

## A note on Greek *πυλῆες* ‘foot-soldiers’ and *πύλις* ‘pyrrhic’

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**Abstract.** The Greek noun *πυλῆες*, attested five times in the *Iliad*, appears to denote foot-soldiers as opposed to charioteers and warriors fighting from the chariot. Already in antiquity it was interpreted as a synonym of *πρόμαχος* ‘champion’, based especially on the apparently similar use of the words in *Il.* 21.90 and *Il.* 20.410. Beside this, the noun *πύλις* denotes a war-dance, the *πυρρίχη*, attested in Callimachus *Jov.* 52, where it describes the dance of the Curetes on mount Ida in Crete: they beat their shields in order to prevent that hostile Kronos hear the cry of the infant Zeus. In a similar way, *πύλις* describes the war-dance of the Amazons around the image of Artemis in Ephesus (Call. *Dian.* 240). Evidence from scholia seems to indicate that Aristotle knew the term *πύλις* as describing a ritual funeral dance for a dead king on Cyprus.

The paper assumes that both nouns may go back to a common root PIE *\*preu-* ‘to jump’ found also in Vedic *prav-*, Germanic *\*frawa-*, cf. ON *frár* ‘swift, lightfooted’, OHG *frō* ‘cheerful’ (from ‘jumping for joy, frolicking’) and Russian *прыт* ‘to rush, run quickly’. The meaning of *πύλις* ‘war-dance’ may immediately derive from a root meaning ‘to jump’. In the case of the *πυλῆες* it is noteworthy that the term occurs in contexts where the warriors jump down from their chariots in order to continue fighting on foot, joining the *πρόμαχοι*. Alternatively, the term may simply have denoted ‘nimble, lightfooted’ soldiers.

*Πυλῆες* could belong to an *s*-stem *\*πυλῆς* or a *u*-stem *\*πυλός*. Since *s*-stem adjectival simplicia are rare and often backformations from compounds of the type Greek *εὐμενής*, Vedic *sumánas-*, it seems more likely that there was a *u*-stem adjective *\*prulú-* ‘jumping’ with the suffix *\*-lu-* also found in *θῆλυς* ‘female’, Ved. (AV) *dhārú-* ‘suckling’. In turn, the noun *πύλις* ‘war dance, pyrrhic’ may derive from an adjective *\*pruló-* ‘jumping’ from which the noun *\*pruli-* was derived similar to cases like Lat. *rāuus* ‘hoarse’: *rāuuus* ‘hoarseness’.

**Keywords:** Ancient Greek language, Homeric language, Proto-Indo-European, etymology, nominal derivation, ancient warfare.

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## Заметка о древнегреческих словах πυλῆες ‘пехотинцы’ и πύλις ‘пиррихий (военный танец)’

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**Аннотация.** В работе высказывается гипотеза о происхождении слова πυλῆες и его этимологической связи с существительным πύλις. Гр. πυλῆες ‘пешие солдаты, пехотинцы’ может восходить к прилагательному \**prulí-*, образованному от \**preu-* ‘прыгать’ (ср. вед. *prav-*, Гмс. \**frawa-*, рус. *прыть*) с помощью суффикса \*-*lu-*, также встречающегося в θῆλυς ‘женщина’, вед. (AV) *dhāri-* ‘сосунок’. Существительное πύλις ‘военный танец, пиррихий’ может восходить к \**pruli-*, образованному от прилагательного \**pruló-* ‘прыгающий’, ср. лат. *rāuis* ‘хриплый’: *rāuis* ‘хрипота’.

**Ключевые слова:** древнегреческий язык, гомеровский язык, праиндоевропейский язык, этимология, именная деривация, древние войны.

