbal governing compound **men-h₁p-* ‘take with one’s hand’, ‘seize’²¹ is fairly trivial, this reconstruction would still look more plausible if it were supported with evidence for a *syntagma* parallel to this compound. Such evidence may be available in Latin, Hittite, and Old English although, as usual with formulaic collocations, both constituent parts of the collocation have been subject to lexical renewal.²² In Latin where the root *cap-* encroached

¹⁹ For this root see the detailed discussion by Rikov [2003] not all of whose conclusions are endorsed here, as well as [Neri 2013]. The reconstruction **meh₂-r*, **meh₂-n* ‘hand’ ([Kroonen 2013: 375–376], with many predecessors) seems hardly viable to me: εὐμαρής ‘easy’ can be explained without positing any etymological connection with the word for ‘hand’ (see [Blanc 1992]), while alleged Pindaric μάρη ‘hand’ is a *vox nihili* (see [Forssman 1966: 135–140]), despite its resuscitation by Puhvel [2004] who compared it with Hitt. ^(GIS)*māri-* ‘weapon’ (which may in reality be Luw. *marit-*, see [Starke 1986: 162]); [Opfermann et al. 2022] take Hitt. *māri-* from PIE *(*h₂*)*moh₁-ri-* ‘cutter’).

²⁰ Čop [1964: 64] was the first to compare the root of Hitt. *maninkuwa-* with PIE **men-*, Lat. *manus*. The suffix of *maninkuwa-* has been compared to Lat. *-inquus* (e.g. *propinquus* ‘near’), Gk. *-απος* (e.g. *ἀλλοδαπός* ‘belonging to another people or land; foreign’ < **al̥iod-_hk^{wo}-*) and Ved. *-āñc* (e.g. *pratyāñc-* ‘turned towards’) ever since Benveniste [1954: 41]. An alternative analysis of *maninkuwa-* has recently been proposed by Frotscher et al. [in press] who have posited a nasal-infixed stem **maninku-* ‘to shorten’ made from PIE **menk^{w-}* ‘to lack’.

²¹ According to Jochem Schindler’s theory, this type of verbal governing compounds developed from original possessive compounds (‘*Erfassen mit Hand habend*’ > ‘*mit Hand erfassen*’), see [Lindner 2018: 52–54].

²² For a methodological discussion see [Gercenberg, Kazansky 2005: 1085–1087] and [García Ramón 2010].

on *ēp-/ap-* in the meaning ‘to take’,²³ we find *manū capere* (e.g. Verg. *G.* 3, 420; Liv. 33, 7; Plin. *Nat.* 13, 19, 8, etc.); in Latin legal language we also find *mancipium* ‘laying hold of a thing; ownership’ (cf. Var. *L.* 6, 85 *mancipium, quod manu capitur*) and *manceps* ‘contractor, renter’ (*quasi *men-* + **keh₂p-*). In Hittite the default word for ‘hand’ is *ke/iššar*,²⁴ and the verb *ep(p)-/app-* is frequently construed with it to form phrases meaning ‘take with one’s hand’.²⁵ Finally, the root **h₁ep-* ‘take’ was lost in Germanic, but the second member of the Old English compound *mund-gripe* (m.) ‘grasp, grip of the hand’ may be viewed as its “*Ersatzkontinuant*”.²⁶

On the basis of this data we can theorize that beside the well-established PIE collocation ‘to place in one’s hand’ (**ǵ^hes-* + **d^heh₁-*: Ved. *háste / hástayoh dhā-*, YAv. *zastaiiō dā-*, Gk. ἐν χειρὶ / χειρὶ θη-, Hitt. *kiššari dā-*;²⁷ **men-* + **d^heh₁-*: Lat. *mandāre*, Osc. *manafum* ‘to hand over’²⁸) Proto-Indo-European had a collocation with the opposite meaning, namely, **men-* + *h₁p-* ‘take with one’s hand’. It served as the basis of an (originally possessive) compound **m(e)n-h₁p-* which, in turn, evolved into a neo-root **menh₁p-* ‘take hold of, seize’. This process would be fully parallel to the development of PIE collocation **kred(s)-* + **d^heh₁-*²⁹ that served to express the trust between strangers in a hospitality

²³ In accordance with Kuryłowicz’s Fourth Law of Analogy, Lat. *ēp-/ap-* was relegated to a secondary semantic function reflected in *apiō* ‘fasten’, *coepī* ‘began’, etc.

²⁴ Even though Anatolian preserved a reflex of PIE **men-* in Hitt. *maniyah₂h-*, etc., see above.

²⁵ E.g. KBo 25.1 a 2 LÚ-aš āššu *kiššarta epzi* ‘the man takes good by hand’; KUB 12.63 Vs. 26 UR.BAR.RA *kiššarta epten* ‘catch a wolf by hand’; KUB 45.3 i 10–11 nu^{LÜ} AZU GÙB 1 MUŠEN *epzi ZAG-it-ma=z kiššarit* ‘the magician grabs one bird with his left hand’; KBo 3.13 rev. 14 ŠU-mit *eppūn* ‘I seized with my hand’.

²⁶ E.g. *Beowulf* 380: *Ðæt hé þrittiges manna mægen-cræft on his mundgripe hæbbe* ‘he possesses the might of thirty men in the grip of his hand’.

²⁷ For the reconstruction of this collocation see [Gercenberg 1972: 113; Schutzeichel 2014: 211–214].

²⁸ On Lat. *mandāre* see [Neri 2013: 198 with fn. 105].

²⁹ On which see [Weiss 2020: 269–280].

relationship:³⁰ in Indo-Iranian we find both the collocation (e.g. Ved. *śrad* ... *dhatta* ‘trust’) and the compound (Ved. *śraddhā-*, OAv. *zrazdā-*), while in Italic and Celtic **kreds-d^heh₁-* developed into new roots (Lat. *crēdere* ‘to believe’, OIr. *creitid* ‘id.’) which spawned further morphological derivatives³¹.

We have thus arrived at a neo-root **menh₁p-* ‘take hold of, seize’.³² For a root with a punctual meaning like this we expect a root aorist:³³ in 3 sg. **(h₁)e-menh₁p-t* the laryngeal would be lost in a heavy CHCC cluster by Schmidt-Hackstein’s rule,³⁴ hence **(h₁)e-menp-t* ‘seized’ (> **(h₁)e-memp-t* with place assimilation). 3 sg. aorist served as the *forme de fondation* from which the root allomorph **memp-* / **mṃp-* spreads to the rest of the paradigm, giving 3 pl. **(h₁)e-mṃp-ent*, etc.³⁵ On the way

³⁰ For this analysis of Vedic *śraddhā-* see [Jamison 1996: 176–184] who elaborated on Paul Thieme’s proposal.

³¹ See [Weiss 2020: 272, 274] for an explanation of **-s-* in **kred-s-* and for the demonstration that in Italic and Celtic reflexes of **kreds-d^heh₁-* retained their compound identity.

³² In the discussion of the adverb *ἐμματαίως* above, it was suggested that it can be analyzed as a formation based on the thematic aorist stem **ἐμματαε/ο-*, but as Sergio Neri kindly points out to me, there is another possibility: *ἐμματα-* may go back to PIE compound **en-mṃ-h₁p-* ‘having in the hand’ whence ‘immediately’, cf. Italian *immantinate* and other semantic parallels cited in fn. 6 above.

³³ Root aorist is reconstructed for the base root **h₁ep-* in [LIV²: 237].

³⁴ See [G. Schmidt 1973; Hackstein 2002b]. For this laryngeal loss after a sonorant (**-menh₁p-t* > **-menp-t*) one may compare, for instance, the inflectional paradigm of **ǵenh₁-mṃ* ‘birth’, dat. sg. **ǵenh₁-mn-ej* > **ǵen-mn-ej* > Ved. *jánmane* (with analogical full-grade suffix) or its derivative **ǵenh₁-mn-ó-* → **ǵenh₁-mne-h₂-* ‘birth, lineage’ > **ǵen-mne-h₂-* > **ǵenneh₂-* (*aśnō*-rule, see [J. Schmidt 1895: 87–159]) > Gk. (Dor.) *γέννῶ* [Hackstein 2002b: 2–3]. Another one of Hackstein’s examples is Lat. *verbum*, Hsch. *ἔρθεν φθέγγεται* < **uerh₁-d^hh₁-o-*. In principle, one may also posit a laryngeal loss in composition: **m(e)n-h₁p-* > **men-p-* > **memp-*.

³⁵ I would to thank Stefan Höfler for discussing this scenario with me; in addition, Höfler points out to me that the lack of the laryngeal reflex in Ved. *valh-* ‘to speak in riddles’ (cf. Gk. *ἐλεφαίρομαι* ‘deceive’ and Lith. *vilbinti* ‘to lure’, [Gotō 1995]) may be attributed to the same sound law: **(h₁)e-uelh₁b^h-t* > **(h₁)e-uelb^h-t*, hence

to Greek this root aorist would be remodeled as a thematic aorist (see [Willi 2018: 344]), hence **m̥h̥p-é/ó-* > Greek *μαπέ/ό-*³⁶.

A neat parallel to the proposed development may be found in another verbal governing compound of PIE date, namely, **m(e)ns-d^hh₁-* ‘to implement thinking’ (cf. OAv. *mazdā-* (f.), Ved. *medhā-* ‘wisdom’)³⁷ reflected in Greek as a neo-root **ment^h-* ‘to come to know, to understand’ (cf. *μενθήρη* ‘concern’)³⁸ with a zero-grade **m̥h̥t^h-* that we find in the thematic aorist *μαθέ/ό-*.³⁹

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; adv. — adverb; aor. — aorist; dat. — dative; f. — feminine; pf. — perfect; pl. — plural; pret. — preterite; prs. — present; sg. — singular.

Dor. — Doric; Gk. — Greek; Hitt. — Hittite; Lat. — Latin; Lith. — Lithuanian; Luw. — Luwian; OAlb. — Old Albanian; OAv. — Older Avestan; OCS — Old Church

Proto-Indo-Aryan **ualb^h-* dissimilated as *valh-*. [AleW: 1434] tentatively takes the secondary root **uelh₁b^h-* from a compound **uelh₁-b^heh₂-* ‘*Täuschung sagen*’ (cf. Lith. *vilti*, Latv. *vīlt* ‘trick, beguile’): this attractive analysis is structurally quite similar to the one proposed in this paper for **men-h₁p-* (> **menp-* > **memp-*).

³⁶ A different way of arriving at the same result would be to posit a present stem **menh₁p-je/o-* or **menh₁p-ne/o-* in which the laryngeal would likewise be lost by Schmidt-Hackstein’s rule; the aorist stem **m̥h̥p-e/o-* > *μαπέ/ό-* would be back-formed to this present stem (**memp-je/o-* > unattested **μέμπτω* or **memp-ne/o-* > unattested **μεμπάνω*).

³⁷ See [Schindler 1975: 266; Scarlata 2001: 256–258; Wodtko, Irslinger, Schneider 2006: 493–496].

³⁸ Possibly with analogical restoration of *-n-* (**menst^h-* > **mest^h-* >> **ment^h-*), see [Hackstein 2002a: 227–228] who also discusses the secondary allomorph **mant^h-* (*μανθάνω*).

³⁹ Another parallel may be found in Vedic where denominative verb *gopāyá-* ‘to protect’ (from compound *go-pá-* ‘cowherd’ > ‘protector’, see [Scarlata 2001: 303–304], cf. Iran. **gau-pāna-* ‘id.’, the ultimate source of Slavic **gъpanъ* > Polish *pan*) was reanalyzed as made from a verbal root *gop-* and forms with zero-grade *gup-* were back-formed to this neo-root (pf. *jugup-*, p.p.p. *guptá-*, pass. *gupyā-*), see [Mayrhofer 1986–2001: 1499–1500].

Slavonic; OE — Old English; OIr. — Old Irish; OHG — Old High German; Osc. — Oscan; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; PToch. — Proto-Tocharian; SCr. — Serbo-Croatian; Skt. — Sanskrit; Toch. — Tocharian; Ved. — Vedic; YAv. — Younger Avestan.

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The prehistory of Old Lithuanian *uþ oβczių*

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Abstract. The aim of the present paper, offered to Prof. Nikolai Kazansky as a token of respect and homage for his contribution to Indo-European linguistics, is to explore the etymology of an Old Lithuanian prepositional locution *uþ oβczių* ‘on the back side’ used twice by Jonas Bretkūnas in two different passages of his translation of the *Bible* (1590). It can be argued that the genitive plural *oβczių* reflects a feminine noun **oščios* ‘back-side’ limited to the plural (plurale tantum) and is based on a Baltic feminine noun **āz-tjā*. Historically, **āz-tjā*- seems to reflect the combination of a lengthened allomorph of the preposition *až(u)*- ‘behind’ and a suffix *-*tjo*- which enjoyed a certain productivity in the prehistory of the Baltic languages. The long vowel of the preposition **āz*- is striking, however, and remains completely unparalleled in Lithuanian, where *až(u)*- is only attested with a short vowel, or with lengthening of the second vowel *ažuo*-, but not with a first long vowel **āz*-, which in turn appears in some Latvian dialects (*āz*). Taken at face value, the alternation between **āz*- and **āz*- preserved in the prepositional locution *uþ oβczių* recalls that between **pā*- (Lithuanian *pa*-) and **pā*- (Lithuanian *pó*-), but the difficulty is how to clarify the function of its initial lengthening in contrast with the more common alternation **až(u)*- / *ažuo*-. On the other hand, the Baltic suffix *-tjā* (< Proto-Indo-European *-*tjeh₂*-) is well attested in Baltic, in particular in the formation of abstract feminine nouns derived from prepositions (cf. for example Lithuanian *apačią* ‘lower parts, undersides’, Latvian *apakša* ‘lower part’ < Baltic **apa-tjā* < Proto-Indo-European *(*H*)*opo-tjeh₂*-).

Keywords: Lithuanian, Baltic, etymology, preposition.

Предыстория старолитовского *uþ oβczių*

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Аннотация. В данной статье рассматривается этимология старолитовского выражения *uþ oβczių* ‘на обратной стороне’, встречающегося дважды в переводе

Библии Йонаса Бреткунаса (1590). В обоих случаях *uβ oβcziū* оказывается дополнением или глоссой к словам *uβpakali* ‘на задней стороне’ (loc. sg.) или *ifch uβpakalo* ‘сзади’ (*iš* + gen.) в основном тексте. Можно предположить, что *oβcziū* — это форма родительного падежа множественного числа от имени женского рода **oščios* ‘обратная сторона’ (plurale tantum) и восходит к балтийской праформе **āz-tjā-*, образованной от алломорфа предлога *až(u)-* ‘за, позади’ при помощи суффикса **-tjā-*, который был в определенной степени продуктивным в предыстории балтийских языков. Вариант **āz-*, реконструируемый в рамках данной этимологии, в литовском не засвидетельствован. Тем не менее литовские предлоги демонстрируют высокую степень вариативности: так, для предлога со значением ‘за’ известны следующие формы в литовском (*ažū, āž, užū, ūž, ažiū-, ažiū-, užūo- и žū*) и латышском (*az, āz, aiz, iz, uz, uoz и ūz*). Такое количество алломорфов отчасти обусловлено смешением двух изначально разных предлогов, однако продление гласного является одним из известных типов видоизменения предлогов в балтийских языках, ср., например, лит. *pā-* → **pā-*, лит. *ró-*.

Способ образования имен прилагательных от предлогов при помощи суффикса **-tjō-* хорошо известен в индоевропейских языках. Большинство образований подобного типа в литовском являются существительными женского рода, при этом иногда они могут изменяться только по множественному числу, как, например, *āpaciōs* ‘остатки, (картофельные) очистки’. Соответственно, основной старолитовского высказывания *uβ oβcziū*, вероятно, было существительное множественного числа женского рода *oščios* ‘обратная сторона’, а не мужского рода **oščiai*.

Ключевые слова: литовский, балтийские языки, этимология, предлог.

“Und alles bleibe hinter mir”
(Johann Wolfgang von Goethe)

Looking back over the span of the past twenty years, and particularly if I try to remember the time of the Lithuanian workshop at Palūšė (1997), where I first met Prof. Nikolai Kazansky, I can only be struck by the fact that Baltic philology has taken on a different face. Not only have primary data been made more easily accessible to the scholarly world, due to the edition of many ancient texts, but Baltic philology has also implemented new linguistic approaches and developed original, hitherto unexplored perspectives. As a result, new problems came to light, both

in the synchronic description of the Baltic languages and in their diachronic analysis. The Old Lithuanian corpus, in particular, provided us with a wealth of new data, which were previously unknown or ignored and deserve thorough philological investigations, paying due attention to their context. The aim of this paper, offered to Prof. Nikolai Kazansky as a token of respect and homage for his contributions to Indo-European linguistics, is to explore the prehistory of an Old Lithuanian locution *uβ oβcziu* ‘on the back side’, which appears exclusively in the works of Jonas Bretkūnas (16th century) and has left no trace in Modern Lithuanian.

The Old Lithuanian locution *uβ oβcziu* ‘on the back side’ is not mentioned in Ernst Fraenkel’s [LEW] (1962–1965), nor in Wojciech Smoczyński’s [SEJL] (2007), but is duly described in Wolfgang Hock’s [ALEW 2: 722], where it incidentally grabbed my attention. In Old Lithuanian, it seems to be limited to Jonas Bretkūnas’ translation of the *Bible* (1590), where it occurs twice:

- (1) Old Lithuanian: Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblia* (1590: 95_{v25}, *Ex.* 26:23)

priegtam dwi lenti
in addition two.ACC.DU.F board.ACC.DU.F

uβpakali [uβ oβcziu]
back side.LOC.SG on back side.GEN.PL

ant dweiu sąsparu [tabernakulo]
on two.GEN.PL corner.GEN.PL tabernacle.GEN.SG

‘(And you shall make) two frames for corners of the tabernacle in the rear.’ (German: *dazu zwey bret hinden an die zwo ecken der Wohnung*)

- (2) Old Lithuanian: Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblia* (1590: 79_{v16}, *ISam.* 15:11)

nefa ghis išch uβpakalo nog manens
for 3.SG.NOM out of back.GEN.SG from 1.SG.GEN

atkrjpa [uβu oβcziu]
turn back.PST.3 on back side.GEN.PL

nūg manens nufsikreipe]
from 1.SG.GEN turn back.PST.3

‘For he turned back from me.’ (German: *er hat sich hinder mir abgewand*).

In both occurrences the locution *uβ oβcziū* appears as an addition, or a gloss, to the main text, where we find *uβpakali* ‘on the back side’ (loc. sg.) resp. *išč uβpakalo* ‘from the back side’ (*išč* + gen.). It may be suggested that *uβ oβcziū* reflects an alternative translation of the text, eventually downgraded to a marginal note and replaced by a more usual expression. As such, it is unlikely to represent anything else than a moribund archaism. This prompts us to examine this frozen locution carefully in order to determine its origin. No other Old Lithuanian document displays anything similar. Samuel Chyliński’s translation of the Bible (1660), cited after Kavaliūnaitė [2008], for example, has an entirely different text in the two passages: *teypag dwi lati, kampo latump Nomero, iž abieju fzalu* (Ex. 26:23), resp. *delto jog atfigryžo nog manęs* (1Sam. 15:1).

The locution *uβ oβcziū* is completely isolated in Lithuanian. Considering the regular construction of the preposition *ùž* ‘on, behind’ with the genitive, the form *oβcziū* is likely to be the genitive plural of a noun of unknown gender, either **oščiai* (m. pl.) or **oščios* (f. pl.). No such noun, however, is documented at any stage of the history of the Lithuanian language. Following the LKŽ [8: 1021], the ALEW [2: 722] suggests a masculine plural *oščiai* (?) with a question mark, but a feminine plural *oščios* is equally possible and cannot be ruled out. Concerning the formation of the word, the ALEW sees in *oščiai* a derivative in **-tio/eh₂-* from a prepositional basis corresponding to Latvian dial. *āz* ‘behind’, thus assuming a Lithuanian prototype that could be reconstructed as **āž-čia-* or **āž-čīā-* < Baltic **āž-tja-* (suffix **-tjo-*) or **āž-tjā-* (suffix **-tjeh₂-*) with a meaning ‘back side’ (Germ. *Hinterseite*, *Rückseite*). The redactor of the entry in the ALEW concludes with a note of caution: *Die Verbindung bleibt so mit einer Unsicherheit behaftet.*

There are good reasons for taking a closer look at this etymology. The first one is that it supposes a prepositional basis **āž-* that has an equivalent in some Latvian dialects (*āz*), but remains otherwise entirely unknown to Lithuanian. The second problem is the meaning of the formation in **-tjo-* or **-tjā-* applied to a prepositional basis. Both aspects require a precise analysis, which has not yet been done.

To begin with, it is necessary to remind that the preposition ‘behind’ may exhibit several forms in the Baltic languages, both in its prepositional

usage and in composition (verbal or nominal prefix). In Lithuanian, we find the following variants:

Table 1

Lithuanian	Initial vowel <i>a-</i>	Initial vowel <i>u-</i>	Initial vowel <i>ũ-</i>	Initial vowel <i>ø-</i>
Final <i>-ž-</i>	<i>àž</i>	<i>ùž</i>	<i>ũž-</i>	
	various dial. North, East, Belarus	ubiquitous	East Lith. dial. (as a nominal prefix)	
Final <i>-žu-</i>	<i>ažù</i>	<i>užù</i>		<i>žù</i>
	Old Lith.: Sirvydas	Old Lith.: Mažvydas, Bretkūnas, Morkūnas, Petkevičius, Klein		dial. Rodūnia (Belarus)
Final <i>-žuo-</i>	<i>ažúo-</i>	<i>užúo-</i>		
	East Lith. (as a nominal prefix)	ubiquitous (as a nominal prefix)		
Final <i>-žũ-</i>	<i>ažũ-</i>			
	East Lith. dial. (as a nominal prefix)			

Zigmas Zinkevičius [1966, 428; 1981: 189] writes that variants with initial *a-* are limited to the East Lithuanian dialects; in Old Lithuanian, *až(u)-* is sporadically found in Western Lithuanian (East Prussia) as well, which suggests that it was once more widely spread. The variation between initial *a-* and *u-* cannot be explained by regular phonetic change and it is better to assume that we are dealing with two originally distinct prepositions that eventually merged in the course of their history. This assumption is supported by the fact that some Old Lithuanian documents and some modern dialects use both variants (*až* and *už*) side by side with

a difference of meaning. According to Zinkevičius [1966: 428], in East Lithuanian *až* covers the range of meanings of Standard Lithuanian *ùž* ‘behind, beyond, after’ (+ gen.), ‘for’ (+ acc.), whereas *už* corresponds to *añt* ‘on’ (+ gen.). It is therefore likely that there were originally two prepositions, **ažu* and **užu* (or **už* if **užu* is taken for secondary after **ažu*), and that their distinction was blurred in many Lithuanian dialects. The striking point, however, is that there is in Lithuanian no trace of a long vowel variant **āž* that could be the basis of the nominal form **āž-čia-* or **āž-čiā* apparently preserved in the Old Lithuanian locution *uβ oβczīų* ‘on the back side’.

In Latvian, we find the following variants:

Table 2.

Latvian	Initial vowel <i>a-</i>	Initial vowel <i>ā-</i>	Initial vowel <i>ai-</i>	Initial vowel <i>u-</i>
	<i>az</i>	<i>āz</i>	<i>āiz</i>	<i>uz</i>
Final <i>-z-</i>	various dial. ‘behind’, ‘on’ (Latgalian <i>oz</i>)	various dial. ‘behind’, ‘on’ (sometimes only as a nominal prefix)	ubiquitous ‘behind’	dial. ‘on’, ‘onto, to’
Latvian	Initial vowel <i>ū-</i>	Initial vowel <i>uo-</i>	Initial vowel <i>i-</i>	
	<i>ūz-</i>	<i>uoz-</i>	<i>iz</i>	
Final <i>-z-</i>	Old Latv. <i>uhs</i> dial. <i>ūz</i> (as a nominal prefix)	Prussian Latvian	High Latv. dial. ‘on’, ‘onto, to’	

As far as I can see, forms with an initial vowel *u-* (*uz* and its lengthened variants *ūz-* and *uoz-*) and with an initial vowel *i-* (*iz*) are restricted to the meaning ‘on, onto’ and secondarily ‘to, towards’,¹ whereas *aiz* and dial. *az* mean ‘behind’ and occasionally ‘on, onto’. It is clear that we are

¹ Cf. Endzelin [DI, 1: 409–425 and 575–580 for *uz*, 541–548 for *aiz*; 1923: 485–489 for *aiz*, *az*, 507–508 for *iz*, 532–537 for *uz*].

dealing with two different prepositions, **a(i)z* ‘behind’ on the one hand, and *uz* ‘on’ on the other hand, and that their merger did not reach the same stage as in Lithuanian.

The Old Prussian data are confused and uncertain. Three prepositions can be compared to Lith. *ùž*, East Lith. *ažu* and Latv. *aiz*:

- OPr. *enfai* = Germ. *auff* ‘on’ (III: 117₂₃);
- OPr. *effe* = Germ. *von, aus* ‘from, out of’ analyzed by Vytautas Mažiulis [PKEŽ²: 187] as **aza* < Common Baltic **azō* = East Lith. *ažu*;
- OPr. *unfey* = Germ. *auff* ‘on’ (III: 117₂₃) analyzed by Vytautas Mažiulis [PKEŽ²: 924] as a contamination of **en* ‘in’ and **uz* ‘on’.

It seems to be the case that Old Prussian possessed both **azō* (= East Lith. *ažu*) in *effe* and **už* (= Lith. *ùž*) in *unfey*, but their semantic relationships are far from clear: while *unfey* routinely means ‘on’, *effe* exhibits a completely unparalleled ablative meaning (‘from, out of’). This difficulty is compounded by the fact that a contamination seems to have taken place with **en* ‘in’ to explain the nasal in *unfey* (**už* + **en* -> **unž-*); the hapax *enfai* could be a mistake for **unfai* (it comes after *sten* in III: 117₂₃). In addition, the endings of the different prepositions are unexplained: *-ai*, *-ey* is reminiscent of the adverbial ending *-ai* (cf. *labbai* ‘well’), but the ending *-e* of *effe* (*-a* in *affā* in I and II) is obscure. And, last, but not least, we do not know how the meaning ‘behind’ was expressed in Old Prussian.

To sum up, it may be assumed that the Baltic languages inherited two different prepositions **azō* ‘behind’ (= East Lith. *ažu*) and **už* ‘on’ (= Lith. *ùž*, Latv. *uz*). Their distinction was lost, or at least blurred, in some dialects, and this merger may locally have had formal consequences: Old Lith. *užu* (instead of *už*) was probably created after *ažu*, and conversely Latv. dial. *az* (instead of **azu*) may have been shaped after *uz*. It is possible that Latv. *aiz* results from a contamination of *az* with *iz*, whose vowel is not completely clear, however. The short form *žu* (instead of *ažu*) in the Lithuanian dialect of Rodūnia (Belarus) might be due to the influence of Slavic *za*.

In view of this, it is difficult to reconstruct a uniform prototype for all the forms mentioned above. The comparison with Slavic and

other Indo-European languages adds a greater level of complexity. Two Slavic prepositions may belong here: *za* ‘behind, beyond, after, for’ (Ru. *za*, Pol. *za*, etc.) and *vъzъ* ‘in return for, up, back’ (Ru. *vz(o)-*, *voz-* ‘up, back’, Pol. *wz(e)* ‘up’).² While the former might go back to Slavic **zō*, i.e. the same form as Baltic **ažō* ‘behind’, but without initial *a-*, the latter can reflect Slavic **už*, like Baltic **už* ‘on’. The apparent variation between Slavic **zō* and Baltic **ažō* can hardly be explained in terms of PIE ablaut (zero grade vs full grade) and remains completely in the dark. A PIE prototype *(*He/o*)*ǵʰoH* would fail to explain the vowel alternation, and the structure of the preposition would still be obscure. The other form, Balto-Slavic **už*, could be traced back either to *(*H*)*ud-ǵʰ-* (with **ud-* = Skt. *úd* ‘up, away, out of’, cf. Gk. *ὑστερος*, Skt. *uttara-* ‘higher, later’) or to *(*H*)*up-ǵʰ-* (with **up-* = Goth. *uf* ‘on’, cf. Hitt. *ūpp-*^{zi} ‘to come up’); Rick Derksen [EDSIL: 533] proposes reconstructing more directly Balto-Slavic **už* as **up-s* (**up-* + adverbial ending *-s*?) with generalization of the voiced sandhi variant, which is uncertain. Reinhold Trautmann [1923: 336] compares Lith. *ùž* and Slavic *za* with the Armenian polyfunctional preposition *z-* ‘through’ (+ acc.), ‘about’ (+ abl.), ‘around’ (+ instr.), ‘against’ (+ loc.), but this comparison, which goes back to Heinrich Hübschmann [1897: 446], is formally and semantically imprecise. The PIE prehistory of both *(*a*)*zō* and **už* in Balto-Slavic remains unclear, but the only certainty is that the long vowel of Latvian *āz* and Old Lithuanian *oβczių* is unparalleled in Indo-European and should therefore be given an internal explanation in Baltic.

Taking the Old Lithuanian locution *uβ oβczių* at face value, *oβczių* is likely to reflect the genitive plural of a noun. But both the suffixation and the formation of this noun remain to be determined: a Baltic reconstruction **āž-tja-* or **āž-tjā-* has to be motivated by formal and semantic parallels. The derivation of nominal forms from a prepositional basis by means of a suffix **-tja-* or **-tjā-* is not unparalleled in Lithuanian, as shown by the following forms:³

² Meanings are given after Derksen [EDSIL: 533, 540].

³ Cf. Skardžius [1943: 332]; Ambrazas [1993: 49].

- Lith. *apačią* ‘lower parts, undersides’ (e.g. *špod / špodek czego / Ima superficies alicuius rei, pars inferior / Apačia* in Sirvydas, *Dictionary trium linguarum* (ca 1643): 416 *apud* Kruopas [1979]) < Baltic **apa-tjā* < PIE *(H)*opo-tjeh₂* (from PIE *(H)*op-* = Hitt. *āppa* ‘after, behind’);
- Lith. *įsčia* ‘internal parts, womb, intestines’ (e.g. nom. sg. *įsczia* = Pol. *żywot* in Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* (1599): 624₃₉ etc. *apud* Palionis [2000]) < Baltic **ins-tjā* (from the PIE preposition **h₁en*, **h₁ṇ* = Gk. *ἐν* ‘in’, Lat. *in* + adverbial -s as in Gk. *εἰς* ‘into’ < **h₁en-s*);
- Lith. dial. *prieščia* ‘part located at the front’ LKŽ [10: 691] < Baltic **prejs-tjā* (Lith. *prieš* ‘before’, from PIE **prej-s*);
- East Lith. dial. *ažacià* ‘place located behind, backside’ LKŽ [1: 533] < Baltic **aža-tjā* (East Lith. *až(u)* ‘behind’);
- East Lith. dial. *ažvačià* ‘place located behind, backside’ LKŽ [1: 536] < Baltic **ažō-tjā* (East Lith. *až(u)* ‘behind’);
- Lith. dial. *užacià* ‘remote corner’ LKŽ [17: 586] < Baltic **uža-tjā* (Lith. *už* ‘behind’);
- Lith. *užuočià* ‘remote corner’ (LKŽ [17: 729], e.g. *užžočio* ‘in a remote corner’, loc. sg. -*io(je)* in Daniel Klein, *Naujos Giesmju Knygos*: 474₆ *apud* Michelini [2003]) < Baltic **užō-tjā* (Lith. *už* ‘behind’);
- Lith. *pasčiūkōs* ‘residue’, f. pl. (LKŽ [9: 460]; ALEW [2: 737], e.g. *Paßczúkos Grund=Suppe* in *Clavis Germanico-Lithuana* 17th century: 817 *apud* Drotvinas [1995]), probably diminutive of a noun **pasčia* < Baltic **pas-tjā* (Lith. *pàs* ‘near, by’, compare Arcadian Greek *πός* ‘towards’ < PIE **pos* and Lat. *post* ‘after’ < PIE **pos-ti*).

Most of these derivatives are of feminine gender. The pattern [PREP] → [PREP + FEM **-tjā*] is so widespread that one may reasonably surmise that the basis of the Old Lithuanian locution *uš ošczių* is also a feminine

(plural) noun *oščios* ‘back side, rear parts’ (from Baltic **āz-tjā-*) rather than a masculine (plural) noun **oščiai*. There are parallels for the specialization to the plural, e.g. Lith. *āpačios* ‘residues (of potatoes)’ LKŽ [1: 183] < ‘what is left behind’ beside the singular *apačià*. Some of these derivatives are built on a preposition that is still in use in the language, e.g. Lith. *prieščia* ← *priėš* ‘before’, *užacià* and *užuočià* ← *ùž* ‘behind’, East Lith. *ažacià* ← *až(u)* ‘behind’, and, more remotely, *įščia* ← *ĩ* ‘into’, but, in the case of *apačià* ‘lower parts, undersides’, the corresponding preposition **ap(a)* was lost, probably due to the quasi-homonymy with *apiė* ‘around’.

One form deserves special attention. According to the LKŽ [1: 337], in a few Lithuanian dialects (Biržai, Kriukai, north of Lithuania, close to the Latvian border), there is a compound *aščiaġaliaĩ* ‘grain residues’ (nom. pl.), corresponding to Lith. *nuobiros*, *grūdagaliai*. It seems to be based on a form **aščias* or **aščiā* ‘residue, what is left behind’, apparently from **āz-tja-* or **āz-tjā-* with short vowel (in comparison with the long vowel of **āz-tjā* > Old Lith. **oščios*). The status of this form is uncertain and the explanation of its first member given here is only a possibility among others.

The same pattern [PREP] → [PREP + FEM **-tjā*] has existed in Latvian, and in some cases the correspondence with Lithuanian goes so far that one may assume a Common East Baltic formation:

- Latv. *apakša* ‘lower part’ ME [1: 73] < Baltic **apa-tjā* (with epenthetic *-k-* in Latvian) < PIE **(H)opo-tjeh₂* (from PIE **(H)op-* = Hitt. *āppa* ‘after, behind’);
- Latv. *iekša* ‘internal part, interior’, pl. *iekšas* ‘intestines’ ME [2: 30–31] < Baltic **en(s)-tjā* (with epenthetic *-k-* in Latvian) < PIE **h₁en(s)-tjeh₂* (from PIE **h₁en* = Gk. *év* ‘in’, Lat. *in*);
- Latv. *priekša* ‘place located before’ ME [3: 393] < Baltic **prej-tjā* (with epenthetic *-k-* in Latvian) < PIE **prej-tjeh₂* (from PIE **prej*).

Some of these nouns are used regularly, or even predominantly, in the locative as adverbs or secondary prepositions, e.g. Latv. *iekša* ‘internal part, interior’ → *iekšā* ‘within, inside’ (loc. sg., ME [2: 31]), Latv. *priekša*

‘place located before’ → *prìekšā* ‘before, in presence’ (loc. sg., ME [3: 394]). Sometimes, the noun has disappeared and is preserved only indirectly through its frozen locative: a noun **beša* ‘lack’ (< **be-tjā*, from *be* ‘without’ + feminine suffix *-tjā*)⁴ may be inferred from the locative *bešā* ‘without’ (adverb, ME [1: 281]).

In Old Prussian, the pattern [PREP] → [PREP + FEM **-tjā*] is not clearly attested as such, but an equivalent of Lith. *įsčia* ‘womb, intestines’, Latv. *iekša* ‘internal part, interior’, pl. *iekšas* ‘intestines’ might be reflected by OPr. *inxcze* ‘kidney’ (EV: 128, Germ. *Niere*).

The Old Lithuanian locution *uβ oβcziū* ‘on the back side’ is thus likely to be based on a feminine noun **oščios* ‘back side, rear parts’ (from Baltic **āz-tjā*-). The derivation of a feminine noun in **-tjeh₂* on a prepositional basis is probably a secondary formation. There was in Indo-European an adjectival suffix **-tjō-* which served to derive adjectives from prepositions or adverbs. The most widespread adjective of this type is PIE **ni-tjō-* (Skt. *nitya-* ‘own, familiar’, Goth. *nihjis* ‘relative, parent, cognate’, Gall. *Nitio-broges* name of a tribe) from PIE **ni* ‘down’ (Skt. *nī*). Another archaic formation is PIE **(H)op-tjō-* (Skt. *aptyá-* ‘located outside’, Hitt. *appezziia-* ‘later, last’ with *-e-* by anaptyxis or by analogy to the antonym *hantezziia-* ‘located at the front’)⁵ from **(H)op-* (Hitt. *āppa* ‘after, behind’). On account of its meaning, the Sanskrit substantivized neuter *āpatyam* ‘offspring’ is likely to reflect another formation PIE **h₂epo-tjō-* from **h₂epo-* (cf. Gk. *ἀπό* ‘from’). Many of these adjectives are reflected in Ancient Greek, either directly (a) or through substantivized forms (b) or through adverbs (c):

(a) Ancient Greek adjectives:

- *περισσός* ‘excessive, superfluous’ < PIE **peri-tjō-* ‘located above’ (from PIE **peri*, Gk. *περί* ‘around, above’, Skt. *pári* ‘above’); alternatively, *περισσός* could reflect PIE **peri-k-tjō-* with a velar (cf. adv. *πέριξ* ‘around’);

⁴ In Latvian the preposition *be* ‘without’ is usually replaced by the Slavic loanword *bez*.

⁵ See Oettinger [1995], who reconstructs **h₂op-tjō-*.

- ὕπτιος ‘laid on one’s back’ < PIE **up-tjo-* ‘located under’ (from PIE **up*, Gk. ὑπό ‘under’, Skt. *úpa* ‘under’); the lack of assibilation is unexplained.

(b) Ancient Greek nouns:

- Ἄμφισσα place name (near Delphi), perhaps from an adjective **ἄμφισσος* < PIE **h₂emb^hi-tjo-* ‘located around’ (from PIE **h₂(e)mb^hi*, Gk. ἀμφί ‘around’, Lat. *ambi-* ‘from both sides, around’, Skt. *abhí*); note, however, that Ἄμφισσα with short -ᾶ cannot be the direct reflex of the feminine of **ἄμφισσος* (this would be **ἄμφίσσᾱ*); alternatively -σσα could reflect a Prehellenic suffix;
- Ἄντισσα place name (near Lesbos), perhaps from an adjective **ἄντισσος* < PIE **h₂enti-tjo-* ‘located in front’ (from PIE **h₂enti*, Gk. ἀντί ‘in front of’, ‘for’, Skt. *ánti* ‘in front’, Lat. *ante* ‘before’, Hitt. *hanti* ‘in front’); note, however, that Ἄντισσα with short -ᾶ cannot be the direct reflex of the feminine of **ἄντισσος* (this would be **ἄντίσᾱ*); alternatively -σσα could reflect a Prehellenic suffix;
- ἔπισσαι ‘younger daughters’ (Hecataeus) from an adjective **ἔπισσος* (still reflected in Hesychius: ἔπισσον· τὸ ὕστερον γενόμενον) < PIE **h₁epi-tjo-* ‘located after’ (from PIE **h₁epi*, Gk. ἐπί ‘on’, Skt. *ápi* ‘on’, Arm. *ew* ‘and, in addition’);
- μέτασσαι ‘lambs that are born later’ (*Od.* 9, 221) from an adjective **μέτασσος* (still reflected in *H. Hermes* 125: n. pl. μέτασσα used adverbially ‘afterwards’) < PIE **meth₂-tjo-* ‘located after’ (from PIE **meth₂*, Gk. μετά ‘after’, Goth. *mip* ‘with’).

(c) Ancient Greek adverbs:

- εἴσω adv. ‘into’, probably the adverbial instrumental of a substantivized adjective **εἴσος* < PIE **h₁en-tjo-* ‘located inside, within’ (from PIE **h₁en*, Gk. ἐν ‘in’); alternatively, εἴσω could be built directly on εἰς ‘into’ (< PIE **h₁en-s*) + adverbial ending -ω (like ἄνω ‘upwards’);

- ἔξω adv. ‘out’, probably the adverbial instrumental of a substantivized adjective *ἔξος < PIE **h₁egʰ-tjo-* ‘located inside, within’ (from PIE **h₁egʰ*, Gk. ἐκ ‘out’); alternatively, ἔξω could be built directly on ἐξ ‘out’ (< PIE **h₁egʰ-s*) + adverbial ending -ω (like ἄνω ‘upwards’) or even simply by analogy to εἶσω;
- ὀπί(σ)σω adv. ‘behind, back’, probably the adverbial instrumental of a substantivized adjective *ὀπισσος < PIE **h₁opi-tjo-* ‘located behind’ (from PIE **h₁opi*, Myc. *opi-* ‘on’, Lat. *ob* ‘towards, to, on account of’);
- πρὸ(σ)σω adv. ‘forwards, onwards’, probably the adverbial instrumental of a substantivized adjective *πρό(σ)σος < PIE **pro-tjo-* ‘located before’ (from PIE **pro*, Gk. πρὸ ‘before’, Skt. *prá* ‘before’, Lat. *pro* ‘before’).

Further vestiges of the same formation are found in other Indo-European languages:

- OCS *ništъ* ‘beggar’ (< PIE **nīs-tjo-*, cf. **nī̯-s*, the formation being parallel to that of Skt. *nīstya-* ‘external, foreign’);
- OCS *obъštъ* ‘common’ (< PIE **h₃ebʰi-tjo-*, cf. **h₃ebʰi* ‘about’, OCS *o*);
- Lat. *propitius* ‘favorable, propitious’ (< PIE **propo-tijo-*, cf. Lat. *prope* ‘near’ < PIE **propo*, dissimilated from **pro-pro*)⁶
- Goth. *auþs* (*auþeis*) ‘desert’ (< PIE **h₂ey-tjo-*, cf. adverb **h₂ey-* ‘away’, OPr. *au-*, OCS *u-*);
- Goth. *framabeis* ‘foreign’, OHG *fremadi*, Germ. *fremd* (< PIE **promo-tijos*, cf. Goth. *fram* ‘from’).

⁶ Cf. Dunkel [1980], accepted by de Vaan [EDL: 492]. Alternatively, but less likely, Lat. *propitius* could reflect a compound **pro-pet-* (from *petō* ‘to strive for, to seek’, cf. *praepes* ‘flying swiftly’), cf. DELL [539].

and, last but not least, probably:

- Lith. *svėčias* ‘guest’ < ‘foreign’, Latv. *svešs* ‘foreign, strange’ (< PIE **sue-tjo-*, cf. the reflexive particle **sue* ‘own, apart’).

The prehistory of the PIE suffix **-tjo-* is obscure, but its diffusion testifies to its antiquity beyond any doubt. In Baltic, adjectives of this formation are extremely rare: apart from Lith. *svėčias* ‘foreign, guest’, which has its own history, one could perhaps mention Lith. dial. *užuočias* ‘concealed, secret’ < ‘located behind’ LKŽ [17: 729], but this might rather be a secondary back-formation based on the more common noun *užuočiaià* ‘remote corner’ (loc. *užuočiojė* ‘in a remote corner’). The first member of Lith. dial. *aščiągaliai* ‘grain residues’ is unclear. There is no uncontroversial evidence for adjectives in **-tja-* (< PIE **-tjo-*) in Baltic, where this formation survives almost exclusively through substantivized feminines in **-tjā* (< PIE **-tjeh₂*). To this formation belongs in Old Lithuanian the feminine plural **oščios* ‘back side, rear parts’ (from **āž-tjā-*).

The last point I have to clarify is the form of the first member of **āž-tjā-*. As already mentioned, the preposition ‘behind’ exhibits a great diversity of forms in Lithuanian (*ažù, àž, užù, ùž, ažuó-, ažú-, užuo-* and *žù*) and Latvian (*az, āz, aiz, iz, uz, uoz* and *ūz*). Some of these variations are attributable to the merger of two originally distinct prepositions, but there must be other parameters to explain the extent of the variations. It has long been recognized that there is in Balto-Slavic a system of formal differentiation separating three related forms — preposition, verbal prefix and nominal prefix. In Lithuanian, for example, there is still nowadays a marked distinction between the preposition *nuð* ‘out of, from’ (+ gen.), the verbal prefix *nu-* (e.g. *nutekėti* ‘to flow, to stream down’, ind. prs. 3 *nùteka*) and the nominal prefix *núo-* (e.g. *núotakas* ‘basin, drain, gutter, sewer’):

preposition [nuð] ≠ verbal prefix [nù-] ≠ nominal prefix [núo-]

The distribution of these three degrees was described in Petit [2011] and their origin was clarified by Le Feuvre [2011]. For the present purpose, it suffices to provide an overview of the variations attested in Lithuanian:

Table 3

Lithuanian	Preposition	Verbal prefix	Nominal prefix	Examples
Type 1. Suppletion	<i>aĩt</i> / <i>ũž</i> <i>sù</i>	<i>ũž-</i> <i>sù-</i>	<i>aĩt-</i> <i>sám-, sán-, sá-</i>	<i>užplústi</i> ‘to flood, to inundate’ / <i>aĩtplúdis</i> ‘flow, influx, crowd’ <i>sujũngti</i> ‘to connect, to link up’ / <i>sájunga</i> ‘union, alliance’
Type 2. Metatony	<i>ĩ</i> <i>peĩ</i>	<i>ĩ-</i> <i>pér-</i>	<i>ĩ-</i> <i>pér-</i>	<i>ĩnėsti</i> ‘to bring in’ (<i>ĩ-neša</i>) / <i>ĩnašas</i> ‘contribution’ <i>pértraukti</i> ‘to break, to interrupt’ / <i>pértrauka</i> ‘break, interruption’
Type 3. Formal variation	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ĩ-</i>	<i>iĩ-</i>	<i>ĩtekėti</i> ‘to flow (into)’ (<i>ĩteka</i>) / <i>iĩtakas</i> ‘affluent’
Type 4. Addition of a syllable	<i>ũž</i>	<i>ũž-</i> <i>at(i)-</i>	<i>užúo-</i> <i>atã- or ató-</i>	<i>užmėgzti</i> ‘to knot, to start’ (<i>užmezga</i>) / <i>užúomazga</i> ‘plot, embryo, rudiment’ <i>atskaitýti</i> ‘to deduct, to count off’ / <i>atãskaita</i> ‘account’ <i>atslũgti</i> ‘to fall off, to fall away’ / <i>atóslũgis</i> ‘ebb, low tide’
Type 5a. Metatony + Formal variation	<i>nuĩ</i> <i>priĩ</i> <i>pĩ</i> <i>prĩ</i>	<i>nũ-</i> <i>pri-</i> <i>pã-</i> <i>prã-</i>	<i>núo-</i> <i>prie-</i> <i>pó-</i> <i>pró-</i>	<i>nutekėti</i> ‘to flow down’ (<i>nuteka</i>) / <i>núotakas</i> ‘basin, drain, gutter, sewer’ <i>priarĩti</i> ‘to approve’ (<i>priaritia</i>) / <i>prietaras</i> ‘superstition, prejudice’ <i>pasũkti</i> ‘to turn, to swing’ (<i>pásuka</i>) / <i>póskũkis</i> ‘turn, turning, turning point’ <i>praskinti</i> ‘to clear away’ (<i>prãskina</i>) / <i>próskyna</i> ‘opening, cutting (in a forest), clearing’

Lithuanian	Preposition	Verbal prefix	Nominal prefix	Examples
Type 5b. Metatony + Formal variation	<i>põ</i>	<i>pà-</i>	<i>pã-</i>	<i>pažadėti</i> ‘to promise’ (<i>pàžada</i>) / <i>pãžadas</i> ‘promise’
	<i>prõ</i>	<i>prà-</i>	<i>prã-</i>	<i>pranėšti</i> ‘to announce’ (<i>pràneša</i>) / <i>prãnašas</i> ‘precursor, herald, harbinger, prophet’
Type 5c. Metatony + Formal variation	<i>apiẽ</i>	<i>ap(i)-</i>	<i>apy-</i>	<i>apibrėžti</i> ‘to delineate’ / <i>apybraiža</i> ‘outline, contour, sketch’
Type 6. No distinction	<i>iš</i>	<i>iš-</i>	<i>iš-</i>	<i>išrėikšti</i> ‘to express’ / <i>išraiška</i> ‘expression’

and Latvian:

Table 4

Latvian	Preposition	Verbal prefix	Nominal prefix	Examples
Type 1. Metatony	<i>nùo</i>	<i>nùo-</i>	<i>nuõ-</i>	<i>nùodalīt</i> ‘to separate, to fence off’ / <i>nuõdaļa</i> ‘department, section, chapter’
	<i>piẽ</i>	<i>piẽ-</i>	<i>piẽ-</i>	<i>piedegt</i> ‘to burn’ / <i>piẽdēgas</i> ‘burns’
		<i>ie-</i>	<i>iẽ-</i>	<i>iẽkaût</i> ‘to forge’ / <i>iẽkava</i> ‘instrument for forging’
Type 2. No distinction	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pagulēt</i> ‘to take a nap’ / <i>paguļa</i> ‘nap, short sleep’
	<i>sa</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>sajust</i> ‘to feel’ / <i>sajūta</i> ‘sense, sensation’

Some of the variations observed in the preposition ‘behind’ can receive an explanation within this system. For example, *ažúo-*, *ažū-* and *užúo-* in Lithuanian, *āz-* and *ūz-* in Latvian are limited to the function

of a nominal prefix. Descriptively, the variation of the nominal prefix can take on four main forms:

- Type (a). Metatony: e.g. Lith. *į-nėšti, į-neša* ‘to bring in’ → *į-našas* ‘contribution’;
- Type (b). Lengthening: e.g. Lith. *pa-sùkti, pà-suka* ‘to turn, to swing’ → *pó-sūkis* ‘turn, turning, turning point’;
- Type (c). Diphthongization: e.g. Lith. *nu-tekėti, nù-teka* ‘to flow down’ → *núo-takas* ‘basin, drain, gutter, sewer’;
- Type (d). Addition of an extra syllable: e.g. Lith. *už-mėgzi, už-mezga* ‘to knot, to start’ → *užúo-mazga* ‘plot, embryo, rudiment’.

The different realizations of the system may lead to secondary analogies: Lith. *ažù* → *ažúo-* (type c. diphthongization) may be locally replaced by *ažù* → *ažú-* (type b. lengthening), and likewise in Latvian we can find *az* → *āz-*, *uz* → *ūz-* (type b. lengthening). It is not necessary to go into the details of these variations nor to weigh up in individual cases which variation is original, which one is secondary. Suffice it to say that types (a), (b) and (c) are likely to form the core of the system, with (a) limited to the case when the basis is already a long vowel or a diphthong, and (b) resp. (c) formed from short vowels. Type (d) is generally a secondary evolution of (b) and (c) after the loss of a final syllable. The position of the preposition may vary: it can agree with the verbal prefix (e.g. Lith. *ùž* = verbal prefix *ùž-* ≠ nominal prefix *užúo-*) or it can remain isolated on its own (e.g. Lith. *nuð* ≠ verbal prefix *nu-*, *nù-* ≠ nominal prefix *núo-*). The important point is that most of these variations can receive an internal explanation in Baltic in terms of paradigmatic analogy. In the case of **ažō* and **už*, one can reconstruct the following possibilities:

- Lith. *ažù* → *ažúo-* (type c);
- Lith. *ažù* → *ažú-* (type b);
- Lith. *àž* → **āž-* (type b) in Old Lith. **oščios* (< **āž-tjā-*);
- Lith. *àž* → **až-* (no variation) in Lith. dial. *aščialogiaiĩ* (< **āž-tjā-*);

- Lith. *užù* → *užúo-* (type c) or *ùž* → *užúo-* (type d);
- Latv. *az* → *āz-* (type b);
- Latv. *uz* → *ūz-* (type b).

One may note that type (b) (lengthening) may be applied either to the final vowel of a dissyllabic basis (e.g. Lith. *ažù* → *ažú-*) or to the unique vowel of a monosyllabic basis (Latv. *az* → *āz-*) alike, which shows that it remained productive at different stages of development. In view of this, the Old Lithuanian derivative **oščios* ‘backside’ (in the locution *uβ oβczjū* ‘on the back side’) may reflect an allomorphic variation of the type Lith. *až* → **āž-* (type b), which is as such not attested for this basis in Lithuanian, but has good parallels within the language (e.g. Lith. *pā-* → **pā-*, Lith. *pó-*). Strikingly enough, the same basis (‘behind’) may exhibit various allomorphs in the formation of the secondary derivative in **-tja-* or **-tjā-*:

- Lith. *až* → *aža-* (East Lith. dial. *ažačià*); Lith. *až* → *ažuo-* (East Lith. dial. *ažvačià*); Lith. *už* → *uža-* (Lith. dial. *užačià*); Lith. *už* → *užuo-* (Lith. *užuočià*); Lith. *až* → *āž-* (Old Lith. **oščios* in *uβ oβczjū*); Lith. *až* → *až-* (Lith. dial. *aščialiaĩ*).

No doubt that some of these variations can be of secondary origin: Lith. *až* → *aža-* (East Lith. dial. *ažačià*) and Lith. *už* → *uža-* (Lith. dial. *užačià*), for example, might have been influenced by the parallel formation of Lith. *apačià* (*ap-a-*). Similarly, the pattern *až* → *āž-* reflected by Old Lith. **oščios* might owe its existence to the parallel pattern of Lith. *pa* → *pā-* (Lith. *pó-*), independently of the similar formation *az* → *āz-* found in Latvian for the same reasons. It is almost by accident that this residual possibility was preserved by Jonas Bretkūnas, barely recognizable, in the frozen locution *uβ oβczjū* ‘on the back side’. A precise mapping of these variations remains to be done to determine not only dialectal patterns of diffusion, but also the position of each allomorph in the morphological system. It has to be noted that nominal prefixes occupy a unique position, regularly distinguished from the corresponding prepositions and verbal prefixes, but at the same time the formation of a noun

on a prepositional basis such as **āz-tjā-* ‘back side’ (< ‘what is behind’) seems to be caught between two conflicting pressures, that of the prepositional basis it is derived from and that of the process of nominalization to which it is subject.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; abl. — ablative; acc. — accusative; du. — dual; f. — feminine; gen. — genitive; ind. — indicative; loc. — locative; m. — masculine; n. — neuter; nom. — nominative; pl. — plural; prep. — preposition; prs. — present; pst. — past; sg. — singular.

Arm. — Armenian; Gall. — Gallic; Germ. — German; Gk. — Greek; Goth. — Gothic; Hitt. — Hittite; Lat. — Latin; Latv. — Latvian; Lith. — Lithuanian; Myc. — Mycenaean; OCS — Old Church Slavic; OHG — Old High German; OPr. — Old Prussian; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; Pol. — Polish; Ru. — Russian; Skt. — Sanskrit.

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Свиноподобные савроматы на карте Птолемея? (греческая эпиграмма на «Географию» Птолемея)

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Аннотация. В статье публикуется 7-строчная стихотворная эпиграмма на «Географию» Птолемея, написанная гексаметром и восходящая, скорее всего, к античному времени, и дается ее стихотворный перевод на русский язык. Основная часть статьи посвящена комментированию содержания этой эпigramмы. Ее автор довольно примитивно описал суть великого труда Птолемея. Уже назвав его произведение «Хорографией», он извратил суть усилий Географа, который в самом начале своей «Географии» рассуждает о разнице между *хорографией* и *географией* и намерен создать именно второе. Комментарий имеет целью прояснить реалии текста, а также ввести эпigramму в круг картографических представлений античности и раннего средневековья. Речь идет о текстах Максима Плануда, Аврелия Кассиодора, *Divisio orbis terrarium*, Эвмения, в которых речь также идет о картах. В статье рассматривается античный узус описывать ойкумену через перечисление народов, населяющих ее окраины, представленный в публикуемой эпigramме. Это эфиопы на юге, германцы на западе, савроматы и скифы на севере, инды и серы на востоке. В статье анализируются тексты Эфора, Страбона и Тимосфена Родосского, в которых также имеет место такое изображение ойкумены, и показывается развитие этой традиции. В комментарии сделана также попытка определить происхождение и смысл эпитетов, прилагаемых к названиям народов в эпigramме: так, эфиопов автор называет ‘бездельными’ (ἀδραμεῖς), племена германцев — ‘несчастливыми’ (δύσμορα), савроматов — ‘схожими со свиньями’ (χοίροισιν ἑοικότες), а также ‘злосчастной Скифии племя суровое’ (αἰνόμερον Σκυθίας χυλεπὸν γένος). Понять эти эпитеты — иногда довольно неожиданные, — а также установить географическую локализацию упомянутых народов помогают тексты Гомера, Геродота, Псевдо-Скимна, Помпония Мелы, Проперция, Страбона, Стация, Плиния Старшего, Тацита, Плутарха, Агафемера, Косьмы Индикоплова.

Ключевые слова: Птолемей, «География», эпigramма, античная картография, народы на окраинах ойкумены.

Fig-like Sauromatae on Ptolemy's map? (Greek epigram in "Geography" of Ptolemy)

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Abstract. In the article I publish a Greek poetic epigram of seven verses from Ptolemy's "Geography", written in hexameter and most likely going back to ancient times; I also give a verse translation into Russian. The main part of the article is devoted to commenting on the content of this epigram. Its author rather primitively described the essence of the great work of Ptolemy. Having already called his work "Chorography", he distorted the sense of the efforts of the Geographer, who at the very beginning of his "Geography" discusses the difference between *chorography* and *geography* and intends to create the latter. The commentary aims to clarify the realities of the text, as well as to contextualize the epigram with regard to cartographic representations of Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. These are the texts of Maximus Planudes, Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Divisio orbis terrarum* and Eumenius, which give descriptions of the maps. The article also examines the ancient usus to present the oikumene through the enumeration of the peoples inhabiting its outskirts, presented in the published epigram. These are Ethiopians in the south, Germans in the west, Sauromatae and Scythians in the north, Indians and Chinese in the east. In the article I analyze the texts of Ephoros, Strabo and Timosthenes of Rhodos, concerning this usus, and show the development of this tradition. In the commentary an attempt is made to determine the origin and meaning of the epithets applied to the names of peoples in the epigram: the author calls the Ethiopians 'idle' (ἀδραμεῖς), the Germanic tribes — 'unfortunate' (δύσμορα), the Sauromates — 'similar to pigs' (χοίροιςιν ἐουκόται), as well as 'the harsh tribe of unfortunate Scythia' (αἰνομόρου Σκυθίας χυλεπὸν γένος). The texts of Homer, Herodotus, Pseudo-Scymnos, Pomponius Mela, Propertius, Strabo, Statius, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, Plutarch, Agathemerus, Cosmas Indicopleustes help to understand these epithets — sometimes quite unexpected, and also to establish the geographical localization of the peoples mentioned.

Keywords: Ptolemy, "Geography", epigram, ancient cartography, peoples on the outskirts of the oikumene.

В сборнике статей к моему юбилею два года назад Николай Николаевич опубликовал текст и перевод одной латинской эпиграммы, в которой иностранный автор, сатирически описывая

сибирское застолье, на которое он был приглашен местным «скудным богачом», пишет в 1725 г., что целью этого застолья было «постыдно продать праздничный обед» [Казанский 2020: 262–271]. В порядке «симметричного ответа», или, уместнее сказать, «антидорона», я решил отметить юбилей дорогого друга и коллеги также переводом, и также поэтическим, и также эпиграммы (хотя и древнегреческой), и также несколько уничижительно отзывающейся о (в этот раз совсем древних) насельниках нашей страны — савроматов там обозвали свиноподобными!

