

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 **k₁ih₁lo-* (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 ἡσυχοι ἔστε ‘Be at peace!’, also in cases where it is used metonymically as an attribute of a body part, e.g. *E. Or.* 136 ἡσυχῶ 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. βᾶ-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 ἄσθην, 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* < **mók^s*), 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 ἥσυχος 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) εὐδον 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 *°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- < *p̥lHno-* ‘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 *shalow* ‘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
 ἡσυχοὶ 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 ἐβελημός ~ 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. *śvāsiti*, *śuśma-* ‘power’, etc.), i.e. **trāns quēle/om* ‘having overcome the storm’ → **trānsquēl̑jo-* (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. **geūta-*, Lat. *nassa* ‘basket’, Gmc. **naſja-* ‘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. αἰθροῦς οἶνον), 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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