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## 1. Usage and meaning

1.1. The noun *πρυλέες* is attested five times in the *Iliad* and seems to denote foot-soldiers as opposed to charioteers and warriors fighting from the chariot in the following passages:

- (1) Ἥνιόχῳ μὲν ἔπειτα ἑῷ ἐπέτελλεν ἕκαστος  
ἵππους εὖ κατὰ κόσμον ἐρυκέμεν αὐθ' ἐπὶ τάφρῳ,  
αὐτοὶ δὲ **πρυλέες** σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες  
ῥῶοντ'· ἄσβεστος δὲ βοή γένητ' ἠῶθι πρό.  
'Then on his own charioteer each man laid the charge to hold in his  
horses all in good order there at the trench, but they themselves  
*on foot*, arrayed in their armor, rushed swiftly forward, and a cry  
unquenchable rose up before the face of Dawn.' (*Il.* 11.47)<sup>1</sup>
- (2) ἵππους μὲν θεράποντες ἐρυκόντων ἐπὶ τάφρῳ,  
αὐτοὶ δὲ **πρυλέες** σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες  
Ἔκτορι πάντες ἐπώμεθ' ἀολλέες  
'As for the horses, let the attendants hold them back by the trench,  
but ourselves *on foot*, arrayed in our armor, let us follow all in one  
throng after Hector.' (*Il.* 12.76)

It is apparently used in this sense in the following two passages, too:

- (3) ... Αἴας δ' ἔλε Λαοδάμαντα  
ἠγεμόνα **πρυλέων** Αντήνορος ἀγλαὸν υἱόν  
'Aias slew Laodamas, the leader of the *foot soldiers*<sup>2</sup>, the glorious  
son of Antenor.' (*Il.* 15.516)
- (4) ἐν δ' Ἄρεος βλοσυροῖο ποδώκεες ἔστασαν ἵπποι  
χρῦσει, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑναρσφόρος οὐλιος Ἄρης,

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<sup>1</sup> Schol. A remarks: φανερώς πρυλέες οἱ πεζοί· ἀντιδιέσταλκε γὰρ τοὺς ἵππεις 'The p. are evidently infanterists, since he contrasts them with the cavalrymen', cf. [Trümper 1950: 178].

αἰχμὴν ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων, **πρυλέεσσι** κελεύων  
 ‘Upon it stood the swift-footed horses of grim Ares, made of gold,  
 and upon it too was spoil-bearing, dire Ares himself, holding a spear  
 in his hands, giving orders to the *foot soldiers*?.’ (Hes. *Sc.* 192–193)

Less clear is the description of Athena’s helmet in *Il.* 5.743 which is mostly interpreted as ‘fitted with depictions of warriors / foot-soldiers from a hundred cities’:

- (5) κρατὶ δ’ ἐπ’ ἀμφίφαλον κυνέην θέτο τετραφάληρον  
 χρυσεῖην, ἑκατὸν πολίων **πρυλέεσσ’** ἀραρυῖαν  
 ‘And on her head she  
 set the helmet with two ridges and with bosses four, made of gold,  
 and fitted with the *foot soldiers* of a hundred cities.’<sup>2</sup>

Already in antiquity the term was interpreted as a synonym of *πρόμαχοι*, cf. from the scholia vetera on *Il.* 5.744:

- (6) πρυλέες δὲ ὀπλίται ἢ **πρόμαχοι** ἢ ἄθροοι  
 ‘P. means ‘hoplites’ or ‘champions’ or ‘assembled’.’

This view was taken up in modern studies e.g. by Hermann [1831: 290] and Trümpy [1950: 178–179]. Hermann notes:

- (7) πρυλέες *proprie dicti videantur praesules sive praesultores, qui ante caeteros progressi saltationem cum armis praeirent.*  
 ‘P. seems to be the term for those who leap before others, who preceded the other soldiers and performed a war dance.’

He compared two references to Achilles’ killing of Polydorus, one of Priam’s sons, which seem to speak in favour of an equation of *πρυλέες* with *πρόμαχοι*:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schadewaldt’s translation: ‘Auf das Haupt setzte sie den viergebuckelten Helm mit zwei Backenstücken / Den goldenen, mit den *Kämpfern* von hundert Städten versehen.’

<sup>3</sup> Hermann’s explanation of *πρυλέες* from *πρό* and *λαός*, i.e. ‘those who are in front of the army’ is of course impossible.