* * *

Во многих лучших рукописях «Географии» Птолемея, самые ранние из которых датируются XIII в., в конце последней VIII книги приводится 7-строчная стихотворная эпиграмма на «Географию» Птолемея, написанная гексаметром¹. Текст эпиграммы содержится во всех рукописях Ω-рецензии (XIII–XIV вв.) еще до разделения этой рецензии на Δ- и Π- группы, поэтому исследователи предполагают античное происхождение эпиграммы [Stückelberger, Graßhoff 2006: 909, Anm. 74].

Ниже публикуется греческий текст этой эпиграммы с русским переводом и небольшим комментарием.

Στίχοι ἠρωικοὶ εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαίου χορογραφίαν

Ἐν γραμμαῖς τὸν κόσμον ἀριθμηθέντα νόησον
 ἄρκτους, Ὠκεανόν, δύσιν, ἀντολίην τε νότον τε,
 χεῖμα, θέρος, φυσικὰς τ' ἀτραποὺς σκολιάς τε κελεύθους,
 Αἰθιοπὰς τ' ἀδραμεῖς, Γερμανῶν δύσμορα φύλα,
 Σαυρομάτας χοίροισιν εὐκότας ἦδε καὶ αὐτῆς
 αἰνομόρου Σκυθίας χαλεπὸν γένος ἄχρις ἐς ἠῶ,
 Ἴνδῶν τε Σηρῶν τε· τὸ γὰρ πέρας ἀντολῆς γῆς.

¹ См. ее последнее издание [Stückelberger, Graßhoff 2006: 920–921].

Гексаметрические стихи на «Хорографию» Птолемея

Сможешь познать в чертежах (1) весь мир, разделенный
на части,
Север и океан (2), и запад, восток вместе с югом (3),
Зиму и лето (4), природные тропы, пути не прямые (5),
Эфиопов бездельных (6), народы несчастных (7) германцев,
Савроматов, со свиньями схожих (8), а также злосчастной 5
Скифии племя суровое (9), что до востока доходит,
Индов и серов — они обитают на крайнем востоке (10).

Комментарий

Общие замечания

Сразу хочу отметить, что автор эпиграммы довольно примитивно описал суть великого труда великого александрийца. Уже назвав его произведение «Хорографией», он извратил суть усилий Птолемея, который в самом начале своей «Географии» рассуждает о разнице между *хорографией* и *географией* и намерен создать именно второе. 'География, — пишет Птолемей (1, 1, 1), — есть линейное изображение всей ныне известной нам части земли со всем тем, что на ней находится. Она отличается от хорографии тем, что последняя, беря отдельные местности, рассматривает каждую из них особо, приводя в своих описаниях даже такие мелочи, как, например, гавани, селения, округа, притоки главных рек и т. п. География изображает известную нам землю единой и непрерывной, показывает ее природу и положение в виде самых общих очертаний, отмечая заливы, большие города, народы, реки и остальное, наиболее достопримечательное в каждом роде' (перевод К. С. Апта).

Интересно сравнить публикуемую эпиграмму с еще одной, также написанной на «Географию» Птолемея. «География», созданная в середине II в. н. э. и после почти забытая, была обнаружена в 1295 г. в Константинополе монахом из монастыря Хора Максимом Планудом (ок. 1255–1305) — выдающимся ученым,

собирателем, переписчиком и комментатором рукописей греческих авторов².

От Плануда сохранилось стихотворение, написанное гексаметром и содержащее 47 строк, в которых он с восторгом рассказывает о «Географии» Птолемея³. В стихах 13–18 говорится:

‘Если же кто-то бросит свой взгляд, напрягая любознательный ум, на эту Географию, то он уж точно не разочаруется в этом. Ибо он с легкостью сможет получить представление о всей Земле, ее образе, положении и очертании, вплоть до любой подробности, далее об устьях рек, местоположении городов и рек, а также народов, сколь бы много их ни обитало, и об Амфитрите⁴ со её островами’.

Марк Аврелий Кассиодор в своих наставлениях монахам основанного им монастыря Vivarium ок. 560 г. также упомянул находящуюся в библиотеке монастыря «Географию» Птолемея следующим образом:

‘Если же вы загоритесь благородной заботой о познании [географии], то у вас есть том Птолемея (*habetis Ptolemaei codicem*), который все местности показал настолько наглядно (*sic omnia loca evidentiter expressit*), что вам покажется, что он был жителем почти всех мест’ (Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1, 25).

От античности дошло не так много описаний картографических трудов. В качестве параллели к нашим эпиграммам приведу латинский текст V в. н. э., который описывает изготовление

² См. об обстоятельствах обнаружения Планудом «Географии» Птолемея [Bagrov 1945: 318–387; Burri 2003: 127–136; Stückelberger 1996: 197–205; Stückelberger 2009: 325–331].

³ См. ее текст и русский перевод с комментарием в [Подосинов 2021: 613–621].

⁴ Амфитрита — в греч. мифологии жена владыки моря Посейдона и царица морей, в данном случае = ‘море’.

(или редактирование) карты мира. Этот текст представляет собой 12-строчную гексаметрическую эпиграмму (*Divisio orbis terrarum* 27):

‘Труд замечательный сей, в котором весь мир поместился,
И обозначены горы, моря, проливы и реки,
Гавани и города, чтобы каждый легко мог увидеть,
Где что находится, нам приказал исполнить потомок
Славного рода, вечно благочестивый и кроткий
Наш повелитель, величье которого мир не вмещает, —
Феодосий, в пятнадцатый раз на трон свой взошедший.
Слуги покорные, мы, чередуясь в письме и рисунке,
Быстро закончили труд, твореньям следуя древних.
Лучше, чем прежде, он стал, мы ошибки исправили предков,
Изобразить весь мир в коротком смогли изложениях...
Этому, о повелитель, твоя научила нас мудрость!’⁵

Предполагается, что эпиграмма была написана в 435 г. в пятнадцатый консулат императора Феодосия II, известного покровителя наук, открывшего 27 февраля 425 г. в Константинополе университет [Bury 1923: 232; Traina 2013: 155–171].

Есть и еще одно описание карты мира, принадлежащее перу оратора Эвмения, который писал к Констанцию Хлору в 297/8 г. н. э. (*Eumenius, Pro instaurandis scholis*), восхваляя усилия этого императора и его соправителей по восстановлению разрушенной галлами

⁵ Hoc opus egregium, quo mundi summa tenetur,
Aequora quo, montes, fluvii, freta, portus et urbes
Signantur, cunctis ut sit cognoscere promptum
Quicquid ubique latet, clemens genus, inclita proles,
Ac per saecula pius, totus quem vix capit orbis,
Theodosius princeps venerando iussit ab ore
Confici, ter quinque aperit cum fascibus annum.
Supplices hoc famuli, dum scribit, pingit et alter,
Mensibus exiguis, veterum monumenta secuti,
In melius reparamus opus culpamque priorum
Tollimus ac totum breviter comprehendimus orbem.
Sed tamen hoc tua nos docuit sapientia, princeps.

школы в городе Августодуне. В своем панегирике он призывал выставить в портиках школы карту мира, ведь в таком случае:

‘⟨...⟩ молодежь могла бы видеть и ежедневно наблюдать в этих портиках все земли и все моря, а также какие города, племена и народы всегда побеждающие императоры или же своим благочестием восстанавливают, или доблестью побеждают, или страхом сковывают, если там ⟨...⟩ ради обучения молодежи (чтобы нагляднее было глазами изучать то, что трудно воспринимается на слух) будут описаны (*descripta sunt*) расположение всех местностей со своими названиями (*omnium cum nominibus suis locorum situs*), их размеры и расстояния между ними, а также истоки и устья всех рек, изгибы береговой линии моря, обширность океана, окружающего мир, и форма его заливов’ [Подосинов 2007: 196].

Почти во всех этих описаниях встречается перечисление объектов, которые зритель находит на карте: страны, народы, города, гавани, моря со своими заливами, реки, горы, проливы, а также иногда дистанции между ними.

А что же описывается в нашей эпиграмме? Перейдем к конкретным пунктам публикуемой эпиграммы, обозначенным в переводе цифрами.

(1) Слово ἡ γράμμη, кроме значения ‘черта, линия’, означает также ‘очертания, контур’. Словосочетание ἐν γράμμαϊς и τὸν κόσμον ἀριθμηθέντα позволяет думать, что имеются в виду таблицы со списками топонимов рядом с цифровым указанием их координат, как и выглядел текст Птолемея в большинстве случаев.

(2) Упоминание Океана втиснулось между обозначением стран света несколько нелогично, что может объясняться и чисто метрическими причинами. Но и не упомянуть Океан было бы странно, поскольку на карте мира Птолемея он омывает ойкумену почти со всех сторон.

(3) По-видимому, неслучайно перечисление стран света начинается с севера, следует через запад и восток и заканчивается югом — карты, как и само описание ойкумены Птолемея, были

ориентированы на север. Более того, описание отдельных регионов идет в его «Географии» с севера на юг и с запада на восток. Об этом принципе описания Птолемей специально пишет в начале своего труда (Ptol. *Geog.* 2, 1, 3–5): «Мы избрали такую последовательность изложения, чтобы легче воспроизводить рисунок во всех отношениях, а именно, мы продвигаемся слева направо ⟨...⟩ Это позволит внести северные объекты раньше южных, а западные — перед восточными; ведь с точки зрения рисовальщика и зрителя мы понимаем [расположенную] «вверху» (ἄνω) как северную, «правую» (δεξιά) как восточную часть ойкумены, как на глобусе, так и на карте».

(4) Как зритель мог увидеть зиму и лето на карте Птолемея, не совсем понятно. Вероятно, имеется в виду, что он мог лицезреть и северные зоны ойкумены, скованные, как считалось в античности, вечной стужей, и южные, где вечное лето⁶. Проперций в одной из элегий описывает, как влюбленная женщина пишет своему избраннику, оказавшемуся в далеком походе, что она изучает разрисованную карту, где изображены различные страны (Prop. 4, 3, 35–40)⁷:

‘Знать я хочу, где течет Аракс, покоряемый нами,
 Много ли миль без воды скачет парфянский скакун;
 Принуждена изучать я по картам раскрашенным страны,
 Всё, что премудрый творец вырастить там порешил, —
 Где цепенеет земля от морозов, где сякнет от зноя,
 Или какие ветра парус в Италию мчат’.

⁶ См., например, у Помпония Мелы (1, 4): «Посреди мира возвышается земля, окруженная отовсюду морем. И будучи им же разделенной с востока на запад на две части, называемые полусферами, [земля] делится на пять зон. Среднюю зону изнуряет жара, крайние — холод; прочие — обитаемые — имеют одинаковые времена года».

⁷ Et disco, qua parte fluat uincendus Araxes,
 quot sine aqua Parthus milia currat equus;
 cogor et e tabula pictos ediscere mundos,
 qualis et haec docti sit positura dei,
 quae tellus sit lenta gelu, quae putris ab aestu,
 uentus in Italiam qui bene uela ferat.

(приведенный выше перевод принадлежит Л. Остроумову).

Видеть на карте, ‘где цепенеет земля от морозов, где сякнет от зноя’, оказывается, можно было и на карте в доме римской девушки в эпоху Августа⁸. Некоторые исследователи [Diederich 2019: 70] предполагают, что эта карта могла быть с обозначением — по-эратосфеновски — климатических зон, как мы видели у Помпония Мелы (см. примеч. 6), некоторые же считают, что это были надписи на самой карте, о которых не без иронии рассказывает Плутарх (Plutarchus *Thes.* 1, 1): ‘⟨...⟩ Ученые мужи, трудясь над описанием земель, все ускользящее от их знания оттесняют к самым краям карты, помечая на полях: «Далее безводные пески и дикие звери», или: «Болота Мрака», или: «Скифские морозы», или: «Ледовитое море» [Arnaud 2014: 50]. Последнее представляется мне более правдоподобным.

(5) В немецком издании предлагается видеть в не очень понятных ‘природных тропах и не прямых путях’ обозначение тропиков и эклиптики, которые иногда рисовались на картах земли [Stückelberger, Graßhoff. 2006: 921].

(6) ἄδραμεῖς — слово, нигде более, как кажется, не встречающееся (его нет в словаре Liddell-Scott), но имеющее прозрачную внутреннюю форму (отрицание ἄ- и отглагольное существительное δράμα ‘действие’). В то же время ‘бездельными’ или ‘бездеятельными’ эфиопы могли быть названы потому, что начиная с Гомера их образ жизни рисовался как исполненный покоя, радости, пиршеств, долголетия. Эфиопов часто посещали боги, например, Посейдон (см. *Hom. Od.* 1. 22–26).

Но в то время он (Посейдон) был в отдаленной стране
 (τηλόθ' ἑόντας) эфиопов:
 (Крайних людей (ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν), поселенных двояко: одни,
 где нисходит
 Бог светоносный, другие, где всходит), чтоб там от народа
 Пышную тучных быков и баранов принять гекатомбу.
 Там он, сидя на пиру, веселился.

(перевод В. Жуковского)

⁸ Анализ этого текста Проперция с точки зрения истории римской картографии см. [Diederich 2019: 69–74].

В «Илиаде» сам Зевс с олимпийскими богами отправляется пировать с ‘непорочными’ эфиопами (*Il.* 1, 423–425):

Зевс громовержец вчера к отдаленным водам Океана
С сонмом бессмертных на пир к эфиопам отшел непорочным
(ἀμύμονας);
Но в двенадцатый день возвратится снова к Олимпу⁹.
(перевод Н. Гнедича)

Отмечу сразу, что эфиопы уже у Гомера живут ‘далеко’ (τηλόθῃ) и характеризуются как ‘крайние’ (ἔσχατοι), т. е. дальше всех живущие. Важен для понимания нашей эпиграммы эпитет ‘непорочные’ (ἀμύμονες), который близок по смыслу к эпитету эфиопов ἀδραμεῖς¹⁰.

‘Бездеятельные’ эфиопы, возможно, имелись в виду римским поэтом Стацием, который в «Фиваиде» описывает находящуюся за эфиопами пещеру — обиталище бога Сна (10, 84–99), и вот ее изображение (89–97):

Вход стерегут дремучая Тишь с Беспамятством вялым
и коченеющая в постоянном бездействии Леньность. 90
Отдохновенье в сенях и сложившее крылья Немотство
молча сидят и порывы ветров прогоняют от кровель,
и запрещаюи листве шелестеть, и птичий смиряют
щебет. Не слышится здесь ни прибой (хотя б грохотали
все берега), ни раскаты небес. И даже бегущий 95
возле пещеры поток, спускаясь в глубокие доли,
на перекатах молчит...

Не исключено, что соседствующее с эфиопами ‘Немотство’ способствовало их характеристике как ‘бездеятельных’.

(7) ‘Несчастливыми’ (δύσμορα) германцев автор называет, вероятно, из-за их неудачной борьбы против римлян, в своей экспансии

⁹ Ср. Stat. *Theb.* 5, 426–428: ‘(...) Так летят из ворот сокровенных / боги, как молвят, когда на брег и в дома им любезно / красных вступить эфиопов для их пиров невеликих’ (перевод Стация здесь и далее Ю. Шичалина).

¹⁰ См. также о нравах и обычаях эфиопов: Hdt. 3, 20–24.

дошедших до Ютландии и Эльбы. Плиний Старший писал о походах римлян на севере Германии (*Nat.* 2, 167):

‘Северный Океан в большей своей части пройден на кораблях благодаря заботам божественного Августа: флот обогнул Германию до Кимврского мыса [Ютландия] и оттуда вплоть до Скифской страны и обледенелых от чрезмерной влажности [областей] было осмотрено, а также стало известно по рассказам огромное море’.

(8) Уникальная характеристика в отношении савроматов, больше нигде не встречающаяся в античной литературе. Возможно, здесь мы имеем отзвук расхожего мнения о жестокости и каннибалических наклонностях савроматов, как, впрочем, и скифов, массагетов и других племен северо-востока ойкумены, что хорошо документировано античными авторами, см., например мнение Эфора, переданное Страбоном (*Str.* 7, 3, 9): ‘Эфор в четвертой книге «Истории», озаглавленной «Европа», описав Европу до скифов, в конце говорит, что образ жизни скифов и в частности савроматов не сходен: одни из них жестоки до того, что едят человечину, другие — воздерживаются от употребления [в пищу] любых живых существ’. Интересно, что знаменитый греческий физиогномист иудейского происхождения Адаманций (V в. н. э.), описывая нравы и внешний вид скифов, также сравнивал их со свиньями (*Adam.* 25, 33: τούτους τοῖς χοίροις εἴκαζε).

Птолемей, как известно, помещал сарматов на территории современной Восточной Европы в рамках двух регионов — ‘Европейская Сарматия’ и ‘Азиатская Сарматия’ в границах между Германией и Вислой на западе и Волгой на востоке (3, 5–9), поэтому их упоминание в эпиграмме после германцев отражает их действительную географию по Птолемию¹¹. Отметим, однако, что Птолемей не называет ‘савроматов’, он говорит всегда только о ‘сарматах’, поэтому автор эпиграммы и здесь несколько искажает содержание его «Географии».

¹¹ Подробнее о локализации Скифии и Сарматии у Птолемея см. [Подосинов и др. 2016: 201–205].

(9) ‘Суровость’ ‘злосчастных’ скифов, по-видимому, является отзвуком славы скифов как непобедимого в войне народа¹². Причины непобедимости скифов, по представлениям древних греков, заключались в их образе жизни и способах ведения войны. Геродот таким образом формулирует причину их непобедимости (Hdt. 4, 46, 2–3):

‘Самое же значительное их достижение состоит в том, что никто из тех, кто вторгся к ним, не может спастись бегством, а если они не пожелают, чтобы их обнаружили, захватить их невозможно: ведь они не основывают ни городов, ни укреплений, но все они, будучи конными стрелками, возят свои дома с собой, получая пропитание не от плуга, а от разведения домашнего скота; жилища у них на повозках. Как же им не быть непобедимыми и недоступными для нападения?’ (перевод И. А. Шишовой).

Географическая локализация скифов у Птолемея, действительно, сильно смещена к востоку: он описывает две ‘скифские’ области к востоку от сарматов и Каспия — ‘Скифию до Имава’ и ‘Скифию за Имавом’, которая простиралась до Восточного океана (ср. в эпиграмме: ‘что до востока доходит’). Помещение в эпиграмме скифов после ‘савроматов’ и до индов и серов, таким образом, вполне соответствует Птолемеевой локализации.

(10) В отношении индов и серов (под последними обычно понимаются китайцы) автор эпиграммы не нашел никаких отрицательных эпитетов, что тоже понятно, — о тех и других в античности рассказывали множество удивительных, экзотичных историй, не содержащих, однако, ничего предосудительного. Их помещение на самом востоке ойкумены отражает локализацию этих стран и народов у Птолемея и других античных авторов: серы и страна Серика следует сразу за Скифией на восток до самого Восточного океана (7, 5), инды расположены южнее серов также на оконечности ойкумены. Помпоний Мела в середине I в. н. э. пишет о восточной оконечности ойкумены

¹² См. о непобедимости скифов [Мелюкова 1949; Тахтаджян 1992: 43–52; Перевалов 2015: 73–77; Подосинов и др. 2016: 144–153].

(1, 11): ‘Насколько мы знаем, в ней [т. е. Азии] первыми с востока живут инды, серы и скифы. Серы населяют приблизительно среднюю часть восточной стороны, инды [и скифы] — крайние части; и те и другие занимают обширную территорию ⟨...⟩’. Он же пишет о серах, что они (3, 60) ‘народ весьма справедливый и известный своей торговлей, которую он осуществляет заочно, оставляя в безлюдных местах товары’.

У самого Птолемея, разумеется, не было никаких оценочных характеристик описываемых им народов и племен, в том числе уничтожительных, поскольку его труд был чисто научной — геокартографической — направленности. Их автор эпиграммы привнес от себя, используя, вероятно, общеизвестные в античности мнения с оценками разных народов, когда автор, полагая себя в центре средиземноморского «цивилизованного» мира, при описании периферийных «варварских» народов не скупится на негативные эпитеты для их характеристики.

* * *

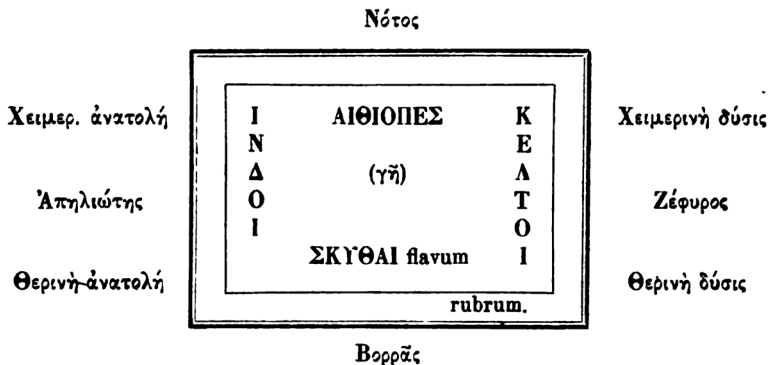
Итак, эпиграмматист описал географию ойкумены по Птолемею с помощью обозначения народов, живущих на ее окраинах. Надо сказать, что такой способ географического описания земли имеет длительную историю.

Вот что пишет о распределении окраинных народов у Эфора Страбон (Str. 1, 2, 28): ‘Эфор говорит в описании Европы, что, так как земное и небесное пространства делятся на четыре части, земли к востоку занимают инды, к югу — эфиопы, к западу — кельты, к северу — скифы’. Псевдо-Скимн явно заимствует эту диатесу племен, когда пишет (стихи 170–174):

‘Индийцы внутренние земли все почти,
 Что на востоке, населяют; южный же
 Край — эфиопы, к ветру ноту близкие;
 Места ж к зефиру и закату летнему —
 Во власти кельтов, а к борею — скифские’.

(Перевод И. Е. Сурикова)

Карту Эфора, полностью соответствующую этому описанию, сохранил Косьма Индикоплов в VI в. н. э. в своей «Христианской топографии» (ориентация карты — южная):



Сам Страбон дает несколько иное расположение окраинных народов, маркирующих концы ойкумены в его время (Strabo 1, 1, 13): ‘Во всем круге населенной земли северные [пространства] лежат до крайних [пределов] Скифии и Кельтики, южные — до крайних пределов эфиопов... То же касается области индов или иберов, первые из которых находятся на крайнем востоке, вторые — на западе, являясь в некотором роде антиподами по отношению друг к другу’. У Страбона остаются, как у Эфора, Эфиопия на крайнем юге и Кельтика, но уже в паре с северными скифами; присутствуют также восточные инды, но по-настоящему западными выступают теперь вместо кельтов иберы (жители Иберии, совр. Испании). Введение иберского этнонима в традиционную схему свидетельствует, по-видимому, о большем знакомстве с этой частью ойкумены в римское время.

Традиция маркировать оконечности ойкумены именами народов, там проживающих, встречается и у других авторов. Так, Тимосфен Родосский, начальник флота Птолемея II Филадельфа, написал между 270 и 240 гг. до н. э. географическое сочинение «О гаванях» в 10 книгах. Здесь он, используя для ориентации на ментальной карте ойкумены 12-лепестковую розу ветров, имеющую, по-видимому, своим

центром и точкой отсчета Родос, по ветрам распределил окраинные народы таким способом (см. Agathem. 2, 7):

‘Тимосфен, написавший периплы, говорит о двенадцати ветрах... Народы же, которые, по его мнению, населяют отдаленнейшие части (τὰ πέρατα) [ойкумены, таковы]: у Апелиота — бактрианы, у Эвра — инды, у Финика — Эритрейское море и Эфиопия, у Нота — Эфиопия, что за Египтом, у Левконота — гараманты, что за Сиртами, у Либа — западные эфиопы, что за маврами, у Зефира — [Геракловы] Столпы и начала Ливии и Европы, у Аргеста — Иберия, ныне Испания, у Траския — [кельты и их соседи, у Апарктия]¹³ — скифы, что за Фракией, у Борея — Понт, Меотида, сарматы, у Каикия — Каспийское море и саки’.

Интересно, что Тимосфен иногда дает названия двух народов или стран, которые, находясь одно за другим, «замыкают» ойкумену (Эфиопия ‘за’ Египтом, гараманты ‘за’ Сиртом, западные эфиопы ‘за’ маврами, скифы ‘за’ Фракией).

Из народов, упомянутых анонимным автором эпиграммы, в розе ветров Тимосфена названы инды, эфиопы, кельты (вместо германцев), сарматы и скифы. Примечательно, что наш автор заменил эфоровых, страбоновых и тимосфеновых кельтов германцами. Этот факт объясняется тем, что первые три автора представляют диатесу племен, известных в эллинистическую эпоху, когда о германцах и Германии еще не было сведений. Само это название появилось очень поздно, сначала в Риме около 80 г. до н. э.¹⁴ Так, Тацит пишет в своей «Германии» (2, 3): *Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum* (‘Название Германии недавнее и только что присвоенное’). Эллинистическая география знала в Западной Европе только кельтов, которые граничили на востоке со скифами. Отмечу также, что у Тимосфена скифы локализуются еще в Европе ‘за’ Фракией, а сарматы восточнее

¹³ Слова о кельтах в квадратных скобках — дополнение К. Мюллера из почти дословного пересказа диатесы племен Агафемера, сохранившегося у христианского писателя Иоанна Дамаскина (*De orthodoxa fide* 2, 26).

¹⁴ См. [Lund 2001: 30–31] о цезаревом «открытии» Германии и германцев.

у Азовского моря и Каспийского моря, в то время как у Птолемея и эпиграмматиста все наоборот — сначала сарматы, затем, к востоку от них, скифы, что отражает реалии уже римского времени.

Таким образом, наш анонимный автор, описывая сугубо научный труд Птолемея, в своей короткой эпиграмме прибег к традиционным, популярным и расхожим представлениям о том, что должна содержать карта мира, хотя в некоторых деталях правильно оценивает достижения Птолемея.

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The derivational history of Vedic *sákthi-* ‘(inner) thigh’

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Abstract. It is argued that Vedic *sákthi-* ‘(inner) thigh’ (an unambiguous cognate of Hitt. *šakutt-* ‘thigh(bone)’, attested in the reflex of the PIE collective form *šakuttai*, obl. **šakuttij-* of the *ḥaštāi* type), which belongs to the heterogeneous group of heteroclitic stems in *-i/-n-*, viz. *dádhi-* ‘sour milk’, *ákṣi-* ‘eye’, *ásthi-* ‘bone’, is not a structural parallel to Ved. *ásthi-* but rather belongs with *ákṣi-* in that they share the peculiar nom.-acc. du. in *-í* with a final accent (directly attested in the case of *ákṣi-* as nom.-acc. du. *akṣí* and indirectly demonstrable for *sákthi-* via its secondary remodelling *sakthya* ~ *sakthya*, which finds a perfect typological parallel in *akṣya* ← *akṣí*). As such, Vedic **saktí* is a near-perfect match to the Old Iranian forms (YAv. nom.-acc. du. *haxti*, OAv. Gdu. **haxtiiā*), which go back to Proto-Iranian **saktī* (> Common Iranian **haxti*), and speaks in favour of a Proto-Indo-Iranian **sakt-í* ‘a pair of (inner) thighs’, to which Ved. sg. *sákthi-* (still preserving the accent of the old consonantal stem) would then be back-formed — just like Ved. *ákṣi-* is ultimately based on the Proto-Indo-Iranian nom.-acc. du. **akṣ-í* (< PIE **h₃^{skw-}ih₁* through partial contamination with the reflex of PIE **h₂us-ih₁* ‘pair of ears’), which was synchronically very obviously reinterpreted as an *i*-stem case form. As such, Vedic *sákthi-* also provides the possible model for the relegation of Proto-Indo-Aryan **ast^{hi}* ‘bone’ (most likely the old nom.-acc. pl., i.e. neuter collective) to the nom.-acc. sg., from which it arguably adopted the aspirate (a feature entirely absent from Iranian) in its own turn. It is further argued that on the basis of PIIr. **sakt-í* one can reconstruct a Proto-Indo-European neuter dual form **sek^w-ih₁* (or, conceivably, **seg^w-t-ih₁*), which represents an important addition to the small group of PIE zero-grade nom.-acc. du. neuters referring to natural pairs of things (nearly all securely reconstructible members of which are words for body parts), such as most famously **(s)h₃^(e)kw-ih₁* ‘eyes’ and **h₂us-(s)-ih₁* ‘ears’.

Keywords: Vedic, Old Iranian, Proto-Indo-Iranian, Hittite, Proto-Indo-European, morphology, word formation, dual.

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История словообразования *sákthi*- ‘бедро’

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Аннотация. Вед. *sákthi*- ‘бедро’ (когнат хетт. *šakutt*-) относится к группе гетероклитических основ среднего рода на *-i/-n-*, наряду с *dádhi*- ‘творог’, *ákṣi*- ‘глаз’, *ásthi*- ‘кость’. Как и *ákṣi*-, *sákthi*- имеет особую форму ном.-акк. дв. ч. на *-í* с ударным конечным слогом. Такая форма засвидетельствована для *ákṣi*- и предполагается для *sákthi*- на основании косвенных данных. Форма **saktí* находит точные соответствия в древних иранских языках (ср. мл.-авест. ном.-акк. дв. ч. *haxti*, ст.-авест. ген. дв. ч. **haxtiiā*) и указывает на прото-индоиранскую праформу **sakt-í* ‘бедро’.

Засвидетельствованная ведийская форма *sákthi*-, сохраняющая ударение старой основы на согласный, представляет собой аналогическую форму, образованную на базе унаследованной формы двойственного числа **sakt-í*; схожим образом, форма *ákṣi*- была образована по аналогии с ном.-акк. дв. ч. **akṣ-í* и реинтерпретирована как падежная форма основы на *-i*-. В рамках этого анализа придыхательный согласный в *sákthi*- не является этимологическим, а развился по аналогии со схожей по структуре старой формой номинатива / аккузатива множественного числа собирательного существительного среднего рода **ástḥi*.

Индоиранская праформа **sakt-í* в свою очередь позволяет реконструировать и.-е. **s^{ek}vt-ih₁* (или **s^{eg}v-t-ih₁*, если предположить, что конечный согласный в корне представляет собой суффикс) – еще одно существительное среднего рода с нулевой ступенью в форме номинатива / аккузатива двойственного числа. Практически все относящиеся к этой группе существительные обозначают части тела, ср. **(s)h₃(e)k^v-ih₁* ‘глаза’ и **h₂us-(s)-ih₁* ‘уши’. Можно предположить, что распространение **-ih₁-* на формы косвенных падежей двойственного числа среднего рода (ср. инстр.-дат.-абл. дв. ч. вед. *-íbh_yām* ~ авест. *-ib_iiā* ~ др.-перс. *-ibiyā* < и.-е. **-ih₁-b^hi_{oh}i*) является специфической морфологической особенностью рассмотренного типа склонения.

Ключевые слова: ведийский, древнеиранские языки, праиндоиранский, морфология, словообразование, двойственное число.

1

A synchronic fact of Vedic grammar is that it possesses a group of nouns that display heteroclititic stem alternation, involving *-n-* in the weak cases, which is different from the inherited *-r-/-n-* pattern.¹ These form two distinct groups. The first group² includes *yūṣ*, W(eak) *yūṣ-ṇ-ás*, loc. sg. *yūṣ-āṇ(-i)* ‘broth’ < **iūH-s-*, W **iūH-s-n-*’ (← loc. sg. **iūH=s-én*) ← **iéuH-s-/*iūH-s-*’; *dóṣ*, W *doṣ-ṇ-ás*, loc. sg. *doṣ-āṇ(-i)* ‘(upper) arm’ < **déu-s-/*deu-s-n-*’ (← loc. sg. **deus-én*) ← **déu-s-/*du-s-*’; **ás*³ → *āsyaṃ*, W *ās-n-ás*, loc. sg. *ās-ān(-i)* ‘mouth’ < **h₁éh₃-s*, W **h₁éh₃-s-n-*’ (← loc. sg. **h₁éh₃-s-én*) ← **h₁éh₃-s-/*h₁h₃-s-*’,⁴ and *śíras*, W *śírṣ-ṇ-ás*, loc. sg. *śírṣ-āṇ(-i)* ‘head’ < **kr̥=h₂-es-*, W **kr̥=h₂=s-n-*’

¹ Of which Vedic preserves *ásy-k-*, W(eak) *as-n-*’, loc. sg. *as-ān(-i)* ‘blood’ < **ás-ṛ-K-/*as-n-/*as-án* < **h₁ésh₂-ṛ-/*h₁ésh₂-n-ós* ... (loss of the laryngeal by de Saussure’s Law)/**h₁ésh₂-én* ← PIE **h₁ésh₂-ṛ-*, obl. **h₁ésh₂-n-* (→ **h₁ésh₂-én-* → **h₁ésh₂-n-*), loc. sg. **h₁ésh₂-én*; *yákṛ-t-*, W *yak-n-*’, loc. sg. *yak-ān(-i)* ‘liver’ < **iák-ṛ-T* (< **iak-ṛ-K-* by dissimilation)/**iak-n-/*iak-án* < **iék^w-ṛ-/*iék^w-n-/*iék^w-én* ← PIE **H₁ék^w-ṛ-*, obl. **H₁ék^w-n-* (→ **H₁ék^w-én-* → **H₁ék^w-n-*), loc. sg. **H₁ék^w-én*; *śákṛ-t-*, W *śak-n-*’, loc. sg. *śak-ān(-i)* ‘excrement’ < **śák-ṛ-T* (< **śakṛ-K-* by dissimilation)/**śak-n-/*śak-án* < **kék-ṛ-/*kék-n-/*kék-én* ← PIE **kók-ṛ-*, obl. **kék-n-* (→ **kék-én-* → **kék-n-*), loc. sg. **kék-én*; (nom.-acc. sg. replaced by *v_aár*, *udaká-*), W *ud-n-*’, loc. sg. *ud-ān(-i)* ‘water’ < **ud-n-*’, **ud-én* ← PIE **uód-r-*, obl. **uéd-n-* (→ **uéd-én-* ~ **ud-én-* → **ud-n-*), loc. sg. **ud-én*; *áh-ar-*, W *áh-n-*, loc. sg. *áh-ān(-i)* ‘day’ < *(*H*)*ádṣ^har-/*(H)ádṣ^hn-* ← PIE *(*H*)*ógh^h-ṛ*, obl. *(*H*)*égh^h-n-* (← *(*H*)*égh^h-n-*), loc. sg. *(*H*)*égh^h-én*, and *údh-ar-*, W *údh-n-*, loc. sg. *údh-ān(-i)* ‘udder’ ← *(*H*)*úHd^h-ṛ-/*(H)uHdh-n-* ← PIE *(*H*)*óuHd^h-ṛ*, obl. *(*H*)*uHd^h-n-* (← *(*H*)*éuHd^h-n-*), loc. sg. *(*H*)*uHd^h-én*.

² See [Wackernagel, Debrunner 1930: 315–318] for a detailed description; cf. [Nussbaum 1986: 53, 161].

³ Beside another inflectional paradigm, preserved in *ās-á* (instr. sg.) and *ās-ás* (abl. sg.) < **h₁éh₃-s-*’, the archaic status of which is confirmed by the Iranian data (even if in theory these forms could also reflect what synchronically must have appeared as a root noun after an early but already Indo-Aryan paradigm split of *ās-*, *ās-(a)n-* into 1. **ás-*, *ās-* and 2. *āsya-*, *ās-(á)n-*).

⁴ See especially [Zinko 2001: 415–417] for the problems involved.

(* k_{γ} = h_2 = s - $\acute{e}n$) ← * $k_{\acute{e}r}$ = h_2 - s -/* k_{γ} = h_2 - $\acute{e}s$ -, all of which display - \acute{o} -/ n - heteroclisis, predictably behave as neuter nouns, and mostly go back to what seem to have (at least secondarily) been amphidynamic s -stems. *ś́iras*-, on the other hand, is a descendant of a proterodynamic s -stem, and although it has copied the original position of the accent in the old strong stem, thus matching the usual accent position in the genuine * $C\acute{e}C$ - os type neuters, its synchronic strong shape is that of the old oblique * k_{γ} = h_2 - $\acute{e}s$ -. The reason that the oblique was selected here as the nom.-acc. sg. stem clearly lies in the fact that by that time a new oblique * $k_{\gamma}h_2$ - s -´ had already been introduced into the paradigm, so that * $k_{\acute{e}r}h_2$ - s -/* $k_{\gamma}h_2$ - $\acute{e}s$ - → * $k_{\gamma}h_2$ - $\acute{e}s$ - (→ * $k_{\gamma}h_2$ - $\acute{e}s$ -)/* $k_{\gamma}h_2$ - s - n -´. The source of the new oblique will most likely have been the analytical loc. sg., reanalyzed as the endingless loc. sg. of an n -stem by the following proportional analogy:⁵ * CC - $\acute{e}n$ (n -stem endingless loc. sg.) : * k_{γ} = h_2 - s - $\acute{e}n$ (loc. sg.) = gen. sg. * CC - n - $\acute{e}s$: x (* $k_{\gamma}h_2$ - s - $\acute{e}s$), where x is resolved as * $k_{\gamma}h_2$ - s - n - $\acute{e}s$.⁶

To what extent this is the direct source of the loc. sg. and the neo-oblique n -stem in the rest of the members of this category is indeterminable, since any of these could have started behaving as n -stems in the weak caseforms (and at least in the case of $\acute{a}s$ - that seems to be exactly the case) by analogy with a structurally parallel case in which such a loc. sg. was inherited and served as the impetus for the development of a neo-oblique.

1.1. The second group of - X -/ n - heteroclitics consists of four members (all neuters), viz. *ákṣ-i* ~ *akṣ-ṇ-ás* ~ *akṣ-án(i)* ‘eye’, *ásth-i* ~ *asth-n-ás* ~

⁵ This proposal has of course already been put forward, see especially [Lühr 2000: 178] and [Oettinger 2016, esp. pp. 322, 324]. For a radically different approach that views the n - as an original extension with an individualizing function, see [Pronk 2015]. Nussbaum [1986, esp. 215–217], like [Neri 2003: 82, fn. 198], seems to favour contamination with old - r/n - heteroclitics. Cf. also [Benveniste 1935: 24, 77–78]. For a completely different account of the n -stem of Arm. *akn* ‘eye’, taken as a Hoffmann derivative from * h_3ek^w -, see now [Kölligan 2019: 186–187].

⁶ Cf. the well-known cases such as Av. *xšapan*- ‘night’ beside older *xšap*- ⇐ * $k^w s^e p$ - $\acute{e}n$, or the same development in the case of er -locatives as in Ved. *uṣár*- ‘dawn’ ⇐ * h_2us =(s)- $\acute{e}r$. The same process might also be responsible for the type * $h_3r\acute{e}g$ - on - itself, if its n -inflection is indeed based on the old endingless locative of * $h_3r\acute{e}g$ - r -/ n -.

asth-án(i) ‘bone’, *sákth-i* ~ *sakth-n-ás* ~ *sakth-án(i)* ‘thigh’, and *dádth-i* ~ *dadh-n-ás* ~ *dadh-án(i)* ‘(thickened) sour milk’ (see [Wackernagel, Debrunner 1930: 302–305] and most recently [Kümmel 2018: 164] for an overview of the attestations and discussion), all of which show an alternation between an *i*-stem in the strong caseforms and a nasal stem in the oblique (even though this can only be systematically observed in the singular paradigm of these nouns, in which they display completely identical behaviour). Apart from that purely synchronic fact, however, they represent an assemblage quite distinct from the *-ø/-n-* heteroclites discussed above in that they do not by any account form a homogeneous group, neither diachronically nor synchronically (i.e. beyond the singular).

1.1.1. The main odd man out is of course *dádthi-*, which must surely reflect PIIr. **dá-d^hH₁-* < **d^hé-d^hH-* < PIE **d^hé-d^hh₁-*, a verbal action noun (with an unproblematic transition to a *nomen obiecti*), made from PIE **d^heh₁(i)-* ‘suck (milk)’, iterativized through reduplication.⁷ Its oblique stem, apparently based on the loc. sg. **de-d^hh₁-én*, seems to speak against the possibility that *dádthi-* (as if from **d^hé-d^hh₁i-*) might have been derived from the *i*-extended root (which in terms of the nom.-acc. sg. form itself is at least a theoretical possibility), although this argument is not entirely waterproof. That *dádthi-* was aligned with the synchronic paradigm of other *-i/-n-* heteroclites, which conceivably had more claim to it in diachronic terms (see below), could be due to the fact that, as very convincingly claimed by Pronk [2015: 340], it was the only other neuter *noun* in Vedic that ended in *-i* in the nom.-acc. sg. (the *-i* in *vár-i*, beside *v_(a)ár* ‘water’ and *hár-d-i* ‘heart’ is of course

⁷ Its well-known relatives are OPr. (Elbing Voc.) *dadán* /*dædan*/ gl. *Milch* < **dedan*, continuing a thematized **d^he-d^hh₁-o-* (an alternative, inner-Baltic etymology is offered by [Mažiulis 2013: 100]), and probably Alb. *djath(ë)* ‘cheese’, although the details on the side of the historical phonology are far from clear; PAlb. **dét^h* < **d^hét^h* < **d^hé-d^hH* *vel sim.* seems a likely alternative, however (see [Hamp 1953: 140–141, 1970: 141; Beekes 1987: 50; Demiraj 1997: 135–136], and most recently [Kümmel 2019: 164]), though in view of the PAlb. 1 pl. middle **-medǵe* < **-med^hh₂oǵ* (← PIE **-me-d^hh₂*) the conditioning environment would then probably have to be thought in terms of / #.

not old). Its synchronic paradigmatic allegiance thus seems to have had a purely structural motivation.

1.1.2. Perhaps the most frequently discussed item of the the four *-i/-n-* heteroclitics is *ásthi-* ‘bone’, for reasons of its derivational ambiguity, namely, the fact that it can easily reflect either PIE **h₂ó/ésth₂-i-* or **h₂ó/ésth₂-* (while **h₂ó/ést-i-* is excluded by the presence of the aspirate).⁸ As has already been argued on several occasions, it is theoretically possible that *ásthi-* is either a) a recategorization of the strong stem of proterodynamic collective **h₂ést-h₂-* > **Hást^h-i-*, subsequently relegated to the function of a neo-singulative as a replacement of **Hást-*, or b) a formally singulativized proterodynamic collective **h₂ést-h₂-* → **h₂óst-h₂-i-*.⁹ Both of these explanations work under the assumption that *ásthi-* must be in one way or another connected with its erstwhile collective in order to successfully account for the aspirated *t^h* in the Vedic forms of this word. Alternatively, the starting point could be an *i*-stem extension **h₂óst-i-/*h₂ést-i-*¹⁰ (cf. **mor-i-/*mer-i-* beside **mor-/*mer-* ‘dead = stagnant, unmoving water’ etc.),¹¹ secondarily contaminated by the aspirate that regularly developed in the nom.-acc. pl. = collective (such a levelling would be not only unproblematic for Proto-Indo-Aryan but an altogether expected regularity).¹² Iranian, however, unequivocally points to the preservation of a root noun **ast-*¹³ (cf. OAv., YAv. acc. sg. *as* < **Hast* < **h₂óst*, YAv.

⁸ The competing reconstructions **h₂óst^h-i-* and **h₃est^h-i-* (i.e. the logical recourse if one does not wish to propose an *o/e*-ablaut scheme, but in fact an impossible alternative due to the insurmountable problems it would create for the Celtic and Tocharian cognates) are the result of a false projection of Gk. ὄστε- in the derivative ὄστέον onto PIE, falling short of recognizing in the **-e_i-* element the full-grade of the *i*-extended version of this root noun.

⁹ Cf. [Hamp 1953: 140, 1970: 140, 1979: 3, fn. 6; Beekes 1987: 53; Hajnal 1994: 97–98; Lipp 2009: 408, fn. 121; Oettinger 2016: 323].

¹⁰ Apart from Gk. ὄστέον < **h₂ost-é_i-o-*, however, none of the cognates *unambiguously* points to an *i*-stem variant.

¹¹ See [Furlan 2011: 4–5].

¹² See [Nussbaum 1986: 134; Lipp 2009: 408, fn. 121].

¹³ For the material see [Bartholomae 1904: 211–212] and [Kellens 1974: 336–339].

gen. sg. *astō* < **Hast-ás*¹⁴ < **h₂ést-os*, YAv. nom. pl. *asti*¹⁵ < **Hást^{hi}* < coll. **h₂ést-h₂*, YAv. gen. pl. *astqm* < **h₂ést-o/eHom*, OAv. instr. pl. *azd^hbīš* ~ YAv. *azd^hbīš*¹⁶ < **Hazd-b^hiš* < **h₂ést-b^his*)¹⁷ and strongly suggests the following reconstruction for Proto-Indo-Iranian:

	SG.	PL.
Nom.-acc.	* <i>Hást</i>	* <i>Hást^{hi}</i>
Gen.	* <i>Hast-ás</i>	* <i>Hast-áHam</i>
Instr.	* <i>Hast-á</i>	* <i>Hazd-b^hiš</i>
Loc.	?(* <i>Hast-án</i>)	

From this reconstruction it follows that the easiest solution for Ved. *ás-thi* needs to actually be neither of the above but rather a modified version of (a). It is natural to assume that Ved. nom-acc. sg. *ást^{hi}* is the old collective form, but the crucial point is that the transfer to singular was not at all necessarily due to some semantic development/motivation (although such a scenario would be perfectly possible as an inner Indo-Aryan shift), but rather rests on a purely structural circumstance: there was no corresponding pair to which the relationship between nom.-acc. sg. **ás* (< **ást*) = synch. **ás-ø* and nom.-acc. pl. **ást^{hi}* = synch. **ást^h-i* could be likened, so that the result was the relegation of **ást^{hi}* to the nom.-acc. sg. (now interpretable as **ást^h-i-ø*) by analogy with the structurally immediately comparable nom.-acc. sg. **sákt^hi* ‘thigh’. This would have occurred irrespective of whether the old nom.-acc. du. of **Hást-* existed at the time

¹⁴ Here and in the rest of the oblique cases (sg. and pl. alike) with a transition of all root nouns (or stems interpretable as such) to a mobile pattern, as attested in Vedic. On the historical development and synchronic systematization of Vedic accentual patterns see [Repanšek 2020].

¹⁵ By Proto-Iranian T^h > Φ / {-s,-f} __ (which was probably contemporary with T > Φ / {-s,-f} (T > Φ) __ C).

¹⁶ Functioning as the acc. pl. as is often the case in Younger Avestan.

¹⁷ The rest of the attested YAv. forms all feature secondary thematization (based on the neo-accusative **ast-am*) and are irrelevant for the present discussion.

as **Hast-ī* (as Hittite *°hašti* implies might indeed have been the case) < **h₂ést-ih₁*, thus further matching nom.-acc. du. **sákt^{(h)ī}*.

That the *i*-stem in the singular is not inherited and cannot be old under any account becomes immediately clear from the fact that *asth-n-'*, the neo-oblique stem (and thence marginally also generalized to the strong forms on analogy with the *n*-stems, cf. nom.-acc. pl. *astháni* ← neo-oblique *asth-án-*) of this noun, is based on the old root noun **Hast-*. This conclusion is unavoidable regardless of whether one assumes that the oblique in this case is based on an inherited analytical loc. sg. **Hast-án* < **h₂ést-én* or has been analogically acquired by contamination (in this case as the result of levelling due to semantic proximity) with the shape of the oblique of the inherited group of *-r-/-n-* heteroclitics that possessed strong or vague association with the semantic field BODY PART.¹⁸

2

Given the perfect parallelism¹⁹ between Ved. *ásthi-* ‘bone’ :: Hitt. *haštāi*, obl. *haštij-* ‘bones; bone’, on the one hand, and Ved. *sákthi-* ‘thigh’ :: Hitt. *šakuttai*, obl. **šakuttij-*, on the other hand, as well as the fact that while *ásthi* under any account directly reflects **h₂ést-h₂-*, Hitt. *haštāi* must go back to either a holodynamic collective made to **h₂óst-i-/*h₂ést-i-* (viz. **h₂ést-ōj̄/*h₂ést-j̄-'*²⁰) or — as per [Oettinger 2016: 323]²¹ — a holodynamic collective made to a de-collective *i*-stem

¹⁸ Cf. [Neri 2003: 82, fn. 198].

¹⁹ For the etymological connection see [Kühne 1986: 103, fn. 61], building on the proposal of R. Normier, [Melchert 1994: 61, 96; Rieken 1999: 164–165; Puhvel 2002: 253; Tischler 2004: 743; Kloekhorst 2008: 703–704; Oettinger 2016: 323; Puhvel 2017: 68].

²⁰ See [Tischler 1983: 202–203; Melchert 1984: 71; Nussbaum 1986: 134; Harðarson 1987: 93; Puhvel 1991: 237; Oettinger 1995: 217–218; 1999: 211; 2009: 341; Steer 2015: 95], cf. also [Rieken 1999: 48–49].

²¹ For the derivational process see especially [Steer 2012: 106–107].

singulative $*h_2óst=h_2-i-/*h_2ést=h_2-i-$ (viz. $*h_2ést=h_2-ōī/*h_2ést-ī-'$ ²²), it is tempting to view *sákthi-* as an exact structural and derivational parallel to *ástthi-*.

Hitt. *šakuttai*, whose probable meaning ‘thighs’ or, more likely, ‘thighbones’ is heavily dependent on the etymological comparison, the available Hittite data only indirectly supporting the semantic match with its Indo-Iranian cognate,²³ undoubtedly has the same morphological structure as *haštāi* and must continue either $*sék^{wt}-ōī/*sék^{wt}-ī-'$ (or $*ség^{w-t}-ōī/*ség^{w-t}-ī-$ if $*-t-$ is in fact an old suffix here, cf. $*nóg^{w-t}-/*nég^{w-t}-$ ‘darkening-up’ > ‘dusk/early black; night’)²⁴ or $*sék^{w/g^{wt}}-h_2-ōī \sim *sék^{w/g^{wt}}-h_2-ī-'$, a derivative of $*sók^{w/g^{wt}}-h_2-i- \sim *sék^{w/g^{wt}}-h_2-i-$. The unexpected *a* in the root must in any case have been introduced secondarily from $*sók^{w/g^{wt}}(h_2)-i-$, the strong stem of the underlying singular/singulative form (unless modelled on *haštāi* altogether).²⁵ All this would then imply that nom.-acc. sg. *sákthi* is based on the old collective $*sák^{hi} < *sék^{w/g^{wt}}-h_2$ just as *ástthi* is a functionally relegated $*h_2ést-h_2$, especially since these words pretty much behave the same

²² In both cases *haštāi* of course goes back to a virtual $*h_2est=h_2-ōī$, showing a secondary shift of the accent to the suffix, as is typical for this category.

²³ For the problems involved in the interpretation of the rather scarce attestations of this word see [Kloekhorst 2008: 703–704; Puhvel 2015: 68; CHD-Š: 80–81].

²⁴ The reconstruction $*sog^{w-t}ōī$ might provide a better account of the spelling with a single *-k-* in Hittite (cf. *nekuz* if indeed from $*nég^{w-ts}$ rather than $*nék^{w-ts}$), but this does not mean much if Melchert [1994: 61, 96], building on [Čop 1963: 33–37], is right in assuming that any PIE $*k^w$ was regularly lenited in any kind of medial position (naturally excluding / __#, *c* > *ø* and / __s); cf. also [Kimball 1999: 281–282]. Note that if the form was indeed $*sog^{w-t}$ (> $*sok^{w-t}$ by regressive assimilation), it is necessary to assume that the suffixal element would have had to be reinterpreted as part of the stem very early on (this same scenario can of course also be valid for $*h_2óst-/*h_2ést-$ if analyzed as $*h_2ó/és-t-$), otherwise the expected collective (under one view of things) would have to have been $**ség^{w-ot}-h_2$ rather than the expected $*sék^{wt}-h_2-/*sék^{wt}-éh_2-$.

²⁵ Hitt. *luttāi* ‘window(s)’ < $*luH-tōī$ (see [Eichner 1973: 80] and [Melchert 1984: 71] regarding the etymology), another unambiguous member of the group of such neuter *ai*-stems, nicely shows that it was in fact the zero grade that was generalized here, as is expected.

in Vedic and since this would indeed seem to be the most economical way to account for the aspirate.

2.1. There is one crucial difference between the two paradigms, however, namely, the shape of the nom.-acc. du. *sakthyā* (RV X.86.16b, 17d)²⁶ ~ *sakthyau* (AVŚ VI.9.1b, AVP II.33.2b, 90.2b, TB II.4.6.5.2) ‘inner thighs’,²⁷ which due to its odd accent placement must surely reflect an archaic form. The nom.-acc. du. *sakthyā* finds a nearly perfect match in *akṣyāu* (AVŚ 5x, always syncopated) ‘pair of eyes’ (f.), showing a clearly secondary transfer of the archaic and well-attested nom.-acc. du. n. *akṣī* (RV 6x) to the *vrkī*-type. The reason behind the formal renewal is clear: since the oblique cases (instr.-dat.-abl. du. *akṣībhyām*, gen.-loc. du. *akṣyoḥ*) perfectly matched that of *vrkībhyām*, *vrkyoḥ* (including the mezo-columnar position of the accent), the nom.-acc. du. was remade to conform to that of *vrkyā* < **-ih₂-eh₁*²⁸ (a similar process affected the gen.-loc. du. *akṣyoḥ*, attested once as such in the VS, but found twice in the AVŚ as a *devī*-type *akṣyoḥ*²⁹).³⁰ From this it logically follows that since *akṣī* is

²⁶ The acc. sg. form *sákthi* in X.86.6d naturally refers to both thighs, but this does not suggest that *sákthi* should go back to a singulativized collective form **sék^w/g^vt-h₂*. We are clearly dealing with a synecdoche here: X.86.6a-d *ná māt strī subhasáttará / ná suyásutarā bhuvat // ná māt práti-cyavīyasī / ná sákthy úd-yamīyasī* ‘There is no woman with a nicer backside than me, not one who will be better at coitus, none who will reciprocate the movement better than me, none who will lift up her thigh (= both of her thighs) better’.

²⁷ TS and ŚBM both have an already regularized root-accented *sákthyā*^u, copying the accent of the nom.-acc. sg. The same goes for *ákṣyā*^u.

²⁸ In the case of *sákthi*- this trend marginally affected the plural paradigm as well, as is shown by the unambiguous acc. pl. form *sakthyas* (= *sakthyas*) in AVP XX.25.9d (edited by [Kubisch 2012]).

²⁹ In those forms of the *devī*-type that have generalized suffixal accent, the inherited sequence **-i₁-* < **-ih₂-* is regularly syncopated (the exception being the instr. sg.), while the accent is moved to the desinence by analogy with the rest of the (synchronically!) pre-vocalic endings (the same happens in suffix-accented *i*- and *u*-stems), so that **daīu-iās* : **daīu-iāuś* is levelled to **daīu-iās* : **daīu-iāuś*.

³⁰ The same scenario is probably responsible for OP *uṣiyā*, attested in XPI 32, for which see below.

the older form and *akṣyā* a *forma facilior*, *sakthyā* must by implication go back to **sakthī*.³¹

³¹ Already implied by the entry in [Grassmann 1873: 1440], cf. [Lanman 1880: 371], *pace* [Schmidt 1889: 249, fn. 1]. There is no trace of **sakthī* in the Vedic corpus, not even in the Ṛgveda itself (vis-à-vis several instances of *akṣī*). It may be possible to maintain the idea that this situation is due to the fact that the singular forms of *ākṣi-*, as opposed to *sákthi-*, had a wider range of contextual possibilities in which they could appear, so that the old dual form *akṣī* would in this case be maintained due to its having been a synchronically appropriate nom.-acc. du. form of *ākṣi-*. This is not entirely likely, however, given that *ākṣi* (nom.-acc. sg.) is in fact only used once in the Ṛgveda, the only other occurrence being the Abl.sg. *akṣnás* (VIII.25.9a, IX.9.4c). Another possibility would then be to regard the feminine dual as influenced by the semantic component FEMALE, if it can be shown that *sakthyā* only ever refers specifically to woman's thighs. Now, at least as far as the Ṛgveda is concerned, this is indeed the case: X. 86.16a–d *ná sése yásya rámbate / a'ntar sakthyā kápr̥t̥ // séd t̥se yásya romaśám / niṣedúṣo vi-j̥m-bhate* 'He has no power, whose penis hangs (= remains flaccid) between (a woman's) thighs; it is him that has power, whose (sc. penis), when it has settled down into place, the vulva gapes wide open for'; X.86.17a–d *ná sése yásya romaśám / ni-ṣedúṣo vi-j̥m-bhate // séd t̥se yásya rámbate / a'ntar sakthyā kápr̥t̥* 'He has no power, whose (sc. penis), when it has settled down into place, the vulva gapes wide open for; it is him that has power, whose penis remains flaccid between (a woman's) thighs' (regarding *sákthi* 'her thigh' as referring to woman's thighs (du.) in X.86.6d see above). The same goes for TB II.4.6.5.1–3 *prá yapsyánn iva sakthyau / ví na indra m̥dho jahi / kán̥khudad yáthā sá pam* (see [Hoffmann 1976: 571] for restored text) 'Just like when one in the intention to copulate [brings it] forward towards (a woman's) thighs, strike asunder our adversaries, Indra, as one keeps thrusting one's penis'. In RV V.61.3 reference is clearly made to male thighs, but here the form is plural: *jagháne códa eṣāṃ / ví saktháni náro yamuḥ // putra-k̥rthé ná jánayah* '[Where is] the whip on their haunch? The men have spread out their thighs like women when (our) sons are made'. The fact that *sakthyau* in AVŚ VI.9.1b (= AVP II.90.2b) must surely refer to male thighs (AVŚ VI.9.1a-b *vāñcha me tan,vaṃ pádau / vāñchākṣyau vāñcha sakthyau* 'Desire my body, feet, desire the eyes, desire the thighs') as shown by verse 3, which makes it clear that the entire charm is directed towards a woman, needs no special explanation, given that just like *akṣyāu* in the same line it is simply a later form that has won out by the time of the Atharvaveda. It is also quite possible, however, that the latter hypothesis actually accounts for the Ṛgvedic situation as well, given that we could in fact simply be dealing with different chronological distributions of *akṣī* vs. *sakthyā*. The latter only appears in the younger portion of the tenth book, while *akṣī* is limited to the Family books

This significant bit of morphology inferable by internal reconstruction finds crucial support in the YAv. acc. du. *haxti* ‘inner thighs’ < **saktī* together with the OAv. gen. du. ⁺*haxtiiā* < **saktijās*,³² which — save for the lack of aspiration (for the otherwise expected ***haxdi* cf. OAv. *f²δrōi* < **fθrāi* by the regular Younger Avestan rule **θ* > *δ* / Φ __)^{33, 34} — is an exact match of the Vedic nom.-acc. du. form implied by *sakth₂yā*, *sakth₂yau*.

2.2. Ved. *ákṣi-* (n.) itself is clearly a retrograde formation³⁵ based on the reinterpretation of the inherited nom.-acc. du. form *akṣí* < **h₃^ek^w-s-íh₁*³⁶ as the nom.-acc. du. of a neuter *i*-stem (that is to say, a virtual ***h₃^ek^w-s-í-ih₁*),³⁷ but one that accentually faithfully copies the old nom.-acc. sg. of this noun, which must have been **ák(š)* < **h₃ék^w(-s)-ø*.

(I.72.10b, I.116.16c, I.117.17c, I.120.6c, II.39.5b) and the older part of the tenth book (X.79.2a). Since there is no *akṣí* or *akṣyā* in the later hymns of the Ṛgveda, however, this hypothesis cannot be tested. Pāṇini’s sutra VII.1.77 according to which the nom.-acc. du. of *ákṣi-* etc. ends in *-í* is strictly an observation on the specific situation obtaining in the Vedic mantras. His observation needs hardly be extended to a putative Vedic **sakthí*, though, because he is clearly overgeneralizing: deriving the rule from the preceding two sūtras would lead one to infer that *ásthi-* and *dádhi-*, too, had an erstwhile nom.-acc. du. **asthí*, **dadhí*, which cannot, of course, have been the case.

³² Y 53.7, clearly trisyllabic in the fourth pada of a *vahištōištī* meter. The form itself is attested as *haxtiiā*, which can be unproblematically restored as ⁺*haxtiiā* (cf. [Bartholomae 1904: 1745; Kellens, Pirart 1991: 272]).

³³ It is possible that this change also included **φ* > *β* / *θ* __ (on the then unavoidable assumption that **w* > **φ* / *s*, *θ* __, just as — in that case — **w* > *β* / *z*, *δ* __), although the fact that **w* > **β* also occurs after a **δ* while other spirants are not so affected, and that a putative **θφ* then clearly behaves differently than **sφ* (< **sw*), which dissimilates to *sp*, a direct change **w* > *β* / *θ*, *δ* __ is perhaps the likelier alternative.

³⁴ See [Bartholomae 1904: 1744] s. v. *haxt-*, fn. 1, with reference to [Bartholomae 1894–1901: § 278.3, fn. 1].

³⁵ Pace [Oettinger 2016: 324 §10].

³⁶ Here and in all other cases superscript ^e will signal a secondarily restored *e*-grade (not anaptyxis!) in a heavy consonant cluster.

³⁷ Cf. [Wackernagel, Debrunner 1930: 305–305] with older references, [Hamp 1953: 139; Forssman 1969: 49, fn. 20; Nussbaum 1986: 204–205; Tremblay 1996 (1998): 53, fn. 78; ÈSIIa I 281–283; EWAia I 42–43; NIL 370ff.].

In other words, it was in fact the old nom.-acc. sg. **ák(š) < *h₃ék^w-(s)-ø* that was reshaped as **ákš-i-ø* (effectively an *i*-stem) through morphological contamination from the side of the reinterpreted nom.-acc. du. The source of the **s* is certainly not the old proterodynamic *s*-stem neuter ***h₃ék^w-s-/*h₃^ek^w-és-*, regardless of the fact that Slavic **oko*, **oč-es- < *h₃ék^w-os/*h₃ék^w-es-* would superficially seem to imply just such a starting point, but is undoubtedly due to a contamination with the word for ‘ear’ **h₂éus-es-* (just as in Slavic), which was an *s*-stem from the start (see e. g. [Schindler 1975: 264; Stüber 2002: 193–194]). The assumption that the original nom.-acc. du. **h₃(^e)k^w-ih₁* (= most clearly and directly continued by PSI. **ðči*, Lith. *akì < *akí < *h₃^ek^w-ih₁*, Gk. ὄσσε < **ókje < *h₃(^e)k^w-ih₁*, and Arm. *ač’-k’ < *akja < *h₃k^w-ih₁*)³⁸ was remodelled as **h₃^ek^w-s-ih₁* after **h₂us-ih₁* (< ***h₂us-s-ih₁*) is trivial and the resulting contamination can be viewed as a case of levelling based on semantic (same semantic field) and functional (both refer to natural pairs) closeness of the two inherited items. This development finds a convincing typological parallel in the reiterated influence of ‘(pair of) ears’ on ‘(pair of) eyes’ in Iranian, for which cf. YAv. acc. du. *aši < *ašī*, O/YAv. instr. du. *ašibiīā*³⁹ < **ašibjā ← *ušī* (> YAv. *uši*, OP *ušiy /ušī/* ‘intelligence, reason’ as *duale tantum*), **ušibjā* (YAv. *ušibiia*, OP *ušibiyā /ušibijā/*) for expected ***axšī*, ***axšibjā*.

On a side-note: the XPI version, i.e. Xerxes’s rendering of DNb, has *uši /ušī/* for the acc. du. form in l. 36 before the enclitic =*cā*, which corresponds perfectly to DNb 32, but uses *ušiyā* in l. 32 for expected *ušiy* as attested in DNb 28. The latter seems to be nothing but a younger dual form of the *vṛkī*-type based on the oblique cases and thus an exact formal equivalent of Ved. *akṣyā*, *sakthyā*. The form *ušiyā* (DNb 35, XPI 39), however, must in my view be the genitive dual form (naturally in the dative function), which is actually as good as confirmed by gen. du. *gaušāyā ← *gaušajāh* (from *gauša-* ‘ear’, m.) in DNb 53. Given the analogical length

³⁸ On Tocharian B *eś* (possibly but not necessarily from **ok’je² ~ *ok’i < *h₃^ek^w-ih₁*) and the problems involved see [Ringe 1996: 27–29, Kim 2018: 78].

³⁹ See [Kellens 1974: 369], also providing a good argument in favour of the existence of an *i*-stem **aši-* (sg.) in Avestan (as — by implication — probably a reflex of the Proto-Indo-Iranian heritage as far as the morphology itself is concerned).

in *gaušāyā* for expected *gaušayā* < **g^he_{us}-o_j-h₁oh₁s*, imported from the nom.-acc. du. *gaušā*, it is not just possible but quite likely that *ušiyā*, too, should be read as /ušīā/ by way of the same contamination process, in this case additionally supported by the instr. du. /ušībiā/.

3

It is significant that just like **haxti-*, Avestan *aši-* is only ever attested in the dual, which strongly implies that dual number was indeed the category in which both items most naturally occurred. All things considered, PIIr. **sákti-* surely does not share its derivational history with **ást^hi-*, but just like **ákši-* rests on an old inherited dual **saktí* ‘(a pair of) (inner) thighs’, directly confirmed by Iranian **haxtī* (= **haxtī*) and indirectly by Vedic *sakthya^u* ← **sakt^hi*. Just like the case of **ák(š)-i* ← **ák(š)*, the back-formed strong stem **sákti* too retains the accent of the old nom.-acc. sg. **sákt* < **sók^{wt}-ø*. The presence of the aspirate in the Vedic pair therefore cannot be old but plainly copies the aspiration from its nearest structural parallel **ást^hi*, in the precursor of which the **t^h* was inherited (see above). Since mutual influence between the two neo-nom.-acc. sg. stems **sákti-* and **ást^hi-* is made very probable by the push behind the reinterpretation of the nom.-acc. pl. **ást^hi-ø* as nom.-acc. sg. **ást^h-i-ø* (discussed above), a contamination of **sákti-* → **sákt^hi-* with **ást^hi-* (and subsequent spread of **t^h* to the rest of the paradigm) is an unsurprising triviality.⁴⁰ The Proto-Indo-Iranian state of affairs can thus be envisaged as follows:

⁴⁰ If one supposes that there also existed a nom.-acc. pl. **sákt^hi* < **sék^{vi}/g^{wt}-h₂*, the latter could arguably have provided a further source for the spread of the aspirate, after having coalesced with the new singular strong stem. It is true that no other neuter stem ending in a *-i* in Vedic has any trace of the aspirate, cf. nom.-acc. pl. n. *-ānti* < **-ont-h₂*, *-v/mānti* < **-u/mont-h₂* (the length itself is analogical in both cases), but in neither of these categories **t^h* could actually have won out, given that these examples are both adjectival, so that the nom.-acc. pl. alternant would have been absolutely marginal in comparison with the masculine forms (and the feminine for that matter).

	SG.		DU.
Nom.-acc.	** <i>sák(t)</i>		* <i>saktī́</i>
		Instr.-dat.-abl.	* <i>saktī́bʰjā</i>
Gen.	* <i>sakt-ás</i>		* <i>saktī́ās</i>
Loc.	* <i>sakt-án</i>		* <i>saktī́ajū</i>

4

On the basis of PIIr. **saktī́* ‘(inner) thighs’ we can now reconstruct with certainty PIE **s^ek^wt-ih₁* (or perhaps **s^eg^w-t-ih₁*, if the root-final **t* is in fact suffixal),⁴¹ which finds a perfect structural parallel in several archaic PIE items reconstructible as⁴² *(*s*)²*h₃(^e)k^w-ih₁* ‘(pair of) eyes’, **h₂us-ih₁* (< ***h₂us-s-ih₁*)⁴³ ‘(pair of) ears’, **h₁lŋg^{wh}-ih₁* ‘lungs’,⁴⁴ and **d̥u_i-d̥k̑m=t-ih₁* ‘twenty’ < ‘pair of tens’,⁴⁵ and represents an important

⁴¹ Naturally enough, PIIr. **saktī́* allows for the possibility that the original nom.-acc. du. restored the strong-grade vowel of the old singular stem (as is most likely the case with *šakuttai*, for which see above) to avoid the otherwise unavoidable triphonic cluster in the *Anlaut*, so that **saktī́* < **sok^wt-ih₁* ← **sk^wt-ih₁*, rather than **sek^wt-ih₁* ← **sk^wt-ih₁*.

⁴² See [Malzahn 2000: 294–300] for a very useful overview of the items in question. On ‘twenty’ see especially [Rau 2009: 18, fn. 17].

⁴³ PSI. **ūši* demands **h₂eus-ih₁*, representing a trivial levelling of the *e*-grade singular stem (**aus-es-* : **usī* → **aus-t*), cf., e.g., [Nussbaum 1986: 212] *contra* [Tremblay 1996 (1998): 54, fn. 84] and [Neri 2003: 82, fn. 198], who would like to see in **h₂us-ih₁* a secondary ablaut grade levelled based on the weak stem of what they argue to have originally been a mobile dual paradigm.

⁴⁴ See [Pokorny 1959: 661]. Or perhaps **h₁lŋg^h-u-ih₁* < **h₁lŋg^{wh}-u-ih₁*, as tentatively suggested by Peters *apud* [Malzahn 2000: 299].

⁴⁵ **gón-u-ih₁* ~ **gén-u-ih₁* ‘(pair of) knees’ (see [Malzahn 2000: 289–299]) is a different story, however, since we find here a synchronically segmentable suffix (as opposed to the morphologically obscure **h₂us-ih₁* and the purely deradical **h₃(^e)k^w-ih₁*).

addendum to the category of inherited duals that marked a natural pair (i.e., “collective duals”).

Since in no other documented case $*-ih_1-$ is transferred to the oblique cases in the neuter dual,⁴⁶ the paradigm of such nouns must be supposed to either preserve the original mezostatic character⁴⁷ of such $*-i-h_1-$ formations,⁴⁸ or else — which would seem to me the

⁴⁶ If $*-i-h_1-$ is indeed functionally comparable to $*-eh_2-$, one would technically actually not expect it to be transferred to the oblique cases, since the collective plural suffix ($*-h_2-$) does not feature in any of the oblique caseforms (a different, though in my view unconvincing, view of that particular distribution is given by [Steer 2012]). See further below under fn. 49.

⁴⁷ Cf. [Eichner 1982: 40–41; Klingenschmitt 2005: 415; Malzahn 2000: 302] for the same view of things.

⁴⁸ The idea that the neuter dual suffix is most likely a conglomerate of the old plural collective $*i$ (as most purely preserved in the old pronominal nom.-acc. pl. $*o-j$ and in my view no different from the deverbal abstract-forming $-i$ and if so, quite possibly, also with the $*-i-$ in $*-i-h_2-$ ~ $*-i-h_2-$ and $*-j-éh_2-$) and the zero grade of the dual collective suffix $*-eh_1-$ has already been tentatively put forward by [Oettinger 1995: 221], but see [Oettinger 2016: 324 §10] for a completely different view of the derivational history of this undoubtedly conglomerate suffix. Pace [Neri 2003: 82, fn. 198], speaking *contra* [Malzahn 2000: 299; Fritz 2000], there is no need to assume that $*h_1$ as the dual marker was *not* a suffix and that the stem of the nom.-acc. du. (m. $*-(e)h_1-$, n. $*-ih_1-$, new feminine $*-eh_2-ih_1-$ ~ $*-e-h_2-ih_1-$, $*-ih_2-ih_1-$) is not in its essence a derivative parallel to the $-eh_2-$ collective plural. Any counterarguments that are based on the fact that $*h_1$ is part and parcel of the oblique dual endings (as is the unambiguously *non-suffixal* $*s$ in the plural: dat.-abl. $*-o +s$, loc. pl. $*+s -u$) and as such can only be seen as a purely desinential exponent do not and cannot convince: since the oblique cases of the dual are a relatively late category, based for the most part on their plural counterparts (as they emerged after the split-off of the Anatolian branch), it is clear that $*-(e)h_1$ in the nom.-acc. du. was reinterpreted at a certain point as the exact functional equivalent of pl. $*-(e)s$, from which it naturally followed that wherever there was an s -marker in the plural, the dual equivalent will have replaced it automatically with $*h_1$ (dat. pl. $*-b^h_1o-s$ ~ $*-mo-s$:: dat. du. $*-b^h_1o-h_1$ ~ $*-mo-h_1$, abl. pl. $*-b^h_1o-s$:: abl. du. $*-b^h_1o-h_1$, loc. pl. $*-s-u$:: loc. du. $*-h_1-u$). This rule was extended *even* to the instrumental, in which the final $-s$ was not in fact the same $*-(e)s$, i.e. a plural marker, at all, though synchronically interpretable as such, so that the following proportion would obtain: instr. pl. $*-b^h_1s$ ~ $*-m-is$:: instr. du. $*-b^h_1-h_1(m)$ ~ $*-mih_1$ (the latter not logically segmentable

likelier alternative — be specific to the cases in point:⁴⁹ instr.-dat.-abl. du.

in terms of diachronic morpheme boundaries because it too patently arose only *after* the reinterpretation of instr. pl. **-m-is* as being effectively **-mi* + the plural marker *-s*).

⁴⁹ While the possibility of a secondary spread of the length to instr.-dat.-abl. in Indo-Iranian cannot theoretically be entirely excluded, seeing a similar process at least marginally affected *hānu-* ‘jaw’ (f.), attesting to an analogical instr.-dat.-abl. *hānūbhyām* (see [Lanman 1880: 56] for the attestations), such a scenario is difficult to envisage in the case of **h₃k^w-ih₁* because that would unavoidably require a form like **akšī̄* to have been reinterpreted as a nom.-acc. du. of a *dev̄*-stem, which is unimaginable given the difference in gender and the fact that that would then presuppose **h₃k^w-ī-* as the weak stem, which was never the case simply because *akšī̄* & c. were never *i*-stems. In addition, *hānūbhyām* is not actually immediately explainable as the result of a synchronic misinterpretation of *hānū* as a nom.-acc. du. of an *ū*-stem, because the latter category possessed no such forms; the form (twice in the TS) must rather *indirectly* copy *dev̄bhyām*! Note also that Slavic has no such case of stem-transference and since PBSl. **akī̄* and **aušī̄* were not synchronically reinterpretable as nom.-acc. duals of a neuter *i*-stem (being the only representatives of their own kind), predesinential **-ī-* simply is not likely to be anything but inherited, its source thus surely matching that of its Proto-Indo-Iranian equivalent (if, however, PSl. **āci* > **ōci* and **āušī* > **ūšī* were aligned with nom.-acc. du. of feminine *i*-stems, as was the case in Baltic, one would expect ***oč̄bma*, cf. Lith. *akīm*, *akim̄* < **akimā̄*).

On the one hand, in my view, it is most economical to assume that this particular behaviour (**-ih₁-* throughout the oblique) was only ever typical of deradicals (including **h₂us-ih₁-*, which was unavoidably only interpretable as such after the degemination of a heteromorphemic **-s-s-* to **-s-*), because it was only there that **-ih₁-* in the nom.-acc. du. was synchronically interpretable as a suffix and thus effectively a part of the stem itself (compare a similar reinterpretation and secondary spread of coll. **-i* throughout the oblique in the demonstrative pronoun).

If, on the other hand, one insists on a recurrent **-ih₁-* that would originally be typical of all neuter duals (a possibility rendered unlikely not least by the altogether different behaviour of the functionally comparable plural collective **(e)h₂-* suffix), the only way to explain the absence of **ih₁* in the oblique cases of other neuter stem types would then have to be an analogical levelling of the masculine forms (e.g., **-u-h₁-* vs. **-u-ih₁-* but **-u-b^ho* etc.). Whether these could have had a steady **-h₁-* in the oblique as part of their dual stem is a different question, though even in case they did, the laryngeal would have been lost anyway by lex Wetter in mobile stems ending in a vowel or a resonant (**^oV/Rh₁b^hjōh₁*) and by Schmidt-Hackstein’s law in the case of consonant stems (**^oPh₁b^hjōh₁*, cf. **d^hugh₂tr-* > **d^hugtr-*) which would have applied in the

Ved. *-ībhyām*⁵⁰ ~ O/YAv. *-ibiiā*⁵¹ ~ OP *-ibiyā /-ībiiā/* < PIE **-ih₁-b^hioh₁*, matching PS1. *-īma* < **-imá* (by retraction to a laryngeal-induced length according to Hirt's Law) < **-ih₁-m-o-h₁*, gen. du. Av. *-iiā̇ /-iiāh/* ~ OP *-iyā^h /-īīā/* (see above on the possibility of a secondary length in the OP form) < **-ih₁-h₁oh₁s*, corresponding to Ved. *-yoṣ* (→ *-yóṣ*) and PS1. **-b₁iú* < **-iioyus*

dat.-abl. du. of those IE branches that use **-b^hi-óh₁* (i.e. Indo-Iranian). This hypothesis would not account for the absence of **h₁* before the Idu. endings **-b^hi-h₁ ~ *-mih₁*, though here the data are of limited value, given that we basically rely on Old Irish, where the evidence is rather ambiguous (*-(a)ib* in thematics could equally likely be from **-oβin* as from **-āβin* < **-o-h₁-b^hih₁m* and the pre-desinential vowel in consonant stems can either be the thematic variant or **-aβin* if < **-h₁-b^hih₁m*, while *u*-stems require the assumption of an analogical spread of the thematic ending anyway), nor does it work for the Balto-Slavic dat.-instr. du. **-amā* < **-o-moh₁* (> PS1. **-oma*, Lith. *-ám ~ -am̃*), so that the whole idea of the presence of **-h₁-* in the oblique of non-neuter stems should probably be abandoned. Apart from the domain of thematic stems there would also be no real structural motivation for the spread of **h₁*, but even there the assumption of a recurrent **-o-h₁-* must rest solely on Ved. *-ā-* in the thematic dat.-instr.-abl. du. *-ābhyām*. The latter, however, is much more likely to be analogical rather than reflect anything old — note that Iranian does not have a single unambiguously ancient case of this phenomenon, all YAv. examples (see [Hoffmann, Forssman 2004: 120] for the attestations) being explicable as analogical transfers of the *-ā-* from the feminine *ā*-stems since they are all neuters.

⁵⁰ **sakhī* is only ever attested in the dat.-instr.-abl. du. as *sakhībhyām* (AVŚ X.10.21b, cf. *sakhībhyām* at PvB XVI.2.6), which is demonstrably a secondary remodelling of **sakhībhyām* on the basis of the *i*-stem *sakhī-*, as is obvious from the position of the accent that matches that of the singular strong stem.

⁵¹ Note that the short *i* in the Avestan forms is a normal feature of this language, which in the oblique cases does not distinguish between old short *i* ~ *u*-stems and their long *ī* ~ *ū*-stem counterparts (cf. [Hoffmann, Forssman 2004: 125–135; de Vaan 2003: 247–248]): it does not speak against the reconstruction with an **ī* and at the same time allows for an interpretation of the Old Persian forms as surely carrying length. The process of an analogical shortening of all originally long *ī*'s and *ū*'s cannot of course pre-date Younger Avestan (this feature in any Old Avestan form is therefore superstratal), since the prerequisite for the levelling-in of a short pre-desinential *i* or *u* has to be the Younger Avestan shortening of all long word-final vowels in polysyllables.

< *-ih₁-h₁oh₁u-s, loc. du. PSl. *-b₂iū' < *-i₂joū < *-ih₁-h₁oh₁u.^{52, 53}

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; acc. — accusative; abl. — ablative; coll. — collective; dat. — dative; du. — dual; gen. — genitive; instr. — instrumental; loc. — locative; nom. — nominative; n. — neuter; obl. — oblique; pl. — plural; sg. — singular.

Alb. — Albanian; Arm. — Armenian; Av. — Avestan; Hitt. — Hittite; IE — Indo-European; Lith. — Lithuanian; OAv. — Old Avestan; OP — Old Persian; OPr. — Old Prussian; Palb. — Proto-Albanian; PBSl. — Proto-Balto-Slavic; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; PIr. — Proto-Indo-Iranian; PSl. — Proto-Slavic; Ved. — Vedic; YAv. — Younger Avestan.

AB — Aitareyabrāhmaṇa; AVP — Atharvaveda, the Paippalāda recension; AVŚ — Atharvaveda, the Śaunaka recension; DNb — Inscription b of Darius I from Naqš-e Rostam; PvB — Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa; RV — Ṛgvedasaṃhitā; ŚBM — Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, the Mādhyandina recension; TB — Tattiriyaabrāhmaṇa; TS — Taittiriya-saṃhitā; XPI — a parallel exemplar of DNb by Xerxes.

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⁵² The Proto-Slavic mobile accentual paradigm (c) of nom.-acc. du. *ōči, gen.-loc. du. *očīma < *-imā, dat.-instr. du. *oč₂iū' (→ *oč₂iū) and nom.-acc. du. *ūši, gen.-loc. du. *ušīma < *-imā, dat.-instr. du. *uš₂iū' (→ *uš₂iū) (for the half-analogical forms *oč₂iū, *uš₂iū see [Dybo 2000: 61]) nicely points to a former oxytone (mezocolumnar) accentual pattern *okī, *okīmō, *okijou ~ *ausī, *ausīmō, *ausijou.

⁵³ All of these forms are of course retrojections based on what must have been late interparadigmatic levelling both in Proto-Slavic as well as in Proto-Indo-Iranian: e.g., *-i-h₁oh₁u is really just *-i-h₁u > *-i₂-u (PSl. *-b₂ju) remodelled to *-i₂-ou to match *-o₂ < *-o-h₁u (> PSl. *-u) of thematic stems. Regarding the reconstruction of the oblique dual cases, see especially [Hoffmann 1976: 561, fn. 2; Eichner 1982: 10–14, 41–42, 133–134], and [Klingenschmitt 2005: 414–416].

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Der luwische Berg und seine indogermanischen Verwandten

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Abstract. Building on the recognition of the Luwian stem /watt(i)-/ ‘mountain’ and its derivatives *wattatar* ‘mountain sculpture’ and *wattant(i)-* ‘mountain-shaped (?)’ (by Hawkins, Gérard, and Goedegebuure), the word family can be enlarged by two putative derivatives, i.e. *wattann(i)-* ‘little mountain’ and *wattatt(i)-/wattatt(a)-* ‘hill country (?)’ (following Yakubovich). Regarding the etymology, the present article suggests a ‘root’ connection with the local particle **ud* ‘up(ward), forth’ (cf. Ved. *úd* ‘id.’, Gk. ὑστερος ‘hindmost, last’ und Lith. *ùž* ‘up(ward), behind’). In terms of stem formation, Luw. /watt(i)-/ represents a *vřddhi* derivative **wéd-o-* (type *nu* ‘now’ → *néu-o-* ‘new’), which changed to the attested form by Čop’s Law in Luwian (**é* + lenis consonant > *á* + fortis consonant). The derivation seems to be contradicted by the change **e* > *i* / *y*_alveolar, but examples for this change are rare in Luwian. As for the root *hwid-* where the expected change according to the Čop’s Law is not attested, it is argued that only a few forms of *hwidar* ‘wild animal’ or its derivatives were in fact subject to the Čop’s Law, whereas in other forms either the root vowel was followed by double consonants (*-dn-* or *-dw-*) or the accent did not fall on the root (e.g. *hy-i-d/ta-a-ar*, *hwidnaima/i-*, *hwidumnāhi(t)-*, *hwidwāl(i)-*). Consequently, the forms not affected by Čop’s Law could have been generalized. The second counterexample, *winal-* ‘stick, staff’, is argued to be of a secondary nature (root *win-* < **g^{wh}en-* in unknown context, plus suffix *-al-* < **-lo-*). Therefore, nothing speaks against the suggested derivation of Luw. /watt(i)-/ from **wéd-o-*. Possibly, also the root **wed-* ‘water’ can be connected with the same root (cf. Eng. *spring* ‘source’ und *to spring* ‘to jump (upward)’).

Keywords: Luwian, etymology, derivation, Čop’s Law, *watt(i)-*.

Лувийское слово со значением ‘гора’ и его индоевропейские когнаты

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Аннотация. В данной статье рассматривается этимологическая связь лувийской основы /watt(i)-/ ‘гора’, а также двух ее производных, *wattann(i)-* ‘маленькая гора, горка’ и *wattatt(i)-/wattatt(a)-* ‘холмистая местность(?)’, с локальной частицей **ud* ‘вверх, вперед’ (ср. вед. *úd* ‘вверх’, др.-гр. ὄστερος ‘последний, задний’ и лит. *ũž* ‘за, вне’). Лув. /watt(i)-/ восходит к основе с полной ступенью корня **wéd-o*, образованной от **ud* по типу **nu* ‘теперь’ → **néu-o* ‘новый’. Далее этой корень может быть сопоставлен с **ued-* ‘вода’. В статье также разбираются фонологические особенности развития этих слов в предыстории лувийского языка.

Ключевые слова: лувийский язык, этимология, деривация, закон Чопа, *watt(i)-*.

Der folgende Beitrag, der dem Jubilar in herzlicher Verbundenheit gewidmet sei, behandelt die Wortfamilie von luw. *watt(i)-* ‘Berg’, ihre grundsprachliche Wurzel und die Derivationsgeschichte. Schließlich wird eine andere Wortfamilie, die bisher nicht in diesem Zusammenhang angeführt wurde, zur Berg-Familie in Beziehung gesetzt.

Den Ausgangspunkt bildet der Vorschlag Bosserts [1954: 131–136], dass das hieroglyphen-luwische Zeichen L *207, das Logogramm für ‘Berg’ (heute: MONS), die syllabische Lesung /wa/ habe (heute: *wa/i₄*) und die Entstehung dieser Lesung dem akrophonischen Prinzip gefolgt sei. Dies würde bedeuten, dass das luwische Wort für ‘Berg’ mit *wa-* anlautet. Zudem lassen Graphien wie MONS-*ti-i* (HĪSARCIK 2, §1 und ÇALAPVERDĪ 1, §3) auf einen Alveolar vor dem Ausgang *-i* schließen. In einem weiteren Schritt vermutet Bossert, dass das gesamte Wort /watas/ oder /waⁿtas/ (in die heutige Notation umgesetzt: /wat(i)-/ oder /want(i)-/) lautete. Dies bedeutet, dass in Graphien wie (MONS)*wa/i-ti-na* (ANCOZ 5, §3) das Zeichen *207 MONS eben nicht als Logogramm,

sondern als Determinativ gelesen werden muss.¹ Bosserts Arbeitshypothese wurde in der Folgezeit durch weiteres Material bestätigt und kann mittlerweile als allgemein akzeptiert gelten [Hawkins 2000: 350; Gérard 2006; Goedegebuure 2010: 311; Yakubovich 2017a]; anders [Kloekhorst 2014: 578f.], wo noch ohne auf Gérard Bezug zu nehmen, mit älteren Bedeutungsangaben operiert wird.

Hierzu hat ganz wesentlich die Evidenz aus dem Keilschrift-Luwischen beigetragen, wo mit *wa-at-ti* (KBo 29.25 iii 10') und *wa-ad-da-^rti¹-i-t-ta* (KBo 4.11 rev. 40)² zwei Belege für das Kognat existieren. An der erstgenannten Stelle lässt sich *wa-at-ti i-ia-an-du* 'sie sollen zum *w*. gehen' mit der Bedeutung 'Berg' sehr gut vereinbaren (anders noch [CLL: 267f.; Lorenz, Rieken 2007: 478; HEG, U-Z: 424f.]), während die zweite Passage aus den Liedanfängen des İstanuwa-Rituals die Deutung als 'Berg' sogar nahezu zweifelsfrei nachweist: *wa-ad-da-^rti¹-[it]-ta* ^r*za¹-an-ta hu-wa-al-pa-na-ti a-ar* 'von den buckligen Bergen gelange herab!' (vgl. die parallele Kollokation im Nom. Pl. HUR.SAG^{HI.A}-*in-zi hu-wa-al-pa-[ni-in-zi]* 'bucklige Berge' in KUB 35.108, 21'). Logographische Schreibungen von HUR.SAG 'Berg' mit phonetischen Komplementen, die wie im Hieroglyphen-Luwischen einen Alveolar vor dem Ausgang anzeigen (z. B. Akk. Pl. HUR.SAG^{HI.A}-*ti-in-za* in KUB 35.107 iii 12') bilden eine weitere Bestätigung, wengleich Starkes [1979: 253, Anm. 27] Lesung als **ariyatt(i)-* 'Erhebung, Berg' natürlich nicht mit absoluter Sicherheit ausgeschlossen werden kann (indirekt bezeugt durch *ariyat(t)allali-* 'zum Berg gehörig', ein Epitheton des Wettergottes, und den Städtenamen ^{URU}*Ariyatašša-*; s. auch [CLL: 27]).

Sowohl im Hieroglyphen-Luwischen als auch im Keilschrift-Luwischen gibt es potenzielle Derivate von der Wurzel **watt-*, die mit einem unterschiedlichen Grad an Sicherheit dem Lexem *watt(i)-* 'Berg' zugeordnet werden können. Das gravierendste Problem, das bei den semantischen Deutungen der Bildungen in ihren oft fragmentarischen Kontexten auftritt, besteht darin, dass man verschiedenorts auch von einer luwischen Wurzel **watt-* 'Wasser' ausgeht. Denn dies könnte lautgesetzlich durch

¹ Eine Liste der Belege findet sich in [Gérard 2006: 248].

² Lesung nach [Goedegebuure 2010: 311].

Čops Gesetz in Kasus, in denen ein vokalisch anlautendes Morphem folgt aus ererbtem **wed-* ‘Wasser’ entstanden sein ([Melchert 1994: 252f.] und [Adiego Lajara 2001]; dagegen [Kloekhorst 2014: 578f.]).³ Die Schwierigkeit der semantischen Interpretation wird noch dadurch verschärft, dass sowohl von ‘Berg’ als auch von ‘Wasser’ topographische Bezeichnungen abgeleitet worden sein dürften, die also in dasselbe semantische Feld gehören würden. Folgende Lexeme sind hier zu nennen:

Der sicherste Kandidat für ein Berg-Derivat ist *wattattar*. Das Wort ist zweimal als Nom./Akk. Pl. n. *wattatra* (KUB 38.32 Vs. 2, Rs. 20', NS) in der Beschreibung eines Wettergott-Bildnisses im Rahmen eines Kultinventars belegt. Die beiden Kontexte, von denen derjenige aus Vs. 2 hier wiedergegeben wird, ähneln sich sehr: GAM-ŠÚ 2 *wa-at-ta-at-ra* AN.BAR 1 *še-kán DŪ-an-zi* ‘unter ihm (*scil.* dem Wettergott-Bildnis) machen sie zwei *wattattar* aus Eisen (in der Größe) von einer Spanne’. Während die von Starke [1990: 524] erwogene Möglichkeit, dass es sich um eine Befestigungsvorrichtung handeln könne, durch die Verwendung des wertvollen Eisen als unwahrscheinlich gelten darf, basieren die anderen Vorschläge auf etymologischen Erwägungen: Jakob-Rost [1963: 193–195] schließt das Wort an *wattaru-* ‘Quelle, Brunnen’ an (übernommen in [HW: 462; Siegelová 1984: 116f.]) und übersetzt es gleichfalls mit ‘Quelle, Brunnen’. Laroche [1967: 33f.] denkt an *wattai-* ‘Vogel’, während Starke die Frage letztlich offen lässt. Schließlich schlägt Gérard [2006: 250] das von ihm behandelte *watt(i)-* ‘Berg’ als Grundlage vor. Dies ist nicht nur morphologisch ökonomisch und wird durch KUR-*tar* ‘Bildnis eines Berges’ (KUB 38.7 iii 6') gestützt, sondern auch die Zweizahl der *wattattar*-Elemente spricht sehr für die Richtigkeit der Annahme, da in den bildlichen Darstellungen der Wettergott typischerweise auf

³ Kloekhorst [2014: 578f.] beschränkt Čop folgend das Lautgesetz auf Mediae aspiratae. Die hierfür notwendige Trennung von heth. *idālu-* und luw. *adduwal(i)-* ‘böse, schlecht’ von der gut belegten Wurzel **h₁ed-* ‘beißen, essen’ und der Anschluss an das isolierte gr. ἔθων ‘zerstörerisch’ und ἔθει·φθείρει, ἐρεθίζει ‘zerstört, reizt’ (Hesych) überzeugen nicht, ebensowenig die Ablehnung der anerkannten Rekonstruktion von **h₁d-(e/o)nt-* ‘beißend, Zahn’ und der semantischen Entwicklung von ‘beißen’ zu ‘essen’ einerseits und von ‘beißend’ zu ‘böse, schlecht’ andererseits, s. [NIL: 208–220] mit weiterführender Literatur. Unentschieden [Vertegaal 2020: 170].

zwei Berggöttern steht (vgl. das Relief des auf zwei Berggöttern stehenden Königs Tudḫalija IV., der nach einem Berg benannt ist, in der Kammer A in Yazılıkaya; eine Abbildung findet sich in [Ehringhaus 2005: 25]).

Luw. *wattant(i)-* ist sowohl in luwischem als auch in hethitischem Kontext belegt. Letzterer stammt aus dem Zuwi-Ritual:

- (1) [Z]I-ŠU *u-wa-at-ta-an-ti-iš* (oder: *:wa-at-ta-an-ti-iš*) ^{NA}*hé-kur e-eš-ša-ri-iš-ši-it ú-i-el-ku-wa-[an]*
 ‘Sein Geist ist ein bergförmiger Fels, sein Körper ist Gras.’ (KUB 12.63 obv. 35).

Die hier vorgenommene Wiedergabe von *wattant(i)-* als ‘bergförmig’ passt in den Kontext, basiert jedoch vornehmlich auf dem Anschluss an *watt(i)-* ‘Berg’. Geht man von **watt(i)-* ‘Wasser’ aus, so ergibt sich: “sein Geist ist ein Fels mit einer Quelle” [Melchert 1984: 142, Anm. 113; CLL: 267; HW², Җ: 558, 560; HEG, U-Z: 424]. Beides ist denkbar, und auch der Beleg in luwischem Kontext (**wa¹-at-ta-an-ti(-)*, KUB 35.114, 7', NS) bringt trotz der Nennung eines Flusses (Dat./Lok. Sg. *ÍD-i*) eine Zeile später keine Klarheit. Wenn hier trotzdem der Übersetzung ‘bergförmig’ der Vorzug gegeben wird, geschieht dies unter Vorbehalt und allein aufgrund der sicheren Bezeugung des Basiswortes *watt(i)-* ‘Berg’.

Dieselbe Ambiguität betrifft auch die semantische Interpretation von *wattann(i)-* (*wa-¹at¹-ta-an-¹ni¹-iš*, KBo 62.5, 27, vlt. auch ergänzt *ibid.* 14), das sowohl ‘kleiner Berg’ als auch ‘kleines Gewässer’ bedeuten kann. Der Kontext innerhalb einer topographischen Beschreibung hilft gleichfalls nicht weiter, da es sich in beiden Fällen um topographische Begriffe handelt. Die bisher publizierten Analysen legen **watt(i)-* ‘Wasser’ zugrunde [Lorenz, Rieken 2007: 468, 478; CLL: 267; HEG, U-Z: 424], doch hat sich die Situation seit der Anerkennung von bezeugtem *watt(i)-* ‘Berg’ im oben beschriebenen Sinne verändert, so dass auch für *wattann(i)-* das Ökonomieprinzip — mit aller gebotenen Vorsicht — für eine Ableitung von ‘Berg’ spricht.

Ein weiteres Wort, das sehr wahrscheinlich in die Wortfamilie gehört, ist hlw. *|u-ta-ti*. Der umgebende Satz lautet nach Yakubovich [2017a: s. v.]:

- (2) |“*MÁRA/P*”-*i-sa-pa-wa/i* |(DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ti-ia-sá-tiⁱ* |(BONUS) *wa/i-sa₅+ra/i-tiⁱ* |*á-miⁱ* |DOMINUS-*niⁱ* † |(LEO)¹*hwa/i-sa₅+ra/i-a* |*pa(+ra/i²)-tiⁱ* |*u-ta-ti na-ha^a*
 ‘Durch die Güte des Hirschgottes des Feldes, *n*.-te ich das Wild für meinen Herrn (zu/in) dem *pa(ra²)ti uttati*.’

Obgleich die Lesung von |*u-ta-ti* als separates Wort auf der Basis graphischer Evidenz nicht gesichert werden kann (vgl. [Hawkins 2000: 523]: *u-ta-ti-na-ha-a*), spricht die Kollokation mit |*pa(+ra/i²)-tiⁱ*, das denselben Auslaut aufweist, stark dafür. Yakubovich schlägt eine zwar etymologisierende, aber für den Kontext sehr plausible Interpretation als ‘at the foothill² (and) in the hill country²’ vor, die offensichtlich davon ausgeht, dass *pad(i)*- ‘Fuß’ und *watt(i)*- ‘Berg’ jeweils mit dem Abstraktsuffix *-att(i)*- abgeleitet sind — in *watt(i)*- mit Synkope der Wurzelsilbe. Alternativ ist auch das Formans *-att(a)*- für neutrale Abstrakta möglich, während *wattaⁿt(i)*- als substantiviertes Adjektiv ‘bergförmig’ nicht gleichermaßen geeignet erscheint.

Unklar bleibt |*x ú-ut-ra šar-ra* aus KUB 35.66 iii 9’, auf das mich Ilya Yakubovich (mdl.) aufmerksam macht. Der bisherigen Zuordnung von *ūtra* zu *utar/utn*- ‘Wort, Spruch’ [CLL: 247] steht nichts entgegen, doch lässt die Verbindung mit *šarra* ‘auf, darauf’ auch an eine Ableitung von *watt(i)*- ‘Berg’ denken. Eine Entscheidung ist ohne zusätzliche Evidenz nicht möglich.

Das Lexem *watt(i)*- ‘Berg’ ist nach dem oben Gesagten die Ausgangsbasis für eine Wortfamilie, die sich gegenüber den von Gérard angeführten Ableitungen *wattattar* ‘Bildnis eines Berges’ und *wattant(i)*- ‘bergförmig’ um zwei potenzielle Mitglieder mit einem unterschiedlichen Grad an Sicherheit erweitern ließ: *wattann(i)*- ‘kleiner Berg’ und *wattatt(i)*- oder *wattatt(a)*- ‘Bergland’. Obgleich Gérard [2006: 250f.] Siegelová’s semantische Deutung von *wattattar* als ‘Bildnis einer Quelle’ ablehnt, folgt er doch ihrem Vorschlag, dass eine etymologische Verbindung mit *heth. wataru*- ‘Quelle’ bestehe. Den gemeinsamen Nenner dieser zunächst gegensätzlich erscheinenden semantischen Felder sieht er in einer Grundbedeutung ‘erhöht, hoch’ (frz. *élevé*) und verweist auf die Entwicklung, die zu dem Nebeneinander von engl. *spring* ‘Quelle’ und *to spring* ‘(nach

oben) springen' bzw. von frz. *source* 'Quelle' und frz. *sourdre* 'hervorquellen' < lat. *surgere* 'sich erheben'. Die Grundbedeutung 'Erhebung' ist für ein Wort für 'Berg' natürlich naheliegend. Ohne einen Wurzelanschluss bleibt dies jedoch ebenso wie Gérards etymologische Verbindung mit dem Wort für 'Quelle' spekulativ.

Im Folgenden soll ein entsprechender Ansatz das Bild ergänzen. Tatsächlich existiert in der Literatur bereits ein Rekonstrukt mit der erforderlichen Form und Bedeutung, das auf der Basis von Fortsetzern aus nicht-anatolischen Sprachen erstellt worden ist. Es handelt sich um die Lokalpartikel **ud* 'empor, hinauf; hinaus, heraus', die u.a. durch ved. *úd* 'empor, hinaus', apers. *ud-* in *udapatatā* 'er erhob sich, rebellierte', gr. ὕστερος 'hinterer, letzter' und lit. *ùž* 'hinauf, hinter' reflektiert wird (vgl. [IEW: 1103–1104; LIPP, 1: 823–828] mit weiteren Reflexen).⁴ Dass **ud* wenigstens einzelsprachlich wie eine lexikalische Wurzel ablautfähig sein kann, zeigt lit. *vėdaras*, dial. *vėderas* 'Eingeweide, Wurstmagen', das neben ved. *udāra-* 'Bauch, Mutterleib' < **ud-éro-* steht und von Dunkel [LIPP, 2: 826f.] auf **uēdero-* mit einer "Neo-Dehnstufe" zurückgeführt wird. Alternativ denkt Dunkel an eine Kontamination mit **uēdr-o-* 'Eimer' ← 'das zum Wasser Gehörige' (aufgrund der Eimern und Mägen gemeinsamen Verwendung als Wasserbehälter).

Legt man für luw. *watt(i)-* also eine Bildung zugrunde, die ihren Ausgangspunkt in der semantisch passenden Lokalpartikel **ud* 'empor, hinauf; hinaus, heraus', gelangt man zwangsläufig zu einer Vorform **uéd-o-* 'hinauf(gehend), heraus(ragend)'. Morphologisch zeigt das Luwische nämlich den typischen Ersatz des Themavokals **-o-* durch die *i*-Mutation, während auf der phonologischen Seite Čops Gesetz zur lautgesetzlichen Entwicklung von **-é-* > *-a-* unter Fortisierung von folgendem **-d-* vor Vokal führt (s. o.). Das Verhältnis von **uéd-o-* zu **ud* entspricht formal

⁴ Das Allomorph mit Dehnung des Vokals, **úd*, ist in got. *ūt*, ahd. *ūz* 'aus, heraus', aksl. *vy* 'aus, heraus', lit. *ūž* 'auf, hinauf, zu' fortgesetzt. Die Idee einer Monosyllaba-Dehnung lehnt Dunkel [LIPP, 1: 75, 86, 2: 824, Anm. 6] entschieden ab; ebenso Peters [1980: 71] vorsichtige Erwägung einer Laryngalmethese **Hud* > **uHd*, die im Widerspruch zu seinen eigenen Ergebnissen stünde. Für die vorliegende Fragestellung sind die langvokalische Variante und ihre Genese nicht von Bedeutung.

genau demjenigen von **néu-o-* ‘neu’ (← ‘jetzig’) zur Partikel **nu* ‘jetzt’; **néu-o-* wird schon lange als Vrddhi-Ableitung interpretiert, obgleich die Partikel *nu* als nicht ablauffähig angesehen wird [AiG, 2/2: 124; IEW: 770; Darms 1978: 395; LIPP, 2: 577–583]. Dasselbe könnte also auch für **ud* gelten.⁵

Nun besteht aber in lautlicher Hinsicht mit **uéd-o-* > *watt(i)-* ein Widerspruch zu Melcherts [1994: 262, 273] Annahme, dass sich nicht nur im Hethitischen, sondern auch im Luwischen **e* in der Position zwischen **u* und Alveolar entwickelt. Melchert räumt jedoch zugleich ein, dass der Wandel nur sporadisch auftritt, und führt nur ein einziges Beispiel an: die Wurzel **hwid-* ‘leben’ in seinen verschiedenen Ableitungen. Aber eben weil es ein ganze Reihe von Ableitungen gibt, für die man von einer Verlagerung des Akzents auf das Suffix annehmen kann (*hwidnaima/i-*, *hwidumnāhi(t)-*, *hwidwāl(i)-* und davon wiederum *huiduwaluwar/-un-*) und weil selbst im Falle von *hwidar*/**hwidn-* in einem Teil des Paradigmas (in *hu-i-d/ta-a-ar(=)*, Nom./Akk. Pl. n.) der Akzent nicht auf der Wurzel lag, waren die Bedingungen für die Wirksamkeit von Čops Gesetz nicht erfüllt (für Belege der Bildungen s. [CLL: 83–85; Starke 1990: 560–564; HED, H: 352–355]). Hinzu kommt, dass der Wurzelvokal in den obliquen Kasus ebenso wie in einigen Ableitungen vor Doppelkonsonanz (*-dn-* bzw. *-dw-*) stand, so dass auch hier Čops Gesetz nicht wirken konnte. Die Fälle, in denen ***hwaddV-* entstehen konnte, waren also recht beschränkt: im Nom./Akk. Sg. **h₂uéd-r* und im Nom./Akk. Sg. des rekonstruierten **h₂uédu-* ‘lebendig’. Wenn die Wandel **e* > *i/u*_Alveolar und **e* > *i* in vortoniger Silbe komplementär zu Čops Gesetz angewendet wurden, kann der paradigmatische Ausgleich ohne Weiteres zu einer Verallgemeinerung der Wurzelform *hwid-* geführt haben.

⁵ Ilya Yakubovich (mdl.) gibt zu bedenken, dass die Entwicklung auch in umgekehrter Richtung gegangen sein könnte. Indem entsprechend dem gängigen Grammatikalisierungsprozess die Bezeichnung der topographischen Erscheinung (hier: ‘Berg’) den Ausgangspunkt für die Lokalpartikel (hier: ‘hinauf’) darstellt. Da ein endungsloser Lokativ in Anbetracht der Tiefstufe nicht oder nur mit paradigmatischem Ausgleich in Frage kommt, müsste es sich um das verselbstständigte Vorderglied eines Possesivkompositums handeln. Auszuschließen ist das nicht, erfordert aber mehr oder seltenere Entwicklungsschritte.

Ein weiterer Fall von $*e > i / \underline{u}$ -Alveolar kommt für (:)*welinal-* n. ‘Stock, Stab, Stange’ (aus einem Nomen instrumenti der Bedeutung *Mittel zum Schlagen) in Frage. Dieses leitet Starke [1990: 313–315] aus $*g^{wh}\check{e}n-el$ her, während Melchert [CLL: 269] die Annahme einer Dehnstufe für unnötig hält, also für die Wurzel wohl $*g^{wh}en-$ ansetzt und implizit von der Wirkung des hier behandelten Lautwandels ausgeht. Weniger eindeutig äußert er sich später [Melchert 2012: 213], als er $*g^{wh}\check{e}n-l$ rekonstruiert. Es ist jedoch inzwischen klar, dass den luwischen Nomina instrumenti auf *-al-* keine archaischen *l*-Stämme zugrunde liegen, sondern die Klasse durch Apokope des thematischen Ausgangs ($*-Tlos/m > -Tal$) und Generalisierung auf andere lautliche Umgebungen entstanden ist ([Melchert 2013: 209f.], aufbauend auf [Rieken 2008]). Zu den Fällen, die auf einer solchen Übertragung basieren, gehört auch (:)*welinal-*, wo dem Suffix *-al-* $< *lo-$ kein Verschlusslaut vorausgeht. Die Wurzelform *win-* muss also in einem anderen Kontext entstanden sein, der nicht mehr bezeugt ist. Das Wort (:)*welinal-* selbst ist also sekundärer Natur.

Anderenorts wird auch klw. Dat./Lok. Pl. *widanza* zusammen mit dem Luwismus (:)*wida-* ‘Wasser, wasserhaltige topographische Erscheinung o.Ä.’ und seinen potenziellen Ableitungen für diesen Lautwandel tentativ in Anspruch genommen ([Rieken 1999: 76f.; EDHIL: 1015f.], mit philologischer Behandlung). Die ursprüngliche Herleitung von Watkins [1975: 373f.], hinsichtlich *widanza* gefolgt von Darms [1978: 13–24] aus $*u\acute{e}d-o-$, einer Vrddhi-Bildung zum Wurzelnomen $*wed-$ ‘Wasser’, stellt aber immer noch eine attraktive Alternative dar, zumal sie durch die bemerkenswerte Wortgleichung mit urgerm. $*u\acute{e}da-$ (aisl. *vātr*, aengl. *wætt*, afr. *wet*) gestützt wird.⁶

⁶ Die Trennung von klw. *widanza* vom Luwismus (:)*wida-* durch Yakubovich [2017b: s. v.] und Simon [2020a; 2020b] ist m.E. unberechtigt, ebenso die auch von Melchert [CLL: 270] geteilte Zuweisung zum Hethitischen. Beleglage, Glossenkeil und die Gleichheit der Lautung sprechen für die luwische Herkunft von (:)*wida-*. Außerdem ist die Verbindung von *widanza* mit dem semantischen Feld von ‘Wasser’ nach einer Reihung von bewegten Gewässern, Flüssen und Wiesen (die durchaus feucht sein können, KUB 35.45 ii 6) nicht unwahrscheinlich.

Zusammenfassend kann also festgestellt werden, dass der semantisch überzeugenden Herleitung von luw. *watt(i)*- ‘Berg’ << **uéd-o-* und der weiteren Zuordnung zur Partikel **ud* ‘empor, hinauf; hinaus, heraus’ auch lautlich nichts im Wege steht.

Abschließend sei noch einmal auf die oben zitierten Bemerkungen Gérards zum gemeinsamen Ursprung von luw. *watt(i)*- ‘Berg’ und *wattaru-* ‘Quelle’ hingewiesen, die er beide semantisch auf eine Grundbedeutung ‘élevé’ im Anatolischen zurückführt. Tatsächlich könnte diese Idee auf die Grundsprache zurückprojiziert werden, denn die rekonstruierte Bedeutung der Lokalpartikel **ud* ‘empor, hinauf; hinaus, heraus’ weist genau in diese Richtung. Die Bedeutungskomponente ‘hinaus, heraus’, die sich als Grundlage für eine Bezeichnung für Quelle besonders gut eignet, ist als eine metonymische Bedeutungserweiterung von ‘empor, hinauf’ verständlich: Wasser, das aus dem Boden hervorsprudelt, sprudelt zumindest in ebenem Gelände nach oben. Deshalb ist ernsthaft zu erwägen, dass die Homonymie der Wurzeln für ‘Berg’ **ued-* und ‘Wasser’ **ued-* eine vermeintliche ist und stattdessen einen Fall von Polysemie darstellt. Beide können also auf ein und denselben Ursprung zurückgehen.

Abkürzungen

Akk. — Akkusativ; Dat. — Dativ; Lok. — lokativ; n. — Neutrum; Nom. — Nominativ; Pl. — Plural; Sg. — Singular.

aengl. — altenglisch; afr. — altfriesisch; ahd. — althochdeutsch; aisl. — altisländisch; aksl. — altkirchenslavisch; apers. — altpersisch; frz. — französisch; gr. — griechisch; got. — gotisch; heth. — hethitisch; hluw. — hieroglyphenluwisch; kluw. — keilschriftluwisch; lat. — lateinisch; lit. — litauisch; luw. — luwisch; ved. — vedisch.

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Outremer French loanwords in Cilician Armenian: Phonetic issues

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Abstract. The political and cultural relations between the Armenian Principality and, later, Kingdom of Cilicia (1198–1375) and the Crusader States were particularly intense and produced a not small number of innovations in the Cilician Armenian lay elites. The high prestige of the French speaking elites of the Crusader States induced the Armenian nobles to import many western cultural innovations in the Armenian society. Among these innovations it is worth to be mentioned that, during the kingdom of Hethum II (1289–1301), the royal chancellery of Sis, in addition to Armenian and Latin, begun to use French as well. A clear trace of the circulation of French among the Armenian cultivated lay elites is represented by the many loanwords attested in Armenian documents and literary works written in the Kingdom of Cilicia. These loanwords are of outstanding interest for the history of French, especially for the French variety usually labelled as Outremer French, which was spoken in the Crusader States. Thanks to the richness in sounds of the Armenian phonological inventory and in letters of the Armenian alphabet, the phonetic shape of the Outremer French loanwords is well preserved and faithfully represented in Cilician Armenian texts. So, the French loanwords in Cilician Armenian can offer valuable information about the phonetics of Outremer French, otherwise scantily documented. The article discusses the Outremer French loanwords in Cilician Armenian, paying particular attention to their dialectal features. The vocalism and the consonantism of these loanwords confirm the non-Francien character of Outremer French and, in addition, show some slightly conservative features. Such phonetic archaisms can be explained in different manners, but in any case they seem to detach Outremer French from some important streams of linguistic innovation that were spreading in France.

Keywords: loanwords, Old French, Outremer French, Levant, Armenian, Middle Armenian, Cilician Armenian, Kingdom of Cilicia.

Старофранцузские заимствования в киликийском армянском: проблемы фонетики

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Аннотация. Активные политические и культурные отношения между Армянским киликийским княжеством, а позднее Армянским киликийским царством (1198–1375) и государствами крестоносцев привели к многочисленным изменениям в жизни киликийской армянской светской элиты. Западные культурные влияния активно распространялись в армянском обществе посредством франкоязычной элиты государств крестоносцев. Так, во время правления Хетума II (1289–1301) в царской канцелярии в Сисе наряду с армянским и латинским использовался и французский. Явным признаком широкого распространения французского среди образованных киликийских армян служат многочисленные заимствования, засвидетельствованные в документах и литературных произведениях, созданных в Армянском киликийском царстве. Эти заимствования представляют особый интерес для истории французского языка, особенно для старофранцузского языка государств крестоносцев (Outremer French). Благодаря богатству фонемного состава армянского языка и особенностям армянского алфавита, фонетический облик старофранцузских заимствований передается в текстах на киликийском армянском с высокой степенью достоверности. Эти заимствования являются важным источником информации о диалектных чертах языка государств крестоносцев, сведения о котором очень фрагментарны. Именно таким диалектным особенностям посвящена данная статья. Анализ вокализма и консонантизма киликийских заимствований подтверждает, что диалект старофранцузского языка государств крестоносцев отличался от франсийского диалекта и сохранял некоторые архаичные особенности. Возможны различные объяснения таких фонетических архаизмов, но, так или иначе, они могут указывать на некоторую изолированность старофранцузского источника киликийских армянских заимствований от фонетических изменений, распространявшихся в этот период во Франции.

Ключевые слова: заимствования, старофранцузский, Левант, армянский, среднеармянский, киликийский армянский, киликийское армянское царство.

1. Introduction

At the end of the 1st millennium AD, the majority of historical Armenia was divided into two Armenian kingdoms: the Kingdom of Ani ruled by the Bagratuni family (884/5–1045; cf. [Garsoïan 2002: 173–194], and the Kingdom of Van, under the leadership of the Arcruni family (908–1021); cf. [Garsoïan 2002: 198–202]. These kingdoms did not long withstand first the Turkic invasions and then Byzantine expansionism. The fall of these two state entities opened a long phase of decadence of historical Armenia, and many Armenian families, having escaped from the destruction of the kingdoms of Ani and Van, united their destinies to give rise to the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198–1375), a new state entity wedged between the Byzantine Empire, the Islamic Sultanates of the Near East, and the Crusader States and, consequently, required to mediate between these stronger states in order to preserve its existence. The Crusaders, coming mainly from Gallo-Romance linguistic areas, had reached Palestine approximately one century before the foundation of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, and gave rise to important state entities such as the County of Edessa (1098–1149), the Principality of Antioch (1098–1268), the County of Tripoli (1104–1289) and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1291) with its vassal states. Crusader States, which were enemies of Muslims and Byzantines alike, found in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia a loyal interlocutor and a valuable ally [Pasdermadjan 1986: 202]. In 1342, when other Christian States of the Levant had already waned, the crown of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia even passed to a French family, the Lusignans, originally from Poitou. The connection between Cilician Armenians and Crusader States went beyond the political dimensions, and many cultural and social innovations entered into the life of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia after contact with the Franks [Dédéyan, Thierry 2002: 247–249]. Among these innovations, one may recall the use of the French word *պարոն*, *պարոնն* *paron*, *parown* [ba'ron]/[ba'run] for 'lord' — a word still in use in Modern Armenian. In the history of Armenian, this loanword also appears in the form *պարոնն տէր* *paron tēr*, i.e. compounded with *տէր* *tēr*

‘lord’, according to a process of lexical adaptation through compounding with a synonymic native lexeme (about the notion of “lexical adaptation”, cf. [Gusmani 2002: 99]). The positive attitude of the Cilician Armenians towards the culture of the Crusader States of the Levant also brought consequences on the linguistic dimension: in particular, the French varieties in use in the Crusader States (usually labelled as Outremer French or French of Outremer) were acquired and used by the Armenian aristocracy [Pasdermadjan 1986: 231]. It bears mentioning that, during the kingdom of Hethum II (1289–1301), the royal chancellery of Sis, in addition to Armenian and Latin, begun to use French as well. A further and very relevant confirmation of the high prestige that Cilician Armenians accorded to Outremer French can be observed in the fact that the loanwords entering into Cilician Armenian from that language are not only necessity loanwords, having the purpose of filling Armenian lexical gaps, but also luxury loanwords, i.e. loanwords acquired only for the prestige of the donor language and in competition with native synonyms.

2. Sources for the study of Outremer French loanwords in Cilician Armenian

A very significant product of the contact between Armenians and Franks of the Levant is the translation into Armenian of *The Assizes of Antioch* [Nichanian 1989: 222–224]. This important collection of laws had been written in French, but its original text is lost. The *Assizes* were translated into Armenian before 1265 by Smbat Sparapet (“Smbat the constable”, 1208–1276), brother of the Cilicia’s King Hethum I and uncle of Hethum of Corycus, who also lived in Cyprus and France and in 1307 dictated for Pope Clement V the famous work *La Flor des Estoires d’Orient*. The Armenian text of the *Assizes* was published in Venice in 1876 on the basis of just one, very old manuscript (1330–1331) [Ališan 1876]. The work had been composed in the Principality of Antioch, which in November 1098 had fallen into

the hands of Bohemond I, a Norman nobleman from Southern Italy. As a standard variety of French did not yet exist, it is quite probable that the French variety used in the Principality of Antioch was somehow in continuity with the variety spoken by the Normans of Southern Italy. This variety of French, although quite scantily known, was probably characterized by Northern features like all the varieties spoken by Normans. Günter Reichenkron (1957) proposed that also the Armenian translation of the *Assizes* had been made from a French text with Northern dialectal features, as the phonetic form of some loanwords present in the translation seems to suggest (on the topic cf. also [Folena 1990: 276, n. 8]).