- (8) ἦτοι τὸν πρότοισι μετὰ **πρυλέεσσι** δάμασσας  
 ἀντίθεον Πολύδωρον, ἐπεὶ βάλες ὀξείῃ δουρί  
 ‘The one you vanquished among the foremost *foot soldiers*, godlike  
 Polydorus, when you had struck him with a cast of your sharp  
 spear.’ (*Il.* 21.90)
- (9) δὴ τότε νηπιέησι ποδῶν ἀρετὴν ἀναφαίνων  
**θῶνε διὰ προμάχων**, εἶος φίλον ὄλεσε θυμόν.  
 τὸν βάλε μέσσον ἄκοντι ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς  
 νῶτα παραΐσσοντος  
 ‘Then in his foolishness, showing off his fleetness of foot, *he was  
 rushing through the foremost fighters* until he lost his life. Swift-  
 footed noble Achilles struck him square on the back with a cast  
 of his spear as he darted past.’ (*Il.* 20.410)

**1.2.** The noun πρύλις ‘πυρρίχη, war-dance’ is found in Callimachus, it describes (ex. 10) the war-dance of the Curetes on mount Ida on Crete, beating their shields so that Kronos may not hear the cries of baby Zeus and (ex. 11) the dance of the Amazons around the image of Artemis in Ephesus:

- (10) οὔλα δὲ Κούρητές σε περὶ **πρύλιν ὄρχήσαντο**  
 τεύχεα πεπλήγοντες ἵνα Κρόνος οὔασιν ἠχὴν  
 ἀσπίδος εἰσαῖοι καὶ μὴ σεο κουρίζοντος.  
 ‘And lustily round thee *danced* the Curetes a *war-dance*, beating  
 their armour, that Cronus might hear with his ears the din of the  
 shield, but not thine infant noise.’ (Call. *Jov.* 52)
- (11) αὐταὶ δ’, Οὔπι ἄνασσα, περὶ **πρύλιν ὄρχήσαντο**  
 πρῶτα μὲν ἐν σακέεσσιν ἐνόπλιον, αὖθι δὲ κύκλω  
 στησάμεναι χορὸν εὐρύν  
 ‘They themselves, O Upris Queen, around the image *danced a war-  
 dance* — first in shields and in armour, and again in a circle arraying  
 a spacious choir.’ (Call. *Dian.* 240)

Πρυλεῖς and πρύλις are explained in Schol. T on *Il.* 23.130 (= Arist. *frg.* 519.9 [Rose]) and in a scholion to Pi. *P.* 2.127 [Drachmann] as follows:

- (12) Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ τοὺς **πρυλεῖς** Ἀχιλλέως <εὔρημα>. τοὺς δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς τὸν νόμον εἰς Κύπρον κομίσει· τῶν γὰρ βασιλέων κηδευομένων αὐτὸς προηγῆται πυρριχίζων ὁ στρατός.  
‘Aristotle says that the *pryleis* are an invention of Achilles and that the Achaeans brought this custom to Cyprus. For at the ceremony of mourning for a dead king the army carries out a dance in full armour leading the procession.’
- (13) Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ πρῶτον Ἀχιλλέα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Πατρόκλου πυρᾷ τῇ πυρρίχῃ κεχρηῆσθαι, ἣν παρὰ Κυπρίοις φησὶ **πρύλιν** λέγεσθαι, ὥστε παρὰ τὴν **πυρᾶν** τῆς **πυρρίχης** τὸ ὄνομα θέσθαι.  
‘Aristotle says that Achilles was the first to have staged a dance in full armour, namely at the pyre of Patroclus, and that this is called *prylis* by the Cypriotes, hence dance *pyrrhiche* is called after the *pyre*.’

With Lorimer [1938: 130] this may be taken to show that Aristotle was “describing a contemporary practice at royal funerals in Cyprus”, and Callimachus may have known πρύλις as a Cretan γλῶσσα. One may add Eustathius’ note on *Il.* 12.78 (3.357.6) which states that the term was used in Gortyn:

- (14) **Πρυλέες** δὲ οἱ ἐν μάχῃ πεζοὶ κατὰ γλῶσσαν Γορτυνίων, ὧς φασιν οἱ παλαιοί  
‘*P.* are the foot-soldiers in battle in the language of the people of Gortyn, as the ancients say.’