More recent explorations of the French manuscripts written in the Levant [Minervini 2010] have partially enriched and remodelled the approach to the issue of the linguistic features of Outremer French: the French variety that emerges from the Levant manuscripts shows a mixture of peripheral and non-Francien dialectal features, which on French soil can be found in the northwestern and northeastern dialect areas. The linguistic remnants of Outremer French preserved in Cilician Armenian are not limited to the loanwords documented in the *Assizes*, but there are also many other loanwords that can be found in other Cilician prose works, such as the *Cronicle (Taregirk')* of Smbat Sparapet and his *Judgement Book of Armenians (Datastanagirk' Hayoc')*, a reworking of the code of laws (*Datastanagirk')* of Mxit'ar Goš (1130–1213), both prior to 1265. French loanwords are also present in the diplomas of the chancellery of the Rubenids, the family that ruled Cilicia until 1122; in works regarding the Syro-Roman code (12th and 13th century); and in many historical works published by Vazgen Artašesi Hakobyan in his fundamental *Minor Chronicles (Manr žamanakagrowth' yownner, 2 volumes, Yerevan 1951–1956, hereafter MŽ)*, a rich collection of texts containing many Cilician works composed in 13th or 14th centuries. With reference to these sources, it may be observed that the role of prose in the Armenian documentation of Outremer French is quite central. Prose is indeed more open to lexical innovations, whereas Armenian poetry seems more reluctant in this regard. Cilician Armenian poetry is mainly religious, and the poets often belonged to the clergy;

Cilician poems are therefore composed in the traditional classical language used by the Armenian Church (Grabar) and are linguistically rather conservative. To the contrary, prose works, especially practical works, are often written by the lay learned, and leave more room for Medieval Armenian, i.e. Cilician Armenian, with all its innovations already well-established in the spoken varieties. Among these innovations, prose works also welcome many lexical innovations, in the form of loanwords from Outremer French as well as from Arabic, Persian and Turkic varieties. In any case, the more innovative character of prose can be ascribed only partially to historical reasons, and seems instead to represent a general, almost universal trend, intrinsic to the nature of prose textuality [Andersen 2001: 32].

A comprehensive corpus of the French — but not necessarily Francien — loanwords documented by the Cilician Armenian literature is not yet available, but the loanwords detected so far are enough to stimulate reflection on their phonetic shape, a dimension we can define as mainly linguistic, but not devoid of cultural and historical interest as well. French loanwords in Cilician Armenian attracted the attention of Heinrich Hübschmann [1897: 389–391]: information later incorporated into the *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* by Walther von Wartburg) and his pupil Josef Karst [1901, *passim*]. A first attempt to analyze the French loanwords in Cilician Armenian from a dialectal perspective was proposed by Reichenkron [1957]. Mildonian [1980] contributed to the topic, gathering a richer corpus based on [Ačaryan 1951: 299–301] and on personal research. Lastly, a short discussion on the topic may be read in [Aslanov 2006: 39–43]. However, the topic would merit a general revision in the light of a wider exploration of the Armenian sources. A good starting point to expand the corpus and, consequently, the study of the French loanwords in Cilician Armenian can also be represented by such lexicographic works as the dictionary of Middle Armenian *Mijin Hayereni Bařaran* (MHB) compiled by Rowben Serobi Łazaryan and Henrik Misaki Avetisyan ([Łazaryan, Avetisyan 1987–1992], 2 vols.; reprint 2009 in a single volume). Josef Karst's *Wörterbuch des Mittelarmenischen* might be another valuable lexicographic source; this work, however, still remains unpublished.

3. Vocalism of French loanwords in Cilician Armenian

Before presenting some remarkable phonetic aspects of the French loanwords documented in Cilician Armenian texts, it might be useful to recall that the Armenian alphabet allows a very detailed representation of the French words, surely better than French orthography could offer. The presence in the Cilician Armenian alphabet of 8 letters denoting vowels and 10 letters denoting anterior fricatives and affricates enabled Armenian writers to represent the pronunciation of French loanwords in a reliable way. Moreover, the Cilician Armenian phonological inventory — although reduced with respect to Classical Armenian — was very rich, and included all Old French sounds. Consequently, phenomena of phonological adaptation in these loanwords appear to be quite scant and easily predictable. They can probably be reduced to three processes, depending on positional constraints (notably [ə]-prosthesis before initial vibrant, [ə]-epenthesis in some consonant cluster and deletion of final [-ə]). Except for these few adaptation rules, French loanwords in Cilician Armenian appear rather well conserved in their phonetic shape. Nevertheless, in a few cases, some minor doubts remain.

The French loanwords preserved in the text of the *Assizes of Antioch* [Ališan 1876] and in other Armenian prose works offer interesting evidence about the vocalism of Outremer French. The loanword *hurnūṭq harnēz* ‘equipment’ [Ališan 1876: 19] may be used as starting point to discuss an initial graphic and phonetic issue. In Cilician Armenian, the grapheme *ṭ* in stressed syllables is used to denote a front middle non-rounded vowel, that Karst affirms to be mid-low, i.e. [ɛ] [1901: 18]. To justify this phonetic content, Karst points out that *ṭ* is used in many loanwords to reproduce Persian and Arabic short /a/, which already tended to be pronounced [æ] or [ɛ]. This statement seems a little forced (and the examples given by Karst rather doubtful), and it bears noting that Cilician Armenian shows no reliable traces of a distinction between [ɛ] and [e], as Karst himself maintains elsewhere [1901: 19]. If we follow this latter view of Karst, the Classical Armenian /e/ <ṭ> and /ɛ/ <ṭ> would have already merged into a single front mid non-rounded vowel (cf. [Godel

1975: 7], whose pronunciation could be [ɛ], especially in a stressed syllable. Such a situation would match what we find in Standard Western Armenian [Vaux 1998: 16]. Here, we accept this hypothesis in the transcription, but given the absence of a /e/ that phonologically contrasted with /ɛ/, every front mid non rounded vowel in foreign words could be reproduced with <ɛ>. The existence of graphic variants with the grapheme <ɛ> in French loanwords does not represent a trace of a different pronunciation, since the exchange between <ɛ> and <ɛ̄> is very common in every age of the Armenian manuscript tradition. In Cilician Armenian, the grapheme <ɛ̄> could denote two sounds: the first was identical to that denoted by <ɛ>, the second one was slightly pre-yodized [ɛ̄V], especially but not only in word-initial position. Returning to *hurnúṭq harnēz* ‘equipment’ [Ališan 1876: 19], this word must be traced back to the OFr. lexeme *harneis*. For this word, Old French knew the variants *herneis* and *harneis*, later *harnois*, always with a diphthong in the last syllable. The development of Romance /e/ in stressed syllables (from Lat. ĭ, Ē, OE), as is known, is rather complex in the history of French: the ancient diphthongization in [ei] evolved into [ɛi] and then into [ɔi] in the easternmost French dialects as early as the 10th century. The [ɔi] stage became the only outcome in the 12th century in the Francien area ([Darmesteter 1891, § 93; Alesio 1951: 55; Regula 1955: 32–35; Rheinfelder 1968, § 41; Zink 1986, 58–59]; cf. also the documentation in [Dees 1980: 6, 116, 58, 165, 191, 194, 238–239, 261, 269]. This diphthongized outcome of Romance /e/ in stressed syllables, that in the 13th century was to change further into [‘œ] > [ɔ‘e] > [we] > [wɛ] and, later, [wa], is not the only one attested in the French dialects. Also in the later fixation of the standard language, an outcome [ɛ] (< [wɛ]), usually written <ai>, is well documented, cf. for instance the ethnic *anglais* and the family name *Langlois* ([Regula 1954: 34–35]; cf. also [Fouché 1958: 269–281] who proposes for <ei> a pronounce [‘ei] and an evolution [‘oi] > [‘œ] > [o‘e] > [we] > [wɛ]). In the case of the loanwords that penetrated into Cilician Armenian, the possibility that the Outremer French showed the outcome [ɛ] from Romance /e/ in stressed syllables, and that consequently *hurnúṭq harnēz* were pronounced [har‘nez], has to be taken into serious consideration. In this case, we would be dealing with a phonetic outcome that in France is typical

of the western and northwestern dialects, and that is abundantly documented in the French manuscripts written in the Levant [Minervini 2010: 156–159]. A problem that cannot be neglected here is how a diphthong [ei] could be written in Cilician Armenian, perhaps with <łh> *ēi* or <łj> *ēy*, but these spellings are rare. Some cases, cf. ւլխլտր *pēxēr* from Pers. *bi-xeyr* ‘useless’ [MHB s. v.], seem to suggest that <ł> could reflect, by phonological adaptation or by graphic ambivalence, the diphthong [ei] as well. However, following Karst [1901: 39–40], it must be admitted that the vocalism of the Persian and Arabic loanwords in Cilician Armenian raises many problems and presents many unexpected outcomes, only partially explainable through a Turkic intermediation (cf. [Pisowicz 1995]). It therefore seems highly hypothetical to infer the use of <ł> to note [ei], relying on this sole example. Hence, if the phonetic content of ł in *hurnłtq harnēz* was [ε] and not a diphthong, as more probable, the French loanwords in Cilician Armenian would confirm an outcome well attested in Outremer French [Aslanov 2006: 42]; if instead — as however appears less likely — <ł> was used to note [ei] in the 13th century, we would be dealing with an archaism. We would also have to admit the same in the case in which we were to believe that Arm. [ε] written <ł> was a way phonologically to adapt [ei], as an unusual phonetic sequence. Of course, in *harneis* (a loanword from ONor. HER(R)NEST ‘provision for soldiers’), the diphthong [ei] is not etymological, but analogical on the very common suffix *eis* < -ē(n)se (cf. [Malkiel, Uitti 1968: 158–160]). The analogy is however very old here (*harneis* has been attested since 11th century). Outside of the *Assizes*, Cilician Armenian offers many other cases of <ł> in correspondence with Romance /e/ in stressed syllables, cf. րնł *arē* [əˈrɛ] (or [əˈrei]) ‘king’ (in a *Chronicle* of 1296 by Hethum of Corycus [MŽ, 2: 38]; in the contemporary Byzantine sources we find ροε, cf. [Reichenkron 1957: 101] and OFr. *rei, roi*, գուրղեզ *gowrdēz* [k^(h)urˈtʰɛz] (or [k^(h)urˈtʰɛiz]) ‘courteous’ (in the *Chronicle* of Martin of Poland, translated into Armenian in the 14th century, cf. [MHB, s. v.]) and OFr. *courteis, courtois* (with *-eis/-ois* from -Ē(N)SE), Ֆրանղեզ *franc’ēz* [fəranˈtʰɛz] (or [fəranˈtʰɛiz]) ‘French’ (in a *Chronicle* of 1296 by Hethum of Corycus [MŽ, 2: 53]) and OFr. *franceis* (in this case with *-eis* from -ĪSCU, cf. [Fouché 1958: 269]). Whatever pronunciation we assign to <ł>, it is

clear that Outremer French loanwords that penetrated into Cilician Armenian bear no trace of the innovating pronunciation [ɔi] (or [oi]), already attested in France in the 10th century, which became the usual pronunciation in the Francien area in the 12th century. As for Hethum of Corycus, this testimony must be carefully evaluated. Hethum of Corycus surely spoke Outremer French fluently and spent part of his life as a monk in the Abbaye de la Belle Paix in Cyprus, but he lived in France as well — in Paris and in Poitou. The French loanwords present in his works have a phonetic shape consistent with what we find in other Cilician Armenian texts; such a consistency might suggest that these loanwords were already well inserted into the Armenian lexicon or, more in general, that the French variety in use in the Cilician royal court and among the Cilician nobles had an inner consistency, i.e. it was phonetically rather homogeneous.

In a form like ըմբրուր *əmbrowr* [əmp^(h)ə'ruɾ] 'emperor' (in a *Chronicle* of 1296 by Hethum of Corycus [MŽ, 2: 57]), cf. OFr. *empereour*, the final [-ur] deserves attention because it supposes a French model having [u] as the outcome of Romance /o/ in open syllable, in this case from -ōRE(M). This outcome is not likely to be a phonological adaptation of OFr. [œ] and probably reflects a non-Francien vocalism. To the contrary, the variant ըմբրիօր *əmbriōr* [Karst 1901: 21] seems to suppose a French model with a front round vowel, cf. the strategy of noting Turkic [y] with Arm. <իւ> *iw* [ju] in a word such as տիւկմէ *tiwkmē* [dju'gmɛ] < Turkic *düğme* 'button'. If so, the outcome of Romance /o/ in open syllable in ըմբրիօր *əmbriōr* [əmp^(h)ə'ɾjɔɾ] appears closer to the Francien outcome [ø], soon lowered in [œ], which arose in the northeastern French dialects and then reached the Francien area, where it successively prevailed [Bourciez 1958, § 72]. Another example of a non-front outcome of Romance /o/ in open syllable can be seen in քուսմանուր *k'owmantowr* [k^(h)uman'duɾ] 'commander' (in a 1296 *Chronicle* by Hethum of Corycus [MŽ, 2: 79], cf. OFr. *comandeor*. As remarked by many scholars [Reichenkron 1957: 100–101; Dees 1980: 18, 94–95, 208; Aslanov 2006: 42], the outcome [u] is very widespread in western and northwestern France, but it can also be found in the eastern regions (Burgundy, Lorraine; cf. [Minervini 2010: 156]). The French manuscripts written in the Levant provide a rich documentation of this pronunciation and the spellings <ou> and <u> are very

frequent, whereas the spelling <eu> is rare [Minervini 2010: 155–156]. In this case as well, the French loanwords that entered into Cilician Armenian seem to confirm the phonetic evidence emerging from the French texts written in the Crusader States.

Lastly, again concerning vocalism, the *Assize of Antioch*, as remarked also by Aslanov [2006: 41], preserve some further phonetically remarkable forms such as սայզել *sayzel* [sai'zʲɛl] ‘assign, appoint, put in possession of goods or properties’ [Ališan 1876: 17], cf. OFr. *saisir*, from Germ. *sazjan* ‘put someone as owner’, բլայթ *blayt* [p^(h)ə'laɪt^h] ‘trial, judiciary complaint’ [Ališan 1876: 39], cf. OFr. *plaid*, from Lat. PLACITU(M) and վիգայր *vigayr* [vi'k^(h)air] ‘substitute’ (in a Chronicle of 1296 by Hethum of Corycus [MŽ, 2: 71]), cf. OFr. *vicaire*, from Lat. VICARIU(M). In all these cases, the diphthong [ai] appear well preserved. This feature seems to be conservative, too. In the historical evolution of French, the monophthongization of [ai] passed through a phase [ei] and reached the final stage [ɛ] in the 12th and 13th centuries, in closed syllables before open ones, and in unstressed syllable before stressed ones [Rheinfelder 1968, § 272]. The French manuscripts written in the Levant show some fluctuation between the spelling <ai> and <e>. This fact suggests that the monophthongization of [ai] had already taken place in the Levant [Minervini 2010: 162–163], while the French loanwords documented in Cilician Armenian show no trace of vowel raising or monophthongization.

4. The consonantism of the French loanwords in Cilician Armenian

The case of ֆրանցէզ *franc'ēz* [fəran'ts^hɛz] (or, less probably, [fəran'ts^hɛiz]) ‘French’, cited above, can be a starting point for the reflection on another phonetic issue, that is the outcomes of the fronting of Latin velar stops in Outremer French. The phases of fronting the Latin velars passed through in the history of French could be perfectly represented by mean of the Armenian alphabet. Where Old French written documents represent the outcomes of Latin velars fronting through <c>, <g>,

<ch>, <s>, <z>, <j>, using historical spellings that endure to this day, the richness of letters in the Armenian alphabet makes it possible to more reliably represent the phonetic dimension of Outremer French words. In particular the abundance of Armenian letters denoting fricatives and affricates is noteworthy: cf. <u> *s* Classical Armenian and Cilician Armenian [s], <q> *z* Cl. and Cilic. Arm. [z], <ʔ> *š* Cl. and Cilic. Arm. [ʃ], <ɖ> *ž* Cl. and Cilic. Arm. [ʒ], <ã> *j* Cl. Arm. [dz^(h)], Cilic. Arm. [ts^(h)], <g> *c* Cl. and Cilic. Arm. [ts^h], <ð> *c* Cl. Arm. [ts], Cilic. Arm. [dz], <ʒ> *j* Cl. Arm. [dʒ^(h)], Cilic. Arm. [tʃ^(h)], <ʒ> *č* Cl. and Cilic. Arm. [tʃ^h], <ă> *č* Cl. Arm. [tʃ], Cilic. Arm. [dʒ]. This detailed representation of fricatives and affricates increases the importance of Cilician Armenian as bearing witness to the phonetics of Outremer French and the incertitude about the presence or absence of aspiration in some Cilician Armenian affricates (as in some occlusives) does not invalidate the value of Cilician Armenian as a source about Outremer French sounds.

However, a correct evaluation of the consonantism of Outremer French loanwords in Cilician Armenian cannot disregard some facts concerning the phonetics of Cilician Armenian that have sometimes been ignored in previous studies (for instance in [Reichenkron 1957]). In the *Assizes of Antioch* we find բրինձ *brinj* [p^(h)ə'rints^h] 'prince' [Ališan 1876: 3], OFr. *prince*, and Ալիձի *Alici* [ali'dzi] [Ališan 1876: 93] genitive of Ալիձ *Alic* [a'lidz] 'Alis, Alix', the mother of Smbat Sparapet. These two testimonies have different values. Without any doubt, the presence of alveolar affricates in 13th century represents an archaism. In the same century in France, the deaffrication of these sounds was already very widespread [Bourciez 1958, §§ 114–115], and the French manuscripts written in the Levant, with their fluctuations between <s>, <c>, <ss> and <z>, also seem to confirm the spread of this innovation in Outremer French [Minervini 2010: 167–169]. However, if the testimony of Ալիձ *Alic* [a'lidz] is likely to be reliable as to the persistence of alveolar affricates, that of բրինձ *brinj* [p^(h)ə'rints^h] for OFr. *prince* must be considered as irrelevant. In Cilician Armenian, the Classical Armenian sequence <lu> *ns* [ns] is often written <ւց> *nc* or <ւճ> *nj* in both cases with the phonetic value [nts^h] [Karst 1901: 105–106]. This fact bears witness to a process of fortition of alveolar fricatives after nasals — a process not very different from that

affecting Central and Southern Italo-Romance dialects (cf. in the Roman variety [pen'tsa] 'to think', [kon'tsijjo] 'advice' vs. It. *pensare* and *consiglio*). Hence, բրիւծ *brinj* [p^(h)ə'rints^h] might take both OFr. ['printsə] and ['prinsə] as a model — in the latter case with phonological adaptation of the sequence [ns] in [nts^h]. To sum up, in a French loanword in Cilician Armenian, only the presence of an alveolar affricate after a sound different from a nasal can truly reflect the presence of an alveolar affricate in the French model; in this perspective, a loanword such as Arm. Կացիւն *pac'in* [ba'ts^hin] 'basin, bucket' [Ališan 1876: 45], cf. OFr. *basin*, Fr. *basin*, surely reflects an affricate pronunciation in French.

The same argument can be applied to postalveolar affricates as well. In the *Assizes of Antioch* the forms շալունջ *jalownj* [ʃ^(h)a'lundʒ] 'judiciary complaint' [Ališan 1876: 19], OFr. *chalonge*, from CALUMNIA and ջաստել *jestel* [ʃ^(h)as't^(h)ɛl] 'to punish' [Ališan 1876: 65], OFr. *chastier*, Fr. *châtier*, from CASTIGARE show the absence of deaffrication of postalveolar affricates. The lexicon of Cilician Armenian has no French loanwords beginning with [ʃ-], or variants in [ʃ-] of loanwords beginning with [ʃ^(h)-], cf. also ջաստել *jestel* [ʃ^(h)as't^(h)ɛl] 'castle' (in a *Chronicle* of 1296 by Hethum of Corycus [MŽ, 1: 74]; the word is a homonym of the earlier ջաստել *jestel* [ʃ^(h)as't^(h)ɛl] 'to punish'), OFr. *chastel*, ջամն, ջամբն *jamr, jambr* ['ʃ^(h)am(b)ər] 'chamber of the treasure, treasury' (in Smbat Sparapet's *Judgement Book of Armenians* [MHB, s. v.]), OFr. *chambre*, ջաբրոն, ջաբրոնի *jabron, jabrown* [ʃ^(h)ap^(h)ə'ron, ʃ^(h)ap^(h)ə'run] 'ecclesiastical headgear' (in the *Chronicle* of Martin of Poland, translated into Armenian in the 14th century, cf. [MHB, s. v.]), OFr. *chaperon*, and also the anthroponym Ջարլ *Jarl* [ʃ^(h)arl] (in a *Chronicle* of 1296 by Hethum of Corycus [MŽ, 2: 51]), OFr. *Charles*. An example having [ʃ^(h)] in internal position is Ընիջարդ *Ərijard* [əri'ʃ^(h)ar^h] (in the *Genealogy of the princes of Antioch* by Hethum of Corycus [MŽ, 2: 110]), OFr. *Richart*. As Armenian words beginning with [ʃ-] are quite numerous, it is clear that French loanwords in [ʃ-] could not undergo any phonological adaptation, much less into [ʃ^(h)-]. The stability of [ʃ-] in the loanwords absorbed by Cilician Armenian is confirmed by the Persian and Arabic loanwords in [ʃa-], such as շահիւն *šahin* [ʃa'hin] 'peregrine falcon', from Pers. *šāhīn* 'hawk, falcon' and շահվայ *šahvay* [ʃah'va] 'wish, desire' from Arab. *šahwa(t)* 'wish'. As for voiced postalveolar

affricates the case of the anthroponym Ճաւսլին *Čawslin* [dʒə'slin] (in the *Genealogy of the princes of Antioch* by Hethum of Coryucus [MŽ, 2: 106]), OFr. *Josselin*, may be mentioned. The affricate pronunciation of postalveolars, coming from the original Latin velars before *a*, is certain for French words that penetrated into Cilician Armenian in word initial position and in non-post-nasal position; in a case such as ջալունջ *jalownj* [ʃ^(h)a'lundʒ], the second affricate [dʒ] can have a secondary origin due to a fortition phenomenon, as also occurs for alveolar affricates (cf. *supra*). Returning to voiceless alveolar affricates, in Cilician Armenian we also find rare doublets such as ֆրանցեղ/ֆրանսեղ *franc'ez/fransēz* [fəran'ts^hɛz]/[fəran'sɛz] (or, less probably, [fəran'ts^hɛiz]/[fəran'sɛiz]) 'French' and ջանցլեր/ջանսլեր *ǰanc'ler/ǰansler* [ʃ^(h)ants^hə'liɛr]/[ʃ^(h)ansə'liɛr] 'court's first officer of Justice' [MHB, ss.vv.], OFr. *franceis* and *chancelier*; these forms might suggest that variants with alveolar fricatives instead of affricates were current in Cilician Armenian, but their interpretation is not univocal. Indeed, it cannot be ruled out that such variants depend on different degrees of phonological integration or on phenomena of orthographic incertitude between <ւց> *nc'* and <ւս> *ns*, both pronounced [nts^h] in Cilician Armenian.

The case of OFr. [dʒ] as the outcome of the fronting of the Romance voiced velar stop *G-* before *I* and *E*, also merits some discussion. The asymmetrical evolution of the voiced velar stop compared to the voiceless ones is a well-known fact: if the Old French outcome of Romance *c-* before front vowels was an alveolar affricate [ts], the voiced stop *G-* in the same conditions became a postalveolar affricate [dʒ], cf. OFr. *geler* [dʒə'ler] 'to freeze' < GELARE, *genoil* [dʒə'noʌ] 'knee' (fr. *genou*) < GENŪCŪLU(M). The same outcome is the final point in the development in Old French of the sequence -VTĪCU(M) (cf. AETĀTĪCU(M) > OFr. *eage*, *aage* > Fr. *âge* 'age'), perhaps via the path -VDIGU > -VDJU > [-Vdʒə] > [-Vdʒ] (cf. also MEDICU > OFr. *miege* 'physician', [Rheinfelder 1968, § 719]). Also belonging to this pattern of evolution is OFr. *lige* 'liege' ([FEW, 16: 463–464] **let-*) from LĪTĪCU(M) or LAETĪCU(M), a Germanic loanword documented as *litus* / *laetus* in the Lex Salica (first years of the 6th century) and indicating an intermediate social status between 'free' and 'slave', a 'half-free man'. In OFr. the pronunciation was probably ['lidʒə], and in Cilician Armenian we find լիճ *lič* [lidʒ] 'liege' [Ališan 1876: 9],

with no trace of deaffrication. Other loanwords such as մարիաճ *mariač* [mari'adʒ] or, less probably, [ma'ɾjadʒ] ‘marriage’ ([Ališan 1876: 45] in the title of a section and in the text of the *Genealogy of the princes of Antioch* by Hethum of Corycus [MŽ, 2: 110]), OFr. *mariage*, and ընդհիսոյն *ərēčistr* [əɾɛ'dʒist^(h)ər] ‘register’ (in the *Chronicle* of Martin of Poland, translated into Armenian in the 14th century, [MHB, s. v.]), OFr. *registre*, seem to confirm that postalveolar voiced affricates were well preserved in Outremer French. Incidentally, it might be useful to recall that [ʒ] is a very frequent sound in Armenian, without positional constraints and regularly spelled with <ժ> [Karst 1901: 91] and therefore no phenomena of phonological adaptation can be assumed as a source of [dʒ] in Outremer French loanwords in Armenian: in more explicit terms, in the event that a French word had [ʒ], this sound could be reproduced with no problem by Armenian speakers and writers. French spoken in the Levant probably did not undergo the deaffrication of [tʃ] and [dʒ] in [ʃ] and [ʒ], a change that in France is dated to the 13th century [Bourciez 1958, §§ 120–121; Short 2007, 105, 112–113; Minervini 2010: 167–169]. As for the dialectal dimension, the presence of a process of fronting in the outcome of Lat. CA- (cf. the examples given above) seems to detach these forms from northern and northeastern French dialects, which preserve this sequence unchanged to this day (cf. [ALF: 225 *champ*, 250 *chat*, 251 *châtaigne* etc.]).

Lastly, returning to զսսոնկլ *ʒastel* [ʃ^(h)as't^(h)jɛl] ‘to punish’ and ‘castle’, OFr. *chastier*, Fr. *châtier* from CASTIGARE and OFr. *chastel*, Fr. *château* from CASTELLU(M), the preservation of [s] before a consonant is noteworthy. French loanwords in Middle English suggest that [s] disappeared rather early, first before voiced consonants and before [f], and later before voiceless consonants [Regula 1954: 145–146; Gusmani 2002: 101–102]. In any event, in the 13th century [s] should already have disappeared before voiceless consonants as well [Regula 1955: 146; Rheinfelder 1968, § 557], but the Outremer French loanwords in Cilician Armenian preserve it without exceptions. In this case, the Armenian testimony also contrasts with the French manuscripts written in the Levant, which display frequent fluctuations between <s>, <h> and <Ø> [Minervini 2010: 148–149, 167–168] indicating that [s] before consonants was undergoing phonetic alteration or deletion.

5. An overview

Summarizing the evidence discussed above, we can maintain that the Cilician Armenian tradition, especially in the literary prose works, preserves an interesting quantity of French lexemes and anthroponyms, which were essentially transcribed from the pronunciation they had among the Armenian cultivated elites, and not transliterated from French written documents. This pronunciation should reflect rather faithfully the phonetics of Outremer French, almost without phonological adaptation. Interestingly, the phonetics of these French loanwords differs from what we find in the Francien area. In some features, notably [ɛ] or, less probably, [ei] instead of [ɔi] or [oi], preservation of [ai], [u] instead of [ø] or [œ], [ts], [tʃ] and [dʒ] instead of [s], [ʃ] and [ʒ], and preservation of [s] before [t], the French loanwords in Cilician Armenian show a dialectal look that might be defined as peripheral and slightly archaic. As to the presence of non-Francien features in Outremer French, the testimony of Cilician Armenian largely confirms the phonetic look of this French variety independently proposed on account of the manuscripts written in the Levant [Minervini 2010: 148–179]. This non-Francien aspect of Outremer French must depend on the geographical area of origin of the Francophones who emigrated to the Crusader States, coming mainly from western, northern, and northeastern regions of France. As well illustrated by Minervini [2010; 2018], Outremer French was the result of the meeting of different French dialects. The initial pluridialectalism probably engendered a new diatopic variety through social negotiation and selection of the variants brought by the different dialects. As for the slightly archaic phonetics of the French loanwords in Cilician Armenian, three hypothesis are viable:

- 1) Outremer French had features typical of an *area serior*, generally more conservative and less exposed to the streams of innovation spreading in France;
- 2) the French loanwords attested in Cilician texts belonging to the 13th century had penetrated into Cilician Armenian earlier, i.e. in the

12th century, at the time of the first contacts between Armenians and Francophones in the Levant;

- 3) the variety of French used in the Cilician royal court in the 13th century had already been acquired in the 12th century by the Armenian social elites, and became a crystallized court variety, i.e. a frozen variety, scarcely prone to the phonetic innovations that, in the subsequent decades, were also spreading in Outremer French.

In general, it is very difficult to decide which of these three explanations is likely to be preferable. Unfortunately, many cultural and historical issues related to French in the Levant have yet to be sufficiently investigated, and many questions remain open: for example, what was the role played in Cilicia by the French spoken in the County of Edessa? This County fell very early (1149), but during its existence it had close relations with the Armenian Principality of Cilicia. Might this Crusader State be identified as a relevant place of interaction between French and Armenian already as early as the 12th century? Further historical research about the Crusader States will, it is hoped, enlighten these and other as yet less considered issues. Of course, not only historical research is needed, but Armenian philology can also contribute to a better understanding of the French loanwords in Cilician Armenian. Indeed, the corpus of French loanwords in Cilician Armenian is not still closed, and possible contributions to its knowledge may derive from new editions of Cilician Armenian literary works and documents and, as said above, from the edition of the monumental *Wörterbuch des Mittelarmenischen* compiled by J. Karst at the beginning of the 20th century. This important and still unpublished lexicographical work is currently under study at the University of Halle. While awaiting further historical, philological and linguistic research that will surely improve our knowledge of Outremer French loanwords in Cilician Armenian, it can however be stressed that the high historical value of the Armenian testimony concerning Outremer French is already clear and unquestionable. In this regard, it does not seem out of place to affirm that Cilician Armenian, thanks especially to the high number of French loanwords and their clear phonetic representation through the Armenian

alphabet, represents the most important indirect source for the reconstruction of the phonetics of Outremer French, a Gallo-Romance variety that for a long time seemed to dominate the Levant, but was destined to be extinguished.

Abbreviations

Arab. — Arabic; Arm. — Armenian; Cilic. Arm. — Cilician Armenian; Cl. Arm. — Classical Armenian; Fr. — French; Germ. — German; It. — Italian; Lat. — Latin; OFr. — Old French; Pers. — Persian.

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Passive or Intransitive? The case of *hark-* ‘perish’ and voice / transitivity in Hittite

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Abstract. The paper discusses the use of intransitive verbs as passives in Hittite. In particular, it offers a new assessment of a number of uses of the verb *hark-* which is traditionally analyzed as intransitive ‘perish’. The careful study of the contexts as well as cross-linguistic parallels suggest that in a number of cases the verb functions as passive to the two verbs that are derived from the same root—*harnink-* and *harganu-*, both meaning ‘destroy’. More generally, the paper argues that any intransitive verb in Hittite can potentially be used as passive if there is a transitive verb from the same stem, root or even just a semantically compatible verb. This happens irrespective of whether the intransitive verb is active or middle and holds true for the New Hittite period. In this way the paper presents a single account of three classes of verbs: suppletive passives (*akk-* ‘be killed’ alongside *kuen-* ‘kill’), intransitive verbs alongside a derived causative (*hark-* ‘be destroyed’ alongside *harganu-/harnink-* ‘destroy’) and middles alongside active verbs (*šarra-* ‘be divided’ alongside *šarra-* ‘divide’) in Hittite.

In the broader cross-linguistic perspective the Hittite data attest the standard alternation *anticausative*—*causative* from the same stem with anticausative attesting a supplementary passive function for the causative verb, also common in the languages of the world. The curious fact that one of the passives for the causative verbs *harnink-* and *harganu-* derived from the anticausative *hark-* is supplied by the anticausative *hark-* itself is important evidence in favor of the indistinguishability of anticausatives and passives and an argument to divorce passive from the formally marked middle voice or from analytical forms.

Hittite is a language with morphological marking of voice as middle or analytical passives. However, voice in Hittite is closely tied in with anticausatives. It was shown by [Luraghi 2010; 2012; Inglese 2018] that passive voice is diachronically a reanalysis of anticausative and synchronically in one of the periods of the Hittite language evolution it cooccurs with anticausatives. I extend the proposal to the broader domain and show that passive in Hittite is not associated with any formal voice marking, but

rather with anticausatives generally. Anticausatives marked both by active verbal morphology and by middle verbal morphology (both synthetically and analytically) can occasionally function as passives to the alternating causative verb.

Keywords: Hittite, syntax, (in)transitivity, voice, unaccusative, anticausative, causative, passive.

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Пассив или непереходный глагол? Хеттское *hark-* ‘погибать’ и залог / переходность в хеттском

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Аннотация. В статье рассматривается употребление непереходных глаголов в качестве пассива в хеттском. В частности, предлагается новый анализ ряда употреблений глагола *hark-*, который традиционно анализируется как непереходный ‘погибать’. Тщательный анализ контекстов и учет общих диагностик позволяет предположить, что в ряде случаев этот глагол употребляется как пассив к однокоренным *harnink-* и *harganu-* ‘уничтожать’. В более общем плане при анализе материала других глаголов хеттского языка выдвигается предположение о том, что любой непереходный глагол в хеттском языке может использоваться в качестве пассива в том случае, если от той же основы или хотя бы корня имеется переходный глагол (в ряде случаев для этого достаточно и просто семантической сопоставимости без фонетического подобия). Такое развитие характерно для новохеттского периода и происходит вне зависимости от формы непереходного глагола, а именно от того, имеет ли он активные или медиальные формы. Таким образом в статье предлагается единый анализ трех классов глаголов в хеттском языке: супплетивных пассивов (*akk-* ‘быть убитым’ при *kuen-* ‘убивать’), непереходных глаголов при производном от них каузативе (*hark-* ‘быть уничтоженным’ при *harganu-* / *harnink-* ‘уничтожать’) и при парах медиальная форма — активная форма (*šarra-* ‘быть разделенным’ при *šarra-* ‘делить’).

Ключевые слова: хеттский язык, синтаксис, (не)переходность, каузатив, неаккузативные глаголы, антикаузатив, пассив.

1. Introduction

Verbal classes of the Hittite language have been largely neglected in the literature. A very influential exception is [Garrett 1990; 1996]. He sketched an outline of verbal classes in Hittite, but still did not deal with all the numerous problems. One of the peculiarities of his classification is that he did not distinguish between intransitive unaccusative verbs and passives. The fact that these two classes are demonstrably different was observed in [Shatskov 2010; Luraghi 2010; 2012; 2022; Inglese 2018]. However, only part of the data was discussed in those works. The present paper adds to the discussion previously overlooked facts about *hark-* ‘perish’ that allow reevaluating the evidence relating to transitivity and voice in Hittite.

2. *hark-* ‘perish’

2.1. Finite forms of *hark-*

The verb *hark-* ‘perish’ is intransitive. Within the intransitive verbs it is unaccusative as it forms its analytical perfect with *ēš-* ‘be’, not *hark-* ‘have’ and has subject clitics [Garrett 1996: 94]. As an intransitive unaccusative verb it does not possess an external argument (agent), its only argument (subject) is patient:

- (1) *hark-ir=war=at*
 perish-3PL.PST=QUOT=they
 ‘(The mules that they mention) they died’ [Werner 1967: 14–15; HED, H: 158; Hoffner 2003: 61]; NH/NS (CTH 293) KUB 13.35+ obv. iv 48.

However, in some attestations the verb functions as a passive, for instance:

- (2) *nu=wa ammuk GIM-an innarā ḫarak-mi*
 CONN=QUOT I as purposely perish-1SG.PRS
 ‘When I am purposely ruined, ...’ [HED, E–I: 366–367, H: 157],
 cf. ‘siccome io sono chiaramente rovinato’ [Covini 2018: 35], and
 unconvincingly ‘Und ich werde wie von selbst zugrundegehen’ [Archi,
 Klengel 1985: 56, 60]; NH¹/NS (CTH 389.1) KUB 54.1+ obv. ii 48.

That we deal here with a passive and not with an intransitive unaccusative follows from the use of *innarā* ‘purposely, willfully, of one’s own accord’ [HED, E–I: 366–367]. As follows from its semantics, in the cross-linguistic perspective the adverb falls into the group of volitional adverbs, which are oriented at the agent and which therefore cannot be used with unaccusative verbs as they have only patients in their argument structure. On the contrary, passives readily cooccur with agent-oriented adverbs [Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, Schäfer 2006: 176; Kallulli 2007: 770 with references] because passives imply agents even if the agent is not overtly expressed. The use of agent-oriented adverbs as a diagnostic for passive has not been previously noticed in the studies on the topic [Shatskov 2010; Luraghi 2010; 2012; Inglese 2018], nor has *hark-* been ever identified as functioning as a passive.

In other instances, the verb is accompanied by some noun phrases in addition to its patient subject:

- (3) *araḫzenan=wa ŠA LÚKÚR KUR.KUR–TIM*
 neighbor.NOM.SG.N=QUOT GEN enemy lands
labarnaš kiššar-az ḫarkiyai-ttaru
 labarna.GEN.SG hand-ABL perish-MED.IMP.3SG
 ‘May the neighboring lands of the enemy perish by the hand of the
 labarna’; NS (CTH 385.10.A) KUB 57.63 obv. ii 6–8.

The understanding is universally accepted, cf.

‘Die umliegende Feindesländer sollen durch die Hand des Labarna umkommen’ [Neu 1965a: 48],

¹ Hattusili III period [Archi, Klengel 1985: 63].

‘Das umliegende Gebiet des Feindes soll durch die Hand des Labarna eine Niederlage erleiden’ [HW², H: 299],

‘Die umliegenden Feindesländer sollen durch die Hand des Labarna zugrunde gehen’ E. Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 385.10 (TX 2016-11-24, TRde 2016-11-24),

‘Die umliegenden Feindesländer sollen durch die Hand des Labarnas umkommen’ [Archi 1988: 18–19],

‘May the hostile foreign lands perish by the hand of the labarna’ [Singer 2002: 26].

The only deviating translation is due to Puhvel:

‘The adjoining enemy lands shall perish at Labarna’s hands’ [HED, H: 159].

However, it simply follows the Hittite text less closely.

Curiously, this is the only middle form made from the finite verb *hark-* apart from one *-ske-* form according to the collections in [HED, H: 157–159; HW², H: 297; Neu 1965a: 48; Luraghi 2012: 18].

There are also some active forms of *hark-* ‘perish’ which involve an additional noun phrase besides the patient subject:

- (4) *man=wa* INIM SUM-*annaš* *apez* *arha* *ḫarak[-zi]*
if=QUOT matter give.GEN.SG that.ABL away perish-3SG.PRS

‘Wenn (es) aufgrund dieser Angelegenheit des Gebens völlig beseitigt wird’ [HW², H: 301]; NS (CTH 582) KBo 8.58 9.

- (5) *ḫUL-lu* *apizza* INIM-*za* *arḫa* *ḫarak-zi*
evil.NOM.SG.N that.ABL word.ABL away perish-3SG.PRS

‘Evil is destroyed by that word’ [HW², H: 301]; NS (CTH 577) KUB 22.40+ rev. iii 23–24.

- (6) *man=ma* *ḫUL-lu* *apiz* *arḫa* *ḫarak-zi*
if=but evil.NOM.SG.N that.ABL away perish-3SG.PRS

‘Wenn das Böse deswegen völlig beseitigt wird, ...’ [HW², H: 301]; NS (CTH 563.1.A) KUB 5.3+ obv. i 10.

The contexts all involve a noun phrase in the ablative that is interpreted ‘because of X’, ‘from X’, ‘by X’. All contexts (3–6) involve not prototypical agents but rather instruments or cause, as in (7):

- (7) *kištant-it ħark-ueni*
 hunger-INSTR perish-1PL.PRS

‘We will perish from hunger’ [HED, H: 158]; OH/MS (CTH 324.I.A)
 KUB 17.10+ obv. i 30.

The noun phrase in (7) is in the instrumental case. This context, along with many others, falsifies the claim of Luraghi [2012: 13] that *ħark-* occurs with typically inanimate subjects. Curiously, she discusses a similar context in her paper [*ibid.*: 18], see [Covini 2018: 34–38] for further discussion of the animacy of the subject of *ħark-*, which can be both animate and inanimate.

That the thematic role of instrument or cause is different from that of agent is universally accepted in linguistics. I will demonstrate the distinction between agent and instrument using the material of a spoken language, namely, Russian.

The first sentence demonstrates the intransitive active verb *pogibat*’, an exact translational and categorial equivalent of Hittite *ħark-* ‘perish’, used with instrumental:

- (8) *Pust’ on pogibnet ot ruki Vasji*
 let he perish.3SG.PRS from hand.GEN.SG Basil.GEN.SG

‘May he perish by the hand of Vasja’

Here the nominal *ot ruki* ‘by the hand (of)’ is either instrument or cause. It freely cooccurs with the intransitive verb.

Now compare the following modification of the sentence where the agent is now present and marked in the prototypical agentive way, namely, by the by-phrase *Vasjej* ‘by Vasja’. This sentence with the same intransitive active verb is entirely ungrammatical:

- (9) **Pust’ on pogibnet Vasjei*
 let he perish.3SG.PRS Basil.INSTR

‘May he perish by the hand of Vasja’

The standard passive which in Russian is formed with the help of the copula and a passive participle is, however, perfectly well-formed with the explicit marking of the agent:

- (10) *Pust' on budet ubit Vasjei*
 let he be.3SG.PRS kill.PTCP.NOM.SG.M Basil.INSTR
 'May he be killed by Vasja'.

The use of the thematic role of instrument, preferably as a prepositional phrase, with intransitive verbs which do not take the thematic role of agent (whether unaccusatives or anticausatives) is also recorded for English, German and Greek [Alexiadou, Schäfer 2006: 41]:

- (11) 1. **The window broke by John / by the pressure / by Will's banging.*
 2. *The window broke from the pressure / from the explosion / from Will's banging.*
 3. **The window broke from John.*

See the literature summarized in [Alexiadou, Schäfer 2006] on agent, instrument and causer, the three different main thematic roles taken by the elements that can fill one syntactic argument position.

This cross-linguistic digression serves the sole purpose of demonstrating the interaction between the thematic roles of agent, instrument, and causer with intransitive verbs in a number of well-described languages. The observations made on the data of these languages can be claimed to be cross-linguistically valid. They are not intended to replace the analysis of Hittite with the analysis of other languages, but they provide a cross-linguistic perspective.

Turning back to Hittite and assessing the Hittite data in exx. (1)–(7) against the cross-linguistic background introduced in exx. (8)–(11), we can now see that there is a significant difference between Hittite finite synthetical sentences (1) and (2) containing active verb forms. The difference boils down to the difference in the argument structure: (1) does not involve agent, whereas (2) does, even though the agent is not explicitly marked. Thus (1) is intransitive unaccusative whereas (2) is passive, even though both inflect actively. The cross-linguistic data from languages that allow using of negative linguistic material introduced in (8)–(11) show that Hittite examples like (3)–(7) involving instrument or cause can be compatible with intransitive unaccusative usage and

do not require passive interpretation. They *can* be passive as an implicit agent might be present in at least some of them, but this cannot be demonstrated on the basis of the available data. It has to be born in mind that out of examples (3–7) only one is middle — (3) — while the rest are active (4)–(7).

Thus I explicitly reject the claim of Luraghi [2012: 18] that in (3) the basic intransitive *hark-* can co-occur with an agent phrase, which *kiššar-az* is not, as I have argued at length above.

It follows from examples like (1)–(7) that Hittite does not formally distinguish between passive and intransitive unaccusatives: both can be middle, active or analytical (participle + be)² verb forms. Both can be used with noun phrases in the instrumental or ablative — *by*-phrases and *from*-phrases, to use the English equivalents. This is very clearly seen in (3) where the ablative marking of instrument with an intransitive verb is the same as one of the two ways of marking agent in passive constructions, as will be shown immediately below in (12). Instrumental case for intransitive verbs was illustrated above in (3)–(7). For the agent of passives being expressed by an ablative or an instrumental in Hittite see the treatment in [Neu 1968b: 113; Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 304; Shatskov 2010: 445; Inglese 2018]. Thus Hittite is just like a number of other languages including Albanian, Latin and Modern Greek [Kallulli 2007: 772].

The difference between passive and intransitive verbs in Hittite is thus exclusively semantic. There are no formal indications (type of inflection, type of accompanying noun phrase) of whether a given clause contains a passive or an intransitive unaccusative verbal form.

2.2. Non-finite forms of *hark-*

Passive in Hittite is not only expressed by middle verbal forms. The preferred choice for expressing the passive is by analytical construction

² In the analytical *participle + be* construction is also not limited to passive — it can be stative, continuous or perfect, see specifically for *hark-* below.

employing the passive participle and a finite form of the verb ‘to be’ [Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 304; Shatskov 2010]. Cf. [Inglese 2018].

Accordingly, analytical verbal forms which involve the participle of the verb *hark-* ‘perish’ also demonstrate uses which can be interpreted as passive and not just intransitive:

- (12) *kui-t* [I]šTU LÚKÚR=šU ḥ[arg]-an
 which-NOM.SG.N with enemy=his perish-PTCP.NOM.SG.N
ēš-ta
 be-3SG.PST

‘Which had been ruined by its enemy’ [HED, H: 159]; ‘[nel territorio] che era devastata dal suo nemico’ [del Monte 2009: 14, 41]; NH/NS (CTH 40.II.2.D) KUB 19.11+ obv. i 12’.

The context involves the agent proper [I]šTU LÚKÚR=šU ‘by its enemy’, not the instrument. Thus the context is passive, not intransitive or ambiguous like the previous contexts. The use of agent is quite rare with Hittite passive [Neu 1968b: 6f; Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 305; Shatskov 2010: 445], but it still remains the clearest indication of passive and this case is therefore particularly probative. Curiously, this context contradicts the definition of Hoffner and Melchert [2008: 304] according to which analytical passive is only formed for transitive verbs. *Hark-* is intransitive in all its finite forms, and yet the present context can only be interpreted as passive.

This example was noticed by Luraghi [2012: 18] who remarks that *ḥargan ēšta* in this example has virtually the same meaning as a periphrastic passive formed from the causative *harnink-* would have. However, she does not make any further conclusions and does not discuss example (2) in this connection. As an alternative, she thinks it is possible to interpret the sentence as ‘has perished because of the enemy’ (*ibid.*), assessing the noun phrase as the cause, not the agent. This interpretation cannot be dismissed out of hand because ablative, instrumental, and Akkadian preposition *išTU* in fact mark cause. However, as pointed out to me by Andrei Shatskov (pers.comm.), because of the animacy of the referent the interpretation ‘by its enemy’ (agent) is much more natural than ‘because of the enemy’ (cause). Therefore I stick to understanding ex. (12) as passive.

This analysis is all the more likely in view of the use of *ki-* ‘lie’ as passive to *dai-* ‘put’ in the following context:

- (13) *nu mān ištū lúKÚR katta ki-ttari*
 CONN when by enemy down lie-3SG.PRS.MED
 ‘When (the region) is being oppressed by the enemy’ [Hazenbos 2003: 31, 36; Inglese 2018: 270]; NH/NS (CTH 526.14) KUB 25.23+ obv. i 12.

First, the context is virtually lexically identical to (12). Secondly, it uses the same agent noun phrase *ištū lúKÚR* ‘by the enemy’. Thirdly, (13) appears an unambiguous case of the passive use of an intransitive verb, in this case *ki-* ‘lie’ [Inglese 2018: 270].

Most of the attestations of the participle of *hark-* in our New Hittite database (see the corpus in the Appendix) are actually ambiguous between intransitive unaccusative and passive. Passive interpretation is likelier for purely semantic reasons: the referents of the subjects of the verb forms are likely to be destroyed by somebody else, i.e. by some agent, not to perish on their own:

- (14) [(*nu Neriqqa-š kuit ištū UD-UM mHantili*
 CONN Neriq-NOM.SG.C because from day Hantili
arḫa ḫarg-anza ēš-t)*a*
 away perish-PTCP.NOM.SG.N be-3SG.PST
 ‘Because the city of Nerik had been destroyed since the days of king Hantili’ [van den Hout 2003: 202], cf. [HED, H: 161] ‘Nerik had been in ruins’; NH/NS (CTH 81.A) KUB 1.1+ rev. iii 46–47.

- (15) *kui-š=ma DINGIR-[LIM] arḫa*
 which-NOM.SG.C=but god away
ḫark-anza ēš-ta
 perish-PTCP.NOM.SG.N be-3SG.PST
 ‘Or whatever image of god had been destroyed (my father restored what he could)’ [Singer 2002], ‘welcher Gott (scil. welche Götterstatue) aber zerstört war’ [E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 378.4 (TX 2015-08-29, TRde 2017-10-18)]; NH/NS (CTH 378.4.A) KUB 14.13+ obv. i 40–41.

- (16) *kui[-š ...] arḫa ḫark-anza*
 which-NOM.SG.C away perish-PTCP.NOM.SG.N
 ‘And whichever [god] has been destroyed, (I will restore for them a statue)’ [E. Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 378.4 (TX 2015-08-29, TRde 2017-10-18)], cf. [Singer 2002: 64]; NH/NS (CTH 378.4.B) KBo 22.71 obv. 9’–10’.
- (17) KUR^{URU} *Ner[ik] ḫūd[a]k=pat karuwiliy-aš ANA*
 land Nerik suddenly=FOC former.DAT.PL to
 LUGAL^{MEŠ} [...] *ḫark-anza ēšta*
 kings perish-PTCP.NOM.SG.N be-3SG.PST
 ‘Das Land Ner[ik] war plö[tz]lich [unter] den früheren Königen zugrunde gegangen’ [E. Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 383.1 (TX 2015-08-28, TRde 2017-12-09)], ‘The land of Nerik was suddenly ruined under the former kings’ [Singer 2002: 99]; NH/NS (CTH 383.1) KUB 21.19+ rev. iii 11–13.
- (18) *kēz=ma=wa=tta KUR=KA arḫa*
 this.ABL=but=QUOT=you.DAT land=your away
ḫark-an
 perish.PTCP.NOM.SG.N
 ‘By that time, however, your land was completely destroyed’ [Götze 1933: 18–19]; NH/NS (CTH 61.II.1) KUB 19.29 rev. iv 17.

2.3. Synthesis

On the one hand, we find in Hittite an intransitive unaccusative finite verb *hark-* ‘perish’ (inflecting mostly in the active, rarely in the middle) where only the patient is explicitly expressed as the subject (‘somebody or something perishes’) and no agent is ever expressed. On the other hand, we have evidence showing that the same verb is occasionally used as a passive ‘be destroyed’, with the agent marked either directly (by a noun phrase) or indirectly (through an agent-oriented adverb). This passive use has not been explicitly described before.

3. Parallels

3.1. Other verbs of the same type?

The intransitive unaccusative *hark-* ‘perish’ is thus occasionally used as passive to causative verbs *harnink-* and *harganu-* ‘destroy’ which are derived from it. This derivation has been repeatedly observed [HED, H: 167; Luraghi 2010: 144; 2012: 18; Shatskov 2017: 25; Covini 2017: 56; 2018: 15], but the use of the unaccusative *hark-* ‘perish’ as passive to the causative verbs has not been signalled before. Cf. Inglese [2018: 155] who implicitly remarks that in case of alternating pairs “the distribution results in a threefold pattern in which the base verb indicates the plain event, the active derived verb its induced counterpart, and the middle derived verb the passive counterpart of the latter”.

However, there are yet further comparable uses of unaccusative verbs serving as passives to the causative derived from an unaccusative verb.

3.1.1. *war-*

One of the clearest cases is *war-* ‘burn’ (intr.) alongside causative *war-nu-* ‘burn’ (tr.). Although Inglese [2018: 155] claims that this verb best exemplifies the distribution he describes (see immediately above), in reality some of the uses of *war-* can only be understood as passive, following [Neu 1965a: 189–190]:

- (19) EGIR-*šU*=*ma* SILÁ *ambašši* ***war-āni***
 then=but lamb offering.NOM.SG.N burn-3SG.PRS.MED
 ‘And thereafter the lamb is burnt as a burnt-offering’ cf. [Miller 2004: 293];
 NS (CTH 481.A) KUB 29.4+ rev. iii 58.

Luraghi [2012: 21] discusses the context and is inclined to analyze it as showing the use of an intransitive verb.

The clause occurs in a series of active verb clauses with unknown 3PL referents. For the sake of space, I reproduce the context in Miller’s translation (which I keep intact, with the clause under discussion marked bold

in the translation): “Then they perform the ritual of blood with a kid, and thereafter they perform the praise (ritual) with a lamb, **and thereafter he burns the lamb as a burnt-offering**. And thereafter, along with the table-men, they bring to the deity all the soups, [...] They give (it) to the deity to eat. Further, they carry the *ulihī* into the house of the ritual patron accompanied by a harp (and) a drum. And beneath her they scatter sourdough bread, crumbled cheese and fruits. Further, they wave some *husti*-mineral substance over the deity, and then they set the deity in the storehouse” [Miller 2004: 293].

The following example from the same text is similar to (19):

- (20) ^{uzu}i=ma arḥa war-āni
fat=but away burn-3SG.PRS.MED

‘The fat, however, is burnt completely’ cf. [Miller 2004: 297]; NS (CTH 481.A) KUB 29.4+ rev. iv 40–1.

This clause occurs in a series of active verb clauses with unknown 3PL referents: “And they smear with blood the golden deity, the wall and all the paraphernalia of the new deity, and the new deity becomes pure. **The fat, however, they burn completely**; no one eats it” [Miller 2004: 297].

It is true that in both contexts there is no overt agent [Luraghi 2012: 18]. However, the absence of an overt agent in passive is common both in Hittite and beyond and does not by itself prove anything; the fact that in both cases the middle verb *warāni* occurs in a context in which all the rest of actions have indefinite 3PL agents implies the presence of an implicit agent for the middle form as well. Thus, despite the position of Inglesse [2018: 155], who argues that middle forms in such cases indicate the plain event ‘burn (intr)’, I suppose that the forms are indeed ambiguous between an anticausative and a passive reading and, on the basis of the broader context, are much closer to the passive reading.

The passive interpretation of (19) and (20) and the presence of an external argument receives additional support from another context in the same ritual, lexically identical to (19) above, in which 3pl active form is used. This example proves that the action in (19) was perceived as agentive:

- (21) E[(GIR-š)]*U=ma* SILÁ *ambaššitī* *war-nuw-anzi*
 then=but lamb offering.ACC.SG.N burn-CAUS-3PL.PRS
 ‘Afterwards, however, they **burn** a lamb for a burnt-offering’
 [Miller 2004: 283]; NS (CTH 481.A) KUB 29.4+ obv. ii 38.

It is important to note that even though this line of argumentation is not strictly syntactic, the actions within a ritual are extremely standard and cannot be altered unconditionally. I thus take such contexts as (19) and (20) to be yet another possible, although indirect, indication of the passive use of the verb *war-*.

These examples are even likelier to be passive in view of prototypical unaccusative contexts like the following:

- (22) *kēdani=ma pahhur ur-āni*
 this.LOC.SG=but fire.NOM.SG.N burn-3SG.PRS.MED
 ‘The fire **is burning** on this’ [Hoffner 1998: 31; HEG, W: 305; E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/:CTH 336.2 (INTR 2009-08-12)]; OH/OS (CTH 336.2.A) KUB 33.59 rev. iii 9’.

It is obvious that in this case no external argument is present, even implicitly. Unaccusative contexts like (22) thus demonstrate presence of an implicit external argument in exx. like (19) and (20).

Finally, the following context shows a simultaneous use of the causative verb and the intransitive one that can only be interpreted as passive:

- (23) 1. ANA 9 KAŠKAL-*NI=ma* MUŠEN^{HL.A} *kiššan war-nu-zi*
 to 9 ways=but birds thus burn-CAUS-3SG.PRS
 2. 1 M[UŠEN] *huwalzi-ya dalahulzi-ya war-āni*
 1 bird h.-DAT.SG d.-DAT.SG burn-3SG.PRS.MED

‘(1) But (the priest) **burns** the birds for the nine paths thus: (2) 1 bird **is burned** for *huwalzi* and *dalahulzi*’ etc. [Haas 1998: 39], cf. ‘(1) ma (il sacerdote esorcista) brucia uccelli per nove sentieri nel modo seguente: (2) brucia un uccello per il *huwalzi* e per il *talahulzi* ...’ [F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 484 (TX 07.10.2013, TRit 02.02.2017)]; MH/NS (CTH 484.1.A) KUB 15.31+ obv. ii 1–2.

The passive interpretation is based on the presence of the implicit agent of the passive, coreferential with the explicit subject of the causative verb, in the broader context.

3.1.2. *kišt-*

Another intransitive — transitive verb pair that functions in the same text as part of the same paradigm is *kišt-* ‘be extinguished’ — *kišt-anu-* ‘extinguish’, where the transitive verb is derived from the intransitive one.

The following two texts with two contexts from the same text presented in each case unambiguously show that *kišt-* ‘be extinguished’ vis-à-vis its causative *kišt-anu-* ‘extinguish’ functions in the same way as a passive construction with the passive participle directly derived from *kišt-anu-* ‘extinguish’:

- (24) a. *n=aš=kan* *kiš(ta)-nu-zi*
 CONN=them=LOCP be_extinguished-3SG.PRS
 ‘He **extinguishes** them’ [F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 458.1.1 (TX 06.01.2017, TRde 06.01.2017)]; MH/MS (CTH 458.1.1.A) KBo 17.54+ rev. iv 8’–9’.
- b. [*nu*] *kī* *mahhan* *kišt-āri*
 CONN this.NOM.SG.N as be_extinguished-3SG.PRS.MED
 ‘As this **is extinguished**, ...’ [HED, H: 167], cf. [F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 458.1.1 (TX 06.01.2017, TRde 06.01.2017)]; MH/MS (CTH 458.1.1.A) KBo 17.54+ rev. iv 13’.

It is important that the two contexts (24a–b) refer to the same action at different points of the text.

- (25) a. *n=ašta* IZI *ištu* 10 DUG KAŠ 1[0 DUG GEŠTIN]
 CONN=LOCP fire with 10 vessel beer 10 vessel wine
 10 DUG *walhi* *kišta-nuw-anzi*
 10 vessel w. extinguish-CAUS-3PL.PRS
 ‘They **extinguish** the fire with beer and wine’ [Kassian et al. 2002: 260–261]; OH/NS (CTH 450.I.Tg3) KUB 30.15+ obv. 2.

- b. *pa[hḥ]ur=ma=kan* *ī[šT]U* KAŠ GEŠTIN *k[a]rū*
 fire.NOM.SG.N=but=LOCP with beer wine already

kišta-nuw-an

extinguish-CAUS-PTCP.NOM.SG.N

‘The fire **has** already **been extinguished** with beer and wine’
 [Kassian et al. 2002: 262–263]; OH/NS (CTH 450.I.Tg3) KUB
 30.15+ obv. 12–13.

It is important that the two contexts (25a–b) refer to the same action at different points of the text, just like (24a–b). While (25b) has the prototypical passive verb form (*kišta-nuw-an*), (24b) attests a middle intransitive verb form (*kišt-āri*) in the context identical to (25b).

It is hard to interpret the evidence as showing anything other than the use of intransitive *kišt-* ‘be extinguished’ as the passive to *kišt-anu-* ‘extinguish’. In any case, it is identical to the use of the analytical passive directly formed from *kišt-anu-* ‘extinguish’. Cf. [Neu 1965a: 99].

Similar examples can be found with virtually any other intransitive which is attested frequently enough.

At this point I will remind again that the position — that appears to have gained ground in post-Neu studies of Hittite passive voice — according to which the lack of an explicit agent *by*-phrase in a concrete clause should be taken as an indication that the form is not passive, is wrong. Agent *by*-phrases are very often implicit in any language that has passive: they function as tests that a particular verb form is passive in spoken languages. Thus while its presence may confirm that the form is passive, its absence, however, does not imply that the form is not passive.

3.1.3. *ze-*

Ze- ‘cook (intr.)’ alongside a derived causative *za-nu-* ‘cook (tr.)’ is used both as an intransitive verb and as passive to the causative, see for the latter (26a clause 2). The causative forms its own passive as the participle *za-nuw-ant-* + ‘be’, illustrated in (26b). Everything that has been said about the previous verb is true for this one:

(26) a. 1. *nu* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG ^{UZU}ŠÀ IZI-[*it* **za-]nu-anzi**
 CONN liver heart fire-INSTR cook-CAUS-3PL.PRS

2. *maḥḥan=ma=at ze-ari*
 when=but=it be_cooked-3SG.PRS.MED

‘(1) They **cook** liver and heart with fire. (2) When it **is cooked**, ...’, cf. [A. Chrzanowska (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 396.1.1 (TX 10.05.2012, TRde 21.05.2012); Neu 1965a: 206]; MH/MS (CTH 396.1.1) KBo 15.25 rev. 6.

b. ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG^{HLA}=*ma* ŠA GU₄.ÁB.ŠE U ŠA UDU^{HLA} *karū*
 livers=but GEN cow.fat and GEN sheep already
za-nu-anta
 cook-CAUS-PTCP.NOM.PL.N

‘But the livers of a fat cow and of the sheep had already **been cooked**’ [Popko, Taracha 1988: 97, 99; HEG, Z: 659]; MH/MS (CTH 616.2.D) KBo 9.140 rev. iii 8–9.

Even though the actual description of the cooking procedure is not preserved in this case, it is clear that it was mentioned earlier and is now being referred to.

3.1.4. *waršiyē-*

Waršiyē- ‘be lifted, be appeased’ alongside *warš(iy)anu-* ‘lift, appease’ is used as passive:

(27) 1. [*nu katterran ḥ]ān*
 CONN lower.ACC.SG.C draw.2SG.IMP

2. IM-*aš=kan warš-ta*
 clay.NOM.SG.C=LOCP lift-3SG.PRS.MED

3. *šarāzziyan [(ḥān)]*
 upper.ACC.SG.C draw.2SG.IMP

4. [(*m*)]*āl=az=kan warš-ta*
 m.=REFL=LOCP lift-3SG.PRS.MED

5. *nu ištarniyan [ḥān]*
 CONN middle.ACC.SG.C draw.2SG.IMP

6. [^o(^{iš}ša)]*mma=ma=kan warš-ta*
 s.-nut=but=LOCP lift-3SG.PRS.MED

‘(1) Dip the lower (2) and the clay will be lifted. (3) Dip the upper (4) and the *mal* will be lifted. (5) Dip the middle (6) and the *sammama*-nut will be lifted’ following [Kloekhorst 2008: 970], cf. [Glocker 1997: 35; CHD, Š: 115]; MH/MS (CTH 330.1.M) KUB 33.62 obv. ii 4–6.

The context is a very good candidate for the passive use of the intransitive verb. This is admitted even by Inglese [2018: 495] who is normally very reluctant to admit a passive interpretation.

No passive forms are attested directly from causative *warš(iy)anu*- ‘lift, appease’.

Other forms of *waršiyē*- ‘be lifted, be appeased’, for which see [Kloekhorst 2008: 969], are also easy to interpret as passive, although it cannot be excluded that they are intransitive [Inglese 2018: 496]. The likeliest candidate for the passive use is:

- (28) *mān=ma ANA DINGIR^{MES} ZI-anza memiyan-az*
 if=but to gods soul-NOM.SG.C matter-ABL
waršia-ttaru
 appease-3SG.IMP.MED

‘Now, if for you, o gods, your soul by that deed will be pacified’ [van den Hout 1996: 246–247], cf. ‘But if the spirit of the gods is lifted by these words’ [Inglese 2018: 496]; NH/NS (CTH 577.3) KUB 16.77 obv. ii 36.

The context does not involve a proper agent: ‘by that deed’ is best interpreted as instrument. However, the instrument may be the subject of clauses with the causative *warš(iy)anu*- ‘lift, appease’:

- (29) *nu=tta kī mu[ki]šn-aš udd[ār] DIN^{GIR=YA}*
 CONN=you this.NOM.PL.N prayer-GEN.SG words.NOM.PL.N god=my
ekunaz¹ wetenaz ma[hh]an šà=(t)it warša-nu-ddu
 cool.ABL water-ABL.SG as heart=your soothe-CAUS-3SG.IMP

‘May these words of supplication soothe you in the heart, my god, as with cool water’ [Singer 2002: 40; E. Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net/*:

CTH 372 (TX 2017-11-19, TRde 2017-12-11)], cf. [HEG, W: 362]; OH/NS (CTH 372.A) KUB 31.127+ rev. iv 23.

This example obviously simultaneously supports the intransitive form functioning as passive to the causative and the analysis of *waršia-ttaru* in (28) as passive.

This case is a bit more complex than the others, because the stem *waršīye-* itself can be used transitively [Inglese 2018: 493–495]. However, as observed by Inglese [2018: 496], active forms from the stem *waršīye-* are demonstrably late and sporadic (there is only one attestation), whereas some of the passive uses certainly predate them. On the contrary, the causative verb is attested quite frequently and occurs in OH/NS texts [Kloekhorst 2008: 969], which ensures its antiquity. Thus in this case, too, the intransitive *waršīye-* ‘be lifted, be appeased’ functions as passive to the causative *warš(iy)anu-* ‘lift, appease’, derived from it.

3.1.5. Other verbs

Competing use of intransitive verbs and middles from transitive verbs in the alternating pair intransitive verb — transitive verb has been observed for other verbs by Inglese [2018: 156]: “middle forms of [putatively transitive] *nakkiyahh-tta(ri)* are virtually identical to the verb *nakkēšš-zi* ‘become difficult, important’. In this respect, intransitive verbs and the middle voice [from the transitive verbs] constitute competing strategies in the encoding of the anticausative alternation, and the higher productivity of *ēšš-*verbs can be seen as one of the reasons behind the limited distribution of intransitivizing middle forms of *ahh-* and *nu-*verbs”.

It is important to stress that Inglese [2018] does not posit the *passive* use of intransitives of this kind for transitives. He merely observes the competing use as intransitives of the middles derived from transitives and intransitives not derived from transitives. However, even by itself, this falls neatly into the picture I am drawing here, namely, that intransitives not derived from transitives compete with the forms that are derived from transitives and thus demonstrably are drawn into their paradigm.

3.2. Hittite parallels from other verbal classes

Parallels to the use that I have illustrated with *hark-* ‘perish’ and *war-* ‘burn’ (with the same verb with the same inflection used as both intransitive unaccusative and passive alongside a transitive verb) come from two verb classes in Hittite. Differently from *hark-*, these cases have been the object of much research recently.

The group that comes to mind immediately is suppletive passives, namely, finite forms of active or middle unaccusative verbs used as passives to transitive verbs. Both unaccusative and passive uses coexist for these verbs and are formally indistinguishable.

“Some transitive verbs form no passive at all but employ forms of other verbs of related meaning (so-called suppletives). Thus forms of *akk-* ‘to die’ are used to express the passive of *kuen-* ‘to kill’. Similarly forms of *ki-* ‘to be situated, lie, be placed’ are used instead of passive forms of *dai-* ‘to put, place’; *šer tiya-* appears as a passive for *šer dai-* ‘to place upon’; and *-za kiš-* ‘to become’ as a passive for *iya-* ‘to make’” [Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 305], basically following Neu [1968b: 110].

The second parallel for unaccusative and passive uses of the same verb with the same inflection comes from the class of middle verbs illustrated by *šarra-* ‘divide’ which in its middle forms can be both unaccusative (with subj.cl.) as in (31) and passive [CHD, Š: 232], as in (30):

- (30) TU₇^{H1.A} *takšan šarra-ttari*
 stews in.half divide-3SG.PRS.MED
 ‘The stews are divided in half’ [CHD, Š: 232]; NS (CTH 634.1.A)
 KUB 20.76 obv. i 15.
- (31) DUMU^{MES}=ŠU<<NU>>=ma=za *arḫa šarrandat*
 sons=his=but=REFL away split.3PL.PST.MED
 ‘His sons, however, split up’ [CHD, Š: 232]; NH/NS (CTH 61.I.A)
 KBo 3.4+ obv. ii 52–3.

Once again, there is no explicit agent in (30), but the comparison with (31) clearly shows the difference and an implicit external argument in (30).

Differently from suppletive passives, this use cooccurs with the transitive use of the same verbal stem (both as active and middle) [CHD, Š: 231]. This verb falls into the larger class of middle verbs that attest both intransitive and passive usages alongside active transitive verbs from the same stem [Neu 1968b; Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 304; Shatskov 2010: 445–447; Inglese 2018].

Hark- ‘perish’ attests the same intransitive unaccusative — passive alternation as both of these classes of verbs. The three classes have been distinguished before on a slightly different basis, namely, as alternating intransitive and transitive verbs, see [Luraghi 2012; Inglese 2018]. It has not been observed that the parallelism between these three classes goes further, as they all display coexistence of both unaccusative (see below) and passive uses of the intransitive verb. Commonly only the middle class and suppletive passives have been claimed to show this coexistence. The seemingly minor finding which I present here (that intransitive — causative class shows it, too) is, however, of significance.

What is unusual is that active transitive forms in case of *hark-* are morphologically derived from the unaccusative verb [HED, H: 167; Luraghi 2010: 144; Shatskov 2017: 25]. The forms in question are causatives *harnink-* and *harganu-*³, both with the meaning ‘destroy’, i.e. ‘cause to perish’, the former is derived from *hark-* with the help of infix *-nin-*, the latter — with the help of suffix *-nu-* [HED, H: 167; Luraghi 2010: 144; 2012: 8, 13, 18; Shatskov 2017: 25; Covini 2017: 56; 2018: 15]. For causative formation in Hittite see generally [Luraghi 2012: 6–9; Shatskov 2017].

Forms that appear to be analogous are at a closer sight different. Suppletive passives amply demonstrate both passive and unaccusative uses for the same verb, but in their case there is no active transitive verb from the same root. For the middle type *šarra-* ‘divide’, the passive-unaccusative use of the middle cooccurs with the transitive use of the same verbal stem (both as active and middle) without any morphological derivation.

Only *hark-* displays a very complex distribution where the unaccusative verb first derives causative verbs and then functions as passive to these derivative forms.

³ New formation in comparison with *harnink-* [Covini 2018: 33].

It is important to observe that both derived causatives form their own passives, compare the following analytical passive form formed with the help of the participle of *harganu-* [Luraghi 2012: 18]:

- (32) *karū* KUR.KUR^{MES} URU^{URU}*Hatti*[*ī*]*šTU* LÚ^{LÚ}*KÚR*
 formerly lands Hatti with enemy
arḥa *harganuw-an* *ēš-ta*
 away destroy-PTCP.NOM.SG.N be-3SG.PST

‘Formerly the lands of Hatti were completely **destroyed** by the enemy’ [HED, H: 167; Goedegebuure 2014: 457], cf. [Luraghi 2012: 18]; NH/NS (CTH 88) KBo 6.28+ obv. 6.

Thus *hark-* functioning as passive to its own causatives *harnink-* and *harganu-* ‘destroy’, alongside proper passives derived directly from both *harnink-* and *harganu-*, is unusual for Hittite. The distribution is to my knowledge has not been described before. The same is true for *war-* — *warnu-* where the causative verb forms its own passive *warnutari* [Shatskov 2010; Luraghi 2012: 20–21] alongside the passive use of intransitive *warani*.

The passive function of *hark-* to *harnink-* and *harganu-* is thus a kind of back-formation, made possible by the frequent coexistence of both unaccusative and passive uses of a verb in case where there is a semantically close alternating transitive verb, irrespective of the fact whether it is the same verb with active inflection, verbs with different roots, or a morphologically derived verb. In the first case we get the *šarra*-type, in the second — the suppletive passives, and in the third — the case of *hark-* ‘perish’.

It remains at present an open question whether the coexistence is universal — i.e. whether any intransitive unaccusative verb in Hittite can be passive if there is a semantically close transitive verb. This, naturally, applies to the New Hittite period, as for Old Hittite the particular paucity of passives is frequently observed, see [Luraghi 2010: 148; Shatskov 2010] with references to [Neu 1968a, 1968b], and most recently [Inglese 2018]. The question cannot be definitively answered for a dead language like Hittite with no possibility of elicitation, limited corpus, rare attestations of many verbs, and many damaged or ambiguous contexts. Rarity of passives has repeatedly been emphasized, see most recently [Shatskov

2010; Inglese 2018], but this statement was made only concerning middle verb forms not taking into consideration suppletive passives.

It is suggested by Luraghi [2010: 152] that “[i]n its further development, middle inflection extended to once only active verbs, and the middle voice acquired passive meaning”, also [*ibid.*: 151]. The view was taken up and considerably elaborated by Inglese [2018]. He provided a diachronic scenario by which passive function developed out of anticausative in the alternating anticausative — causative pairs. His scenario was explicitly formulated only for middle verbs and operated mostly in the post-OH period. By the New Hittite period, this produced the coexistence of anticausative and passive functions of the middle verbs alongside active transitive uses of the same stem.

Thus the use of middle unaccusative verbs as passives for the alternating active transitive verbs from the same root is a late development.

I would like to broaden the dataset beyond the middle verbs and extend it from unaccusative middles to any unaccusative verb, irrespective of the type of inflection (synthetic active, middle or analytical). Many unaccusatives that function as suppletive passives and unaccusative *hark-* in its passive use (*hark-* — *harnink-* / *harganu-*) have active inflection of the passive use of the unaccusative verb and have nothing to do with the middle voice. Thus, quite expectedly, the unaccusatives from all the three classes of alternating unaccusative — transitive verbs attest passive uses, not solely unaccusatives belonging to the class of middles.

The diachrony of unaccusative > passive in the post-OH period with frequent coexistence of passive and unaccusative in the NH period is independently supported by the pair *hark-* — *harnink-* / *harganu-*: the two most probative passive uses of intransitive active *hark-* that I know of are attested only in New Hittite texts.

So the diachronic development unaccusative > passive in the post-OH period was possible for any unaccusative verb, whatever voice (active or middle, whether in synthetic or in analytical forms) or verbal class they represent. The only obligatory prerequisite is the availability of an alternating transitive verb, either made from the same root or stem or even simply lexically compatible. Whether the development obligatorily actually took place for any verb which satisfies the conditions cannot be

established for a dead language with a limited corpus. The development and synchronic coexistence was a possibility for any unaccusative verb in an alternating pair. Whether the possibility was realized for *any* verb is an open question. There are several rather frequently attested unaccusatives like *huiš-* ‘live’ alongside *huišnu-* ‘make live, save’, *mer-* ‘disappear’ alongside *marnu-* ‘make disappear’ or *nink-* ‘get drunk’ alongside *ninganu-* ‘make drunk’, *park(iye)-* ‘rise’ alongside *parkanu-* ‘raise’ that are never attested as passives to their causative verbs. For some verbs like *arš-* ‘flow’ alongside *aršanu-* ‘make flow’ the causatives are too seldom attested, and in general, the majority of potentially relevant verbs are simply too rare for the lack of passive use in the extant texts to be significant. These are: *lap-* ‘glow’ alongside *lapnu-* ‘make glow’, *pukk-* ‘be hateful’ alongside *pukkanu-* ‘make hateful’, *šamen-* ‘pass by’ alongside *šamenu-* ‘make pass by’, *šamešiyē-* ‘burn (intr)’ alongside *šamešanu-* ‘burn (tr)’, *tariye-* ‘get tired’ alongside *dariyanu-* ‘make tired’ or *hatuk-* ‘be terrible’ alongside *hatuganu-* ‘terrify’. Some verbs like *impai-* ‘be depressed’ alongside *impanu-* ‘burden’ are unclear. *Hašik-* ‘be saturated’ alongside *hašiganu-* ‘saturate’ and *werite-* ‘be frightened’ alongside *weritenu-* ‘frighten’ may attest forms ambiguous between passive and unaccusative. Yet others have semantics not suitable for the passive use like *zappiye-* ‘drop’ alongside *zappanu-* ‘sprinkle’.

Thus, synchronically in New Hittite the passive voice should be dissociated from the middle⁴ and instead be seen as a potential (possibly sporadic) passive use of any unaccusative verb that exists alongside a transitive semantically close verb, whether the two (unaccusative and transitive verbs) are derivationally related or not. The potential passive use of an unaccusative is based on structural similarity of passive and anticausative for which see [Kallulli 2007]. That the data cannot be explained by simply stating that in New Hittite every transitive verb could form passive follows from the fact that in case of the pair *hark-* — *harnink-* / *harganu-* the transitive verbs do not form passive directly from their own stems, although the option was available. Instead, the passive is furnished by the

⁴ See [Luraghi 2010] for dissociating unaccusativity from the middle voice in historical Hittite.

intransitive verb. This is quite surprising in the logic that a passive is normally derived from a transitive verb. It is necessary to stress that passive uses of unaccusative *hark*-synchronically are prototypical passives.

Actually, in view of the fact that Hittite, just like a number of other languages like Albanian, Latin, and Modern Greek [Kallulli 2007: 772], does not formally distinguish passive and intransitive verbs either in the synthetic or in analytical⁵ domain (both in regard to the inflection and for the nominals that accompany them — *by*-phrases and *from*-phrases, to use the English equivalents), the alternation should probably be termed formal indistinguishability that is based on very similar structures underlying passives and intransitives and obscuring the distinction between thematic roles of agents, instruments, and oblique causes, see generally [Kallulli 2007: 772–773]. More specifically, both the ability of passive to combine with a *by*-phrase and the ability of intransitive anticausative to combine with a *from*-phrase have been taken as evidence for the existence of an external argument in passives and an external cause of the event in antitransitives and as evidence that passives / anticausatives are formed in the same module of grammar [Kallulli 2007: 772].

Alternatively, the fact that in languages like Greek and German, anticausatives can be marked with the same morphological markers that are employed in other verbal alternations, such as passives, anticausatives in these languages have been argued to contain an additional Voice layer, just as in Voice, which is, however, semantically inert. Building on Schäfer [2008b], this layer is labelled expletive Voice [Alexiadou et al. 2015: 2]. “[W]hile anticausatives indeed lack an implicit external argument, they do contain a cause component similar to passives” (*ibid.*: 3). This version of the proposal also naturally extends to Hittite.

The finding that it is the intransitive unaccusative / anticausative verb that can be used as passive to its transitive alternating member of the pair irrespective of the type of inflection (active or middle) is important in that it provides a common explanation of passives in three classes

⁵ In the analytical domain *participle + be* construction is also not limited to passive — it can be stative, continuous or perfect.

of verbs — active / middle anticausative passives alongside a derivative causative, suppletive passives, and middle passives alongside a transitive verb from the same stem.

3.3. Broader Parallels

The behavior of intransitive *hark-* functioning as passive to causative *harnink-* / *harganu-* is quite trivial in the cross-linguistic perspective.

From the broader perspective, the pair *hark-* ‘perish’ — *harganu-* / *harnink-* ‘destroy’ falls into anticausative / causative alternation, “characterized by verbs with transitive and intransitive uses, such that the transitive use of a verb V means roughly ‘cause to V-intransitive’” [Alexiadou et al. 2015: 2, 175]. See explicitly for Hittite [Luraghi 2010: 144].

Cross-linguistically, the derivational relationship can be of several types [Alexiadou et al. : 179; Luraghi 2010: 143–144]:

Anticausative is marked by special morphology:

Russian *katat* ‘-s’*a* ‘roll (intr)’ — *katat* ‘roll (tr)’

Causative is marked by special morphology:

Khalka Mongolian *ongoj-x* ‘open (intr)’ — *ongoj-**lg**-ox* ‘open (tr)’

Non-directed alternations:

both members are derived from a common stem:

Japanese *atum-**aru*** ‘gather (intr)’ — *atum-**eru*** ‘gather (tr)’

suppletive when different roots are used:

Russian *goret* ‘burn (intr)’ — *žeč* ‘burn (tr)’,

labile when the same form is used:

English *open* ‘intr’ — *open* ‘tr’ [Alexiadou et al. 2015: 4, 179].

Much less commonly, there are triplets of two intransitive verbs and one causative like Russian unaccusative *zam’orznut* ‘get cold’ — transitive causative *zamorozit* ‘freeze’ — anticausative *zamorozit’s’a* ‘get frozen’.

Cross-linguistically, there has been much debate as to which of the two variants is basic [*ibid.*]. What is important is that the properties of the type are homogeneous despite direction of morphological derivation [Alexiadou et al. 2015].

In Hittite *hark-* ‘perish’ derives *harnink-* / *harganu-* as causatives ‘make somebody / something perish’ [HED, H: 167; Luraghi 2010: 144; Shatskov 2017: 25]. Other alternating pairs in Hittite are of different types — suppletive and equipollent (*šarra*-type) [Luraghi 2010: 143–145]. Thus, curiously, Hittite never attests triple sets of verbs unlike Russian. In view of the fact that cross-linguistically alternating anticausative / causative behave in the same way irrespective of the direction of derivation, the Hittite situation becomes less surprising.

Cf. the alternating pair in Modern Greek which is lexically identical to Hittite *hark* — *harganu-* / *harnink-*, but shows the opposite direction of derivation: anticausative / passive *katastrafike* ‘get destroyed’ — causative *katastrefo* ‘destroy’ where the basic verb is causative ‘destroy’ [Alexiadou et al. 2006: 194 n. 8]:

- (33) a. *O Petros / i fotia / i vomva katestrepse to paketa*
 Peter / the fire / the bomb destroyed the package
 ‘Peter destroyed the package with the fire / by the bomb.’
- b. *To paketo katastrafike apo / me tin fotia /*
 the package destroyed.Nact by / with the fire /
me tin vomva
 with the bomb
 ‘The package was destroyed with the fire / by the bomb.’

It is particularly stressed that *katastrafike* ‘get destroyed’ is ambiguous between the intransitive anticausative and passive interpretations [*ibid.*]. Other languages where ‘destroy’ has an unaccusative variant are Hebrew and French [*ibid.*: 195 n. 11].

It has been explicitly observed that “anticausative verbs are prototypical instances of unaccusative verbs” [Alexiadou et al. 2015: 2]. It is important to stress that in some approaches a distinction is drawn between the intransitive verbs that are used in the alternating pairs *anticausative* — *causative* and intransitive verbs that are not used in this way, like ‘arrive’. It has been argued that anticausatives differ from unaccusatives by the presence of the external cause of the event [Kallulli 2007: 774, 775].

However, it must first be stressed that cross-linguistically there is considerable variation as to what verbs are used in the alternating pairs and which ones are not. E.g., Modern Greek *katastrefo* ‘destroy’ forms anticausatives unlike English and German. Languages like Russian that distinguish *three* members from the same verb like unaccusative *zam’orznut’* ‘get cold’ — transitive causative *zamorozit’* ‘freeze’ — anticausative *zamorozit’s’a* ‘get frozen’ are uniquely rare. Second, some unaccusatives can combine with causes [Kallulli 2007: 771]. Third, for a dead language like Hittite it is virtually impossible to distinguish between an intransitive verb which has the external cause of the event and the one that does not. Hittite *hark-* ‘perish’ is in many instances ambiguous between anticausative, unaccusative, and passive understanding. Thus Hittite *hark-* is actually ambiguous between unaccusative and antitransitive interpretation.

3.4. Infinitive

A still more curious phenomenon is presented by the infinitive from *hark-*.

- (34) *apāš=ma=mu* *hark-anna* [(*IŠTU AWAT DINGIR-LIM*)]
 he-NOM.SG.C=but=me **perish-*INF*** with word god
 Û *IŠTU* INIM LÚ *šanaḥ-ta*
 and with word man try-3SG.PST

‘But he sought to **destroy** me at the command of god and the suggestion of man’ [CHD, Š: 166–167; Otten 1981: 22–23]; NH/NS (CTH 81.E) KUB 1.6+ rev. iii 9–10.

Here the intransitive verb *hark-* ‘perish’ is used as transitive ‘to destroy’ in the form of the infinitive. No active uses like this are ever attested for the finite forms of the verb. However, see [Lyutikova, Sideltsev in press₂] for the explanation which separates this infinitive form from the rest of the paradigm. In any case, similar uses of infinitive are attested for other intransitive verbs and cannot be considered a unique feature of *hark-*: it is rather a property of the infinitive as a grammatical form, see [Lyutikova, Sideltsev in press₂].

4. Conclusion

Hark- ‘perish’ is unique in the verbal taxonomy of Hittite.

On the one hand, it has both intransitive unaccusative (‘perish’) and passive (‘be destroyed’) uses that put it in the same class as *akk-* ‘die’, ‘be killed’, namely, intransitive unaccusative verbs which simultaneously function as suppletive passives.

On the other hand, *hark-* behaves differently from suppletive passives in that active *hark-* functions as passive to the causative verbs derivationally related to (and actually derived from) *hark-*, namely, *harnink-* and *harganu-* both with the meaning ‘destroy’.

The latter feature sets it apart from the class of verbs like *šarra-* ‘divide’ which in its middle forms can in the New Hittite period be both unaccusative and passive alongside the same verbal stem *šarra-* which is active transitive = middle transitive.

A closer look at unaccusatives in Hittite reveals that *hark-* with its twofold use as an unaccusative and passive to its own causative is not unique and this twofold use may be typical of other unaccusatives in alternating unaccusative — causative pairs.

In the broader cross-linguistic perspective the Hittite data attest the standard alternation *anticausative* — *causative* from the same stem (as seen already by Luraghi [2010; 2012] and Inglese [2018]) with anticausative attesting a supplementary passive function for the causative verb, also common in the languages of the world. The curious fact that one of the passives for the causative verbs *harnink-* and *harganu-* derived from the anticausative *hark-* is supplied by the anticausative *hark-* itself is an important piece of evidence in favor of the indistinguishability of anticausatives and passives and an argument in favor of divorcing passive from formally marked middle voice or from analytical forms.

It appears that in New Hittite every anticausative with an alternating causative verb is capable of functioning as a passive to it, at least sporadically. This explains the strange fact that many unaccusative / anticausative verbs function as passive to their alternating transitive counterpart

(even suppletive), irrespective of the type of inflection (middle or active). Whether the potential was realized with every verb remains impossible to determine in view of the limited corpus and scarce attestations of many relevant verbs.

The finding that it is the intransitive unaccusative / anticausative verb that can be used as passive to its transitive alternating member of the pair irrespective of the type of inflection (active or middle) is important in that it provides a common explanation of passives in three classes of verbs — active / middle anticausative passives alongside a derivative causative, suppletive passives, and middle passives alongside a transitive verb from the same stem.

Along more general lines, Hittite is a language with morphological marking of voice as middle or analytical passives. However, voice in Hittite is closely tied in with anticausatives. It was shown by [Luraghi 2010; 2012; Inglese 2018] that passive voice is diachronically based on reanalysis of anticausative and synchronically in one of the periods of the Hittite language evolution it cooccurs with anticausatives. I extend the proposal to show that passive in Hittite is not associated with any formal voice marking, but rather with anticausatives generally. Anticausatives marked both by active verbal morphology and by middle verbal morphology (both synthetically and analytically) can occasionally function as passives to the alternating causative verb.

This conclusion has a broader implication for general linguistics. It provides novel data on the anticausative / passive in comparison with the languages standardly adduced for the discussion of anticausative, such as Greek or German where anticausatives are marked with the same morphology which is employed in passives. Anticausatives in Hittite are marked by both active and middle voice verbal morphology, but irrespective of this fact they occasionally function as passives to their causative alternating member of the pair.

Thus Hittite appears to violate the generalization that “[s]ince we take the causative alternation to be a Voice alternation, our core proposal is that unmarked anticausatives, as well as pure unaccusatives (e.g. English *wilt*), in all languages under discussion, simply lack VoiceP, the functional layer that introduces the external argument.” [Alexiadou et al. 2015: 10].

Corpus of participles

The corpus includes texts composed only in the New Hittite times: prayers (CTH 377, CTH 378.1, CTH 378.2, CTH 378.3, CTH 378.4, CTH 378.5, CTH 378.6, CTH 378.7, CTH 378.8, CTH 379, CTH 381, 382, 383.1, 384.1) at <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php>; as well as Mursili II's Prayer Concerning the Misdeeds and the Ousting of Tawananna [Miller 2014]; instructions [Miller 2013], letters [Hoffner 2009; Hagenbuchner 1989; Giorgieri, Mora 2004], dreams and vows [de Roos 2007]; deeds of Suppiluliumma [del Monte 2009], deeds of Mursili [Götze 1933] with subsequent additions; deeds of Hattusili III [Gurney 1997]; Apology of Hattusili III [Otten 1981]; other texts relating to Hattusili III [Ünal 1974]; restoration of Nerik [Cornil, Lebrun 1972]; edict concerning hekur of Pirwa (KBo 6.28+); Memorandum concerning Mursili III [Cammarosano 2009], Bronzetafel [Otten 1988], dictate of Mursili II [Miller 2007], Mursili's Aphasia [S. Görke (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 486 (TX 15.12.2015, TRde 17.07.2015)], cult inventories [Hazenbos 2003], oracles [Ünal 1978; van den Hout 1998; Sakuma 2009], treaties (CTH 42, CTH 62, CTH 69, CTH 89, CTH 105, CTH 123, CTH 141) [Friedrich 1926, 1930; del Monte 1986; González Salazar 1994] and at http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/txhet_svh/textindex.php?g=svh&x=x, Ulmitešub treaty [van den Hout 1995], inventory texts [Siegelová 1986]. Middle and Old Hittite texts, including Middle and Old Hittite compositions, have not been included in the Corpus.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; abl. — ablative; acc. — accusative; c. — common gender; caus. — causative; conn. — connective; dat. — dative; foc. — focus particle; gen. — genitive; imp. — imperative; instr. — instrumental; loc. — locative; locp. — locative particle; med. — middle voice; n. — neuter gender; nact. — non-active; nom. — nominative; pl. — plural; prs. — present; pst. — past; ptcp. — participle; quot. — quotation particle; refl. — reflexive; sg. — singular.

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From inflexion to derivation: The PIE word for ‘salt’

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Abstract. The Proto-Indo-European word for ‘salt’ has reflexes in all the main branches of the Indo-European languages with the exception of Anatolian. It can be reconstructed as a neuter *l*-stem: **séh₂-l*, **sh₂-él-*.

A unique feature of this word is a stem-final element **d* in some but not all branches of the family. Evidence for **d* is found in Armenian, Germanic, Italic, and Balto-Slavic, with a possible further trace in Indo-Iranian. Since **-d-* cannot be explained as an independent innovation that occurred in each branch, this formant was most likely an integral part of the late Proto-Indo-European paradigm of the word for ‘salt’.

In this paper, I propose that Late PIE **sh₂éld* continues the Indo-Anatolian instrumental singular form **sh₂élt* which came to be used as a subject marker when the protolanguage switched from ergative to nominative alignment. The attested word-final **-d* is the result of a phonetic shift **-t > *-d* that happened after the Anatolian languages had split off. The final **-d* of **sald* was lost in Tocharian and Greek, and was reanalyzed as part of the stem in other branches.

Keywords: Proto-Indo-European, nominal inflexion, instrumental, grammaticalization, salt.

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От формообразования к словообразованию: праиндоевропейское слово ‘соль’

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Аннотация. Для праиндоевропейского слова со значением ‘соль’, рефлекс которого сохранились во всех основных ветвях индоевропейских языков за исключением анатолийской, можно реконструировать основу среднего рода на *-l-*: **sh₂l-*, **sh₂-él-*. Уникальной особенностью данной леммы является то, что в некоторых ветвях, в частности, в армянском, германских, итальянских, балтославянских языках, а также, по всей видимости, в индоиранских языках, присутствует вариант этой основы с дополнительным элементом **d*. Так как **-d* невозможно объяснить как независимую инновацию, произошедшую в каждой ветви, этот формант, по всей вероятности, был неотъемлемой частью поздней праиндоевропейской парадигмы слова ‘соль’. В ряде языков вариант, оканчивающийся на **-ld-*, был утрачен, а в других различие между основами с исходом на *-l-* и на *-ld-* лексикализовалось, причем второй вариант чаще встречается в основах прилагательных. Позднее праиндоевропейское **sh₂éld* с формальной точки зрения может восходить к индо-анатолийской форме инструментального падежа единственного числа **sh₂élt*. Однако на раннем этапе развития праиндоевропейского языка, когда тот был еще эргативным, формант **-t-* выступал в том числе как маркер эргатива у неодушевленных имен. После смены строя праязыка с эргативного на номинативный **-t-* стал показателем номинатива у местоимений, но не у имен, где он мог быть переосмыслен как часть основы, а мог быть утрачен. После фонетического перехода **-t > *-d*, произошедшего после отделения анатолийских языков, конечное **-d* в праформе **sǵald* было утрачено в тохарских и древнегреческом языках, и переосмыслено как часть основы в других ветвях индоевропейских языков. То, что в ряде языков у этого варианта основы присутствует значение прилагательного, может быть прямым следствием исходного значения инструментального падежа этой формы: ‘с солью’.

Ключевые слова: праиндоевропейский, склонение, инструментальный падеж, грамматикализация, соль.

1. Introduction

Salt is present in different natural sources, in salt waters, salt soils, salty plants, and as rock salt. In Europe, it has been extracted by humans through various techniques since at least the sixth millennium BC [Nikolov, Bacvarov 2012; Harding 2013; Weller 2015], and material traces of Neolithic salt exploitation suggest that it had become an economic commodity that was traded across long distances to areas where salt was rare. There probably was a rising demand for salt due to the shift from a largely meat-based hunter-gatherer diet to an agricultural way of life, in which humans and their livestock profit greatly from the addition of salt to their menu [Monah 2012; Harding 2013: 16]. A linguistic illustration of this shift is provided by the Proto-Finno-Mordvinian word **sōla* (reflected for instance in Finnish *suola* ‘salt’), which was borrowed from Proto-Baltic in the second millennium before the Common Era [Napol’skih 2015]. Together with other linguistic arguments, this points to “the absence of the use of salt in the dietary and food-preservation tradition among the speakers of Proto-Finno-Ugrian, which relates to hunting and fishing being the base of their economy” [Napol’skih 2018].

2. Proto-Indo-European ‘salt’

The PIE word for ‘salt’ is reflected in all main branches of Indo-European except Anatolian (cf. [IEW: 878–879; NIIL: 586–590]): Skt. *salilā-* noun ‘sea, ocean’, adjective ‘salty’ [EWAia, 2: 712]; Lat. *sāl, salis* m.n., but also *sale* n., which is probably more recent (on the model of *mare*, gen. *maris* ‘sea’, [Ernout, Meillet 1979: 589], Umbr. *šalu* acc. sg. ‘salt’ [de Vaan 2008: 535]; OIr. *sál* ‘ocean, seawater’ < **sālo-*, OIr. *salann* n. ‘salt’, OCor. *haloin*, MW *halaen*, MoW *halen* ‘salt’ < PCelt. **saleino-* ‘salty’ [Schrijver 1995: 216]; Gk. *háls*, gen. *halós* ‘salt’; Arm. *al* (*i*-stem) ‘salt’, *alt-* pl. ‘salt-mine’, *alt-alt(-in)* ‘salty, salted’ [Martirosyan 2010: 24, 40–41]; OPr. *sal*, Latv. *sāls* ‘salt’ f., Lithuanian Žemaitian dial. *sólymas* m. ‘saltpan’; OCS

solb, Ru. *sol'* ‘salt’ f.; Toch. B *salyiye*, Toch. A *sāle* < PToch. **sali-h₁en-?* [Adams 2013: 742]; Alb. *gjollë* ‘salt lick (for cattle)’ < **sāl-*, *ngjelmë* ‘salty, tasty’ (with prefix *n-*) < **sal-* with *i*-mutation [Demiraj 1997: 298–299].

Opinions are divided as to the reconstruction of the syllabic nucleus of the stem. Traditionally, scholars have posited PIE **a* and **ā* (e.g., [IEW; Mayrhofer 1986: 170; Sihler 1995: 44; NIIL: 486ff.]), whereas Beekes ([1985] and in [Mallory, Adams 1997: 498]), Matasović [2004: 130], Kortlandt [2014: 221], Lubotsky [1989: 60], Müller ([2007: 288], with hesitation) and Pronk [2019: 145] favour an ablauting *l*-stem **séh₂-l*, **sh₂-él-*. I adopt the latter reconstruction because it offers a better explanation of the cross-IE vowel variants and the Balto-Slavic accentual phenomena. Kortlandt posits an original neuter *l*-stem, which would imply a nom. acc. sg. **séh₂-l* > **sēh₂l*, gen. **sh₂-él-s*. Matasović [2004: 130f.] agrees that ‘salt’ is probably an original neuter, as it belongs to the category of non-count nouns denoting substances, as do, for instance, ‘horn’, ‘excrement’, ‘fat’, ‘wood’, and ‘meat’.

Pinault [2016: 39] objects to the analysis as an *l*-stem that the required PIE root **séh₂-* is unknown, but that is not a compelling counterargument against the morphological interpretation. Formally, the root **séh₂-* ‘to stuff, fill’ [LIV²: 520–521; Kloekhorst 2008: 691 (for the meaning)] would be a good candidate for a word called ‘additive’ or ‘condiment’, but I will not insist on this possibility. Given the different ways and shapes in which salt was obtained and processed in prehistoric times, there were many potential semantic sources for the creation of a word for ‘salt’.

3. Stem-final **d*

Indo-European ‘salt’ has the unique feature of displaying a stem-final element **d* in some but not all branches of the family. Evidence for **d* is found in Armenian, Germanic, Italic, and Balto-Slavic, with a possible further trace in Indo-Iranian.

In Armenian, the distinction between singular *al* ‘salt’ and plural and adjectival *alt* ‘salt-mines’, ‘salty’ suggests to Martirosyan [2010]

a distinction between sg. **sal-* and pl. **sal-d-*, or between nom. sg. **salds* and obl. sg. **sald-i-*. In view of the semantics, an alternative solution would be to regard the variant **sald-* as adjectival ‘salty’ (cf. [Olsen 1999: 86–87, 468]), from which ‘salt-mines’ can easily be derived.

In Germanic, a neuter noun **salta-* ‘salt’ (Goth. *salt*, OHG *salz*) and a strong verb **saltan* ‘to salt, pickle’ (Goth. *unsaltans* ‘unsalted’, pret. pl. OHG *sialzun*, [Seebold 1970: 385; Kroonen 2013: 425; Miller 2019: 190] can be reconstructed. Since the verb is not found in any of the other branches of Indo-European, **saltan* was probably derived from the noun. Its strong inflexion must be secondary, and it seems likely that the participle **saltana-* ‘salted’ was the pivot which led to its creation. Possibly, **saltana-* reflects a similar *n*-adjective as some of the other derived *n*-formations in Indo-European, such as Sl. **solnъ* ‘salted’ [Derksen 2008: 460] and PToch. **salen-*. In Germanic, it may have secondarily introduced *t* from the noun. The derivative PGmc. **sultī, -jō-* ‘brine’ f. (OS *sulta*, OHG *sulza*, cf. [de Vaan 2017: 278]) is probably based on a secondary zero grade **sul-* that existed in the nominal paradigm rather than on a zero-grade verb form (as suggested by [Kroonen 2013: 491]), since no zero grade is attested in the strong verb.

In Latin, the verbs *sallere* and *sallire* ‘to salt’ contain geminate *ll* which must go back to a consonant cluster containing *l*. Since the verbal adjective *salsus* ‘salted, salty’ can reflect **sald-to-*, a preform **sald-e-* seems the more likely reconstruction for the present stem. Already Schmidt [1889: 183] regarded the Latin verb as denominal to a stem **sald-*.

In Celtic, OIr. *sall* f. ‘salted meat, esp. bacon’ may reflect Pre-Celtic **saln-* or **sald-* [LEIA: S-14]. According to David Stifter (personal communication), the evidence for a phonetic change PIE **ld* > Early OIr. *ll* is flimsy, so that a preform **salnā* is more likely. Still, because of the Late Old Irish/Early Middle Irish assimilation of *ld* to *ll* [Pedersen 1909: 114], a preform **saldā* cannot be excluded. OIr. *saillid* ‘salts, cures (meat)’ may be derived from *sall* (with a present suffix **ī*) but probably also from the preform **saleino-* of OIr. *salann* ‘salt’ (with suffix **ā* or **ī*).

Welsh *hallt* adj. ‘salt, salty’ would most straightforwardly reflect PCelt. **sal-to-*, since the outcome *llt* from earlier *ld* is only certainly attested in Latin loanwords where it might be due to sound substitution, e.g.,

in *swllt* ‘shilling’ from **soldus* from Classical Latin *solidus*, cf. [Jackson 1953: 432; Schrijver 1995: 62].

In Balto-Slavic, a semantic split occurred between the *d*-less variants which continue the meaning ‘salt’ (see above) and the adjective ‘sweet’ which always has suffixal *d*, Lith. *saldùs*, OCS *sladъkъ*, Ru. *solódkij* (dial.) ‘sweet’ < PBSL. **sʔal-du-* from PIE **sh₂el-d-* [Derksen 2015: 387–388]. The acute intonation of the vowel can be explained from Winter’s Law. The *u*-suffix was apparently taken from PIE **sueh₂du-* ‘sweet’, the connection between ‘salt’ and ‘sweet’ being of metonymical character; see [Schmidt 1889: 182] for further semantic parallels.

Skt. *salilá-*, Kath.+ *sarirá-* noun ‘sea, ocean’, adjective ‘salty’ is usually derived from PIE ‘salt’. The noun is one of the Sanskrit formations in *-ira-/-ila-* which is not built on an old *i*-stem (cf. [Beekes 1987: 50]), which renders the suffix unexplained. We may consider the possibility that its *i* reflects PIE **d*. It is known that PIE **d* was sometimes lenited to a glottal stop **ʔ* next to obstruents and in word-final position in Late Indo-European [Lubotsky 2012: 162–163; Garnier 2014], and that **ʔ* may be vocalized to *i* in Sanskrit. Hence, if pre-IIIr. **sʔald¹* became **sʔalʔ* ‘salt’, or if a putative adjective **sʔald-ra-* ‘salty’ yielded **sʔalʔra-*, the vocalization to **salira-* would be regular.

4. Previous explanations

The explanation of stem-final *-d* is disputed. Schmidt [1889: 182–83, 253] reconstructs a paradigm with nom. **sál-d*, gen. **sal-n-és*, whereas Brugmann [1906: 138] posits a nominative *sāl* which might reflect **sāld*. Seebold [1984: 123–27] has proposed that **d* represents the PIE root **dh₃-* ‘to give’ in the zero grade, firstly in **sueh₂du-* ‘sweet’, which Seebold explains as **‘giving sweetness’*, and then analogically in BSL. **saldu-* ‘giving malt-flavour, sweet’. Gmc. **saltan* would then represent

¹ In which the voiced pharyngeal fricative ʕ represents the phonemic reflex of PIE **h₂*. It is likely that, after a voiceless obstruent such as *s*, this was realized as voiceless [h].

**sal-d-* ‘to give salt = to salt’, according to Seebold, and Lat. *sallere* might reflect the same formation. This proposal was embraced by Heidermanns [1993: 466], Casaretto [2004: 77], and in [NIIL], but to my mind this is an unlikely option. There is no trace in the morphology of the *d*-forms, including Gmc. **sal-tan*, of the verb **deh₃-* ‘to give’, and in order to arrive at a meaning ‘salty’ one would rather expect a combination of ‘salt’ with PIE **d^heh₁-* ‘to put’ than with ‘to give’.

5. Indo-Anatolian instr. sg. *-t

Since *-*d* cannot be explained as an independent innovation of each branch in which we find it, it seems more likely that a variant in *-*ld* formed an integral part of the Late PIE paradigm of ‘salt’. In some languages, this variant was lost, whereas in others, the distinction between -*l* and -*ld* was lexicalized with a specific semantic distribution.

The only *d*-final case form of Late PIE that fits the bill is the Late PIE ablative in *-*d* which goes back to the Indo-Anatolian instrumental in *-*t* [Kortlandt 2010: 40]. I therefore propose that Late PIE **sh₂éld* continues the Indo-Anatolian instrumental singular **sh₂él-t*. In part of the languages, the resulting form **sh₂éld* was promoted to the nominal stem for ‘salt’, possibly first in the adjectival meaning ‘salty’.

As argued by Kloekhorst [2018: 195], the instrumental ending -*t* behaves peculiarly in Anatolian, in that it must be reconstructed with a full grade suffix and a zero grade ending *-*t* in all mobile nouns of Indo-Anatolian, regardless of whether they were animate or inanimate. Concrete examples in Hittite are *iš-ha-an-da* ‘blood’, [g]e-nu-t= ‘knee’, *ki-iš-šar-at*, *ki-iš-šar-ta* ‘hand’ /kis:árt/ (**g^hs-ér-t*), spelled -*it* or -*et* with anaptyctic vowel /i/ after obstruents according to Kloekhorst (see also [Pedersen 1938: 22f.; Neu 1979: 190–191; Čop 1975: 52; 1987: 149–150; Kloekhorst 2008: 799; 2014]). In other words, there was no distinction between protero- and hysterodynamic inflection for this case form, and a preform **sh₂-él-t* ‘with salt’ would exactly fit the postulated ablaut type *CC-éR-t* for this ending.

As to the phonetics, Kortlandt [2010: 40–41, 44] posits a change of Indo-Anatolian word-final **-t* to Late PIE **-d*, as witnessed, for instance, by Hitt. *kuit* vs. Lat. *quod*, and by the correspondence between the Hittite instrumental ending in **-t* and Late PIE abl. sg. **-d*. The phonetic change led to a phonotactic alternation between word-final *-d* and word-internal *-t-*, of which either *t* (in most cases) or *d* (more rarely) could be generalized in the morphology of the individual languages [de Vaan 2019]. For instance, the 3sg. athematic indicative ending **-ti* came to contrast with **-t > *-[d]* (Old Latin *SIED*, *FECED*), which could be restored to **-t*. In the *t*-stem nouns, the nom. sg. ending **-d* would contrast with gen. sg. **-tos*, loc. sg. **-ti*, and in most cases (but not always), word-final **-t* was restored in the nominative.

Another example is the correspondence between Skt. *daśát-* f. ‘10, group of ten’, BSl. **desinti-*, and Gk. *dekás, -ádos* ‘decade’. It is often assumed (e.g. [Rau 2009: 13, fn. 2]) that Greek *-d-* is due to contamination with the *ád-*stem abstracts, but already Brugmann [1906: 466] considered the possibility that Gk. *dekád-* had sprung from **dekát-*, although the mechanism was unclear to him. We can now infer that Indo-Anatolian **dekm̥t* ‘decad’, gen. sg. **dekm̥tós* would have given Late PIE **dekmd̥*, genitive **dekm̥tós*, whence PGk. **dekád* with subsequent generalization of *d* and, later, the addition of nom. sg. *-s*.

6. Syntactic background

Most of the PIE *t*- and *d*-stems make deverbal agentives, often feminines, derived from verbal roots that function as verbal abstracts [Vijūnas 2009; Pinault 2017; 2018]. Suffixal *t* and *d* are furthermore added to neuter non-count nouns, such as abstracts in **-h₂* (the Greek type in *-ad-*), abstracts in **-teh₂-* and **-tuH-*, mass nouns such as **melit* ‘honey’, and colour terms (*t*-stems in Indo-Iranian, *d*-stems in Germanic). This matches the theory first put forward by Pedersen [1907: 152] and confirmed by Kortlandt’s findings, that the Indo-Anatolian instrumental **-t > Late Indo-European *-d* was originally used as a subject marker for neuters, such as in the neuter pronouns **k^vod*, **k^vid*, the *-d* of which is otherwise unexplained.

Since ‘salt’ is a mass noun which we have reconstructed as an original neuter, it fits in with the other IE nominals with a *t*- or *d*-suffix.

The syntactic shift from instrumental to nominative function makes sense against the backdrop of the theory that posits a change in the alignment character that took place in Indo-Anatolian, from ergative to nominative alignment [Vaillant 1936; Kortlandt 2010: 91–103; Willi 2018: 504–515]. The marker **-t*, which was suffixed to inanimate nouns in the ergative function when they took on an agentive role, became their nominative ending once the ergative alignment was lost. But since **-t* still functioned as an ablative/instrumental for animate nouns, it was not grammaticalized as a nominative case marker of neuters throughout the Indo-Anatolian system, except in the pronouns. Rather, it was often reinterpreted as a stem-forming suffix which became obligatory in the whole paradigm (e.g., **-g^mm-t-* ‘coming’), which was restricted to the nom. acc. sg. of neuters (the type Skt. *yakṣī* ‘liver’), or which was facultative (**-teh₂-* next to **-teh₂t-*). This was the main source of the traditional PIE *t*-stems, as well as of a number of *d*-stems, which arose by the post-Anatolian, word-final lenition discussed above.

The reinterpretation of **-d* as an ablative ending in post-Anatolian Indo-European, respectively its further lenition to the instrumental ending **-ʔ* [Kortlandt 2010: 41], led to the complete loss of the preform **sʃald* in part of Indo-European, such as Tocharian and Greek, and to its reinterpretation in Armenian, Balto-Slavic, Italic, Germanic, and maybe also Indo-Aryan. The adjectival meaning ‘salty’ of **sʃald* in Armenian and Balto-Slavic, and possibly also in Italic and Indo-Aryan, may be a direct trace of the instrumental meaning ‘(provided) with salt’, whereas Pre-Germanic **sʃald-(o-)* ‘salt’, beside which no traces of *d*-less **sʃal-* are left in Germanic, shows the reinterpretation of **sʃald-* as the invariant stem form.

7. Conclusion

We have arrived at the reconstruction of a PIE neuter paradigm with nom. acc. sg. **séh₂-l*, gen. **sh₂-él-s*, and instr. **sh₂-él-t*. The latter form was first used as an agentive case form for inanimate nouns in an ergative

alignment. After the switch to a nominative alignment system, it was often grammaticalized as a stem-forming marker. The preform **sh₂élt* became **sƒald* in post-Anatolian Indo-European, where it was either generalized as the main variant for ‘salty’ and ‘salt’, or experienced semantic specialization next to *d*-less variants of the stem **sh₂-el-*.

The word for ‘salt’ fits in well semantically with the other evidence for *t*-instrumentals being grammaticalized as *t*- or *d*-stems, such as verbal abstracts, mass nouns and colour terms: ‘salt’ is a mass noun, which usually has neuter or feminine gender and is suspected to be an old neuter.

It may be asked why we cannot reconstruct any other nouns with an irregular *d*-extension to their stem. To a certain extent, such relic forms are always the result of a coincidence, but some indications may nevertheless be given. ‘Salt’ was a high-frequency word, which is conducive to the preservation of morphological oddities. Furthermore, the *t*-instrumental had more or less the same meaning as the adjective ‘salty’, which is also a frequent semantic concept.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; abl. — ablative; acc. — accusative; gen. — genitive; f. — feminine; loc. — locative; m. — masculine; n. — neuter; nom. — nominative; obl. — oblique; pl. — plural; pret. — preterit; sg. — singular.

Alb. — Albanian; Arm. — Armenian; BSl. — Balto-Slavic; Gk. — Greek; Gmc. — Germanic; Goth. — Gothic; Hitt. — Hittite; IE — Indo-European; Ir. — Indo-Iranian; Lat. — Latin; Latv. — Latvian; Lith. — Lithuanian; MW — Middle Welsh; MoW — Modern Welsh; OCorn. — Old Cornish; OCS — Old Church Slavonic; OHG — Old High German; OIr. — Old Irish; OPr. — Old Prussian; OS — Old Saxon; PBSl. — Proto-Balto-Slavic; PCelt. — Proto-Celtic; PGk. — Proto-Greek; PGmc. — Proto-Germanic; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; PToch. — Proto-Tocharian; Ru. — Russian; Sl. — Slavic; Skt. — Sanskrit; Toch. — Tocharian.

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The origin of the Slavic 2 sg. present ending

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Abstract. The two 2 sg. present ending variants of Slavic, *-sb/-šb* and *-si/-ši*, are derived from pre-Slavic **-si* and **-s-ajs*, respectively. The first variant is found in all Slavic languages, and in most of them it is the only one. The second variant survived mainly in Old Russian (cf. *neseši*) and Novgorod (cf. *ideši*) and as a relic form in other languages (cf. Ukr. *jesý*, Cz. *jsi*, SCR. *jèsi*). In both variants, the form with *-š-* is dominant.

The first variant goes back to the Indo-European primary ending 2 sg. **-si*. The second variant reflects the Proto-Slavic form of the 2 sg. future with the sigmatic stem **-s-ajs*. This complex formant was formed in the Proto-Slavic period by adding the ending of the imperative 2 sg. **-ajs* (from the Baltic-Slavic imp. **-ajs* that continues PIE opt. **-o-ih₁-s*, compare OCS *ved-i*, OPr. *wed-ais*) to the ending of the future 2 sg. **-s* (from PIE **-s-si*; the athematic sigmatic stem of the future is reconstructed for Balto-Slavic on the basis of the Eastern Baltic languages, cf. Lith. *duōs*, Latv. *duōs* ‘he will give’).

A partial apocope of the final **-i* in Balto-Slavic could be the main reason for this morphological innovation. As a result of the apocope, a formal contrast developed between the forms with accented ending (2 sg. **yede-si* ‘you lead’) and with unaccented endings (2 sg. **déd-s* ‘you put’). The reduced ending **-s* merged with the sigmatic future stem, which provoked the renewal of this form with the imperative ending **-ajs* in Balto-Slavic or Proto-Slavic, cf. **dōd-s-si* > **dōd-s-s* > **dōd-s* → **dōd-s-ajs*. The loss of the sigmatic future and the reduction of **-s* in one of the two allomorphs of the 2 sg. present form conditioned the creation of the ending **-sajs* and its spread to the paradigm of the present.

The dominant forms *-ši* and *-šb* resulted from the first palatalization of velars from **-xi* and **-xb*, which in turn developed from **-si* and **-sb* according to the RUKI-rule in present stems in *-i-*. The original forms with **-s-* were preserved only in athematic root present stems.

Keywords: Slavic, Balto-Slavic, Indo-European, Verb, Endings.

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Происхождение общеславянского презентного окончания 2 л. ед. ч.

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Аннотация. В славянских языках обнаруживаются следы двух вариантов общеславянских презентных окончаний 2 л. ед. ч. *-sb/-šb* и *-si/-ši*. Первый вариант распространен во всех славянских языках, причем в большинстве из них является единственным. Второй вариант сохранился главным образом в древнерусском (ср. *neseši*) и новгородском (ср. *ideši*) и в качестве реликтовой формы в других языках, главным образом в копуле (ср. укр. *jesý*, чеш. *jsi*, сербохорв. *jèsi*). В обоих вариантах форма с *-š-* является доминантной.

Первый вариант возводится к индоевропейскому первичному окончанию 2 л. ед. ч. **-si*. Второй вариант отражает праславянскую форму будущего времени 2 л. ед. ч. от сигматической основы **-s-ajs*. Этот сложный формант образовался в праславянский период путем добавления окончания императива 2 л. ед. ч. **-ajs* (из балт.-слав. импер. **-ajs* от и.-е. 2 л. ед. ч. опт. **-o-ih₁-*, ср. ст.-сл. *ved-i*, др.-прусс. *wed-ais*) к окончанию будущего времени 2 л. ед. ч. **-s* (из и.-е. **-s-si*; на атематическую сигматическую основу будущего в балтославянском указывают данные восточно-балтийских языков, ср. лит. *duōs*, лтш. *duōs* 'он даст'). Основной причиной этой морфологической инновации могла стать частичная апокопа конечного **-i* в балтославянском (выпадение **-i* в безударной позиции и сохранение в ударной). Предполагается, что в результате апокопы образовался контраст между формами с ударением на окончании (2 sg. **uēde-si* 'ты ведешь') и формами, содержащими безударные окончания (2 sg. **dēd-s* 'ты кладешь'). В парадигме сигматического будущего редуцированное окончание **-s* слилось с основой, что повлекло за собой обновление этой формы с помощью окончания императива **-ajs* в балтославянском или в праславянском, ср. **dōd-s-si* > **dōd-s-s* > **dōd-s* → **dōd-s-ajs*. После утраты сигматического будущего и редукции **-s* одного из двух алломорфов окончания презенса 2 л. ед. ч. возникли условия для образования окончания **-sajs* и его распространения на парадигму презенса.

Доминантные формы *-ši* и *-šb* развились по первой палатализации велярных из **-xi* и **-xь*, которые в свою очередь возникли из **-si* и **-sb* по правилу «RUKI» в презентных основах на *-i-*. Исходные формы с **-s-* сохранились только в атематических корневых презентных основах.

Ключевые слова: общеславянский, балтославянский, праиндоевропейский, глагол, окончания.

1. The 2 sg. present ending has always figured among the most problematic issues of Balto-Slavic historical grammar. As a modest token of appreciation for Prof. N. N. Kazansky, in this article I will present a new solution for the Slavic endings. It should be noted that this article is concerned with Slavic alone. The evidence of Baltic and other languages will only be discussed inasmuch as it is relevant for Slavic. I will first introduce the basic facts (§ 2) and a brief critical report of previous solutions (§ 3–5) to turn then to my own scenario (§ 6–10).

2. The Proto-Indo-European (PIE) 2 sg. endings were primary **-si*, secondary **-s*, reasonably well preserved in the old Indo-European languages (Ved. prs. *bhára-si* : impf. *ábhara-s*, Hitt. prs. *daške-ši* : pret. *daške-š*, etc.). The major exception is the Greek thematic 2 sg. prs. φέρ-εις. This ending has sometimes been compared to Lith. 2 sg. *ved-ì*, refl. *-ie-si* and used to reconstruct a thematic 2 sg. present ending without **-s-* (PIE **-eĵ*, **-ēĵ*, **-ehi*, **-e*, vel. *sim.*).¹ This possibility, however, must now be regarded as highly unlikely. First, Gk. φέρ-εις and Lith. *ved-ì* are not actually compatible with each other, whereas (e.g.) Ved. *-si*, Hitt. *-ši*, Lat. *-s* and Goth. *-s* clearly coalesce in PIE **-si*. Second, in Greek the *s*-less 2 sg. φέρ-εις is paired with a *t*-less 3 sg. present ending φέρ-ει (Myc. *e-ke /ek^hei/* ‘has’). Gk. 3 sg. -ει constitutes a *locus desperatus* of Greek historical grammar, but the 2 sg. -εις is easily explained as analogical to it according to a proportion impf. 3 sg. -ε : 2 sg. -εσ = prs. -ει : X, X = -εις.² If the analogy took place in post-Mycenaean times, it would have been a natural way to avoid the merger of 2 sg. **-esi* > **-ehi* > **-eī* > **-eĵ* and 3 sg. -ει, but this is not essential for the analogy to work.

In short, it can hardly be doubted that Balto-Slavic inherited primary **-si*, secondary **-s*. The Baltic and Slavic endings, however, are only partly compatible with these prototypes:

¹ The idea goes back to Fortunatov, Brugmann and Meillet and was often repeated through the 20th century. I cannot here devote the necessary space to discuss OIr. 2 sg. abs. *biri*, conj. *·bir* and other more doubtful material that has been mentioned in this connection. See [Cowgill 2006: 536f., 546f., 556–563] for references and discussion.

² See especially [Hoenigswald 1986: 372f.].

2.1. OCS has 2 sg. *-si* in athematic presents after consonant (*jesi* ‘you are’, *dasi* ‘you will give’, *věsi* ‘you know’) and *-ši* in all other present types (*neseši* ‘you carry’, *prosiši* ‘you ask for’, *imaši* ‘you have’). The ending *-si/-ši* recurs in Old Russian (*neseši*), including Old Novgorod (*ideši*), and as relics in other languages as well, mainly in the copula (e.g. Ukr. *jesy*, Cz. *jsi*, SCr. *jěsi*). But apart from this all Slavic languages continue 2 sg. *-sb/-šb* and for most languages this is the only ending from the oldest records. The Slavic facts thus face us with three basic questions:

- i) Do 2 sg. *-si/-ši* and *-sb/-šb* continue two different Proto-Slavic endings or is *-sb/-šb* a weakening of *-si/-ši*?
- ii) What is the origin of the final ^o*i* of *-si/-ši*? (*-sb/-šb*, if old, obviously continues PIE **-si*).
- iii) What is the rationale for the *-š-* of the dominant variant(s) *-ši*, *-šb*?

We will return to these questions below. For the moment it will be enough to note that only the last question has a straightforward answer within our current understanding of Slavic historical grammar.

2.2. The reconstruction of the East Baltic prototype is not essentially problematic. The 2 sg. ending was **-ē̃* > Lith. prs. *neš-i* ‘you carry’, refl. *-ie-si*. Athematic presents had 2 sg. **-sē̃* (e.g. OLith. *esi*, *esie-gu* ‘you are’, Daukša). Since the rest of the East Baltic evidence does not add anything essential, I will not discuss it here.³ There is no *communis opinio* concerning the origin of EBl. 2 sg. **-ē̃*, athem. **-sē̃* (apart, of course, from the identification of the *-s-* of the latter with that of PIE 2 sg. **-si*).⁴

2.3. In Old Prussian even the synchronic facts are not fully understood. Athematic presents had a sigmatic ending: *assai* 7x, *assei/essei* 5x, *assel esse* 5x ‘you are’, *dāse* 1x ‘you give’, *ēisei* 1x ‘you go’, *waisei* 1x, *waisse* 1x ‘you know’. It is customary to start from pre-Old Prussian 2 sg. **-sei*, but this is not absolutely certain. Present stems ending in a vowel use the 3rd person for the 1st and 2nd sg. as well, e.g. *turri* ‘(I/you) have, has’, *druwē*

³ See [Endzelin 1923: 546–549; Stang 1966: 407–409; Zinkevičius 1966: 335ff., 370–373] for more information.

⁴ See [Cowgill 2006: 558–561] for a critical list of proposals till the early eighties.

‘(I/you) believe(s)’, *islāiku* ‘(I/you) hold(s)’. It is hard to say whether these forms continue, in some way, Proto-Baltic *s*-less 2 sg. forms cognate with EBl. 2 sg. *-ġ or are etymological 3rd person forms used in place of the 1st and 2nd singular. 2 sg. sigmatic forms seem to be attested in non-athematic presents as well: *giwassi* 2x, *gīwasi* 1x ‘you live’, *druwēse* 2x ‘you believe’, *segēsei* 2x ‘you make’. It cannot be excluded, however, that these are future (or modal) forms, cf. *postāsei* ‘you will become’ (whose interpretation as future is certain because of the contrast with the present stem *postānai*).⁵ The same caveat applies to some of the athematic 2 sg. forms.

In contrast with the uncertainties that surround the Old Prussian 2 sg. present, the 2 sg. imperative *wed-ais* ‘lead!’, *imm-ais* ‘take!’ transparently continues PIE 2 sg. opt. *-o-ǵh₁-s (Ved. *bhāres*, Gk. φέροις). It practically guarantees that OCS 2 sg. imp. *ved-i* directly continues PIE *-o-ǵh₁-s as well.

3. There is no generally accepted explanation of the facts presented in § 2.1–2.3. In sections § 3–4 I will briefly report the solutions that have been proposed for the two main problems posited by Slavic: the origin of the *o* of 2 sg. *-si/-ši* (§ 3) and its relation to *-sb/-šb* (§ 4). Since excellent *Forschungsberichte* are readily available,⁶ I limit myself to just mention the main lines of thought without giving references to the secondary literature.

We can distinguish two major approaches to Sl. 2 sg. *-si/-ši*: a) it continues a (post-)PIE 2 sg. present middle *-soǵ (Ved. *bhār-a-se*), b) it goes back to *-seǵ, a historically composite ending obtained by crossing BSl. 2 sg. athem. *-si and them. *-eǵ (*vel sim.*, cf. Lith. 2 sg. *-i, -ie-si*). The first theory is susceptible of multiple objections, but I will here limit myself to note that *all* current theories on the development of word-final **aj* in Slavic predict PIE *-soǵ to give Sl. †-sě, not *-si*.⁷ The second theory is phonologically unobjectionable. The problem is the alleged thematic 2 sg. *-eǵ. As noted above (§ 2), the possibility that the thematic 2 sg. of PIE

⁵ So e.g. [Cowgill 2006: 561–562; Smoczyński 2005, 414].

⁶ E.g. [Cowgill 2006: 552–555, 556–563; Hock 2005: 26f.; Olander 2015: 312–318; Majer fthc.: § 3.2.2].

⁷ See below footnote 18.

was **b^hér-eĭ* and not **b^hér-e-si* must now be regarded as extremely unlikely. A second option that has been put forward is that **-eĭ* was a Balto-Slavic innovation, ultimately depending on the reanalysis of PIE **h₁ési* ‘you are’ (Ved. *ási*, Gk. *εἶ*) as **h₁és-i*. The amount of analogy that this theory involves, however, is in my view simply incredible.

In short, none of the traditional accounts of the Slavic (and Baltic) 2 sg. present ending is acceptable. If Slavic is judged by itself, the general insistence to start from **-seĭ* is susceptible to some obvious criticism: i) it is not self-evident why the alleged 2 sg. **b^hér-eĭ* of the dominant thematic conjugation should have been remade to **b^hér-e-seĭ* in the prehistory of Slavic;⁸ ii) the Baltic and Slavic facts do not make the reconstruction of a 2 sg. **-seĭ* in any way unavoidable; iii) from a strict phonological point of view, it is obviously not the only option for Sl. *-si/-ši*.

Finally, I can mention two recent proposals that at least include new elements:

Mottausch [2003: 95f.] also considers Pre-Slavic **-seĭ* a cross of 2 sg. athem. **-si* and them. **-eĭ*, but explains **-eĭ* as an analogical formation ultimately based on the PIE 2 sg. imp. **b^hér-e* ‘carry!’.

Hill and Fries [2020] propose that in Balto-Slavic the 2 sg. was enlarged with a clitic **aĭ* (from PIE anaphoric loc. sg. f. **eh₂-i*; cf. Dor., Aeol. *ai* ‘if’) and proposes the following development for Slavic: athem. **ēd-si=aĭ* > **ě-si=aĭ* > **jě-sb=ī* > *jě-si*; them. **bere-si=aĭ* > **bere-sj=aĭ* > **bere-š=ī* > *bere-ši*. The development leading to Lithuanian was even more complicated.

Although bringing new elements to the discussion is a welcome improvement, both proposals require too many ancillary assumptions to be convincing. We can now turn to the second problem with Sl. 2 sg. *-si/-ši*—its relation to the shorter variant *-sb/-šb*.

4. This issue is slightly different from that of the origin of the *°i* of *-si/-ši*. The facts are easily summarized. The Old Church Slavonic ending is *-ši*. This is also the regular ending of the oldest Old Russian texts (12th–13th c.), but this could be a Slavonicism. This caveat does not apply to the Old Novgorod texts. Here *-ši* is the oldest form, whereas *-šb* appears

⁸ As already stressed by [Cowgill 2006: 553f.].

from the second half of the 12th century (cf. [Zaliznjak 2004: 136]). Leaving some relics aside (e.g. Ukr. *jesý*, Cz. *jsi*, SCr. *jěsi* ‘you are’), in most Slavic languages *-šb* (*-š*) is the only ending from the oldest records. The Freising Fragments have two occurrences of the longer form and four of the shorter one (according to [Kortlandt 1979: 58]).

The evidence makes a decision rather uneasy. The fact that *-ši* is demonstrably old in OCS and East Slavic seems to support the widespread view that *-šb* is an irregular shortening of *-ši*; see especially [Vaillant 1966: 9]. Note that *-šb* became the regular form in both areas just as in the rest of Slavic. But this view is not unobjectionable. First, the alleged shortening *-si/-ši* > *-sb/-šb* cannot be formulated as a real sound law. The shortening of the infinitive (e.g. Ru. *dat’*, Pol. *dać* vs. OCS, ORu. *dati*) has often been adduced as a parallel, but the longer variant *-ti* was much more resilient (cf. [Vaillant 1966: 129–132]) and this, accordingly, only highlights the uniqueness of the alleged early shortening in the 2nd singular. Second, the textual priority of the longer form is not as conclusive as it may seem at first sight. As per [Lunt 2001: 237], what we really know is that OCS *-ši* “existed in the dialect of the original translators and had the full approval of early scribes”. If Common Slavic had variation between *-ši* and *-šb* (which is perfectly possible), there is no particular reason why the marginal South Slavic dialects from which OCS emerged could not have generalized *-ši* by the 9th century. A similar caveat applies to the testimony of Old Novgorod (also a somewhat idiosyncratic variety of Slavic, if for different reasons).

In my view the shorter variant *-sb/-šb* is too widespread and too early to be meaningfully accounted for as a shortening of *-si/-ši*. I will thus assume that both 2 sg. *-si/-ši* and *-sb/-šb* were in use in Common Slavic, though I admit that the issue cannot be regarded as fully settled. The success of the shorter variant *nesešb* in *all* later variants of Slavic is easy to understand, as *neseši* would have been rhythmically out of tune with disyllabic 1 sg. *neso* and 3 sg. *nese(t)* (after the fall of the *jers*, OCS *nesetb*, ORu. *nesetb*).

5. The balance of sections § 3–4 is largely negative: The Slavic 2 sg. present endings remain as obscure today as they were at the beginning of the 20th century. But it also includes some potentially useful conclusions:

First, the starting point can only be PIE 2 sg. **-si*.

Second, since the traditional account of Sl. *-si/-ši* as a cross of **-si* and **-ej* is inherently unattractive (whereas EBl. athem. **-sĕ* can easily have $\circ\acute{e}$ from the thematic ending **-ĕ*, whatever the origin of the latter might be), it seems best to operate with independent innovations in Baltic and Slavic.

Third, serious acceptance of the antiquity of Sl. 2 sg. *-sb/-šb* has important consequences for *-si/-ši* as well. The issue is not just the $\circ i$ as such, but *why* was a variant *-si/-ši* created beside the inherited (and actually preserved!) PIE 2 sg. **-si* of Sl. *-sb/-šb*.

6. My proposal starts from an observation that will probably look like a paradox at first sight. The *-s/-š-* of *-si/-ši* has always been identified with the **-s-* of PIE 2 sg. **-si*. This will of course not be challenged in what follows. My claim is that, in addition, it *also* continues the **-s-* of another important verbal category of Balto-Slavic: the future. For convenience I will present my scenario as a narrative from early Balto-Slavic to historical Slavic (§ 10). It will be convenient to begin by enumerating the elements I will work with:

First, Balto-Slavic inherited from PIE a 2 sg. present ending **-si*.

Second, the Balto-Slavic imperative continues the PIE optative. PIE thematic 2 sg. opt. **-o-ih₁-s* directly gave (late) BSl. 2 sg. imp. **-ais*,⁹ whence OCS *ved-i*, OPr. *wed-ais*.

Third, Balto-Slavic possessed an athematic sigmatic future, preserved in East Baltic: Lith. 1 sg. *dúo-siu*, 2 sg. *dúo-si*, 3 *duōs*, 1 pl. *dúo-sime*, 2 pl. *dúo-site* ‘will give’ = Latv. *duōšu*, *duōsi*, *duōs*, *duōsim*, *duōsit* (*-iēt*).

The third element is the only one that may require some grounding. Relics of the East Baltic future in the other Baltic and Slavic languages include OPr. *postāsei* ‘you will become’ (see above § 2.3) and the Slavic fossilized participle RuCS *byšqšt-/byšqšt-* ‘about to be’, ORu. *sb-byšjuč-*, OCz. *probyšucný* ‘useful’ (< BSl. **bū-sja-nt-* < PIE **b^huH-sjo-nt-*, cf. Lith. *bū-siant-*, YAv. *būšiiant-*). The Balto-Slavic antiquity of the East Baltic future,

⁹ Through this article I note the Balto-Slavic acute as \acute{E} (whereas \bar{E} expresses non-acute or simply length, without specification of acuteness). Stress position is marked as \acute{E} . I have kept the traditional notations for ‘Proto-Slavic’ (*recte* ‘Common Slavic’) and Proto-East Baltic.

however, should be clear even without these relics. It continues a PIE athematic desiderative with acrostatic ablaut also seen in the Sabellian future (Um. *ferest* ‘feret’, Osc. *deiuast* ‘iurabit’) and in relics all around the family (e.g. Ved. *cáṣṭe* ‘looks at’ < **k^wék-s-*, Hitt. *ganēšš^{-mi}* ‘recognize’ < **ǵnēh₃-s-*).¹⁰ It cannot be a Baltic innovation postdating the breakup of Balto-Slavic. We will return to the actual inflection of the Balto-Slavic future below.

7. The next step in our scenario is to consider what happened to these formations. The 2 sg. imperative **-ajis* (< PIE **-o-ih₁-s*) was surely stable, but both the 2 sg. prs. **-si* and the future were affected by a major Balto-Slavic sound law: the partial apocope of word-final **-i*.

An early apocope of Balto-Slavic **-i* has often been proposed to account for formations like the \bar{a} -stem instr. sg. **-ān* (Lith. *ger-ą-ja*, OCS *žen-oj-ŕ*) < **-āmi* < **-ah₂-mi* (cf. *i-*, *u-*stem **-i-mi*, **-u-mi*: Lith. *sūn-u-mi*, *ugn-i-mi*, ORu. *syn-ъ-mb*, *pŕt-ъ-mb*) or the Slavic 1 sg. *berŕ* < **-ōn* < **-ō-mi* < **-oh₂+mi* (cf. Lith. *ved-ù*, *-úo-si* < **-ō* < **-oh₂*). In [Villanueva Svensson 2017–2018] I have tried to demonstrate that the *i*-apocope was regulated by (Balto-Slavic) accent position: unaccented word-final **-i* was apocopated, accented **-i* remained. The contrast between apocopated \bar{a} -stem instr. sg. **-ān* < **-ā[◌]-mi* (where \circ *i* was always unaccented after Hirt’s law) and *i-*, *u-*stem **-i-mi*, **-u-mi* (where \circ *i* was accented in mobile paradigms) is particularly telling.

The 3 sg. **-ti* (and 3 pl. **-nti*) was clearly affected by the *i*-apocope, yielding apocopated **-t* in immobile paradigms (e.g. **pěj^sjet* ‘writes’ < **pěj^s-je-ti*) and unapocopated **-ti* in mobile ones (e.g. **uēd-e-ti* ‘leads’). Apocopated **-ti* > **-t* > * \emptyset led to zero-ending forms like Lith. *vėda* or Sl. *vede* (PIE **uéd^h-e-ti*), whereas preserved **-ti* led to OLith. *ėš-ti* or ORu. *das-tъ*, *vede-tъ*. See [Villanueva Svensson 2017–2018: 284–287] for a detailed treatment, including the more problematic OCS *vedetъ*. If the *i*-apocope affected 3 sg. **-ti* and 3 pl. **-nti*, it evidently must have affected the 2 sg. prs. **-si* as well.

Ex hypothesi, then, in the immediate aftermath of the *i*-apocope Balto-Slavic possessed a contrast between mobile 2 sg. **uēde-si* ‘you

¹⁰ I cannot here devote the necessary space to argue for this reconstruction; see most recently [Jasanoff 2019: 16–22].

lead', **arje-si* 'you plow', **dōd-si* 'you give' and immobile **pějsje-s* 'you write', **bunde-s* 'you wake up', **dēd-s* 'you put' (< **-si*). We do not know whether the original distribution of **-si* and **-s* was preserved or whether both variants were redistributed according to some other principle. We know that both 3 sg. prs. **-ti* and **-t* where there in late Balto-Slavic because the historical languages have regular reflexes of both. We cannot ascertain this for the 2 sg. **-si/*-s*, but the fact that the 2 sg. present ending is problematic in both Baltic and Slavic suggests that the preservation of an apocopated variant **-s* was one of the factors leading to the remodeling of this ending in both branches.

In the case of the present tense our current knowledge of Balto-Slavic accentuation allows us to determine the original distribution of apocopated and unapocopated 2 sg. **-si/*-s*, 3 sg. **-ti/*-t* and 3 pl. **-nti/*-nt*. In the case of the future we are limited to internal reconstruction from East Baltic. Fortunately, this branch provides us with two important facts. First, the *i*-inflection outside of the 3rd person most probably spread from 3 pl. **-s-nti* > **-s-inti*, reanalyzed as **-si-nti*, cf. [Jasanoff 2003: 133]. Since the 3rd person never acquired *i*-inflection, it is reasonable to infer that by late Balto-Slavic it had only advanced to the plural and dual. Second, the endingless Lith. 3rd person *duōs* evidently continues apocopated 3 sg. **dōd-s-ti* > **dōd-s-t* (> **dōd-s*). This almost automatically implies that the 2 sg. was apocopated as well: **dōd-s-si* > **dōd-s-s*, no doubt realized as **dōd-s*. We can thus postulate the following paradigm for the late Balto-Slavic future: 1 sg. **dōd-s-m* (?), 2 sg. **dōd-s*, 3 sg. **dōd-s-t*, 1 pl. **dōd-si-me*, 2 pl. **dōd-si-te*, 3 pl. **dōd-si-nt*.

8. It is clear, at any rate, that the future 2 sg. **dōd-s* was even more in need of morphological repair than the 2 sg. of the present. There was no overt 2 sg. marker and after the loss of **-t* in 3 sg. **dōd-s-t* it would have entirely merged with the 3 sg. Even if the loss of post-apocope **-t* in **dōd-s-t* was relatively late in Baltic and Slavic, the risk of homophony between 2nd and 3rd singular must have been high in informal speech.

The problem, I submit, was remedied by adding the 2 sg. imp. **-ajs* (< PIE 2 sg. opt. **-o-ih₁-s*) to the apparently unmarked 2 sg. fut. **dōd-s*, yielding **dōd-s-ajs*. This may have happened already in Balto-Slavic (in which case 2 sg. **-ajs* may still have been an optative) or in the

individual prehistory of Slavic (in which case it must have been an imperative). If the first option is chosen, the 2 sg. fut. **dōd-s-aj̄s* did not survive into historical Baltic (Lith. *dúosi*, Latv. *duōsi*, OPr. *postāsei*). Since in Baltic the 2 sg. ending has been renewed in ways that we do not yet understand, we cannot tell whether this is a serious handicap. I insist, in any case, that at present there is no reason to believe that the problems with the 2 sg. in Baltic and Slavic require a common Balto-Slavic explanation. In what follows I will assume that **dōd-s* → **dōd-s-aj̄s* was an exclusively Slavic development, but this does not play a major role in my scenario.

The adoption of an imperative (or optative) ending by the future may seem curious, but such transfers of endings between different moods and tenses are actually well paralleled. A particularly close example is the widespread Latvian 2 pl. future variant *duō-siēt* beside inherited *duō-sit* (= Lith. *dúo-si-te*), with 2 pl. *-iēt* taken from 2 pl. imp. *duōd-iēt* (< PIE 2 pl. **-o-ih₁-te*).¹¹ Other well-known examples include the West Germanic replacement of Gmc. 2 sg. strong preterit **-t* (< **-ta* < PIE **-th_{2a}*; Goth. *-t*, ON *-t*) with subj. 2 sg. **-ī* (< PGmc. **-īz* < PIE opt. **-ih₁-s*; OE *-e*, OS, OHG *-i*),¹² the 1 sg. *agam* of the Latin future (in contrast with **-ē-* in the rest of the paradigm, 2 sg. *agēs*), taken from the subjunctive (*agam*, *agās*, *agat*, etc.),¹³ or the Italian present 1 pl. *vendiamo* (from Latin subj. *-ēāmus*, *-iāmus*), 2 pl. *vendete* (from Lat. imp. *-te*).¹⁴ More examples could be given, but these should suffice to establish the point.¹⁵ Such transfers of endings are evidently grounded on pragmatic factors of one or another sort (e.g. politeness, cf. e.g. [Dunkel 1998]) and, generally speaking, seem to be favored by the presence of specific conditions making the inherited indicative ending somewhat problematic; see [Cowgill 1965] for a case study. There is probably no need to say that this was precisely the case of BSl. 2 sg. fut. **dōd-s* → pre-Sl. **dōd-s-aj̄s*.

¹¹ Cf. [Endzelin 1923: 657–659].

¹² Cf. [Ringe, Taylor 2014: 67–69], with references.

¹³ Cf. [Weiss 2009: 415].

¹⁴ Cf. [Alkire, Rosen 2010: 101].

¹⁵ See the references given in this section for more candidates.

9. Proto-Slavic, then, inherited the following allomorphy in the 2 sg. The present had both **-si* and **-s* in a distribution that can no longer be recovered. Although this cannot be proved, there is no reason to believe that PIE secondary **-s* was not preserved in the formations that inherited it (aorist, imperative). The future, finally, had a special allomorph **-s-ajs*. This state of affairs did not last for long. The sigmatic future was lost. At some point final **-s* was also lost. At a later stage 2 sg. **-si* and **-s-ajs* gave *-sb* and *-si*, respectively. We will return to these changes below, but it should be clear by now that my proposal is to derive the Slavic 2 sg. present *-sb/-šb* from (PIE) **-si* and *-si/-ši* from pre-Slavic 2 sg. fut. **-s-ajs*. In what follows I will argue for this idea in more detail.

We of course do not know when the Balto-Slavic sigmatic future was lost in Slavic, but the evidence that we have suggests that this was a relatively recent development. We have a relic in RuCS *byšqšt-/byšqšt-* ‘about to be’, ORu. *sb-byšjuč-*. OCS employs a variety of strategies to express the future: the inherited present not only in perfective verbs (*damь* ‘I will give’), but also in imperfective ones (*pbjŋ* ‘I drink’, ‘I will drink’), as well as three periphrastic constructions (with *imamь* ‘have’, *xošŋ* ‘want’ and *na-/vb-čbnŋ* ‘begin’), cf. [Vaillant 1966: 106–110]. It is well known that the different periphrastic futures of Slavic (including more recent ones, like the one with *bŋdŋ* ‘will become’) generally mirror those of the neighboring languages and were likely influenced by them (e.g. with *habēre* in Romance, with *θέλω* in Greek, or with *werden* in German). Vaillant [1966: 105] even plausibly suggests that the whole rebuilding of the future system in Slavic was due to Germanic influence. This would put the disappearance of the sigmatic future at a relatively low date (the *terminus post quem* would be the expansion of the Goths since the 2nd century AD, and possibly much later). The case of Slavic would thus be similar to that of Prussian a few centuries later. In a more general vein, it is well known that around 500–600 AD Proto-Slavic still sounded much “Baltic” and that the far-reaching phonological changes that gave Slavic its characteristic outcast took place in a limited period of time broadly coinciding with the Slavic migrations. From this point of view, it is actually expected that major morphological changes like the loss of the sigmatic future took place at a relatively late date as well.

The date of the loss of word-final *-s cannot be determined with certainty either. Word-final *-s certainly affected previous vowels (e.g. \bar{a} -stem gen. sg. PIE *-ah₂-as > BSl. *-ās > Sl. *-ūs > OCS *žen-y, vel sim.*), although the details remain controversial.¹⁶ This seems to indicate that the loss of word-final *-s was not very old. Proto-Slavic is often reconstructed without final *-s (o-stem nom. sg. *vilku, *vilkā, vel sim., from BSl. *-as), but this is not beyond reasonable doubt. Some Slavic personal names ending in nom. sg. -as are recorded in Byzantine sources from the second half of the 6th century (e.g. *Dabragezas*), but while the -a- must be a specific Slavic feature (see [Vermeer 2015: 4f.]), we cannot be certain that the final *-s also was.

Notwithstanding these uncertainties, the intrusion of 2 sg. fut. *-s-ajs in the present is best seen in connection with the loss of the sigmatic future and the loss of word-final *-s. At the time when word-final *-s was being lost the 2 sg. *-sajs of the future (a category that was probably in decay as well) was adopted as a way to provide a clearly marked 2 sg. ending. The process was almost certainly favored by pragmatic factors, as there were surely contexts in which the 2 sg. of the present and the future were basically interchangeable. *Ex hypothesi*, the replacement of 2 sg. *-s by *-sajs must have taken place in verbs in which the apocopated variant was in use. An almost ideal candidate is the verb ‘to be’. The present of this verb was almost certainly immobile, cf. OLith. *ne ēsti*, prs. act. ptp. *ēsq̄s* (the ending accentuation of Sl. *jesmь, *jesi, *jestь is due to Dybo’s law). The 2 sg. *ēsi must thus have been apocopated in Balto-Slavic, yielding *ēs. It is well known that the copula may be highly irregular, but 2 sg. prs. *ēs must have become exceptionally problematic when final *-s began to be lost. In this context its replacement by *ēsajs, with 2 sg. *-sajs taken from the moribund sigmatic future, makes excellent sense. A clear parallel is provided by Spanish 2 sg. *eres* ‘you are’, etymologically the Latin 2 sg. fut. *eris* used in place of 2 sg. prs. *es*.¹⁷ As in the case of Slavic, it constitutes one of the very few relics of the Latin future in Romance.

¹⁶ See [Olander 2015: 56f.; Kim 2019: 4–7], both with references.

¹⁷ Cf. [Alkire, Rosen 2010: 120].

Other scenarios can surely be imagined. They would slightly alter the motivation and chronology of the process, but not the main picture. At some stage of the development of Slavic the apocopated 2 sg. present variant **-s* was felt as problematic and was replaced by the 2 sg. of the future. The 2 sg. fut. **-s-aj̄s* was itself the product of a special development at a much earlier date (§ 8). As noted above, the transfer of endings between moods and tenses that this scenario requires is not a rare phenomenon. In the prehistory of Slavic, it was favored by specific formal problems at both stages. Once established in some verbs (the verb ‘to be’ being one of them), the new ending spread in different ways in different varieties of Slavic (§ 4).

10. There remain just a couple of issues to comment on. As noted above (§ 7), the distribution of **-s-aj̄s* (> CSL. *-si*) and **-si* (> CSL. *-sb*) cannot be determined from the available evidence. Our proposal predicts CSL. *-sb* to be the ending of mobile presents (with accented and preserved **-si*) and CSL. *-si* to be at home in immobile presents (with unaccented and apocopated **-si* > **-s* → **-s-aj̄s*). This is almost surprisingly consistent with the evidence of the Freising Fragments and the Kiev Leaflets. According to Kortlandt [1979: 58], these texts present 13 examples of *-si* in the copula (*esi*; immobile), 2 of *-sb* in other athematic presents (including *podasb*, mobile), 3 of *-šb* in simple thematic presents (Leskien’s Class I, mobile), and 3 of *-ši* in *i*-presents (Leskien’s Class IV, consisting of both mobile and immobile verbs). The evidence is too limited to draw any conclusions, but at least the consistency of *-si* in the copula is eye-catching (and is actually supported by the evidence from the modern Slavic languages; see above § 2.1). The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that 2 sg. prs. **-si* and **-s* had been redistributed in ways that can no longer be recovered.

Finally, some notes on the phonology leading to Sl. *-si/-ši* and *-sb/-šb*. PIE/BSl. **-si* > Sl. *-sb/-šb* does not of course require any comment. The development of word-final **aj̄* is a classical conundrum of Slavic historical grammar, but, fortunately, this does not affect the development of **-s-aj̄s* to *-si/-ši*. The fact that BSl. imp. 2 sg. **-aj̄s*, 3 sg. **-aj̄t* (< PIE opt. 2 sg. **-o-ih₁-s*, 3 sg. **-o-ih₁-t*) gave 2/3 sg. *ved-i* allows us to expect the same result for 2 sg. fut. **-s-aj̄s* and this is what we have. I will limit

myself to add that most current theories on the development of word-final **aj* in Slavic predict **-s-aj̑s* to give *-si/-ši* by regular sound change.¹⁸

As noted at the beginning of this article (§ 2.1), the *-š-* of the dominant variant *-ši/-šb* is the only issue that has always been perfectly clear. It reflects the retracted variant **x* of **s* that arose in RUKI-rule contexts, which in turn implies that **-xi/*-xb* arose in the *i*-presents of Leskien's Class IV. Its spread to practically all presents of the language (the four athematic presents to roots ending in a consonant were the only ones to keep *-s-*) accords well with the general tendency of Slavic to generalize *-x-* whenever the RUKI-rule gave rise to morphophonemic alternations between *-s-* and *-x-*, cf. [Andersen 1968].

2 sg. prs. **-xb* was then affected by the 1st palatalization of velars, yielding attested *-šb*. Since 2 sg. **-xaj̑s* was not affected by the 1st palatalization (both results of PSl. word-final **aj̑*, *ě* and *i*, trigger the 2nd palatalization; e.g. OCS nom. pl. *vl̑bci*, from *vl̑kb̑* 'wolf'), our scenario requires the longer variant *-ši* to have adopted its *-š-* from the shorter variant *-šb* (PIE/BSl. **-si*): 2 sg. **-saj̑s* → **-xaj̑s* (*vel sim.*) > **-xi* → *-ši*. The process was no doubt favored by the presence of both *-sb* (< **-si*) and *-si* (< **-saj̑s*) in the athematic presents (especially in the copula), where *-si* could easily be interpreted as a longer variant of *-sb*. To formulate it in proportional terms: *-sb* : *-si* = *-šb* : X, where X = *-ši*. Note that, if this is correct, the analogy leading to *-ši* took place in a relatively advanced stage of Common Slavic. It is thus possible that *-ši* originated in some areas of the Slavic territory, being a secondary import in others.

11. Summing up, in this article I have proposed to derive the two 2 sg. present ending variants of Slavic, *-sb/-šb* and *-si/-ši*, from pre-Slavic **-si* and **-s-aj̑s*, respectively. The first one unremarkably continues PIE 2 sg. **-si*. The second one was taken from the sigmatic future 2 sg. **-s-aj̑s*, a historically complex ending created in the prehistory of Slavic by adding the imperative 2 sg. **-aj̑s* (< PIE 2 sg. opt. **-o-ǰh₁-s*) to 2 sg. fut. **-s* (< **-s-si*).

¹⁸ See [Olander 2015: 56, 323; Villanueva Svensson 2016: 173], both with references. A detailed discussion of the development of word-final **aj̑* in Slavic cannot be attempted here.

This set of innovations was unrelated to the (still fully unclear) set of innovations that led to the 2 sg. endings of Baltic.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; abs. — absolute; act. — active; athem. — athematic; conj. — conjunct; f. — feminine; fut. — future; gen. — genitive; impf. — imperfect; imp. — imperative; instr. — instrumental; loc. — locative; nom. — nominative; opt. — optative; pl. — plural; prs. — present; pret. — preterit; ptcp. — participle; refl. — reflexive; sg. — singular; subj. — subjunctive; them. — thematic.

Aeol. — Aeolic; BSl. — Balto-Slavic; CSl. — Church Slavonic; Cz. — Czech; Dor. — Doric; EBl. — East Baltic; Gk. — Greek; Gmc. — Germanic; Goth. — Gothic; Hitt. — Hittite; Lat. — Latin; Latv. — Latvian; Lith. — Lithuanian; Myc. — Mycenaean; OCS — Old Church Slavonic; OCz. — Old Czech; OE — Old English; OHG — Old High German; OIr. — Old Irish; OLith. — Old Lithuanian; ON — Old Norse; OPr. — Old Prussian; ORu. — Old Russian; OS — Old Saxon; Osc. — Oscan; PGmc. — Proto-Germanic; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; Pol. — Polish; Ru. — Russian; RuCS — Russian Church Slavonic; SCr. — Serbo-Croatian; Sl. — Slavic; Ukr. — Ukrainian; Um. — Umbrian; Ved. — Vedic; YAv. — Younger Avestan.

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Myc. *tu-wo*, Hom. *θύος* and the vocalism of *s*-stems in Proto-Indo-European

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Abstract. A neuter *s*-stem based on PIE **d^hueh₂-* ‘(produce) smoke’ is well-attested from the earliest Greek: Myc. *tu-wo* /t^hu(̥)os/ ‘aromatic substance’ (incense, perfume), pl. *tu-we-a* ~ *tu-we-a₂* /t^hu(̥)eha/, Hom.+ *θύος* (pl. *θύεα*) ‘burnt offering(s)’. But a “face-value” Transponat PIE nom./acc. **d^huh₂-os*, obl. **d^huh₂-es* violates the standard Erlangen model of accent-ablaut patterns in the inflection of athematic formations, where an *s*-stem with zero-grade root is anomalous (cf. [Schindler 1975]): *s*-stems belong to the “proterokinetic” inflectional type, with ideal structure nom./acc. *R(é)-os*, obl. *R(Ø)-és-*. Greek has other *s*-stems with zero-grade root; but most are transparently secondary, e.g. *βάρος* ‘weight’ (Hdt., Aesch.+) ← *βαρῶς* ‘heavy’ (Hom.+). For *θύος*, the only available secondary pattern is the deverbative one, i.e., *θύος* ← *θύω* ‘offer, sacrifice (a victim)’ (Hom.+). Nevertheless, Greek deverbative *s*-stems are otherwise mostly late. Given the early attestation of Myc. *tu-wo* and Hom. *θύος*, these forms may continue an inherited *s*-stem, for which the anomalous zero-grade root vocalism invites further comment. Such a structure is not isolated. Schindler [1975: 264–265] had already identified two probable PIE *s*-stems with pervasive zero-grade root, i.e. **sriHg-os* ‘cold, frost’ (Gk. *ῥίγος*, Lat. *frīgus*) and **púH-os* ‘pus’ (Gk. *πύος*, Lat. *pūs*). And it may be possible to add another such item, i.e. Ved. *dúvas-* ‘gift, offering’, better assigned (as **dúH-es-*) to 2. *deu-* ‘(re-)ligiös) verehren etc.’ [IEW: 218–219] than to the questionable construct **deh_{3u-}* ‘give’.

Recent scholarship has leveled significant criticism against the Erlangen model (the “paradigmatic” approach), with proterokinetic inflection itself as a major target (cf. [Kümmel 2014]), in favor of a new theory of Indo-European accent (the “compositional” approach, cf. [Kiparsky 2010]). Yet this revisionist discussion has had nothing to say about aberrant *s*-stems with zero-grade root vocalism. What, then, can be said about *s*-stems like **sriHg-es-*, **púH-es-*, and (if the analyses here are correct) **d^huh₂-es-* and **dúH-es-*?

Beside **sriHg-es-*, no full grade is attested for any of the root’s nominal or verbal forms. Despite Stüber [2002: 152], there is no reason to regard **sriHg-* as a “secondary root” with unspecified origin. Much the same picture appears for **púH-es-*; the idea [Stüber 2002: 200] that the pervasive zero grade reflects an early “generalization”

based on a primordial ablauting paradigm is merely an article of faith. For the root of **d^hu_h2-es-*: full-grade forms are virtually unattested, and the uncertainty about the root shape ([LIV¹] **d^heu_h2-* vs. [LIV²] **d^hue_h2-*) is symptomatic. All of this is strongly reminiscent of other PIE “non-apophonic zero-grade roots”, of which the best-known is **b^huH-* ‘be, become’, in the classic analysis by Jasanoff [1997]. Cf. also PIE **suH-ju-* ~ **suH-nu-* ‘son’, notorious precisely for its failure to conform to expectations about proterokinetic inflection, much as with the zero-grade *s*-stems. For the underlying verbal root ([LIV²] ?**seuH-* ‘gebären’), no verbal full grades are attested, and there are no nominal forms with arguably archaic full grades. Additional cases probably exist, e.g. **k_ueh₁-* ‘swell’ [LIV²: 339–340], with no verbal full grades, symptomatic Schwebeablaut material, and a zero-grade proterokinetic *men*-stem in Gk. κῶμα ‘wave’.

In sum, neuter *s*-stems with pervasive zero-grade root represent a hitherto neglected contributor to the reevaluation of proterokinetic inflection and, more broadly, the reappraisal of the “Erlangen” (paradigmatic) approach to the reconstruction of accent and ablaut in athematic inflectional categories.

Keywords: Μyc. *tu-wo*, Gk. θύος, *s*-stems, zero grade, Erlangen model, proterokinetic inflection, non-apophonic roots.

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Микенское *tu-wo*, гомеровское θύος и огласовка основ на -s в праиндоевропейском

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Аннотация. Слово среднего рода с основой на -s от праиндоевропейского корня **d^hue_h2-* ‘дымить’ хорошо засвидетельствовано с самых ранних греческих текстов: в микенском *tu-wo* /t^hu(ц)os/ ‘благовоние’ (фимиам, духи), pl. *tu-we-a* ~ *tu-we-a₂* /t^hu(ц)eha/, у Гомера и позже θύος (pl. θύεα) ‘жертва, воскурение’.

Но прямолинейный перенос праиндоевропейского ном./acc. **d^huh₂-os*, с **d^huh₂-es-* в косвенных падежах нарушает стандартную «эрлангенскую» модель акцентно-аблаутных типов склонения атематических образований, в рамках которой основа на *-s* с нулевой огласовкой является аномалией (ср. [Schindler 1975]): основы на *-s* относятся к «протокинетическому» типу, который в идеале имеет структуру ном./acc. *R(é)-os*, obl. *R(Ø)-és-*. В греческом представлены и другие случаи, при которых корень с основой на *-s* имеет нулевую огласовку; но в большинстве своем они, очевидно, являются вторичными образованиями, например, βάρος ‘тяжесть’ (Hdt., Aesch. и позже) ← βαρύς ‘тяжелый’ (Ном. и позже). Для θύος единственной подходящей моделью вторичного образования является отглагольная деривация типа θύος ← θύω ‘приносить жертву’ (Ном. и позже). И все же, греческие отглагольные существительные с основой на *-s* являются по большей части поздними. Учитывая, что микенское *tu-wo* и гомеровское θύος засвидетельствованы рано, есть шанс, что обе формы восходят к унаследованной *-s* основе, аномальная нулевая огласовка которой требует дополнительных пояснений. Подобная структура не является изолированной. Уже Шиндлер [Schindler 1975: 264–265] выявил два вероятных праиндоевропейских корня с преобладающей нулевой огласовкой, а именно **sriHg-es* ‘холод, мороз’ (греч. ῥίγος, лат. *frīgus*) и **púH-es* ‘гной’ (греч. πύος, лат. *pūs*). Вероятно, к этому списку можно добавить вед. *dúvas-* ‘дар, приношение’, который следует реконструировать как **dúH-es-* и возводить к 2. *deu-* ‘(religiös) verehren etc.’ [IEW: 218–219], а не к сомнительному **deh₃u-* ‘давать’.

В исследованиях последних лет эрлангенская школа («парадигматический» подход) подверглась серьезной критике, причем протерокинетический тип являлся основной ее мишенью (ср. [Kümmel 2014]); предлагалось заменить ее на новую теорию индоевропейского ударения (так называемый «композиционный» подход, ср. [Kiparsky 2010]). Но в ходе этой ревизионистской дискуссии совсем не обсуждаются аномальные основы на *-s* с нулевой огласовкой корня. Что тогда можно сказать о таких основах как **sriHg-es-*, **púH-es-* и (если предложенные интерпретации верны) **d^huh₂-es-* и **dúH-es-*?

Помимо **sriHg-es-*, для корня ни разу не засвидетельствована полная огласовка, ни для глагольных, ни для именных форм. Вопреки Штюбер [Stüber 2002: 152], нет оснований считать **sriHg-* «вторичным» корнем непонятого происхождения. Схожая картина вырисовывается для **púH-es-*; идея, что нулевая ступень была обобщена на раннем этапе, заместив исходную аблаутную парадигму [Stüber 2002: 200], ничем не подкрепляется и может быть только принята на веру. Для корня **d^huh₂-es-* полногласные формы фактически не засвидетельствованы, и неопределенность относительно формы корня ([LIV¹] **d^heu_h2-* vs. [LIV²] **d^hue_h2-*) показательна. Все это сильно напоминает другие праиндоевропейские «неапофонические корни с нулевой огласовкой», наиболее известным

из которых является **b^huH-* ‘быть, становиться’ (см. классическую интерпретацию [Jasanoff 1997]). Ср. также PIE **suH-ju-* ~ **suH-nu-* ‘сын’, примечательное именно тем, что не соответствует ожиданиям как относительно протерокинетического флексиионного типа, так и относительно основ на *-s* с нулевой огласовкой. Для глагольного корня, к которому это слово, вероятно, восходит ([LIV²] ?**seuH-* ‘gebären’), не засвидетельствовано ни одного глагольного образования с полной огласовкой, равно как и именных форм с полной огласовкой, которые можно было бы считать архаичными. Примеры этим явно не ограничиваются: ср. например, **k^heh₁-* ‘набухать’ (лемма в [LIV²]), которого отличает отсутствие глагольных образований с полной огласовкой, показательный Schwebelaute, и протерокинетическая основа на *-men* с нулевой огласовкой в греч. κῆμα ‘волна’.

Подводя итог, можно сказать, что слова среднего рода с основой на *-s* с преобладающей нулевой огласовкой представляют собой аспект, до сих пор не получивший должного внимания, но имеющий значение для переоценки протерокинетического флексиионного типа и, если брать шире, для пересмотра «парадигматического» подхода (Эрлангенская модель) к реконструкции ударения и аблаута в атематических флексиионных категориях.

Ключевые слова: микенское *tu-wo*, греческое θύος, основы на *-s*, нулевая огласовка, эрлангенская модель акцентно-аблаутных парадигм, протерокинетическая флексия, неапофонические корни.

1

A neuter *s*-stem based on PIE **d^hueh₂-* ‘smoke, produce smoke’¹ is well-attested from the earliest Greek, as in Myc. *tu-wo* /t^hu(ū)os/ ‘aromatic substance’ (incense, perfume) (PY Un 219.1), pl. *tu-we-a* (PY Un 267.3) and *tu-we-a₂* /t^hu(ū)eha/ (AV X 4.2).² A “face-value” reconstruction (Tran-sponat) would point to a PIE nom./acc. **d^huh₂-os*, with oblique stem **d^huh₂-es-*. The oblique stem, moreover, is attested as such in the secondary derivative in the form of an agent noun in **-teh₂(s)* appearing

¹ So [LIV²] *s. v.*, vs. [LIV¹] **d^heu_hh₂-*; more on this discrepancy below.

² The same word may also be attested in the orthographically unverbated sequence *tu-wo-te-to* /t^hu(ū)os t^heto/ ‘the sacrifice was set up’ (TH Fq 126.1), cf. [Melena 2014: 127].

in Myc. *tu-we-ta* /T^hu(ṽ)estā(s)/ (PY Un 267.2) ‘Θυέστης’, cf. θυέστης ‘pestle’ (Dionys. Trag., 4th cent. BCE).³ The same *s*-stem is continued in alphabetic Greek, in the form θύος (pl. θύεα) ‘burnt offering(s)’ (Hom.+).⁴

2

In terms of the standard “Erlangen” model of accent-ablaut patterns in the inflection of athematic formations,⁵ an *s*-stem with zero-grade root is anomalous.⁶ According to this theory, *s*-stems belong to the “proterokinetic” inflectional type, for which the ideal pattern displays nom./acc. *R(é)-os* (i.e., *e*-grade accented root followed by suffix *-*os*, with zero desinence), and oblique stem *R(Ø)-és-* (i.e., zero-grade root followed by accented suffix form *-*és-*, preceding oblique-case desinences). Moreover, there is a conventional remodeling of this pattern, generally thought to have occurred already during some stage of PIE,⁷ according to which the *e*-grade accented root was generalized throughout the paradigm,

³ Myc. *tu-we-ta* (actually dat. sg. in context) may be a man’s name; but to judge from the immediately following *a-re-pa-zo-o* /aleip^hazohōi/ ‘unguent-boiler’, it could be a “significant name”, such as the designation of an office-holder or an occupational term, something of this kind perhaps also suggested by the *figura etymologica* consisting of *tu-we-ta* together with the immediately following *tu-we-a*, *a-re-pa-te* /t^hu(ṽ)eha aleip^hatei/ ‘aromatic substances for unguent’ (PY Un 267.3–4); discussion and references at [DMic., 2: 381] s. v. *tu-we-ta*.

⁴ This etymological interpretation of the Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean material is the *communis opinio*, cf. [GEW; DELG; EDG] s. vv. θύος and 2. θύω.

⁵ For a concise summary of the traditional “Erlangen” model generally (for all athematic stem-classes), see [Fortson 2010: 119–122]. For some variants of the original model, see [Lundquist, Yates 2018: 2134] (with references).

⁶ The classic analysis and presentation of the “Erlangen” model of PIE *s*-stems is that of Schindler [1975].

⁷ See the discussion of this point in [Hale 2010], with important methodological remarks on [Schindler 1975] and the entire “Erlangen” analysis of PIE *s*-stems.

as in the widespread *s*-stem type exemplified by forms like Ved. nom./acc. *jánaḥ*, gen. *jánasaḥ* ~ Hom. γένος, gen. γένεος ~ Lat. *genus*, gen. *generis* ‘birth, lineage, etc.’, pointing to PIE nom./acc. **ǵénh₁-os*, obl. **ǵénh₁-es*.

The *s*-stem that appears in Myc. *tu-wo*, Hom. θύος is not entirely isolated. According to the most widely accepted etymology of Hitt. nom. *antuwahhaš*, obl. *antuhš-* ‘man’, the word reflects an “ἐνθρεος compound” **en-d^hueh₂-ōs* (obl. **en-d^huh₂-s-*) ‘having breath inside’ (see [EDHIL: 227] s. v., with references). The second member of such a form has the structure of an amphikinetic (animate) *s*-stem (to use the familiar Erlangen terminology); and since, in the standard theory, amphikinetic animate *s*-stems arose as internal derivatives of proterokinetic neuter *s*-stems,⁸ this would seem to imply the former existence of a neuter *s*-stem (nom./acc.) **d^hueh₂-os*. Nevertheless, Stüber [2002: 61–62],⁹ in part following Rieken [1999: 191], has raised important caveats about the Hittite word, with the necessary conclusion that the form is a “Neubildung”, even if a relatively old one. Therefore, and in view of the descriptive alternation between full grades **d^hueh₂-* and **d^heuh₂-* (one of the factors Stüber treats, cf. §1. above with n. 1), the Hittite form does not strongly support the existence of a neuter *s*-stem **d^hueh₂-os* with full-grade root.¹⁰

3

To be sure, Greek has other *s*-stems with zero-grade root; but for the most part these are transparently secondary, as with the well-known type βάρος ‘weight’ (Hdt., Aesch.+), based on the *u*-stem adjective βαρύς ‘heavy’ (Hom.+), with zero-grade root. Even if, as argued recently by Blanc [2018: 155–159], a noun βάρος must have existed early enough to serve as a basis for Homeric *s*-stem compounds with second member

⁸ See, e.g., [Weiss 2020a: 281] on Gk. κρέας ‘flesh’ vs. Lat. *cruur* ‘gore’.

⁹ An important discussion of the word not cited by Kloekhorst ([EDHIL] loc. cit.).

¹⁰ For these reasons, Kloekhorst’s assertion ([EDHIL] loc. cit.) that on the basis of the Hittite word and its conventional analysis “we can establish that the full-grade form in fact is **d^hueh₂-*” is not justified.

οβαρής, the *u*-stem source of the zero-grade root in βάρος remains assured, and the pattern is supported by many other examples.¹¹ This, moreover, is only one among a host of subtypes of secondarily-derived *s*-stems with zero-grade root: see, e.g., [Stüber 2002: 50; Meissner 2006: 42 and *passim*; Lundquist 2017: 80–94; 2021 (on αἰνοπαθής in *Od.* 18, 201); Blanc 2018: 239–243 (on πάθος [Aesch.+] beside πένθος [Hom.+])].

For θύος, however, the only secondary (i.e., inner-Greek) pattern available is the deverbative one, i.e., θύος ← θύω ‘offer, sacrifice (a victim)’ (Hom.+).¹² Nevertheless, Greek deverbative *s*-stems are otherwise mostly late: thus, e.g., σκύλος ‘hide’ (Callim.) ← σκύλλω ‘flay’ (Aesch.+), τρέφος ‘nursling’ (Soph.) ← τρέφω ‘nourish’ (Hom.+), and many more. Given the early attestation of Myc. *tu-wo*, Hom. θύος, it is at least equally possible that these forms continue an inherited *s*-stem nom./acc. **d^húh₂-os*, obl. **d^huh₂-es-*, discounting the questionable value of Hitt. *antuwahhaš* (§2.) and even in the apparent absence of a *secundum comparationis* with the same zero-grade structure.¹³ If that is so, the anomalous zero-grade root vocalism of such a form invites further comment.

4

There are in principle two main perspectives one could interrogate on zero-grade root vocalism in neuter *s*-stems, namely the original “Erlangen” model itself and more recent “anti-Erlangen” approaches.

¹¹ So also, e.g., πλάτος ‘breadth’ (Hdt.+)
← πλατύς ‘broad’ (Hom.+), βάθος ‘depth’ (Hdt.+)
← βαθύς ‘deep’ (Hom.+), beside cases already attested by the time of Homer (κράτος ‘power’ ← κρατύς ‘powerful’, τάχος ‘speed’ ← ταχύς ‘swift’).

¹² On the deverbative pattern, see Stüber [2002: 48–49], and more recently Lundquist [2017: 82–85]; explicitly on θύος ← θύω see Stüber [2002: 54], so also GEW and EDG s. v. θύος.

¹³ I expect to discuss elsewhere the possibility of an inherited Italic cognate, visible in a secondary formation **d^huh₂-es-ro-* continued in Lat. *februm* ‘purgamentum’ (Varro, *L.* 6.13), *februus* ‘purifying’ (Festus 75.23ff. L) and related forms.

4.1

In his original treatment, Schindler already identified two probable PIE *s*-stems with zero-grade root throughout the paradigm [Schindler 1975: 264–265], namely (in his notations, and with the forms he cited) **sr̥ígōs* ‘cold, frost’ (Gk. ῥίγος, Lat. *frīgus*) and **p̥úyos* ‘pus’ (Gk. πύος, Lat. *pūs*). Some relatively trivial updates to this material can be provided. The first form is nowadays reconstructed with a PIE root **sriHg-* or **sriHǵ-* ([NIL: 634], s. v.; cf. the [LIV²] lemma **sreiHg-*, although no full grade is actually attested). And for the second, additional cognates have been seen in Ved. (abl. sg.) *puvasaḥ* (AVP 4.14.3, Lubotsky apud [de Vaan 2005:62]) and in Latv. (m. pl.) *puveši*,¹⁴ with a reconstructed form PIE **p̥úH-os* for the *s*-stem (cf. [Stüber 2002: 200]). Arm. *hu* (*o*-stem) ‘festering blood’ may also belong here, although this could be a loan from Iranian (cf. [EDAIL] s. v.).

Schindler’s commentary on these forms was limited to the following two observations: first, in both cases no full grade is attested anywhere; and second, more isolated material (i.e., where a zero-grade *s*-stem is attested in a single language) has little value, since such forms could have arisen secondarily, as with Greek forms based on *u*-stem adjectives of the type βῦρος (already seen above, §3.).

4.2

More recent scholarship has witnessed a significant amount of criticism of the Erlangen model of accent/ablaut patterning (the so-called “paradigmatic” approach), and the development of a new theory of Indo-European accent that has come to be known as the “compositional” approach, following [Kiparsky 2010].¹⁵ More specifically, a major target

¹⁴ I am informed, however, by Aurelijus Vijūnas (p.c.) that the Latv. form need not be old.

¹⁵ Cf. also [Kiparsky forthcoming], as well as [Yates 2017].

of the post-Erlangen revisionism has been the accent/ablaut category of proterokinetic inflection;¹⁶ and a central role in this discussion has been played by Kümmel [2014], which sought to demonstrate that proterokinetic suffix ablaut is fundamentally a matter of phonotactics. Yet in all of this discussion, there has been no attention at all, as far as I can see, to aberrant *s*-stems with zero-grade root vocalism — this despite the iron-clad status of neuter *s*-stems as forms belonging to the category of proterokinetic inflection.

5

To move the discussion forward, at least in the limited scope available here, it is necessary to consider ways of expanding the number of data points beyond those already treated.

Certain types of forms, despite superficial appearances, are best excluded. It is not difficult, for example, to find archaic-looking neuter *s*-stems with zero-grade root that surface as first compound members,¹⁷ of the type **ḥ*₃*d-s-* (→ ὀσφραίνομαι ‘smell’), assuming first member **h*₃*d-s-* (vs. full-grade versions of the *s*-stem seen in Gk. -ώδης, Lat. *odor*).¹⁸ But here, the reduction is likely conditioned by the compounding. Or again: Schindler identifies isolated simplex forms as “kaum beweiskräftig” if possibilities exist for explaining the zero-grade root secondarily, as with two such items he mentions [Schindler 1975: 265]: Ved. *úras-* ‘breast’ (for the zero grade, perhaps cf. Ved. adj. *urú-* ‘broad’; see [EWAia, I: 226] s. v. *úras-*), and Lat. (neut.) *corpus* ‘body’, if indeed the ambiguous *o*-vocalism reflects a historical zero grade (cf., for the zero grade, forms of the corresponding root noun, as in RV [instr.] *kṛpā́*, GAv.

¹⁶ See, for example, [Vine 2004; Sandell 2013; Keydana 2013; Kim 2013: 83–87; Lundquist 2015; Lundquist, Yates 2018: 2134–2137].

¹⁷ For this type, see [Meier-Brügger 1989; Blanc 2018: 237–238].

¹⁸ On the technical possibility of **ḥ*₃*d-s-* < full-grade **h*₃*éd-s* in an original univerbation, see [Meier-Brügger 1989: 59].

[acc.] *kəhrpām* ‘appearance’). Or, finally for this point: extra-paradigmatic thematizations, of the type Ved. *útsa-* ‘well, spring’ (a standard example of a thematized neuter *s*-stem, vis-à-vis Gk. n. ὕδωρ ‘water’, cf. [Blanc 2018: 237]) tell us nothing about the original form of the nominal basis.¹⁹

I suggest, however, that there is an isolated form that could reasonably be judged “beweiskräftig”, namely Ved. *dúvas-* ‘gift, offering’ (RV+). This is traditionally taken to derive from a *u*-extended version of **deh₃-* ‘give’,²⁰ comparing OLat. *duim*, OFal. **doiud** ‘give, grant’, U. **purtuvitu/purdouitu** ‘offer’ and similar forms. But there are a number of problems with this approach. To begin with, [LIV²] properly identifies **deh_{3u}* ‘geben’ as a questionable root, postulating a nominal *u*-stem basis; yet no actual evidence is available in support of such a construct. Likewise unconvincing is the account (as in [NIL: 65, n. 21]) that operates with a secondary pseudo-root **deh_{3u}* ‘geben’ (with zero grade **duh₃-*) that is extracted from a misanalyzed **deh₃-u-en-* (cf. Ved. *dāván-* adj. ‘giving’, infinitival dat. *dāváne* ‘for giving’), whence secondarily **deh_{3u}-en-*. As for the Italic forms just cited (OLat. *duim* etc.): as shown by Jasanoff [1991: 108, n. 15], these can in fact be explained via plain **deh₃-* without recourse to a root **deh_{3u}-*. Nor, as is now clear,²¹ does the Baltic material often placed here (such as the suppletive preterite Lith. *dāvė* to *dúodu* ‘give’) require such an entity.

Rather, Ved. *dúvas-* and the other zero-grade forms that may belong with it (not all of which, significantly, mean simply ‘give’) can be accommodated, as traditionally, by a different root altogether, namely 2. *deu-* (i.e., **d(e)uH-*) ‘(religiös) verehren etc.’ [IEW: 218–219]). In addition to Ved. *dúvas-* (< *s*-stem nom./acc. **dúH-os*, obl. **duH-es-*), note further the Umbrian participle **-títu/-ditom** (< **-dító-* < **-dūto-*, suppletive to **-tuvitu/-douitu**, cf. above on OLat. *duim* etc.) and (impersonal) 3 sg. prs. subj. *dia* (< **dūjāt*) ‘it is appropriate’ vel sim. (Tab. Ig. VIa 20).

¹⁹ Nor does ὕδωρ itself point definitively to a primary *s*-stem, in which case *útsa-* could have an entirely different sort of background; for references and discussion, see [Vine 2009: 220].

²⁰ So, e.g., [EWAia, 1: 734] s. v., following Meiser [1986: 186–191].

²¹ See in detail [Villanueva Svensson 2013] and [Yamazaki 2019].

Here also may belong OLat. DVENO-, Class. Lat. *bonus* ‘good’ (**du̯eno-* < **du̯eno-* < **duH-eno-*) and *beātus* ‘richly endowed, favored, blessed’ (Pl.+) (**du̯eiā-*, denom. to **duH-ejo-*).²²

If this analysis is correct, then PIE **du̯H-es-* can be placed beside **sriHg-es-*, **pu̯H-es-*, and (according to the above analysis of Myc. *tu-wo*, Hom. θύος) **d^hu̯h₂-es-*.

6

It is instructive, next, to consider **sriHg-es-* in somewhat more detail. In one respect this is a special case, insofar as it belongs to the Caland system: cf., as diagnostic forms (besides the neuter *s*-stem itself), the primary comparative and superlative in Hom. ῥίγιον/ῥίγιστα and the stative present in Lat. *frigēre* (Ter.+) and Gk. ῥιγέω ‘shudder’ (Hom.+).²³ Yet the salient point, for our purposes, is that no full grade is attested for this root, despite not only traditional assumptions about proterokinetic inflection for neuter *s*-stems (with *e*-grade root in strong forms, generalized throughout the paradigm at an early period, cf. §2. above), but also the amphikinetic inflection (again with *e*-grade root in strong forms) generally reconstructed for comparatives [Rau 2014].

This picture of a root that has no full grade (in morphological contexts where full grade is expected) is strongly reminiscent of other PIE “zero-grade roots” or “non-apophonic roots”, of which the best-known is **b^huH-* ‘be, become’, according to the classic analysis by Jasanoff [1997]. Thus, despite Stüber [2002: 152], there is no reason to regard **sriHg-* as a “secondary root”, with an unspecified origin. Essentially the same picture emerges for **puH-* (cf. **pu̯H-es-*, §4.1. above): [LIV²]

²² I have discussed elsewhere [Vine 2008, 2016, 2021] the resyllabification process in sequences like **du̯eno-* < **du̯eno-*. The etymology of Lat. *bonus*, of course, is much discussed; for a recent (and entirely different) account, see [Weiss 2020b: §20], with references (comparing Mlr. *den* ‘good, great’ vel sim.).

²³ On **sriHg-es-* as a Caland form, see [Nussbaum 1999: 378; Stüber 2002: 152].

(s.v. 2. **peuH-*) posits a PIE iterative-causative **pouH-éje/o-*, but only on the strength of ON *feýja* ‘verfaulen lassen’, which can easily be a secondary formation (note the absence of gemination that would be expected for a *set-*root); and no other full grades are attested (verbal or nominal), apart from one or two probable secondary ones (on which see [IEW: 848–849]). According to Stüber [2002: 200], the pervasive zero grade in the *s-*stem reflects an early “generalization” (based on a primordial ablauting paradigm), related to the paucity of verbal full grades; but this is merely an article of faith (and one which, in somewhat circular fashion, begs its own question: why are there so few verbal full grades?): there is no actual evidence for a primordial ablauting paradigm, and thus no evidence that a “generalization” is involved.

Only slightly different is **d^heuh₂-* ~ **d^hueh₂-* (§1. with n. 1, §2.): the uncertainty about the root shape is symptomatic, since full-grade forms are virtually unattested. Thus [LIV²] sets up a root present **d^hueh₂-*/**d^huh₂-*, but no full-grade verbal forms are found for this root, apart from secondary full grades (e.g. CS **dujo*, *duti*, cf. [LIV²] s. v. **d^hueh₂-*, n. 5). Among nominal forms: apart from the full grade in Hitt. *antuwahhaš* ‘man’, of questionable interpretation (§2.), one finds only a few forms that are interpretable as secondary full grades (e.g. Lat. *favilla* ‘ash’, cf. [Vine 2006: 241]).

Note, in connection with the non-Caland material, the morphological parallelism of the *CuH-* roots in question, all of which make *je/o-*presents: PIE **b^huH-je/o-* ([LIV²] s. v. **b^hueh₂-*), **d^huh₂-je/o-* (Gk. θύω [§3. above], Lat. (*suf*)*fire* ‘fumigate’),²⁴ **puH-je/o-* ([LIV²] s. v. 2. **peuH-*), **duH-je/o-* (U. *dia*, §5. above).

7

Nor are “zero-grade roots” restricted to those which may correlate with inherited *s-*stems. A well-known item appears in PIE **suH-ju-* ~ **suH-nu-* ‘son’, notorious precisely for its failure to conform to expectations about

²⁴ On the inherited character of PIE **d^huh₂-je/o-*, see [Hackstein 1995: 352].

proterokinetic inflection, much as with the zero-grade *s*-stems under discussion. This is a derivative of the verbal root set up by [LIV²] as **seuH-* ‘gebären’ (with verbal material in Indo-Iranian only); but in fact no verbal full grades are attested, neither for allegedly ablauting root present **séuH-/suH-* (cf. Ved. *súte*) in [LIV²] nor its allegedly ablauting perfect **se-sóuH-/suH-* (cf. Ved. *sasúva*). The latter is unsatisfactorily “explained” ([LIV²] s. v., n. 3) by the claim of a “generalized” zero grade (cf. above, §6., on such claims about “generalizations”), or else by the assertion (following Kümmel [2000: 566]) that the form is a Neubildung based on *abhúva*. But such an analogical basis lacks real support, beyond (as Kümmel points out) the late Vedic (MS) root aorist *asūt* (cf. Ved. *ábhūt*), a parallel that is of little consequence for the well-established Vedic perfect *sasúva* (RV, AV). Nor, for that matter, does this root provide nominal forms (see the survey at [NIL: 617]) with arguably archaic full grades: Skt. *savīman-* ‘birth’ has no existence beyond lexicographical sources, and YAv. *haota-* ‘family, brood’ probably involves a secondary full grade attendant on this type of substantivization ([NIL: 618, n. 13], citing [Vine 2004: 360–361] on similar forms like Av. *sraota-* ‘sound’).

8

It cannot have escaped notice that all of the forms discussed so far are remarkably similar in root shape, displaying a core sequence *CiH(C)* (as in **sriHg-*) or *CuH-* (as in **b^huH-*, **d^huh₂-*, **puH-*, **duH-*, **suH-*). Although a full investigation of the matter cannot be undertaken here, it is not difficult to find additional cases that deserve to be considered in this light, such as the following two:

- [LIV²] **k₁ueh₁-* ‘swell’, but there are no verbal full grades. Note further the symptomatic Schwebeablaut material (cf. §6. above on **d^heu₂-* vs. **d^hue₂-*), with both **k₁ueh₁-* and **kéuh₁-* nominal forms attested in Indo-Iranian (see [LIV²] s. v., n. 1). Particularly suggestive is Gk. *κῦμα* ‘wave’: neuter *men*-stems, yet again, belong to the core proterokinetic material, for which the zero grade here is entirely unexpected.

• [LIV²] **pne̥H-* ‘become conscious’, but Gk. *πέπνῶμαι* ‘be conscious, wise’, aor. ἄμπνῶτο, pf. πέπνῶσαι, Hitt. *punušzi* ‘ask’, with no full grades attested. A connection with *πνέ(ρ)ω* ‘breathe’ is rejected by [LIV²] and others; but even if it is valid, enlarged **pnu-H-* could have behaved differently from *ani̥* **pne̥H-*.²⁵

The factors that govern the relatively robust appearance of zero-grade (non-ablauting) *CiH-* and *CuH-* forms in full-grade morphological contexts likewise cannot be explored in detail here, and would in any event call for a good deal of speculation. These factors could in principle involve both phonological (or phonotactic) and morphological considerations. For example, in athematic categories (whether verbal or nominal) in which *Ce̥iH-* or *Ce̥uH-* roots were followed by consonantal suffixes or desinences, /*Ce̥iH-C/* or /*Ce̥uH-C/* sequences (with /*i̥HC/* and /*u̥HC/* clusters) might have been disfavored, perhaps related to constraints on syllabification (cf. [Byrd 2015, Ch. 3]), whence repairs via zero-grade forms in *CiH-* and *CuH-*. *CiH-* and *CuH-* could also have been favored as convenient “common” zero grades for no fewer than three different types of full-grade root shapes, i.e. (using *CuH-* as an example) *Ce̥uH-*, *C̣ueH-*, and “long-diphthong” *CeH-u-* (for which *CuH-* would be the standard metathesized zero grade version of preconsonantal *CHu-*). None of this need have involved “generalizations” of zero grade alternants in earlier ablauting paradigms (in the cases under discussion never actually attested, and therefore not reconstructible for the stage of Proto-Indo-European we can reach), though this could have been behind some such instances.

What is emphatically *not* being claimed — a point that seems to have been misunderstood by Kashima [2019: 137, n. 27], defending **b^hueh₂-* (vs. **b^huH-*, cf. §6. above) and reacting to an earlier and much-simplified version of the material presented here — is that **Ce̥uH-* or **C̣ueH-* roots (or formations with these structures) did not exist: surely they did exist;²⁶

²⁵ The relationship of *πέπνῶμαι* etc. with *πινυτός* ‘wise’ and similar Greek material is uncertain; “[e]nsemble sémantiquement cohérent, ... mais morphologiquement obscure” ([DELG] s. v. *πέπνῶμαι*).

²⁶ See Kashima (loc. cit.) for examples, e.g. **te̥uh₂-* ‘swell, be strong’ (cf. Ved. *távīti* etc.); and many more could of course be cited.

yet this fact *in and of itself* does not invalidate the patterns described above. I cannot, therefore, agree with Kashima that the *mere existence* of **CeuH-* and **CueH-* roots makes it “probable that apparently non-apophonic roots like **suH* once had a full-grade form”, and that the zero-grade form “may have been generalized in analogy with **b^huh₂* (< **b^hueh₂*); cf. §7. above on the inadequacy of this kind of analogical account for Ved. *sasúva*.

9

In brief summary:

- Myc. *tu-wo*, Hom.+ θύος may continue an inherited neuter *s*-stem (nom./acc. **d^húh₂-os*, obl. **d^huh₂-es-*), and Ved. *dúvas-* may continue a form of the same type (nom./acc. **dúH-os*, obl. **duH-es-*), to be placed alongside comparable zero-grade *s*-stems already recognized by Schindler (**sriHg-es-*, **púH-es-*).
- Such forms cannot be reflexively accounted for as weak-stem “generalizations” of earlier ablauting paradigms. Therefore, the category of neuter *s*-stems with pervasive zero-grade root represents a hitherto neglected contributor to the ongoing reevaluation of proterokinetic inflection and, more broadly, the reappraisal of the “Erlangen” (paradigmatic) approach to the reconstruction of accent and ablaut in athematic inflectional categories.
- Non-apophonic “zero-grade roots” (cf. [Jasanoff 1997]) on **b^huH-*, as well as other material discussed above, such as **suH-* in the word for ‘son’) deserve further investigation, and should be integrated into the descriptive framework not only of *s*-stems, but in principle also other athematic (including proterokinetic) formations: in addition to **suH-ju-* ~ **suH-nu-* ‘son’, also e.g. the apparent **kúh₁-mḡ* of Gk. κῦμα.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; acc. — accusative; adj. — adjective; aor. — aorist; dat. — dative; gen. — genitive; instr. — instrumental; m. — masculine; n — neuter; nom. — nominative; obl. — oblique; pf. — perfect; pl. — plural; prs. — present; sg. — singular; subj. — subjunctive.

AVP — Atharvaveda, the Paippalāda recension; MS — Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.

Arm. — Armenian; Av. — Avestan; CS — Common Slavic; Gk. — Greek; Hitt. — Hittite; Lat. — Latin; Latv. — Latvian; Lith. — Lithuanian; Mir. — Middle Irish; Myc. — Mycenaean; OFal. — Old Faliscan; OLat. — Old Latin; ON — Old Norse; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; Skt. — Sanskrit; U. — Umbrian; Ved. — Vedic; YAv. — Younger Avestan.

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Notes d'étymologie grecque

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Abstract. Some new etymologies are proposed and some older ones are elaborated on.

1. γλαυκός 'light-colored (eyes)', Myc. *ka-ra-u-ko* (man's name): an enlarged root **g₁leh₂-* can be dispensed with, as a derivation from **g₁elh₂-* 'clear' is possible through a former Gk. **glā-kō-* influenced by *leukó-* 'white'. Even the suffix in **glā-kō-* seems to reflect an influence from *leukó-*. — γλαύξ 'Athena's owl' (already indirectly attested in Homer by some derivatives): perhaps a truncation of *γλαύκωψ, a compound of γλαυκός presumably referring to the characteristic bright yellow circle around the owl's eyes. — γλαυσόν, γλαυρόν: corrupt glosses. — ἄγλαυρος: artificial creation after the proper name. — ἀγλαῖός 'bright, illustrious': of unknown etymology, at least the form does not support **g₁leh₂-*.

2. ἑστία 'hearth': the older form is **histiā*, not **westiā*: the ε is Attic only and Hesychius' γιστία is no univocal evidence of a digamma. The word is thus a derivative of ἰστός, and a shorter variant of the Mycenaean phrase *i-to-we-sa e-ka-ra*, presumably a hearth ((*h*)*esk^harā*) with an upright support (*histos*) on which to hang a pot. Attic ε after ἑσχάρῃ 'low) hearth'.

3. κρησίπαιδα 'parts of sacrificial animals, in Samos' (Hsch.): it is suggested that this gloss be corrected to ἄκρησπεδα, literally 'head and legs'. This Ionian word would be identical to Attic κρᾶσπεδα 'edges of a garment', originally perhaps the edges of an animal's hide (start of the neck and legs). A root **κρη-* in Greek or **kreh₁-* in IE corresponding to Lat. *crēscō* 'grow' is not proven.

4. νεογῶλος 'newborn' (post-Homeric, as the Odyssey example is part of an interpolated passage), Myc. *ki-ra* 'baby girl': Bechtel's etymology comparing Lithuanian *žind-* 'suck milk' is impossible, which means that the spelling does not have to be corrected to -λλ-. It's better to build on Prellwitz' earlier suggestion and start from **g₁ih₁-lō-*, which has reflexes in Armenian and Germanic as well and may have meant 'germinating, budding'.

Keywords: Ancient Greek, Mycenaean, gloss, etymology, color adjective, contamination, hypocoristic, Francis' law.

Заметки по греческой этимологии

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Аннотация. В статье предлагается ряд новых этимологий, а также некоторые уточнения и дополнения к уже предлагавшимся этимологиям.

1. *γλαυκός* ‘светлоглазый’: следует отбросить предлагавшуюся реконструкцию **g₁leh₂u-*, однако возведение прилагательного к **g₁elh₂-* возможно через **glā-kó-*, под влиянием близкого по значению *leukó-* ‘белый’. *γλαύξ* ‘сова’: возможно, представляет собой сокращение композита **γλαύκωψ*. *γλαυκόν*, *γλαυρόν*: вероятно, испорченные глоссы. *ἄγλαυρος*: искусственно образованное прилагательное под влиянием имени *Ἄγλαυρος*. — *ἄγλαός* ‘яркий, славный’: этимология не установлена, но прилагательное точно не может быть использовано в подтверждение реконструкции **g₁leh₂u-*.

2. *ἑστία* ‘очаг’: более ранней следует очевидно признать форму **histiā*, а не **westiā*. (Глосса Гезихия *ἑστία: ἐσχάρα* не является однозначным доказательством исходной дигаммы, *γ* может также передавать *h-*.) Таким образом, слово является производным *ístós*, который в свою очередь сокращенно отсылает к заведительствованному в микенских текстах выражению *i-to-we-sa e-ka-ra*. В аттической форме *ε* было введено под влиянием синонима *ἐσχάρᾱ*.

3. *κρησίαιδα* ‘части жертвенного животного (Самос)’: данную глоссу, засвидетельствованную у Гезихия, предлагается исправить на *†κρησίεδα*, буквально ‘голова и лапы (ноги)’. Таким образом, этот ионийский композит оказался бы аналогичным аттическому *κράσπεδα* ‘края одежды’, возможно, исходно обозначавшему края шкуры (нижняя часть шеи и начало лап), а затем по аналогии перенесенный на одежды из текстиля.

4. *νεογῆλος* ‘новорожденный’: показывается, что предложенная Бехтелем реконструкция **gidlós* невозможна, так что в исправлении на *-λλ-* нет необходимости (хотя такое написание принимается большинством словарей и издателей Гомера). Значительно более удачным является более раннее сопоставление Прелвица с нем. *Keim* и т. д., отсюда в современной нотации праформа **g₁ih₁-ló-*, которая находит отражение в армянском и в германских языках и, вероятно, означало ‘зарождающийся, распускающийся’.

Ключевые слова: древнегреческий, микенский, глоссы, этимология, прилагательные со значением цвета, лексическая контаминация, сокращенные имена, закон Фрэнсиса.

1. γλαυκός, γλαύξ

1.1. L'adjectif de couleur γλαυκός est déjà attesté chez Homère, d'une part comme qualificatif (un seul exemple, avec θάλασσα), d'autre part dans les anthroponymes Γλαῦκος et Γλαύκη. Pötscher [1998: 98–102] montre aussi que l'adjectif thématique γλαυκός n'est pas tiré artificiellement de γλαυκῶπις comme le soutenait Leumann [1950: 148–154], mais est antérieur à Homère¹. Le mycénien a le nom d'homme *Ka-ra-u-ko* ([*Docs.*²: 551], cf. gr. alph. Γλαῦκος ou/et Γλαύκων), sans doute 'aux yeux bleus'.

Sur le sens de γλαυκός, outre les dictionnaires, on peut citer: [Maxwell-Stuart 1981; Pötscher 1998].

γλαυκός se dit essentiellement des yeux (cf. [Maxwell-Stuart 1981: 108 s.]), pour signifier une couleur claire: il peut s'agir des yeux de la chouette (du moins si γλαύξ est apparenté, comme nous le pensons, voir ci-dessous)², d'yeux souffrant de glaucome ou de cataracte, ou plus couramment d'yeux de diverses nuances de bleu par opposition aux yeux bruns. À partir des yeux bleus (nous ne tenterons pas de déterminer les couleurs exactes), l'usage s'est étendu dans deux directions: d'une part, bien entendu, pour qualifier ou nommer les personnes ayant ces yeux-là (ce qui, nous l'avons vu, est déjà mycénien); d'autre part, pour désigner ces couleurs quel que soit l'objet. Chez Homère, il ne s'agit peut-être encore que d'une figure poétique ('la mer couleur d'yeux clairs'); plus tard, en prose, d'une extension sémantique banale.

1.2. La question qui nous intéresse ici est celle de l'étymologie.

Lamberterie [1978: 273 s.], à l'instar de [Boisacq 1916: 150] et de [VWIS, 1: 623] et malgré les doutes de Frisk [GEW, 1: 310]

¹ Les trois articles de Pötscher sur γλαυκίῶον, γλαυκῶπις, γλαυκός sont utilement résumés par M. Briand dans [DELG²: 1283].

² Maxwell-Stuart n'a pas de position claire à ce sujet: «This name [γλαύξ] may be derived from the colour-adjective, as the bird was observed with its nictitating membrane drawn» [1981: 32 s.], mais «The similarity in sound between γλαυκός and γλαύξ, suggesting an etymological link spurious though it may be» (ibid., p. 112).

et le silence de Chantraine [DELG: 226, 217], rattache ce mot à la racine **g₁elh₂-*/**g₁lh₂-* représentée en grec par γελάω ‘rire’, γέλως ‘rire’, γλήνη ‘prunelle de l’œil’, γλήνεα ‘bijoux, colifichets’³, γαλήνη ‘calme de la mer (temps serein)’ et ‘galène (un minéral brillant)’; le lien passerait par un thème II suffixé **g₁-eh₂-u-*.

Beekes [EDG: 275] observe cependant qu’une structure **g₁leh₂u-ko-* serait insolite et conclut que le mot doit plutôt être préhellénique. Nous le suivons sur le premier point mais non sur le second.

Nous proposons de partir plutôt de **g₁lh₂- + *-k₂ó-> *glākós* ‘de couleur claire (yeux)’, qui aurait ensuite été influencé par *leukós* ‘clair, blanc’⁴.

1.3. Pour [VWIS, 1: 623], c’est le suffixe **-ko-* de γλαυκός qui pourrait avoir été «soutenu par λευκός». C’est bien possible (car **-ko-* n’est pas déverbatif), à ceci près que dans notre hypothèse, cette analogie-là serait intervenue au stade **glākó-* (avant l’altération en *glaukó-*, mais probablement après la vocalisation **lh₂ > *lā*, sinon la forme n’était pas assez proche de *leukó-* pour donner prise à une attraction; c’est-à-dire qu’une reconstruction **g₁lh₂-k₂ó-* serait un anachronisme). Un autre adjectif **g₁lh₂-nó-> *glāno-* est supposé par γλήνη ‘prunelle’.

³ Ces deux derniers (et peut-être γλανοί· ἀχρεῖοι (Hsch.), [DELG, s. v. γλήνη]) se ramènent peut-être à un même sens tel que *‘perle(s) de verre’. Il n’est sans doute pas nécessaire de poser un thème II **g₁leh₂-* pour les mots grecs en **glā-*. Il vaut mieux partir du degré zéro **g₁lh₂-*, malgré l’accent de γλήνη, γλήνεα. — Les sens ‘clair’ et ‘rire’ (γελάω) sont très distants, mais dans diverses langues on peut dire qu’un sourire ‘éclaire’ le visage, et un passage de ‘sourire’ à ‘rire’ est observé pour i.-e. **smei-* en balto-slave.

⁴ Nous avons proposé ailleurs une explication semblable pour le slave *bělъ* ‘blanc’ [Viredaz 2020: 404] (correction: lit. *bālas* est prob. un mot-fantôme (Anthony Jakob, c. p.)), il faut partir de balt. **bālas* avec *ā* long). Dans le cas de γλαυκός, il n’intervient pas de facteur phonosymbolique; en revanche, l’attraction a été facilitée par la similitude formelle (*gl-k-* : *l-k-*); de plus, le fait que **leukós* ‘blanc’ désignait une couleur encore plus claire que **glākós* conférerait à la diphtongue de **glaukós* une valeur expressive emphatique qui a dû contribuer au succès de la nouvelle forme. — Nous n’avons, pour l’instant, pas relevé d’exemples comparables à γλαυκός ou *bělъ* dans les termes de couleur des langues modernes.

En résumé, donc:

1° La racine **gl̥h₂-* devient phonétiquement **glā-*, au moins dans l'adjectif **glā-nó-* *'brillant'.

2° Formation de **glā-kó-* *'clair' d'après *leukó-* 'blanc'.

3° Altération de **glākó-* en *glaukó-*, toujours d'après *leukó-*.

1.4. Encore faut-il que notre étymologie *γλαυκός* < **glākós* + **leukós* soit compatible avec les autres mots grecs en *glau-*, **-glaw-*.

Le plus important d'entre eux est l'athématique *γλαύξ* 'chouette'⁵. Ce nom désigne spécifiquement la chouette chevêche, *Athene noctua* [LSJ; Thompson 1895; DELG, s. v.], distinguée de *στρίγξ** 'chouette effraie', *βύας* 'hibou grand-duc', *σκῶψ* 'hibou petit-duc', *ῶτος* 'hibou des marais'.

γλαύξ était traditionnellement rattaché à la famille de *γλαυκός* [LSJ; Thompson 1895], une opinion reprise par [Pötscher 1997] (cf. n. 6), mais qui ne fait pas l'unanimité (prudence de [DELG, s. vv. *γλαυκός*, *γλαύξ*], neutralité de [Lamberterie 1978: 274], dénégation de [EDG, s. v.]).

γλαύξ est déjà indirectement attesté chez Homère par un dérivé et un composé. Pötscher [1994] montre en effet que **γλαυκιάων* (-όων, -όωσα) qualifie des yeux 'semblables à ceux d'une chouette', c'est-à-dire dérive de *γλαύξ* et non de *γλαυκός*; et Pötscher [1997], que *γλαυκῶπις*, de même, signifie à l'origine 'aux yeux de chouette', c'est-à-dire est un composé de *γλαύξ* et non de *γλαυκός*⁶.

⁵ Accent: *γλαύξ*, attique *γλαῦξ* [LSJ]. L'accent attique est vraisemblablement une innovation. Dans cet article, nous optons arbitrairement pour la graphie *γλαύξ* (sauf éventuellement dans les citations).

⁶ En revanche, nous ne voyons pas où Pötscher nierait la parenté de *γλαύξ* avec *γλαυκός*, comme l'affirme Beekes [EDG: 275]. Au contraire, le philologue viennois écrit [1997: 7]: «Es waren wohl die überaus auffälligen, leuchtenden und erschrecken- den gelben Augen, die diesen Vogel zum Ausdruck für die mächtige Göttin Athene machten; die Augen der Eule, oder genauer, des Steinkauzes erinnern in ihrer gelben Farbe an den Löwen und den Leoparden, und auch deren Augen leuchten in der Nacht sehr.» — De même, nous ne comprenons pas d'où vient l'affirmation de Frisk [GEW, s. v. *γλαῦξ*], reprise par Beekes [EDG], selon laquelle le rattachement à *γλαυκός* par les Anciens serait «rejeté par Thompson s. v. comme étymologie populaire». Ce rattachement est en réalité repris par Thompson sans commentaire.

Au vu de ce dernier point, la vieille hypothèse faisant de *γλαύξ* une abréviation ou un hypocoristique de *γλαυκῶπις* [Prellwitz 1905: 95; Boisacq 1916: 150] est certes caduque. En revanche, la troncation d'un appellatif **γλαύκωψ* [Viredaz 2016: 103], composé de *γλαυκό-* 'clair, luisant' et *-ωψ* 'œil', reste possible⁷, pour autant que ce mot ait existé. Sur ce point, cependant, on ne peut pas se réclamer de l'adjectif *γλαυκῶψ* attesté chez Pindare, qui, qualifiant des serpents (*O.* 6, 45, *P.* 4, 249), doit plutôt signifier 'aux yeux effrayants, inquiétants' et avoir été formé plus tard sur le composé homérique *γλαυκῶπις* (ainsi [Pötscher 1997: 5¹⁵]).

Le lien sémantique entre *γλαυκός* et *γλαύξ* a été attribué à la membrane nictitante de l'oiseau, membrane translucide blanchâtre qui, fermée, donne à ses yeux une teinte bleu pâle ([Maxwell-Stuart 1981: 32 s.], cité ci-dessus n. 3); ou à ses yeux qui luisent dans l'obscurité [Viredaz 2016: 103]; mais aucun de ces deux caractères n'est spécifique de la chouette chevêche, oiseau d'ailleurs diurne autant que nocturne. Ce lien réside plutôt dans le fond jaune clair qui entoure la pupille ronde de la chevêche (et du canard *γλαυκίον* qui doit être le garrot à œil d'or, [Thompson 1895, s. v.]), contrairement au blanc terne qui entoure l'iris dans l'œil humain. Ce trait se retrouve lui aussi chez d'autres animaux, voire d'autres strigidés, mais, sauf erreur de notre part, il distingue la chevêche des autres chouettes vivant en Grèce⁸.

La généralisation d'une forme abrégée, voire peut-être hypocoristique, *γλαύξ* pour **γλαύκωψ*, pourrait être liée à la petite taille de l'oiseau⁹.

⁷ Elle pourrait même s'être produite au second millénaire, au stade **glaukōkʷs*; cependant nous ne connaissons pas d'exemples mycéniens de troncation hors des anthroponymes. Dans les deux noms en *-eus* cités à ce propos par [Viredaz 2016: 110], il ne s'agit que de «troncation présuffixale» au sens de [Blanc 2013].

⁸ Voir les yeux de différentes espèces de chouettes et de hiboux chez [Dehondt, Desmets 2010–2018].

⁹ Autre étymologie imaginable: **g₁lh₂-h₃kʷ-* 'aux yeux brillants' > **glōkʷ-* (mais le traitement phonétique n'est pas sûr) > **glauk(ʷ)s* d'après *glaukó-* (mais il ne faut pas abuser des contaminations).

1.5. γλαύσσω ‘briller’, dénomiatif de γλαυκός, n’est attesté que de façon rare et tardive: διαγλαύσσουσι δ’ ἄταρποι ‘les sentiers s’éclairent (à l’aurore)’ (A. R. 1, 1281); γλαύσσει· λάμπει, φαίνει, φαύσκει (Hsch.); impér. aor. γλαῦξον (EM). Néanmoins, faute de source analogique plausible pour la dérivation -κ- → -σσ- (car λεύσσω ‘voir’ ne signifie pas ‘être blanc’), γλαύσσω doit remonter au temps où le groupe *ky n’était pas encore altéré en grec (ou seulement en *[κῑ]). En conséquence, γλαυκός lui-même doit être grec commun voire antérieur. Cette chronologie est de toute façon compatible avec notre étymologie.

1.6. Les adjectifs γλαυσός, γλαυρός ne sont connus que par des gloses d’Hésychius.

γλαυσόν· λαμπρόν (...) se trouve juste avant γλαύσσει et peut avoir été influencé par lui. On pourrait donc restituer †γλαυκόν. L’ordre alphabétique est perturbé à cet endroit: γλαυκός, γλαυκοφόρβιδας, γλαυκῶπις, γλαύξ (2×), γλαυσόν, γλαύσσει, γλαυρόν, γλαῦκ’ Ἀθήναζε, γλαῦκες, Γλαύκου, γλαύξ (2×), γλάφει, etc.: on voit qu’une partie des gloses γλαύξ ainsi que γλαύσσει ont été insérées parmi celles en γλαυκ-. On corrige d’ordinaire en †γλαῦσσον [Leumann 1950: 153; DELG], bien que l’accent et la position (avant γλαύσσει) s’y opposent.

γλαυρόν· σεμνόν est donné avec un des sens de γαῦρος. On pourrait y voir une altération de celui-ci d’après γλαυκός (ou de γλαυκός d’après γαῦρος) chez un lexicographe source d’Hésychius.

1.7. ἄγλαυρος ne nous est connu que par deux passages de Nicandre, *Ther.* 62 et 441. Dans le second, il qualifie l’aspect du dragon (δράκων), une sorte de serpent apparemment mythique, ce qui ne nous éclaire pas sur le sens que Nicandre donne à ce mot; on le comprend comme un synonyme d’ἀγλαός [LSJ], donc ‘brillant’ [Jacques 2002: 36]. Dans le premier passage, le mot est choisi surtout pour l’allitération (ἀγλαύροισιν ἀγαλλομένη ποταμοῖσιν), au terme d’une tirade fort redondante, ce qui est bienvenu pour notre propos (‘dans la région d’une rivière aux tourbillons impétueux, procure-toi le calament feuillu, qui aime l’eau; il pousse en abondance au long des eaux vives, et il s’humecte aux alentours de leurs berges, car les rivières aux eaux *claires* font ses délices’,

[Jacques 2002: 7, nos italiques]). Pour Chantraine [DELG, s. v. ἀγλαός], ἄγλαυρος n'est qu'«une altération artificielle de l'adj. [ἀγλαός] sous l'influence du nom propre» — celui de l'héroïne mythique Ἄγλαυρος, qui n'a pas nécessairement une étymologie grecque.

1.8. ἀγλαός, mot poétique, 'brillant, précieux, illustre', avec α bref, est plus difficile [DELG²: 11, 1264], car on ne voit aucun moyen phonétiquement et morphologiquement correct de le tirer d'i.-e. *g₁h₂-, *g₁elh₂- ou encore *mǵh₂-, fût-ce par analogie ou par syncope¹⁰, et d'autre part une racine gr. *agl- [Szemerényi 1964: 155] n'aurait pas de correspondants hors du grec¹¹.

L'important pour notre propos est qu'ἀγλαός ne saurait appuyer l'existence d'une base *g₁elh₂-u-, non seulement parce que celle-ci ne rendrait pas compte du mot, notamment à cause de l'α intérieur bref, mais aussi parce qu'il peut contenir le suffixe d'adjectifs *-wó-.

2. ἐστία

2.1. Le traitement du «grec» ἐστία 'foyer' dans les dictionnaires étymologiques ne tient pas suffisamment compte du fait que la voyelle ε

¹⁰ Ainsi, la brève analogique des types ἔλαβον, τέθναμεν ne s'explique qu'au sein de la flexion verbale.

¹¹ Lamberterie évoque la possibilité d'un croisement [DELG²: 1264]. La moins mauvaise hypothèse serait peut-être que ἀγανός 'fier' et ἀγλαός 'splendide, illustre' — deux épithètes ornementales souvent répétées, aux places presque fixes dans le vers — remontent tous deux à *aga-wó-, le premier par un allongement métrique, comme l'a établi Schwyzler [1983: 533–537 (article de 1912)], le second par contamination (expressive, metri causa) avec un représentant de la racine *g₁elh₂- (c'est-à-dire γλαυρός, dans un ancien sens 'brillant', ou l'ancien adjectif *glānós '*brillant'). Une des difficultés serait la date ancienne à supposer pour cette innovation apparemment seulement poétique. — (Pour ἀγανός, il n'y a pas lieu de préférer l'étymologie *mǵ₁h₂-(e)s-wó- de Ruijgh [1996: 384], qui suppose un traitement éolien de *-sw- malgré l'accent non éolien.)

est propre au dialecte attique. Tous les autres dialectes ont ι [LSJ; GEW, 1: 576; Wackernagel 1916: 10, n. 2, av. litt.]: ionien ἰστίη (*Odyssee*¹², Hérodote), éolien, béotien, dorien, arcadien ἰστιά; ε dans des inscriptions dialectales doit être emprunté à l'attique [DELG: 379, 361]¹³; εστιά (III^e s. av. n.è.) en crétois est dû à la koiné [Bile 1988: 86].

Phonétiquement, certes, ε > ι serait plus probable en grec que l'inverse [Schwyzer 1939: 256, 351; Lejeune 1972: 238; Viredaz 1982: 319 s.; cf. GEW, loc. cit.].

Du point de vue de la géographie linguistique, en revanche, la conclusion s'impose: c'est le ε attique qui constitue l'innovation et la forme ancienne est **histiā*.

Le ε attique est attribuable à l'influence du mot de sens voisin ἐσχάρᾱ 'foyer bas, brasero', plutôt qu'à une dissimilation phonétique, à laquelle le contexte n'est pas favorable¹⁴.

2.2. Quant à l'étymologie, les spéculations anciennes, fondées sur **west-* avec **e* [GEW; DELG; EDG], s'évaporent et la question doit être reprise à zéro.

Il n'y a d'ailleurs pas à chercher longtemps, puisque le mycénien connaît un adjectif *i-to-we-sa* ⁺*histowečča*¹⁵ PY Ta 709, qualifiant jus-

¹² Homère a l'atticisme -ε- dans les composés, mais i- dans le simple, où la forme ionienne a été protégée par le -η final [Ehrlich 1907; Wackernagel 1916: 9 s.].

¹³ Wackernagel [1916: 10 s.] pense que é- est authentique dans certaines inscriptions doriennes et chez Pindare (*O.* 1, 11, *P.* 11, 13; *N.* 11, 1). Pour Ehrlich [1907: 290–293], il s'agit d'atticismes dans les deux cas.

¹⁴ Au moment de terminer cet article, nous voyons qu'Ehrlich [1907: 290–293] est déjà parvenu à une partie de nos conclusions: ε pour ι est une innovation purement attique, due à la contamination du synonyme ἐσχάρᾱ. Toutefois, Ehrlich croit à l'ancienneté de **w*, et à une réduction possible **wh-* > *h-*. — Wackernagel (ci-dessus n. 13) conclut également que é- n'est pas ancien, mais pour lui l'innovation n'est pas exclusivement attique. Ceci n'a cependant pas d'incidence sur l'étymologie. — Inversement, Solmsen [1901: 191–194, 213–216] réfutait l'ancien **w-*, mais acceptait **e* > *i*, et tirait ἐστία et ἐσχάρᾱ d'une même racine ἐσ- (loc. cit., p. 217 s.).

¹⁵ Nous lisons ⁺*čč*, plutôt que ⁺*ss* qui est l'opinion majoritaire, dans des mots comme *e-a-sa*, *ku-pa-ri-so* et les adjectifs en *-we-sa*. Voir [Viredaz 1993: §3 et §17, n. 45].

tement *e-ka-ra* ⁺(*h*)*esk^harā* ‘foyer’, au sens ‘doté d’un ἰστός’, c’est-à-dire peut-être d’un montant vertical où l’on peut suspendre un récipient [*Docs.*² 500].

**histiā* doit donc être dérivé du même **histos* à l’aide du suffixe d’adjectif *-io/ā-*. Plus précisément peut-être, **histiā* est une variante plus courte du ⁺*histowečča* (*h*)*esk^harā* mycénien, mais formée par dérivation régulière sur le même mot-base et non par troncation selon le procédé étudié dans [Viredaz 2016].

2.3. Rappelons qu’il n’y a aucune preuve d’un **ɸ* initial dans le mot ἐστῖᾱ, ἰστίη, ἰστιᾱ. Au contraire, «le *ɸ* initial manque dans des inscriptions dialectales où on l’attendrait» [DELG], cf. [Solmsen 1901: 191–193, 213].

Dans la glose γιστία· ἐσχάρα, le gamma initial chez Hésychius ne témoigne pas valablement d’un ancien digamma. Comme l’explique Solmsen [1901: 215], il peut aussi bien représenter l’ancienne lettre demi-hēta, une des notations de *h*. Un autre cas en est γιστίαι· ἰστουργοί ‘tisserandes’, dérivé d’une autre acception de ἰστός (ibid.)¹⁶. Les inscriptions de Tarente et d’Héraclée présentent du reste plusieurs exemples de Ηιστιαιος, *-α* et de Ηιστιαρχος écrits avec cette lettre (loc. cit., p. 213 s.).

On cite aussi l’anthroponyme arcadien Φιστιᾱς (*IG* 271, 18, republication chez [Dubois 1988, II: 126]). Cependant, la lecture de cette pierre qui n’a été vue que par Foucart n’est pas entièrement sûre [Solmsen 1901: 214]. Contrairement à ce qu’écrit Dubois (loc. cit., p. 128 s.), l’initiale Φι- n’est confirmée ni par *IG* 429, 8, où la lettre initiale manque et pourrait aussi être un Π (ibid., p. 259, 261), ni par la glose γιστία, comme on vient de le voir.

¹⁶ En revanche, γισχύν· ἰσχύν ‘force’ a sans doute le *ɸ* non étymologique attesté par une autre glose, βισχύν.

3. κρησίπαιδα, κρῶσπεδα

3.1. κρησίπαιδα: état de la question

Un mot κρησίπαιδα est donné par Hésychius: ἐν Σαμιακῇ θυσία ἡ λέξις φέρεται. δῆλον ὅτι μέρη ἱερείων λέγεται. Wilamowitz corrigeait en -πεδα [Dubois 2006: 58¹⁸].

Dubois [2006: 58] rattache le premier membre à la racine du gr. κορέσαι ‘rassasier’ et du lat. *crēscō* ‘croître’, compare l’anthroponyme Κρησιλᾶς [LGPN, 1: 273] et l’épiclèse d’Hermès παιδοκόρης (Hésychius) et interprète arbitrairement κρησίπαιδα comme désignant des parties des offrandes «qui font croître les enfants».

Toutefois, la racine de κορέσαι n’est pas **k₁reh₁-* mais **k₁erh₃-* [Rui Pérez 1950; LIV²: 329 (Kümmel)]. Dubois (loc. cit.) estime certes que κορε- remplace **κερε-* par analogie des déverbatifs, c’est-à-dire surtout des composés en -κόρος, mais c’est peu convaincant (faute de parallèles) et ne résoudrait pas l’anomalie du *Schwebeablaut*.

Il n’y a pas de mots grecs où κρη- se rattache de manière reconnaissable à une racine signifiant ‘nourrir’ ou ‘croître’. En particulier, alors que des anthroponymes en *Krēt-* se rencontrent dans tous les volumes du LGPN (c’est-à-dire dans toutes les grandes régions du monde grec) Κρησιλᾶς se trouve uniquement dans le volume 1, et cela non moins de cinq fois: Crète (Cydonia, v^e s. av. n.è.), Ténos (deux fois, III^e s. av. n.è.), Théra (?), VII^e s. av. n.è.) et Cyrène (III^e s. av. n.è.). Le rapport avec la Crète paraît donc évident; la phonétique (-σι-) pourrait refléter un emprunt au substrat mycénien ou/et une attraction par le type τερψίμβροτος. Quelle que soit l’explication du latin *crēscō* ‘croître’ (cf. [Villanueva Svensson 2012]), rien n’appuie donc l’hypothèse que Κρησιλᾶς y soit apparenté.

3.2. Étymologie proposée

Si κρησίπαιδα désigne des ‘parties des animaux de sacrifice’, il est tentant de le comprendre **‘tête et pattes’*, en lisant †κρήσπεδα, avec η ionien, au prix d’une double correction du manuscrit.

Le mot serait alors formellement identique à l'att. κρᾶσπεδον, qui est toutefois attesté avec un sens bien différent, 'bordure, lisière', au sens propre celles d'un vêtement.

κρᾶσπεδον est souvent expliqué comme composé de *krās- 'tête' et de πέδον 'sol', ce dernier pris dans un sens vague [GEW; DELG], ce que d'ailleurs Nussbaum [1986: 71] conteste quant au premier élément, pour des raisons sémantiques.

Cependant, κρᾶσπεδον pourrait recevoir la même étymologie que †κρήσπεδα, *'tête et pattes'. Si l'on considère une peau d'animal, ou sa représentation stylisée telle qu'elle sert de logo dans l'industrie du cuir, on remarque comment elle doit sa forme caractéristique à la naissance du cou, des pattes et de la queue de l'animal, qui forment des proéminences tout autour. Il nous semble donc que *krās-peda *'tête et pattes' a pu être employé pour désigner ces parties de la peau de bête, puis les bords de celle-ci en général, puis par analogie les bords d'un vêtement.

Morphologiquement, *krās-peda serait à l'origine un pluriel neutre athématique, sur lequel κρᾶσπεδον serait rétroformé comme ἄστρον 'astre' sur ἄστρα, à l'origine pluriel collectif d'ἀστήρ 'étoile'. Le composé aurait été créé avant le nivellement de l'alternance i.-e. *pod-/ped- dans le nom du 'pied' (v. i. pād-/pad-, gr. ποδ-, lat. ped-).

4. νεογῖλος, ki-ra

4.1. L'exemple homérique

4.1.1. Le texte homérique présente un composé νεογῖλος 'nouveau-né' dans *Od.* 12, 86, où il est dit de Scylla qu'elle a une φωνήν ... ὄση σκύλακος νεογίλης. Une scholie explique l'adjectif par νεογνής, γάλακτι τροφομένης, donc 'une voix de chienne nouveau-née'.

Ebeling [1885: 1138 s.] signale les v. l. νεογίλλης, νεογηλῆς, νεγίλλης, νεοπελῆς. Hésychius a les deux gloses νεογίλης (ms. νεογγίλης)· νεογνής, νεαρᾶς, νέας, νεωστί γεννηθείσης et νεογίλον (ms. νεογγύλον)· νεογόν,

véov (dont la seconde doit se rapporter au passage de Théocrite cité ci-après 4.2).

Les définitions de cette scholie et de ces gloses ne donnent pas l'impression d'avoir été simplement déduites du contexte ou de l'étymologie présumée, comme c'est souvent le cas, mais plutôt de refléter une tradition vivante du sens du mot.

4.1.2. Une scholie signale qu'Aristarque condamnait les vers 86–88, à cause de l'illogisme d'une voix de petit chiot pour le redoutable monstre Scylla.

Bérard [1924–1925, 2: 103–158] explique qu'Homère a forcément inspiré d'innombrables parodies, dont quelques-unes se sont trouvées interpolées dans le texte. Parmi les exemples, il cite les trois vers en question, motivés par le calembour Σκύλλη : σκύλαξ (ibid., pp. 117–119; cf. [Shipp 1972: 8¹]).

L'unique exemple homérique de νεογῆλος est donc en réalité posthomérique.

4.2. Autres attestations

Les (autres) attestations posthomériques de νεογῆλος sont peu nombreuses.

Contrairement à ce que pourrait faire croire une *varia lectio* citée par Frisk [GEW] et Beekes [EDG], Anacréon n'a pas employé ce mot dans le passage en question, mais bien νεοθηλέα [Chantraine 1968: 574].

Pollux nous apprend que l'orateur Isée a employé le mot, ce qui signifie qu'il était encore connu de son public [Bechtel 1902a: 191], au début du IV^e siècle av. n.è.

Théocrite (17, 58) écrit: ... σε ... ἀτίταλλε βρέφος νεογιλὸν ἔοντα 'te choya, quand tu étais un tout petit enfant'; deux manuscrits (dont «le plus estimé») écrivent notre mot avec λλ, les autres avec λ simple [Legrand 1925: 148 et xxiii].

Plutarque, *Mor.* 355b, dans un passage très prosaïque: οὐδὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ λωτοῦ νομίζουσι βρέφος ἀνίσχειν νεογιλὸν 'ils (les Égyptiens) ne

croient pas davantage que le soleil sorte d'un lotus sous la forme d'un nouveau-né'; l'éditeur Froidefond [1988] ne signale pas de v. l. en λλ.

Alciphron 1, 27 (2, 6 Ozanam) fait écrire à un paysan (aussi érudit que fictif, cf. [Ozanam 1999: 12–15] sur le style de l'auteur): τί γὰρ οὐ τῶν ἐμῶν λαβοῦσα ἔχεις; οὐ σῦκα; οὐ τυρὸν ἐκ ταλαρῶν; οὐκ ἔριφον νεογιλόν; οὐκ ἀλεκτορίδων ζεῦγος; 'Ne t'ai-je pas tout donné de ce qui m'appartient? des figues, du fromage de mes claies, un chevreau nouveau-né, une paire de coqs'.

Oppien d'Aramée, *Cyn.* 199, écrit en hexamètres didactiques: εἰσόκε μὲν νεογιλὸν ὑπὸ στομάτεσσιν ὄδοντα 'tant qu'ils (les chevaux) conservent dans la bouche les dents de leur enfance'.

(Le [TGL] recense encore trois autres exemples, plus récents.)

On voit que les quatre exemples alexandrins ne sont pas inspirés du passage homérique. L'adjectif νεογιλός*, -όν pourrait certes avoir figuré dans un texte ancien aujourd'hui perdu. Noter cependant la variété des noms qualifiés (βρέφος, ἔριφος, ὀδών), qui semble plaider pour un adjectif encore vivant.

Les v. l. en λλ dans les manuscrits de l'*Odyssée* et de Théocrite pourraient témoigner d'une survivance du simple *γιλλός connu seulement par l'anthroponymie (voir 4.4).

4.3. L'étymologie de Bechtel

Bechtel [1902a: 192; 1902b: 64, 2; 1914: 233], comparant les anthroponymes du groupe Γύλλος (4.4) et le lituanien *žindu* 'téter', pose un ancien **gidlós*, d'où *γιλλός. Depuis lors, les dictionnaires et les éditions d'Homère écrivent pour la plupart νεογιλλός avec deux λ¹⁷.

¹⁷ Un λ chez [Schmidt 1858–1868, s. v. (volume de 1861); Ebeling 1885, s. v.; LSJ s. v.; Bailly 1895 (1^{re} éd.); LfgrE, 2: 323 (B. Mader, fascicule de 1997)] et dans l'édition de l'*Odyssée* par [Bérard 1924]. La graphie en -λλ- est préférée par [Bechtel, 1902a: 192; 1902b: 64, 2; 1914: 233; GEW, 2: 304] et par [Legrand 1925] dans son édition de Théocrite (λλ dans les manuscrits Ambrosianus 222 et Laurentianus, λ dans les autres); elle est seule donnée par [Boisacq 1916: 663; VWIS, 1: 552; Schwyzer 1939:

Pourtant l'étymologie de Bechtel est bien faible. D'une part, elle n'est qu'une *Wurzeletymologie*, qui plus est limitée à deux langues, ce qui multiplie les chances de rapprochements illusoire. Surtout, elle postule pour le lituanien *žindu* un ancien présent à infixé nasal, alors qu'aucun temps de ce verbe, aucun mot de cette famille, ne présentent un thème sans nasale (prétérit *žindau*, infinitif *žįsti*, causatif *žindyti*). Prellwitz [1905: 310], pour répondre à cette seconde difficulté, suggère certes **gindlo-*, mais cette solution est improbable pour d'autres raisons (le suffixe *-λο-* ne se rencontre guère après deux consonnes et une racine **CiRC-* n'est pas régulière en indo-européen). Fraenkel [1965: 1314] rapproche plutôt *žindu* de lit. *žandas* 'mâchoire, joue'.

4.4. L'anthroponyme Γύλλος

Bechtel, nous l'avons dit, veut retrouver le second élément de νεογῖλος dans le groupe d'anthroponymes très rare représenté par Γύλλος (Hérodote 3, 138: Tarente, vi^e ou v^e s.; aussi en Carie, fin iii^e s. av. n.è.), Γυλλίς (Athènes?, mil. iv^e s. av. n.è.), Γυλλίων (Kalymnos, i^{er} s. ap. n.è.) (LGPN, 1, 2, 3.A, 5.B). On a aussi trouvé depuis lors un Γύλο[ς] avec λ simple (LGPN, 4: 79; SEG, 40: 612, n^o 21: Chersonèse de Tauride, ostracon, vers 475–450 av. n.è.; noter la graphie αλλα dans un ostracon contemporain du même site, n^o 25).

Γύλλος ne témoigne pas nécessairement de l'ancienneté de λλ dans νεογυλλός. Il pourrait s'agir d'une gémination hypocoristique, du moins si l'on admet que celle-ci n'est pas empêchée après une voyelle longue. Il n'est même pas exclu que l'anthroponyme ait une autre origine (inconnue).

Du moins Γύλλος etc. n'ont-ils rien à voir avec l'adjectif γυλός·έτερόφθαλμος, connu seulement par une glose d'Hésychius. On sait que

323; IEW, 1: 356, s. v. **gejid-*; DELG: 744, 716], ainsi que dans l'édition de l'Odyssee par von der Mühl [1946]. En particulier, Prellwitz écrit νεογῖλος en [1892] mais νεογυλλός en [1905]. Shipp [1972: 8], à tort selon nous, cite «νεογυλλῆς for supposed νεογυλλῆς» comme exemple de translittération incorrecte dans un passage "récent".

chez ce dernier, γ initial représente souvent un ancien digamma (et parfois un ancien signe d'aspiration, 2.3). En conséquence, ce $\gamma\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ est certainement identique à $\iota\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'qui louche' (lui-même probablement issu de $\iota\lambda\lambda\omega$ 'tourner' et donc de la racine **wel-*).

4.5. Le témoignage du mycénien

4.5.1. En mycénien, un mot *ki-ra* figure deux fois dans la tablette MY V 659, d'une manière parallèle à *tu-ka-te* 'fille', ce qui conduit à le rapprocher des mots ci-dessus et à comprendre 'female infant, bébé fille' ou 'young girl, petite fille' (Chadwick dans [Docs.²: 554, cf. 425 s.], Duhoux [2008: 289–294, § 9.23, spéc. 293]; tous deux avec republication de la tablette; voir aussi [Aura Jorro 1985–1993, 1: 360 s.; Bartoněk 2003: 567]). On lit *gillā* ou *gīlā* (ibid.).

La plupart des femmes de MY V 659 sont enregistrées par deux, comme s'il s'agissait d'équipes de deux ouvrières (par ex. *ma-no*, *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra-<qe>*, cf. [Duhoux 2008: 289–294]). Cette interprétation est possible aussi pour les couples mère-fille (par ex. *a-ne-a2 tu-ka-te-qe* 'A. et sa fille'). Elle ne l'est pas dans le cas de *pi-ro-wo-na ki-ra-qe* et de *ke-ra-so ki-ra-qe* si *ki-ra* désigne un bébé, comme le suggère le sens d'hom. $\nu\epsilon\omicron\gamma\iota\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$. Mais peu importe, car, outre la cheffe nommée en ligne 1, deux femmes sont enregistrées seules sur cette tablette (ligne 11 et début de la ligne additionnelle inscrite sur le bord de la tablette). Les travailleuses ne sont donc pas toutes accompagnées d'une collaboratrice et le contexte n'empêche donc pas de comprendre 'Philowoinā et son bébé', 'Kerasō et son bébé'. C'est l'interprétation pour laquelle optent tant Chantraine [1968: 575] (sans exclure totalement un nom propre) que Duhoux [2008: 293] (avec point d'interrogation).

Si *ki-ra* signifie 'nourrisson' ('γάλακτι τρεφομένη', voir la scholie citée en 4.1.1), cela explique que ces enfants ne quittent pas leur mère; en revanche, le fait que les deux bébés de cette tablette soient des filles est alors fortuit.

Le *ki-ra* mycénien exclut probablement un ancien **gid-lo/ā-*, car les tablettes conservent encore le groupe **dl* au moins à l'initiale (*de-re-u-ko* 'γλεῦκος, moult').

4.5.2. Le même mot, au genre près, doit sans doute être reconnu à Knossos dans l'abréviation *KI*, jointe aux idéogrammes *OVIS^m* (Dh, Dk, Dl, Do) et *CAPRA* (C 7088), laquelle désignerait donc un animal nouveau-né [Killen 1964: 78; Docs.²: 554]. Dans les tablettes KN Dl, les agneaux (*KI OVIS^m*) sont souvent en nombre égal aux brebis. L'abréviation *KI* figurant presque toujours devant *OVIS^m* et jamais devant *OVIS^f*, on en conclut que *KI OVIS^m* désigne des nouveau-nés des deux sexes (Killen, loc. cit.).

Le grec avait deux autres noms pour l'agneau: ἀρήν < *wřén (dont les thèmes *wřēn- et *wřn- > worn- sont attestés en mycénien) et ἀμνός < *ag^wnós (rare, [DELG]; non attesté en mycénien, mais hérité)¹⁸. Cependant les ovins de Knossos étaient classés par d'autres moyens, à savoir par l'adjonction devant les idéogrammes *OVIS^{m, f}* des abréviations *PA(-ra-jo)* 'vieux', *NE(-wo)* 'jeune', *PE(-ru-si-nwo)* 'de l'an dernier' [donc adulte], *ZA(-we-te)* 'de l'année' et *KI* 'nouveau-né' [Killen 1964; Docs.²: 433].

4.6. Autre étymologie

4.6.1. Puisque l'étymologie de Bechtel n'est pas possible, quelle est l'origine de ce mot?

Prellwitz [1892: 210] avait proposé une autre explication, rapidement évincée de la littérature par celle de Bechtel¹⁹, rapprochant νεογῆλος d'une série de mots germaniques et baltiques dont le gotique *uskijans* 'germé', l'allemand *Keim* 'germe', le lituanien *žydėti* 'fleurir'. Il s'agissait donc de la racine verbale *gēi-, *gī- de [IEW: 355 s.], *gēiH- 'éclore, germer' de [LIV²: 161 s. (Kümmel)].

La graphie par -λλ- du mot homérique et théocritéen n'étant pas assurée, nous ne voyons pas de raison d'écarter l'analyse de Prellwitz. Comme

¹⁸ En fait, le grec est la seule langue à présenter ces deux mots, dont l'un se retrouve en arménien et en indo-iranien, l'autre en slave, en italique et peut-être (avec *g^wh-) en germanique et en celtique.

¹⁹ En [1905] déjà, Prellwitz adopte la graphie -λλ- (ci-dessus n. 17) et donne l'étymologie de Bechtel avant la sienne.

souvent, le nouveau-né de l'homme et des animaux est assimilé métaphoriquement à une jeune pousse végétale.

À Bechtel reste néanmoins le mérite d'avoir rapproché le composé $\nu\epsilon\omicron\gamma\tilde{\iota}\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ du simple $\Gamma\iota(\lambda)\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ et de ses dérivés (si ce point est correct).

La laryngale posée par LIV² doit être un $*h_1$, car $*ih_2$, $*ih_3$ dans cette position deviennent $*y\bar{a}$, $*y\bar{o}$ en grec (loi de Francis–Normier, voir [Rasmussen 1991; Olsen 2009]).

Le grec $*g\tilde{\iota}\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, $-á$ 'nouveau-né' a pour correspondants formels exacts l'arménien $*cil > cil$ 'germe, bourgeon', cil , $ciwl$, cel 'brin, tige'²⁰ [IEW: 355; LIV²: 161 n. 1], rarement attesté²¹, et, avec abrègement de Dybo, le germanique $*kilaz$ 'bulbe, oignon' [IEW: 356; Kroonen 2013: 287]²².

Morphologiquement, $*g_iih_1-l\acute{o}$ - a dû être un adjectif 'en train de germer, d'éclorre', substantivé dans des sens tels que 'germe, bulbe, bourgeon, nouvelle pousse'.

4.6.2. Hom. $\nu\epsilon\omicron\gamma\tilde{\iota}\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ n'est pas formé comme les autres composés adjectifs en $\nu\epsilon\omicron-$, qui sont tous déverbatifs, tels $\nu\epsilon\omicron\gamma\acute{o}\nu\varsigma$ 'nouveau-né', $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}\delta\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'récemment écorché' [DELG: 745, 717 s.]. En effet, le verbe $*g_i\epsilon ih_1-$, qui n'a laissé aucune autre trace en grec, avait certainement déjà disparu au moment de la formation du composé $\nu\epsilon\omicron\gamma\tilde{\iota}\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$. Ce dernier est plutôt un renouvellement ou renforcement de $*\gamma\tilde{\iota}\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, pléonastique comme le sont par exemple *panacée universelle*, *pandémie mondiale*, en même temps qu'une contamination de $*\gamma\tilde{\iota}\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ et $\nu\epsilon\omicron\gamma\acute{o}\nu\varsigma$.

Abréviations

gr. — grec; i.-e. — indo-européen; lat. — latin; lit. — lituanien; v. i. — vieil indien.

²⁰ Mêmes altérations de la finale $-il$ dans d'autres mots: [Pedersen 1906: 402].

²¹ Sur le mot arménien, voir surtout [Martirosyan 2010: 341], qui toutefois le laisse sans étymologie (à part de possibles parentés caucasiennes).

²² Il reste des points obscurs autour des lois de Francis et de Dybo, mais ils concernent leurs conditions exactes et la validité de certains exemples, et non leur existence même.

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Morphophonemic variation in Luwian clitic chains and the origin of the particle [=r]

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Abstract. The Luwian language was spoken in Ancient Anatolia and is attested through written texts that are approximately datable to 1500–800 BCE. It belongs to the Anatolian sub-family of the Indo-European family and thus represents a close relative of Hittite. The Luwian language is attested in cuneiform and hieroglyphic scripts, but the present paper is based on the data in cuneiform transmission, which reflects better the Luwian phonological system. As typical of the Anatolian languages, Luwian features the second-position Wackernagel clitics, which are arranged vis-à-vis each other according to their formal ranks but can undergo morphophonemic changes in sandhi with each other. Establishing the correct inventory of the Luwian clitics is impossible without studying the licensing conditions and outcomes of such processes. The present paper approaches this problem from the perspective of morphophonemic variation in parallel versions of Luwian cuneiform incantations.

One of the outcomes of the conducted analysis is the demonstration that the cuneiform sequences *a-ta-tar* and *a-at-tar* can reflect the same clitic chain /a=ada=dar/ at the morphophonemic level. This alternation provides a new argument toward vindicating the existence of the fortis/lenis opposition in the Luwian phonological system, which is superimposed upon the inherited opposition between voiced and voiceless plosives. Another result of this paper is the observation that the particles [=dar] and [=r], previously regarded as independent lexical units, represent allomorphs of the same clitic. The occurrences of [=r] are limited to the position after the pronominal clitics /=du/, /=mu/, and /=di/, while the variant [=dar] occurs after the pronominal clitics /=as/, /=an/, and /=ada/. A formal account involving “weak” and “strong” clitics is put forward to capture this distribution, but its ultimate rationale must have to do with the laws governing syncope and lenition in Luwian. Quite aside from its linguistic conclusions, the present paper sheds light on a number of obscure and mostly fragmentary Luwian passages, which have defied satisfactory account thus far.

Keywords: Luwian Language, cuneiform, Wackernagel clitics, morphophonemics.

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Варьирование морфофоном в лувийских цепочках клитик и происхождение частицы [=r]

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Аннотация. Ваккернагелевские клитики в лувийском языке подвержены морфонологическим изменениям в контакте друг с другом. Изучение условий и результатов сандхи внутри клитических комплексов представляется необходимой предпосылкой для установления полного инвентаря лувийских клитик. В настоящей статье эта проблема рассматривается через призму морфонологических чередований в параллельных версиях лувийских заклинаний в клинописной передаче. Одним из результатов проведенного анализа является тезис о том, что частицы [=daŕ] и [=r], ранее считавшиеся двумя различными лексическими единицами, в действительности представляют из себя алломорфы одной морфемы.

Ключевые слова: лувийский язык, клинопись, ваккернагелевские клитики, морфонология.

It is a well-known fact that several Anatolian Indo-European languages feature a system of Wackernagel clitics, whose place within a chain is normally not affected by discourse-driven permutations, being solely defined by their lexical properties. In Luwian, the clitics attached to the first tonic word within the clause are subdivided into six ranks, prescribing their position vis-à-vis each other. The first two slots within the maximum projection are occupied by the clause connectors

/=ha/, /=ba/ and the particles /=wa/, /=g(u)wa/.¹ Then follow the three slots for the dative, dative reflexive and nominative-accusative pronominal clitics, respectively. The final position within the chain is allotted to the so called “locative particles” /=tta/ and /=dar/ [Yakubovich 2015, § 7.1]. These chain-final clitics are usually left without translation. Their probable function, in the most general sense, is specifying the semantic roles of oblique arguments or adjuncts.²

Although transparent in theory, the organization of clitic chains in Luvian is obfuscated by morphophonemic changes (internal sandhi). One optional process concerns the clitic pronoun /=ada/ ‘it, they, them’ (Rank 5), which can lose its final vowel in front of the clitics /=tta/ and /=dar/ (Rank 6). This syncope can lead the complete disappearance of /=ada/ on the phonetic level and in graphic representation. For example, the morphophonemic sequence /a=(a)d(a)=tta/, where /a=/ is the sentence initial particle, can be recorded in cuneiform as either *a-ta-at-ta* [a=da=tta] or, with syncope, *a-at-ta*. The second sequence, phonetically [a=t=ta], would be indistinguishable from /a=tta/.³ This means, in practice, that syntactic information may be necessary for determining the presence or absence of /=ada/ in the morphophonemic representation of *a-at-ta* or similar clitic chains. The interpretation of ambiguous clitic sequences

¹ The particle /=wa/ is quotative in origin, but in some Luvian cuneiform texts its original meaning can no longer be observed, while in others this particle is altogether absent, even in quotations. For the problematic particle /=g(u)wa/, see now [Simon 2020b].

² The functional difference between the particles /=tta/ and /=dar/ lies beyond the scope of this paper, it is enough to state that they are not in free alternation in Luvian cuneiform texts, in other words, the use of one or another particle is predetermined for each particular construction. For further remarks of the function of /=dar/, see [Yakubovich 2010: 141–145] and [Giusfredi 2014: 308–311].

³ Here and below the distinction is made between the phonological and phonetic transcription. The phonological transcription is used for the representation of stems and clitic combinations without sandhi effects. The phonetic transcription is used for word-forms in context and clitic combinations involving sandhi effects. The transcription of Luvian fortis and lenis stops follows the system outlined in [Yakubovich 2015].

resulting from syncope in Luwian cuneiform texts is addressed in some detail in [Rieken, Yakubovich, forthcoming].⁴

Additional types of alternations in Wackernagel clitic chains have come to light as a result of the edition of Luwian cuneiform texts within the framework of the *Luwili* project. It is a pleasure and privilege to address them in a volume dedicated to Academician Nikolaj Nikolajevich Kazansky, whose relentless efforts contributed to the revival of Indo-European Studies in Russia and had a positive impact on the careers of many younger specialists in the field. I hope that he will find the problems at the boundary between linguistics and philology treated here to be not unlike those that he tackles in Mycenaean Studies, the field that he has made his own.

A convenient starting point for the analysis of the new data is provided by the parallel incantations (1)–(4), cited below in narrow cuneiform transliteration, with the preservation of the original line divisions.⁵ These passages have already been treated together in [Goedegebuure 2010: 305] and [Melchert 2016: 209–210], which led to incremental improvement in their understanding in both cases.⁶ A substantial innovation by the present

⁴ The relevant rule was originally formulated with reference to the Luwian hieroglyphic texts in [Rieken 2008: 640–641]. I generally abstain from discussing hieroglyphic evidence in the present contribution, because the particle /=dar/ does not occur in this corpus. Note that Melchert’s argument (*apud* [Giusfredi 2014: 31, fn 9]) for the occurrence of the particle [=r] in KARATEPE § 34 CAPUT-*ti-sa-wa/i+ra/i kwa/i-i-ta-na hwa/i-sà-i-ia* “VIA”-*wa/i-na* (“PES₂”) *i-u-na* ‘where a man fears to tread the way’ (cf. [Hawkins 2000, 1: 53]) is not compelling. The element <ra/i>, which Melchert tentatively analyzed as [=r], can be alternatively taken as reflecting [=ri], the late form of the reflexive pronoun /=di/, which is used here to underscore that the verb *hwa/i-sà-i-ia* ‘fears’ denotes an uncontrolled state (cf. typologically German *sich fürchten* or Russian *бояться* ‘id.’).

⁵ For the purpose of this paper (2) and (3) can be regarded as duplicates, although comprehensive analysis of the respective manuscripts reveals fine-grained differences between them. I cannot endorse the indirect join between that (3) and (4), which was tentatively proposed in [Goedegebuure 2010] et al.

⁶ The important discovery by Goedegebuure was the identification of the preverb /zanta/ ‘down’, the cognate of Hittite *katta* ‘id’, which had previously been treated as a pronominal form. Melchert’s contribution consisted in identifying the Luwian

analysis vis-à-vis the preceding treatments is the identification of liver and heart as targets of divine retribution. Besides the traces of ‘ŠÀ’ in KUB 32.8(+) iv 22’, this contention is supported by their immediate Hittite context. The ritual manipulations to accompany the incantations under scrutiny feature the presentation of sheep’s liver and heart on a loaf of bread. Furthermore, the *ikkunatt*-rite, to which these incantations belong, can now be interpreted on etymological grounds as “rite of treating with liver”.⁷

- (1) [ku-i]š-du-ur a<-ad>-du-wa-a[n-za a-an-ni-]’ti’-<<ya>> a-du-ut-ta
[ta-]ni-mi-in-zi DINGIR.MEŠ-z[i^{UZU}NÍG.GIG^{UZU}]’ŠÀ’ šar-ra
za-a-ti-i
[pu]-’u’-wa-an-du a-ta-tar za[-an-da x-x] tar-ma-in-du
URUDU-ya-ti
[tar-]ma-ti
‘[Wh]oever causes him evi[l], may [a]ll the gods [sn]atch up his
[liver (and) he]art in this way. May they nail them do[wn]
on top with a bronze [peg]!’; KUB 32.8(+) iv 21’–24’, CTH 759,
cf. [Starke 1985: 120].
- (2) [ku-iš-tar SISKUR-an-za-an EN-ya]’a’-ad-du[-wa-a-a]l a-an-ni-ti
a-tu-ut-ta D[INGIR.MEŠ-in-zi]
[^{UZU}NÍG.GIG^{UZU}ŠÀ šar-ra za-a-ti-]’i’ pu-u-wa-a[n-du] a-at-tar
za-an-ta
[tar-ma-i-im-ma-an a-aš-du URUDU-]’ya’[-ti tar-ma-]ti
‘[Whoever] causes e[vi]ls [to the patron of the rituals], [may] the
g[ods] snatch [up] his liver [(and) heart in this way]. [May] they
[be nailed] down on top with [a bron]ze [peg]!’; KUB 29.9 obv
10’–12’, CTH 760, cf. [Starke 1985: 123].

verb /pu(wa)-/ ‘to lift, elevate’, which in the present context can be translated with negative connotations as ‘to snatch’.

⁷ [Sasseville 2020: 562–563] offers a convincing translation of Luw. /ikkuwar/ as ‘liver’, thus supplying the first Anatolian cognate of Gk. ἥπαρ, Ved. *yákr̥t* and Lat. *iecur* ‘liver’. The abstract noun /ikkunatt(a)-/ presumably represents a formal derivative of the verb /ikkuna-/ ‘to treat with liver’, itself a denominative based on */ikkun-/, the oblique stem of /ikkuwar/.

- (3) [ku]-'i'-iš-tar ma-a[-ha-aš-ša-aš-ša-an-za-an EN-ya a-ad-du-wa-a-al]
 [a]-an-ni-i-ti a=du[-ut-ta DINGIR.MEŠ-in-zi^{UZU}NÍG.GIG^{UZU}ŠÀ]
 [ša]r-ra za-a-ti-'i' [pu-u-wa-an-du a-at-tar za-an-ta]
 [tar-m]a-a-i-im-ma-an [a-aš-du URUDU-ya-ti tar-ma-ti]
 '[Wh]oever [c]auses [evils to] the pa[tron of the rituals, may the
 gods snatch] up his [liver (and) heart in this way. May they be na-]
 iled [down on top with a bronze peg]!'; KUB 35.16(+) i 7''–10'',
 CTH 760, cf. [Starke 1985: 124].
- (4) [ku-iš-tar SISKUR-an-za-an EN-ya ad-du-wa-a-]al
 [a-an-ni-ti a-du-ut-ta ta-ni-mi-in-zi DINGIR.MEŠ-]in-zi
 [^{UZU}NÍG.GIG^{UZU}za-a-ar-za šar-ra za-a-ti-i] pu-wa-an-du
 [a-at-tar za-an-ta tar-ma-im-ma-an a-aš-du URUDU-]ya-ti
 [tar-ma-ti]
 '[Whoever causes ev]il [to the patron of the rituals, may all the god]
 s snatch [up his liver (and) heart in this way. May they be nailed
 down on top] with [a bronze peg]!'; KUB 35.117 iv 1'–5', CTH
 760, cf. [Starke 1985: 122].

The first alternation involving clitic chains in the parallel versions under discussion involves *a-ta-tar* in (5) vs. *a-at-tar* in (6), where (5) and (6) feature the transcription and morphological analysis of the matching last clauses of (1) and (2) respectively. Beyond a reasonable doubt, both sequences, *a-ta-tar* and *a-at-tar*, can be assigned the same morphological representation, which consists of the clause-initial particle /a=/, the pronominal clitic /=ada/ 'they, them' (Rank 5), and the "locative particle" /=dar/ (Rank 6). Although the two chains contain /=ada/ in two different functions, the direct object 'them' and subject 'they' respectively, both pronouns have the same reference, namely the liver and heart of the perpetrator. Furthermore, the clauses where they occur encode the same event, which requires the presence of /=ada/ in the clitic chain according to the rules of Luwian grammar.⁸ In contrast, the sequence [a=dar] is

⁸ The Watkins-Garrett rule prescribes the use of subject clitics, as opposed to the zero representation of the argument, in Anatolian intransitive clauses with the low

spelled *a-tar* in KUB 29.49 obv.⁹ 6'. Thus, the comparison between (5) and (6) suggests that the syncope of /=ada/ (Rank 5) in front of the particle /=dar/ (Rank 6) does not trigger morphological ambiguity. In this respect, the outcome of the phonetic process under discussion is different from the syncope of /=ada/ in front of /=tta/, which may result in the disappearance of morphological information, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper.⁹

- (5) *a=da=dar* *zanta* [...] *tarmaindu*
 PTC=it.ACC=PTC down nail.3PL.IMPV
 URUDU-*yadi* *tarmadi*
 of.bronze.INSTR peg.INSTR

'May they nail them down on top with a bronze peg'; KUB 32.8(+) iv 21'-24' (restored after the parallel versions).

- (6) *a=t=tar* *zanta*
 PTC=it.NOM=PTC down
tarmaimm-an *astu*
 nail.PTCP-NOM.SG.N be.3SG.IMPV
 URUDU-*yadi* *tarmadi*
 of.bronze.INSTR peg.INSTR

'May they be nailed down on top with a bronze peg'; KBo 29.9 obv. 11'-12' (restored after the parallel versions).

While the alternation addressed above is rather trivial, it has some theoretical interest as an argument for the presence of a fortis / lenis

agentivity of the subjects. The general applicability of this rule to Luwian has been demonstrated in [Melchert 2011]. Likewise, it is normally assumed that the object clitics required by the verbal frame are overtly present in Luwian on the morphosyntactic level (i.e. before the phonetic spellout).

⁹ An additional example that could illustrate the same phenomenon is KUB 35.101 obv.³ *ha-ah-ha-pa-at-tar* if analyzed as [hahha=ba=(a)d(a)=dar]. Unfortunately, the sequence under discussion occurs in a fragmentary context and the meaning of *ha-ah-ha-* is unclear. The analysis of the same sequence as the abstract noun in /-ttar/, offered in [Melchert 1993: 46], remains possible.

opposition in Luwian.¹⁰ The sequence *a-ta-tar* is written in cuneiform without graphic replication of either of the dental stops, which is consistent with the transcription [a=da=dar].¹¹ The phonetically voiced character of the Luwian (and Hittite) stops written without graphic replication follows from their consistent rendering with voiced stops in the neighbouring Ancient Near Eastern languages (see lately [Simon 2020a: 245–246]).¹² If all the Luwian stops had the same length, the syncope between two identical consonants must have been followed by degemination, i.e. $*a=(a)d(a)=dar > *a=d=dar > **[adar]$, and the contrast between $*a=dar$ and $*a=(a)d(a)=dar$ would have been lost, which, however did not happen. But if the stops written with graphic replication were normally phonetically longer, then one expects the preservation of a geminate after syncope, which indeed corresponds to the observed state of affairs.¹³

¹⁰ The discussion of the contrastive laryngeal features characterizing Luwian plosives has intensified in recent years. While a number of representatives of the Leiden school emphasize the opposition fortis/lenis (see most recently [Vertegaal 2020]), the primary opposition voiceless-voiced is advocated in [Simon 2020a]. As must be clear from the discussion in this paragraph, I share a compromise position, according to which the voice and length features reinforced each other in ensuring phonetic contrast between the intervocalic pairs of Luwian stops, i.e. [-b-]/[-pp-], [-d-]/[-tt-], [-g-/-kk-].

¹¹ Cf. also the additional instances of /=dar/ written without graphic replication after vowels: KUB 9.31 ii 25 *pa-a-tar*, KUB 29.31 iv 6' *a-wa-tar*, KUB 35.43+ ii 36 *ma-am[-m]a-na-tar*.

¹² This observation provides a straightforward phonetic argument against the contention in [Katz 2007] that the Homeric clitic *ταρ* is borrowed from the Luwian clitic /=dar/. For a recent objection against the same hypothesis coming from a Hellenist, cf. [Jiménez Delgado 2017: 542, fn. 28].

¹³ Note, however, that in other cases the optional vowel syncope between two identical lenis stops may yield a lenis stop in Luwian. The case in point is provided by the instrumental forms in stereotypical blessing formulae, e.g. KUB 35.43+ ii 38 *an-na-ru-um-ma-hi-ta-ti*, KBo 29.6 i 4' [*a-an-na-r*]u-um-ma-hi-ta-ti vs. KBo 29.3+ ii 8 *a-an-na-ru-um-ma-hi-ti*, KUB 35.16 i 11' [*an-na-r*]u-um-ma-hi-ti or KUB 35.43+ ii 38 [*h*]u-u-i-du-wa-la-a-hi-ta-ti vs. KBo 32.8(+ iv 14', KBo 29.31 iv 8' *hu-it-wa-la-hi-ti*, KBo 29.3+ ii 8 *hu-i-it-wa-la-hi-'ti*'. A likely factor that contributed to the secondary lenition of the new stops in this case was analogy with the other instrumental endings, which invariably end in /-di/ in Luwian.

Now, in addition to this syncope, the examples (1)–(4) feature one more instance of a suggestive morphophonemic change involving clitics. The dependent clause ‘whoever causes evil to the patron of the rituals’ at the beginning of (3) contrasts with a shorter variant ‘whoever causes him evil’ at the beginning of (1).¹⁴ Below, these two clauses are transcribed and annotated as (7) and (8) respectively. There is no doubt that the referent of the clitic pronoun /=*du*/ ‘to him’ in (8) is the patron of the rituals, in other words, the two clauses are pragmatically equivalent. Nevertheless, they feature one more difference, which up to now has been considered lexical: the particle [=dar] in (7) contrasts with the particle [=r] in (8).¹⁵

- (7) *kwis=dar malhassassanz-an*
 who.NOM.SG=PTC ritual.POSS.PL-DAT.SG
niya attuwāl annīdi
 lord.DAT.SG evil.ACC.PL cause.3SG.PRS

‘Whoever causes evils to the patron of the rituals’; KUB 35.16(+)
 i 7’–8’ (restored after the parallel versions).

- (8) *kwis=du=r attuwanza annīdi*
 who.NOM.SG=he.DAT=PTC evil.ACC.SG cause.3SG.PRS

‘Whoever causes him evil’; KBo 29.9 iv 21’ (restored after the parallel versions).

¹⁴ The clause ‘whoever causes evil to the patron of the rituals’ belongs to the stock of standard formulae used in Luwian incantations. It is best preserved in KUB 9.6 iii 25’–26’ [Starke 1985: 115], for the most detailed treatment of this passage available thus far, see [Garrett, Kurke 1994]. In contrast, the shorter variant of this clause is unique to our corpus.

¹⁵ An additional difference between (7) and (8) does not affect the substance of this paper. The form *a<-ad>-du-wa-a[n-za]* = [attuwanza] in (8), if correctly restored, represents a dialectal accusative singular form [Yakubovich 2013/2014: 285–286], which corresponds to the accusative plural form [attuwāl] in (7). The meanings of the two forms are obviously similar in context. Note that the spelling [a-an-ni-] *ti*⁷ <<ya>> *a-du-ut-ta* in (1) must reflect a false sandhi between [annīdi] and [a=du=tta] at the beginning of the following clause, which could be introduced in the process of dictation.

One thing that is clear about the particle [=r] is that it always occurs at the end of the clitic chain, and thus can be provisionally assigned Rank 6. Otherwise it represents “a very unclear enclitic element” [Melchert 1993: 182]. Unlike the Luwian “locative particles” /=*tta*/ and /=*dar*/, which find formal cognates =*te* and =*de* in the related Lycian language [Melchert 2004: 8, 61], [=r] lacks obvious counterparts elsewhere in Anatolian. One should, however, take notice of an earlier attempt to link the particles [=r] and /=*dar*/: according to [Giusfredi 2014: 313–314], /=*dar*/ can be analyzed as the historical combination of the “locative particles” /=*tta*/ and /=*r*/. In order to account for the discrepancy between the fortis stop in /=*tta*/ and its lenis counterpart in /=*dar*/, Giusfredi tentatively proposed the lenition of /=*tta*/ when it is driven outside the final position in the clitic chain. Unfortunately, Giusfredi’s account does not have the explanatory status with regard to the origin of [=r]. If one follows it, one is forced to assume the existence of a separate Rank 7, for which the Luwian clitic chains do not otherwise supply material evidence, for the sake of this obscure particle.

A more straightforward approach, in my opinion, is to assume the allomorph [=r] in (8) represents a shorter variant of /=*dar*/ in (7), conditioned by the presence of the preceding particle /=*du*/ ‘to him’ (Rank 3). As the initial fast check of this hypothesis, it is possible to go through the other occurrences of [=r] looking for distributional coherence. The results are promising: KUB 35.133 iii 1 *a-ú-i-dur* / [*awi=du=r*],¹⁶ KBo 35.48 rev. 10' [*zi-la-d*]*u-úr* / [*zila=du=r*], KUB 35.102 i 6' *a-ti-ir* / [*a=di=r*], KUB 35.125 r. col. 6', 7' *a-du-úr* / [*a=du=r*], KUB 35.125 r. col. 8' [*a-*]*du-úr* / [*a=du=r*], KUB 35.98 obv. 8 (-)*x-ta-du-úr*, KUB 25.39 iv 7 *šu-um-ma-al-la-an-na-mu-ur* / [*summalla=mu=r*], KBo 29.28 obv. 6 *hu-pa-al-la-aš-ša-wa-ti-ir* / [*huballassa=wa=di=r*]. We can easily see that the final [=r] appears at the end of the clitic chain only after oblique

¹⁶ Differently [Melchert 1993: 182]: [*awidu=r*], implying the form of 3 sg. impv. rather than 2 sg. impv. of /*awi-*/ ‘to come’. Note, however 2 sg. impv. *a-ni-ya* in KUB 35.133 iii 4 and 2 sg. impv. *pí-i-ya* in KUB 35.133 iii 14, whereas 3 sg. impv. *a-wi₅-du* appears first in KUB 35.133 iii 16.

pronominal clitics, namely [=du] ‘to him’ (Rank 3), [=mu] ‘to me’ (Rank 3), and [=di] ‘to himself’ (Rank 4).¹⁷

No less instructive are the results of the reverse test for the presence of the full particle [=dar] after the same pronominal clitics /=du/, /=mu/, and /=di/. The only potential example of this kind is the fragmentary sequence KUB 25.38 obv. 8’ (-)x-ta-du-tar = [-ta(=)du=dar] (cf. [Melchert 1993: 210]), but in this case (-)x-tadu may alternatively be analyzed as an imperative verbal form. The opposite distribution characterizes the position after the Rank 5 pronominal clitics /=as/, /=an/, and /=ada/, which mark subjects or direct objects: here we have about 10 occurrences of [=dar], again according to data presented in [Melchert 1993: 210], but no instances of [=r]. Thus, the data at our disposal suggest a (near-)complementary distribution between the segments [=dar] and [=r], which facilitates in turn their treatment as allomorphs.

Naturally, the assumption that [=dar] and [=r] are variants of the same morpheme depends on whether they can be treated as synonyms. Here I must admit that the evidence is limited and its best part has already been presented above. The contrastive examples (7) and (8) represent the only case where the two assumed allomorphs occupy the same slot in the same construction, and therefore their semantic identity emerges as the straightforward combinatorial solution. The second best example is the contrastive pair (9)–(10), where [=dar] and [=r] occur in ditransitive constructions, which both involve verbs with the meaning ‘to tie, bind’.¹⁸ Example (10) features [=dar] directly attached to a nominal form, while in (9) the oblique clitic [=du] marking a raised possessor is found in front of the variant [=r]. Both “locative particles” are presumably head-marking the oblique arguments, namely the items something else is attached to. The relevant noun (‘body’) is overtly expressed in (10), while in (9) it

¹⁷ Formally, the clitic /=mu/ can also mark the direct object ‘me’, but /hwiya-/ ‘to run’, which functions as the predicate in the relevant sentence, is normally not combined with indirect objects. Cf. the discussion of KUB 25.39 iv 7–8 later in this paper.

¹⁸ The verb /hab(a)i-/ ‘to bind’ is not restored in [Starke 1985] but listed in [Melchert 1993: 55] in connection with the contexts mentioned in (10). For details see [Melchert 1988: 238–240].

is presumably co-referential to the blooded clothes mentioned in the preceding clause. Although the association of the verbs /hishiya-/ ‘to tie’ and /hab(a)i-/ ‘to bind’ with two different “locative particles” cannot technically be ruled out, the hypothesis that we are dealing here with allomorphs of the same particle obviously simplifies the account.

- (9) *Annaruminzi* *ashanuwanta*
Annarumi-gods.NOM.PL blooded.ACC.PL.N
kwinzi *wasantari*
REL.NOM.PL.C wear.3PL.PRS.MED
lulahinz=dar *huppara(n)z*
of.Lulahhi.ACC.SG=PTC sash.ACC.PL
kwinzi *hishiyanti*
REL.NOM.PL.C tie.3PL.PRS

‘The Annarummi deities, who wear bloodied (clothes), who tie on top the sashes of the *lulahhi*-barbarians’; KUB 9.31ii 22–24, CTH 757, cf. [Starke 1985: 53].

- (10) [*zil*]a=du=r *massaninzi* *zamman*
then=he.DAT=PTC god.NOM.PL destruction.ACC.SG
tabaru [*ta*]daryamma *hīrun*
t.ACC.SG curse.ACC.SG perjury.ACC.SG
wassini *nis* *ha[ba(inti)]*
body.DAT.SG PROHIB bind.3PL.IMPV

‘Then may the gods not bind to his body *destruction, judgment, curse, and perjury*’; KUB 35.48 rev. 10’–11’ (restored after KBo 29.3+ iii 9’–10’), CTH 761, cf. [Starke 1985: 156].

In the instance of several other contexts featuring [=r], it is possible to claim that they are syntactically similar to those where one might expect /=dar/ despite the absence of direct parallels. For example, although the line from the Istanuwa Songs KUB 25.39 iv 7–8 *šu-um-ma-al-la-an-na-mu-ur har-la-a pâr-la-a hu-u-i-ya-ad-da* remains rather obscure, we can assume that it is a ditransitive clause. Its predicate is almost certainly /hwiya-/ ‘to run’, while its initial phonetic word *šu-um-ma-al-la-an-na-mu-ur* can be analyzed as the combination of the

neuter plural subject [summallanna], the oblique object [=mu] ‘me’ and the particle [=r] (thus also [Giusfredi 2014: 312]). The “locative particle” was arguably deployed here in order to specify the role of the indirect object (e.g. “ran against me” or “ran on top of me”?). This is perfectly compatible with the standard interpretation of /=dar/, summarized at the beginning of this paper.

The passage cited in (11) below causes difficulties due to the fragmentary state of its preservation but is reasonably clear from the lexical viewpoint. The first three lines can be partially and approximately restored as follows: ‘If a m[an *X-ed*, a god took] from him manhood, [if these are his wives,] he took [from them] womanhood’. The lines to follow likely refer to further atrocities inflicted upon the wives of the protagonist, which are mentioned both as direct objects ([wanattinz(a)], line 5) and indirect objects ([wanattiyanz(a)], line 6’). At the same time, we observe the contrast between the clause-initial complex [a=du] in line 5’ and [a=du=r] in line 6’, where [=du] is the raised possessor ‘his’. In line 5’, ‘wives’ (acc. pl.) must function as the direct object, while in line 6’ the same referent (dat. pl.) can only function as the indirect object. Presumably, the introduction of the clitic [=r] again specifies the indirect object’s semantic role (‘on his wives’ or ‘against his wives’?). The function of [=r] that emerges from this discussion is similar to the one proposed for the preceding example, and again fits in well with the status of [=dar] and [=r] as an allomorph of /=dar/.

- (11) 2’ *a-ú-wa ma-a-an* L[Ú-iš ...] If a m[an ...]
 3’ *a-du-ut-ta zi-da-a-hi-š*[*a la-a-at-ta* ...] [took] his manhood [d ...]
 4’ *aš-ru-la-a-hi-ša la-a-at-ta* x[- ...] took womanhood [...]
 5’ *a-a-du* MUNUS-*at-ti-in-za* x[- ...] [...] his wives [...]
 6’ *a-du-úr* MUNUS-*at-ti-ya*[-*an-za* ...] on/against his wife[s ...]
 7’ *a-du-úr* MUNUS-*at-ti-ya-an-za* ...] on/against his wiv[es ...]
 8’ [*a*]-*du-úr* MUNUS-*at-ti-ya-an-za* ...] [o]n/[a]gainst his wiv[es ...]
 KUB 35.125 r. col. 2’–8’, CTH 768², cf. [Starke 1985: 252].

The other contexts featuring the clitic /=r/ are too fragmentary for a meaningful semantic discussion. The paucity of evidence is, of course, unfortunate, and the lack of fully preserved clauses featuring the sequence

/=di=r/ is particularly regrettable. If, however, we sum up the available facts, /=r/ in (8) clearly behaves as an allomorph of /=dar/, three more contexts support rather than contradict the functional identity the two clitics, and there are no data that offers evidence against it. Therefore, there are no reasons to treat the (near-)complementary distribution between /=dar/ and /=r/ as a coincidence.

The last challenge is to provide a phonetic interpretation for the proposed distribution of the two allomorphs. We have seen that /a=(a)d(a)=tta/ and /a=(a)d(a)=dar/ can develop into [atta] and [attar] respectively, but /a=du=dar/ yields [adur] as opposed to **[attar]. Descriptively, we observe here the contrast between the shortening in penultimate vs. ultimate syllables of the clitic chain. From the cognitive perspective, there is some logic in the coexistence of the two patterns: if the penultimate syncope had been possible in any clitic chain, then /a=du=dar/, /a=di=dar/, and /a=(a)d(a)=dar/ would all have yielded **[attar], and if the particle /dar/ could lose its vowel in any type of chain, then /a=(a)d(a)=dar/ would have yielded **[adar], thus merging with the outcome of /a=dar/. We know, however, that linguistic changes do not always conspire to ensure preservation of grammatical contrasts: the optional merger of /a=ada=tta/ and /a=tta/ in Luwian is just one illustration of the opposite state of affairs. It is therefore appropriate to look for an account that derives the rules of syncope from the individual properties of the clitic morphemes involved.

In purely formal terms, I can propose a scenario, according to which the clitics of Ranks 3–6 can undergo syncope if they are marked in the lexicon as “weak”. The two clitics with such a marking were /=ada/ and /=dar/, while the remaining clitics were “strong”. In order for the syncope rule to be activated, a clitic of Rank 6 must have been added to the chain. Under default conditions, the syncope could only occur in the penultimate syllable (/a=(a)d(a)=tta/ → [atta], /a=(a)d(a)=dar/ → [attar]), but if this process were blocked by a “strong” clitic, then syncope of the final syllable could take place (e.g. /a=du=dar/ → [adur]). The proposed model would account for all the changes treated in this paper, but naturally leaves open the question of what makes individual clitics “weak” or “strong”.

In terms of phonological naturalness, I submit that /=ada/ was the best candidate for allegro reduction via syncope among the pronominal clitics.

First, the syncope would be blocked in those pronominal clitics that ended in a consonant, i.e. /as/ ‘(s)he’, /an/ ‘him, her’, and /mmas/ ‘them’, since their syncope in front of /tta/ or /dar/ would have yielded impermissible clusters of three consonants. Second, in the instance of the 2/3 sg. reflexive clitic /di/ it is possible to argue that at the moment when the syncope rule was first implemented, this morpheme, going back to Proto-Indo-European **toi*, was still pronounced as **dī*. The same, *mutatis mutandis*, is applicable to the 2/3 sg. reflexive clitic /mi/.¹⁹ Third, the vocalism of the clitics 1 sg. /mu/ and 2/3 sg. /du/ was likely due to analogy with that of the free-standing pronominal forms **amū* ‘me’ and **tū* ‘thee’, cf. [Yakubovich 2010: 170]. It is probable that the synchronic connection between the stressed and clitic pronouns was still synchronically felt and prevented *-u* from syncope. This would leave /ada/ as the only pronominal clitic featuring a historical short vowel in the penultimate open syllable, which must have contributed to its “weakness”. But the main factor that facilitated the syncope in /a(a)d(a)=dar/ → [attar] and similar combinations was the placement of the penultimate vowel between two identical or similar consonants, as argued in more detail in Rieken and Yakubovich, forthcoming.²⁰

The factors that conditioned the “weakness” of the chain-final particle /dar/, as opposed to /tta/ must have been different. Here the alleged reduction must have involved precocious lenition, i.e. *=*dar* > *=*rar* > [r].²¹

¹⁹ For the origin of the Luwian reflexive clitics, see [Yakubovich 2010: 168–173]. For the hypothesis that the Proto-Indo-European diphthongs **ei* and **oi* can still be reflected as long vowels in Luwian cuneiform texts regardless of the accent, see [Rieken 2017: 28].

²⁰ For typological parallels involving syncope that is restricted to the position between identical consonants, see [Blevins 2004: 172]. A further factor that may have contributed to the syncope in this case was the perceived functional identity of the Luwian particle /ada/ and its Hittite equivalent /ad/, cf. [Yakubovich 2010: 64]. It is, however, doubtful that this factor played the decisive role, because the syncope in penultimate open syllable is also attested between the identical consonants in nominal forms (cf. fn. 13 above).

²¹ For flapping *-d-* > *-r-*, a regular sound change postulated for Luwian in the first millennium BCE, see [Rieken, Yakubovich 2010: 216–217]. Note that if one accepts the traditional account of the same sound change as rhotacism *-d-* > *-r-* and extends it to the precocious development in the clitic under discussion, then the

Naturally, this process was precluded in those cases where the first consonant had already been reinforced through syncope in the allegro form, as in /a=(a)d(a)=dar/ → [attar]. Since [=r] remained fully unambiguous as the allomorph of /=dar/, there was no pressure to eliminate the allegro form, and it could be grammaticized or near-grammaticized in position after certain clitics. In contrast, since the syncope led to the loss of morphological information in the instance of /a=(a)d(a)=tta/ → [atta], the allegro form here remained a free variant up to the end of the written transmission of the Luwian language.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; acc. — accusative; c. — common gender; dat. — dative; impv. — imperative; instr. — instrumental; med. — middle; n. — neuter gender; nom. — nominative; ptc. — particle; ptcp. — participle; pl. — plural; poss. — possessive; prohib. — prohibitive; prs. — present; rel. — relative; sg. — singular.

Gk. — Greek; Lat. — Latin; Luw. — Luwian; Ved. — Vedic.

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change **=dar* > **=rar* > *=r*, involving the syncope between two identical consonants, becomes even more straightforward.

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Два маленьких животных (др.-гр. ἄρνιον и ὄδιον)

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Аннотация. Первая часть статьи показывает, что ἄρνιον вопреки словарям не означает ‘овчина, руно’. В пассаже Luc. *Salt.* 43, который обычно приводится в этой связи, речь безусловно идет не о золотом руно, но о золотом барашке (τὸ χρυσοῦν ἄρνιον), ставшем причиной ссоры Атрея и Фиеста: это подтверждается как контекстом, так и словоупотреблением Еврипида, Псевдо-Аполлодора, Евстафия, Цецца и самого Лукиана. Таким образом, перед нами лексикографический фантом, источником которого, судя по всему, следует считать издание Лукиана И. Г. Лемана (1825): впервые приняв в текст чтение τὸ χρυσοῦν ἄρνιον вместо стоящей в нескольких recensioes глоссы τὸ χρυσοῦν δέρας, Леман тем не менее сохранил в неприкосновенности старый латинский перевод И. М. Геснера, напечатанный внизу страницы («augeum vellus»). Далее ошибка проникла в пятое издание словаря Фр. Пассова, подготовленное В. Ростом и Фр. Пальмом (1841), а оттуда в словарь Лидделла и Скотта (1843), в составе которого пережила все переработки и супплекменты. Этот вывод имеет некоторое значение для истории LSJ: по всей видимости, Лидделл и Скотт все же использовали начальные выпуски труда Роста — Пальма уже в первом издании своего словаря, хотя в предисловии прямо утверждали обратное.

Во второй части оспаривается недавняя гипотеза С. А. Тахтаджяна, согласно которой гапакс ὄδιον (X. *Met.* 1, 2, 30) является специальным свиноводческим термином со значением ‘подсвинок’. Следует, однако, отметить, что Аристофан Византийский не упоминает этого слова в соответствующем разделе своего лексикографического трактата Περὶ ὀνομασίας ἠλικῶν, специально посвященного обозначениям людей и животных разных возрастов. Еще в 1910 г. У. Петерсен убедительно интерпретировал ὄδιον не как полноценный диминутив, но как детериоратив: ксенофоновский Сократ имеет в виду не «поросят» и не «подсвинок», а «жалких свиней» независимо от их возраста.

Ключевые слова: ἄρνιον, ὄδιον, диминутивы, Лукиан, Ксенофонт, греческая лексикография.

Two little animals (Ancient Greek ἀρνίον and ὕδιον)

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Abstract. The first part of this paper aims to demonstrate that ἀρνίον does not mean ‘sheepskin, fleece’ (*pace* LSJ, GE, DGE, *etc.*). The only instance of this unusual meaning that is cited by all dictionaries, Luc. *Salt.* 43, manifestly deals not with the Golden Fleece, but with the golden lamb (τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀρνίον) of Atreus: this is evident both from the context and from the lexical usage of Euripides, Ps.-Apollodorus, Eustathius, Tzetzes, and Lucian himself. The sources of this lexicographical phantom date back to the edition of Lucian by I. Th. Lehmann (1825), who rightly expunged from the text the gloss τὸ χρυσοῦν δέρας of some *recentiores* in favour of τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀρνίον, but left uncorrected the old Latin translation by I. M. Gesner (*aureum vellus*) at the bottom of the page. Thus, ἀρνίον ‘fleece’ penetrates first Rost’s and Palm’s edition of Passow’s *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (1841) and then *LS* (1843), surviving through all its revisions. This seems to indicate that Liddell and Scott had made some use of Rost’s and Palm’s work already in the first edition of *LS*, despite explicitly denying it in their *Preface*.

The second part contests the recent hypothesis by S. A. Takhtajan, according to which the *hapax legomenon* ὕδιον (*X. Mem.* 1, 2, 30) would be a pig-breeding *terminus technicus* (‘shoat’). It should be noted, however, that Aristophanes of Byzantium does not mention ὕδιον in the ‘pig-section’ of his lexicographical treatise *Περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικιῶν*, dedicated to the specific names of different stages of life of men and animals (fr. 163–171 Slater). Already in 1910 Walter Petersen had identified ὕδιον not as a true diminutive, but as a pejorative: the ὕδια of Xenophon’s Socrates are neither ‘piglets’ (*pace* GE and CGL) nor ‘shoats’, but the ‘filthy swine’ of unspecified age.

Keywords: ἀρνίον, ὕδιον, diminutives, Lucian, Xenophon, Greek lexicography.

Когда несколько лет назад был опубликован кельнский папирус XV, 594 [Daniel 2017], где впервые оказалось засвидетельствовано древнегреческое слово для котенка — αἰλούριον, научно-популярные

сайты донесли радость обретения новой и симпатичной лексической единицы до самой широкой публики. Неожиданно громкое эхо этого события побуждает нас поделиться с юбиляром двумя заметками, которые также связаны с греческими диминутивами на -ιον, обозначающими домашних животных.

1. ἀρνίον

Уже в первом издании словаря Лидделла — Скотта (1843) для слова ἀρνίον регистрируются два значения — общеупотребительное ‘ягненок’ и уникальное ‘овчина, руно’ (‘a sheep-skin, fleece’), засвидетельствованное в Luc. *Salt.* 43. Само по себе это не кажется невозможным (ср. Hsch. α 26 Latte: ἀρνόν· μᾶλλον· ἢ ἄρτι τεχθὲν πρόβατον), однако привлекает внимание, поскольку животное и его шкура либо шерсть называются по-гречески одним и тем же словом, как правило, в рамках поэтической метонимии¹. Обращение к тексту Лукиана² сулит неожиданности. В перечне пелопоннесских мифов, знакомство с которыми желательно для пантомимического артиста, в свой черед заходит речь о золотом, т. е. златорунном, *барашке*, из-за которого, при участии Аэропы, вспыхнула роковая вражда между Атреем и Фиестом: ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰ Πελοπιδῶν καὶ Μυκῆνας καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν, Ἴναχος καὶ Ἴω καὶ ὁ φρουρὸς αὐτῆς Ἄργος καὶ Ἀτρεὺς καὶ Θυέστης καὶ Ἀερόπη, καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀρνίον... (‘кроме того, дела Пелопидов, и Микены, и то, что случилось в них и до них: Инах, Ио и ее страж Аргус, и Атрей, и Фиест, и Аэропа, и τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀρνίον...’). Учитывая, что у Еврипида (*El.* 719; *IT* 196; 813; *Or.* 812) и в эпиграмме «Библиотеки» Аполлодора (2, 10–11) тот же Пелопидов агнец

¹ См. об этом [Negi 2003: 274] (в связи с проблемой восполнения стиха *Erinn.* 401, 13 SH).

² Авторство трактата *De saltatione*, чересчур эксцентричного даже для Лукиана, не раз ставилось под сомнение; ср., однако, аргументированные соображения Г. Андерсона [Anderson 1977].

называется χρυσέα (-εία, -ῆ) ἀρήν, у самого Лукиана в другом месте (Luc. *Astr.* 12) — χρύσειος ἀρήν, у Евстафия (*ad Il.* vol. 1, p. 282; vol. 4, p. 796 van der Valk; *ad Od.* vol. 1, p. 36 Stallbaum) — χρυσόμαλλον ἀρνίον, а у Цеца (*Chiliades* 1, 433) прямо-таки сказано Ἀτρέως ἐν τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἦν τι χρυσοῦν ἀρνίον, значение ‘овчина, руно’ для ἀρνίον должно быть переведено в разряд словарных фантомов.

Как всегда в таких случаях, поучительно проследить историю ошибки. По-видимому, занимающее нас значение впервые появилось в пятом издании словаря Франца Пассова, которое вышло в редакции В. Роста и Фр. Пальма (1841)³. Кажется, мы можем назвать и первоисточник недоразумения: это девятитомный Лукиан Т. Геймстергузия и И. Ф. Рейца в переработке И. Т. Лемана (1825). В исходном тексте Геймстергузия — Рейца (1743) стояло чтение нескольких рукописей τὸ χρυσοῦν δέρας⁴, что и было передано в помещенном тут же латинском переводе (‘aureum vellus’) [Reitz 1743: 293]⁵; Леман же, как явствует из его примечания *ad loc.*, справедливо расценил этот вариант как глоссу и первым ввел в текст τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀρνίον, однако перевод по какой-то причине оставил в неприкосновенности [Lehmann 1825: 145; 476–477].

В дальнейшем это ghost-meaning не только сумело благополучно пережить все переработки труда Лидделла — Скотта⁶, включая оба

³ В предыдущих изданиях словаря Пассова (1819–1831) ἀρνίον имеет только значение ‘Böcklein, Lämmchen’, а место из Лукиана (как и какие-либо другие места) не приводится.

⁴ Сейчас оно даже не попадает в критические аппараты, так как содержащиеся его *rescentiores* признаны стемматически незначимыми.

⁵ Подготовкой текста *De saltatione* в этом издании занимался Рейц, латинский перевод трактата принадлежит И. М. Геснеру.

⁶ Кроме того, в двухлетнем промежутке между Ростом — Пальмом и Лидделлом — Скоттом значение ‘руно’ для ἀρνίον успело появиться также и в словаре Вильгельма Папе (1842), причем двойная дефиниция Роста — Пальма (‘Schaffell, Vliess’) воспроизведена там дословно. Вопрос о том, откуда это значение попало в словарь Лидделла — Скотта, оказывается неожиданно сложным. Согласно их предисловиям, материал *переработанной* Ростом и Пальмом версии Пассова (последний из четырех томов которой вышел в 1857 г.) был учтен лишь в пятом издании словаря (1861; см. [Stray 2019: 13]), между тем как изначально Лидделл

Супплемент, но и оказалось без проверки унаследовано новейшими лексикографическими сводами, притязающими на независимость — а именно словарем Франко Монтанари и «Diccionario griego-español». Напротив, в альтернативной традиции, представленной монументальной парижской версией «Thesaurus Graecae linguae» Анри Этьена под редакцией К. Б. Хазе и братьев Диндорфов (1831), место из Лукиана трактовано верно: там оно иллюстрирует, в числе других, единственное значение ἀρνίον ‘agnellus’. Все это заставляет еще раз осознать правоту слов Питера Глэра: «Как бы ни был хорош словарь Пассова, форма словарных статей была тем не менее задана Лидделлу и Скотту извне. Лидделл в одном из своих поздних писем сетовал, что ему бы хотелось начать работу над словарем с нуля, но (...) едва ли можно надеяться, что издатель будет готов ждать необходимое для этого время. Переделывать словарь, в котором все словарные статьи прописаны сколько-нибудь подробно, нелегко» [Глэр 2010: 674–675].

2. ὄδιον

В 2019 г. в материалах очередных чтений памяти И. М. Тронского С. А. Тахтаджян опубликовал статью о редчайшем слове ὄδιον в том месте «Меморабилий» Ксенофонта (1, 2, 30)⁷, где Сократ наносит Критию болезненное оскорбление: λέγεται τὸν Σωκράτην ἄλλων τε πολλῶν

и Скотт исходили из последней прижизненной редакции труда Пассова, появившейся в 1831 г. В предисловии к первому изданию Лидделл и Скотт упоминают свежие первые выпуски словарей как Роста — Пальма, так и Папе, но заявляют, что не могли ими воспользоваться («of course, we have not been able to make any use of them» [Liddell, Scott 1843: VI n.]). Предполагать, что это утверждение не вполне соответствует действительности, на наш взгляд, естественнее, чем что одна и та же ошибка была сделана немецким и британским тандемами независимо.

⁷ Другие случаи употребления слова принадлежат византийским лексиконам и комментируют ксенофоновское место ([Тахтаджян 2019: 990]; о разночтении ὀδία / ὄδια см. там же).

παρόντων καὶ τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὑκὸν αὐτῶ δοκοίη πάσχειν ὁ Κριτίας, ἐπιθυμῶν Εὐθυδήμῳ προσκνήσθαι ὥσπερ τὰ ὕδια τοῖς λίθοις (‘говорят, что Сократ в присутствии Евтидема и многих других сказал, что Критий, как ему кажется, испытывает некое свиное чувство, желая потереться о Евтидема, как ὕδια о камни’). С. А. Тахтаджян доказывает, что это существительное следует переводить как ‘подсвинок’ — техническое обозначение свиньи-подростка; по мысли исследователя, именно специально-свиноводческим характером термина обусловлено его отсутствие в других сохранившихся памятниках греческой литературы.

Между тем против такого понимания можно, как кажется, выдвинуть *argumentum ex silentio*. В самом деле, благодаря эксцерптам Парижской рукописи и Евстафию до нас дошла та часть лексикологического труда Аристофана Византийского «О названиях возрастов» (Περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικιῶν), которая была посвящена домашним свиньям (fr. 163–171 Slater)⁸. Очевидно, что в своем изложении Аристофан (помимо всего прочего, читавший Ксенофонта) не мог бы упустить слова ὕδιον, если бы считал его имеющим терминологическое «возрастное» значение⁹. С другой стороны, довод автора «ὕδια (...) достигли половой зрелости (...) недавно, раз половое влечение проявляется у них в особенно острой форме» [Тахтаджян 2019: 991], опровергается свиноводческой практикой: как любезно сообщила нам Т. В. Шарыгина¹⁰, взрослые хряки трутся с этой целью о «камни» и о прочие предметы столь же регулярно, как и молодежь, так что на современных свинофермах для них даже устроены специальные станки.

⁸ В богато документированной статье С. А. Тахтаджяна этот труд Аристофана упоминается, но по иному поводу [Там же: 992–993].

⁹ Как показывает Кр. Калланан (как раз на примере раздела о свиньях), внимание к реальному словоупотреблению торжествует у Аристофана над жесткой лексикографической схемой *νέα* — *μέσα* — *τέλεια*: второй раздел в этой классификации оставлен пустым, т. к. термина для промежуточной стадии между поросенком и взрослой свиньей в арсенале александрийского филолога нет [Callanan 1987: 85].

¹⁰ Пользуясь случаем, Татьяна Владимировна (ныне — генеральный директор свиноводческой компании) передает самые сердечные поздравления юбиляру, у которого она слушала древнегреческий язык в аспирантские годы.

Как же следует понимать уменьшительное ὄδιον? На наш взгляд, ответ на этот вопрос содержится в самой статье С. А. Тахтаджяна. В одном из примечаний он упоминает, что в известной монографии Уолтера Петерсена о семантике греческих диминутивов на -ιον это слово помещено в раздел «Deterioratives» [Petersen 1910: 232; Тахтаджян 2019: 991, сн. 2]. Дальше, правда, следует странный вывод: «Следовательно, по его (Петерсена. — В. З.) мнению, ὄδιον сохраняет здесь значение диминутивности». Между тем Петерсен — на наш взгляд, совершенно правильно — выводит из пассажа *Меморабили* не уменьшительное, а уничижительное значение суффикса (как в русских диминутивах *старушонка*, *гаденыш* и многих других): в контексте грубой отповеди Критию ὄδια имеет в виду не поросят (так, например, в словаре Монтанари и в новейшем «The Cambridge Greek Lexicon») и не подсвинков, а «жалких свиней» независимо от их возраста. Отметим, что многие детериоративы в списке Петерсена являются гапаксами, что естественно в силу их окказионального употребления¹¹. Как мы знаем, для идиолекта исторического Сократа были равно характерны и технические термины самых различных профессий, и резкие выражения; наш случай следует отнести ко второй категории¹².

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¹¹ «There are only very few things that are so habitually looked upon with contempt in so many different circumstances that the use of a deteriorative becomes habitual» [Petersen 1910: 123].

¹² Благодарим Дарью Кондакову (Оксфорд) за помощь в работе с ранними изданиями словаря Лидделла — Скотта.

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Этика научных публикаций

Журнал «Acta Linguistica Petropolitana. Труды Института лингвистических исследований» (далее — ALP) — научное периодическое издание, не имеющее политической, идеологической, религиозной или иной направленности; деятельность журнала связана исключительно с академической наукой. Все участники редакционного и издательского процесса (авторы, рецензенты, редакторы и члены редколлегии) обязаны учитывать это и следовать указанным ниже этическим стандартам, основанным на рекомендациях Комитета по этике научных публикаций (COPE). Каждый участник издательского процесса должен принять все разумные меры для предотвращения недобросовестной практики в публикационной деятельности (плагиата, изложения недостоверных сведений и неправомерного использования научных результатов в интересах тех лиц, которые не участвовали в их получении).

Авторское право и открытый доступ

В соответствии с Будапештской инициативой по открытому доступу к научным публикациям (Budapest Open Access Initiative, BOAI) журнал ALP обеспечивает свободный доступ к опубликованным материалам, руководствуясь принципом поддержки глобального обмена знаниями. Какие-либо сборы за публикацию в журнале ALP с авторов не взимаются.

Обязанности авторов

Автор гарантирует, что рукопись, подаваемая для публикации в журнале ALP, является оригинальным текстом, и подтверждает свои исключительные авторские права на эту публикацию. В случае совместной работы материалы для публикации может подать один из авторов, указав всех соавторов и предоставив необходимую и достоверную информацию о них.

Автору следует указать организации и учреждения, предоставившие финансовую поддержку или оказавшие содействие в создании рукописи, при наличии

таковых. При необходимости первый автор должен быть готов уточнить сведения о вкладе каждого из соавторов в содержание статьи.

Автор обязан в полном объеме указать все источники информации, используемые в работе, включая источники (опубликованные и неопубликованные) и исследовательскую литературу (в том числе собственные ранее опубликованные работы). Автор обязан соответствующим образом оформить ссылки на использованные в работе труды или утверждения других авторов. **Любая форма плагиата неприемлема.** Автоплагиат, т. е. попытка повторной публикации собственной ранее опубликованной работы без существенных изменений, также неприемлем. Подача рукописи работы одновременно более чем в один журнал для публикации недопустима. Научный архив автора, на котором основано исследование и работа, должен быть при необходимости доступен к рассмотрению на период не менее двух лет.

В случае нарушения любого из перечисленных выше правил редколлегия может отказать в публикации рукописи в любое время, в том числе на этапе предварительного рассмотрения, без привлечения рецензентов, а также отказать автору в публикации его работ в течение трех последующих лет. Если после публикации статьи обнаружено нарушение автором вышеуказанных правил, редколлегия имеет право произвести ретракцию статьи, поместив указание на это на сайте журнала.

Внесение автором любых изменений в текст, прошедший этап рецензирования и принятый к публикации, допустимо только с согласия редколлегии.

Автор обязуется не размещать в открытом доступе любые принятые к публикации, но еще не опубликованные материалы. В случае нарушения этого правила редколлегия вправе снять рукопись с публикации, а также отказать автору в публикации его работ в течение трех последующих лет.

Ответственность за достоверность информации и соблюдение профессиональной этики

Представляя рукописи для публикации в журнале ALP, автор несет ответственность за тщательную проверку информации, содержащейся в работе, во избежание неточных ссылок или отсутствия необходимых ссылок на источники. Если в процессе редактирования материалов, принятых к публикации, автор обнаруживает ошибки или неточности, он должен незамедлительно уведомить редколлегию и доработать статью или, при наличии существенных ошибок, требующих полной переработки текста, отозвать рукопись.

В журнале ALP не допускается клевета. Автор должен избегать личных нападок, пренебрежительных замечаний и обвинений в адрес других ученых.

Если после публикации обнаружено нарушение вышеуказанных правил, редколлегия имеет право опубликовать опровержение в следующем выпуске, а также отказать автору в публикации его работ в течение трех последующих лет.

Процесс рецензирования

Представленные рукописи оцениваются по принципу двойного анонимного рецензирования; это означает, что все материалы направляются рецензентам в анонимной форме (файлы и метаданные не содержат информации об авторах).

Члены редколлегии или другие участники процесса публикации не имеют права сообщать рецензентам имен авторов до принятия рукописей к публикации.

Если рецензент узнает автора рассматриваемой статьи и обнаруживает конфликт интересов, он должен сообщить об этом редколлегии и отказаться от рецензирования.

Имя рецензента может быть раскрыто автору редколлекгией только по просьбе самого рецензента и только после принятия окончательного решения относительно публикации представленной рукописи.

Рецензия должна быть объективной и беспристрастной, личная критика в адрес автора не допускается. Все комментарии и рекомендации по улучшению работы должны быть высказаны в корректной форме, а замечания аргументированы. Рецензенты могут рекомендовать автору проработать дополнительную литературу, касающуюся темы представленной рукописи и отсутствующую в списке использованной литературы. Рецензент обязан обратить внимание редколлегии на любые признаки плагиата. Рецензирование работы должно быть завершено в установленный журналом срок.

Организация работы редколлегии

Редколлегия журнала ALP является высшим руководящим и контролирующим органом журнала. Окончательное решение о принятии к печати или отклонении рукописи принимается редколлекгией коллективно после процедуры двойного анонимного рецензирования. Рукописи членов редколлегии, представленные для публикации в журнале ALP, рассматриваются на общих основаниях.

Все конфликты, возникающие между участниками редакционного и издательского процесса, должны решаться при непосредственном вмешательстве редколлегии.

Обязанности членов редколлегии

Редколлегия журнала обеспечивает:

- предварительное рассмотрение рукописей авторов;
- выбор рецензентов для экспертизы в соответствии с их научными интересами;
- соблюдение конфиденциальности в процессе двойного анонимного рецензирования.

Главный редактор координирует работу редколлегии и принимает решения по ключевым вопросам, а также дает разрешение на печать выпуска и его публикацию в сети Интернет. Входя в состав редколлегии, главный редактор гарантирует строгое соблюдение всех этических стандартов, изложенных в настоящем документе.

Члены редколлегии должны соблюдать беспристрастность и объективность по отношению ко всем участникам редакционного и издательского процесса вне зависимости от расы, пола, сексуальной ориентации, религиозных убеждений, этнической принадлежности, гражданства или политических предпочтений. Материалы, представленные для публикации в журнале ALP, рассматриваются исключительно с точки зрения их научной ценности с соблюдением принципа двойного анонимного рецензирования.

Конфликт интересов рецензентов и авторов представляемых рукописей недопустим.

Все нарушения изложенных выше принципов должны тщательно расследоваться на заседании редколлегии, которая при необходимости обязана публиковать исправления, разъяснения и извинения, если были допущены нарушения этических или научных норм.

Язык публикаций

Журнал ALP принимает рукописи статей на русском, английском, французском и немецком языках. Если язык статьи не является для автора родным, рекомендуется, во избежание возможных недоразумений, проконсультироваться с компетентным носителем соответствующего языка.

Все метаданные статей представлены на веб-сайте журнала на русском и английском языках.

Publication Ethics

The “Acta Linguistica Petropolitana” Journal (ALP) is an academic periodical with no political, ideological, confessional, or other agendas, dedicated solely to academic activities. All the editorial / publishing process participants (authors, reviewers, editors, or Editorial Board members) are expected to follow the ethical standards below based on recommendations by the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE). Each participant is expected to make all reasonable efforts to avoid malpractice in his/her publishing activities including plagiarism, misrepresentation, or misuse of research findings to the benefit of those not involved in the research.

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Contributor’s responsibilities

Contributors guarantee that their contributions are original manuscripts under their exclusive copyright. For co-authored contributions, only one of the authors may submit the manuscript listing all the coauthors and providing their relevant accurate personal information.

The contributor is expected to indicate all agencies/entities, if any, which have provided financial or other support for the manuscript. Where necessary, the first contributor should be able to specify each co-author’s contribution into the manuscript.

The contributor should provide a full list of all information sources (both published and unpublished) and the literature (including his/her previously published works) used in the manuscript. The contributor should provide appropriate reference to other works or quotations used in the manuscript. Any form of plagiarism is unacceptable. Equally unacceptable is self-plagiarism, i.e. attempts at republishing own previously published work without substantial modification. Concurrent

submission of the same work to ALP and any other publication is unacceptable. The contributor's research records for the submitted work should remain accessible upon request for at least two years.

A violation of any of the above may lead the Editorial Board to reject the contribution at any time, including before review, as well as to reject all future submissions by the present author in the next three years to follow. If any violation of the rules above comes to light following the article's publication, the Editorial Board may retract the article, placing the relevant notice on the Journal's website.

Any changes by the contributor to his/her already peer-reviewed and accepted for publication text are only possible on the Editorial Board's consent.

The contributor agrees not to make publicly available any accepted but not published materials. A violation of this requirement may serve as a ground for the Editorial Board to reject both the contribution and all other contributions by the same author in the next three years to follow.

Responsibility for unreliable information or non-compliance with professional ethics

Authors submitting their manuscripts to ALP are responsible for detailed verification of all the information contained therein to avoid inaccuracy or omission of references to sources. On detection of mistakes/inaccuracies when editing the manuscript accepted for publication, the author must immediately notify the Editorial Board and either update the text or withdraw the contribution where substantial errors require its complete revision.

Defamation is unacceptable in ALP. The contributor is expected to avoid personal criticism, disrespectful remarks, or accusations against other scholars.

If any of above violations come to light after the publication, the Editorial Board may publish a disclaimer in its subsequent issue and reject any of the author's contributions in the next three years to follow.

Review Procedure

All submitted manuscripts are evaluated based on a double-blind peer review where neither the author, nor the reviewer knows the other's name. The files, including metadata, sent to reviewers contain no information about the author(s).

Neither Editorial Board members nor other publication participants are allowed to disclose the authors' names to reviewers before the submission is accepted.

The reviewer recognizing the author of the paper under review and identifying a conflict of interest is obliged to inform the Editorial Board of the case and forego the reviewing.

The Editorial Board may only disclose the reviewer's name to the contributor at the reviewer's own request and only following the final decision as to (non)acceptance of the submitted manuscript.

The review should be impersonal, impartial, and avoid personal criticism of the contributor. All comments or suggestions for improving the manuscript should be polite, and comments well-reasoned. Reviewers may recommend the author to study additional literature pertaining to the contribution's topic but lacking from the "Literature" list. The reviewer is expected to point out any evidence of plagiarism to the Editorial Board. The review should be completed within the time frame established by the Journal.

Editorial Board

The ALP Editorial Board is the top supervisory and control body of the Journal. The Editorial Board is responsible for the final collective decision to accept or reject manuscripts following their double-blind peer review. Manuscripts by Editorial Board members, submitted for publication in ALP, are reviewed under the common procedure.

All conflicts among the editing and publishing participants are resolved through direct intervention of the Editorial Board.

Duties of Editorial Board Members

The Editorial Board provides for:

- preliminary consideration of contributions;
- selection of reviewers based on their areas of expertise;
- provision of confidentiality for the double-blind review procedure;

The Editor-in-Chief coordinates all Editorial Board activities and makes key decisions, including on the publication of ALP issues in paper and online formats. As an Editorial Board member, the Editor-in-Chief guarantees strict compliance with all ethical standards outlined in this statement.

All editors guarantee impartial and impersonal treatment of all participants in the editorial/publishing process regardless of race, gender, sexual orientation, religious

belief, ethnicity, nationality, or political opinion. All materials submitted for publication in ALP are considered solely based on their scholarly merit via the double-blind peer review procedure.

Any conflict of interest between reviewers and contributors is unacceptable.

The Editorial Board will thoroughly examine any violation of the principles above and, where necessary, publish corrections, clarifications, or apologies for any breach of ethical or academic norms.

Publication Languages

The ALP Journal accepts manuscripts in Russian, English, French, or German. Where a paper is not in the contributors' native language, they are advised to consult a qualified native speaker to avoid any possible misapprehensions.

The Journal presents all published papers' metadata on its website in Russian and English.

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