Taken together, these data seem to point to a noun πρύλις ‘war-dance’ and the likely related form πρυλέες ‘foot-soldiers, warriors’ and maybe ‘champion, πρόμαχος’. The Hesychian gloss προυλέσι· πεζοῖς ὀπλίταις may show the Arcado-Cypriot (or Cretan or Boeotian) spelling for πρυλέσι.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Boeot. τούχα (e.g. IG VII 3302 from Chaironeia τούχαν ἀγαθάν, beside τιούχα, cf. [Thumb, Scherer 1959: 23] for Attic τύχη, Cyr. βρούχτος ‘frog’ (Hesych. βρούχτος· βάραθρον. βάτραχον δὲ Κύπριοι, cf. βέβρυχα ‘roars, bellows’, cf. also [Egetmeyer 2010: 1.96]). Cf. [Lorimer 1938: 129; Trümper 1950: 179; Ruijgh 1957:

## 2. Derivation

**2.1.** An inner-Greek explanation for πρύλις as related to the (otherwise unclear) πρυλέες has been proposed by Leumann [1950: 286–287] who hypothesized that *Il.* 11.49–50 πρυλέες σὺν τεύχεσι ... |ῥώνοντ’ ‘the foot-soldiers in arms rushed off’ was secondarily connected with *Od.* 24.69 τεύχεσιν ἐρρώσαντο which describes the war-dance performed in honour of Achilles and with the ἡγεμῶν πρυλέων in *Il.* 15.516 reinterpreted as the ‘leader of the war-dancers’, which, adopted to the Cretan dialect as ἀγεμῶν πρυλίων, in turn could be understood as ‘leader of the war-dances’ from which the sg. πρύλις would have been back-formed. The basic motivation for this chain of hypotheses that has not found general approval<sup>5</sup> is the semantic difference between the ‘armed foot-soldiers’ on the one hand and ‘war-dance’ on the other.<sup>6</sup>

**2.2.** A common semantic starting point for both meanings could be a root meaning ‘to jump’ or ‘to rush, move quickly’. This might both explain πρύλις ‘dance in armour’ and allow a derivation of the use of πρυλέες as found in the *Iliad*: one of its contexts is that of the warrior jumping down from his chariot in order to continue fighting on foot, as seen in ex. (1) and (2) above. One may compare the following passage, where Menelaos jumps down from his chariot and advances on foot as a πρόμαχος, with *Il.* 12.76 (ex. 2) given here again with more context:

(15) ὦς ἐχάρη Μενέλαος Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα  
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδών· φάτο γὰρ τίσεσθαι ἀλείτην·  
αὐτίκα δ’ ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε.

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96–97]. Less likely [Beekes 2010: 1241]: “In view of the formal variant προυλέσι, the word is probably of Pre-Greek origin.”

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. [Ruijgh 1957: 97; Frisk 1960–1972: II.605; Chantraine 2009: 909; Beekes 2010: 1242].

<sup>6</sup> [Leumann 1950: 287]: “Wie sind πρύλις ‘Waffentanz’ und πρυλέες ‘bewaffnete Kämpfer zu Fuß’ nach Bedeutung und Verbreitung auf einen Nenner zu bringen?“, cf. also [Trümpy 1950: 179].

Τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδῆς  
 corr. ἐν **προμάχοισι** φανέντα, κατεπλήγη φίλον ἦτορ,  
 ἄψ δ' ἐτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐγάζετο κῆρ' ἀλεείνων.

'So was Menelaus glad when his eyes beheld godlike Alexander; for he thought that he had got his revenge on the one who had wronged him. And immediately he leapt in his armor from his chariot to the ground. But when godlike Alexander caught sight of him as he appeared among *the champions*, he was panic-stricken at heart, and he drew back into the throng of his comrades, avoiding fate.' (Il. 3.27)

- (16) ἵππους μὲν θεράποντες ἐρυκόντων ἐπὶ τάφρῳ,  
 αὐτοὶ δὲ **πρυλέες** σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες  
 Ἔκτορι πάντες ἐπάμεθ' ἀολλέες· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ  
 οὐ μενέουσ' εἰ δὴ σφιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφῆπται.  
 Ὡς φάτο Πουλυδάμας, ἅδε δ' Ἔκτορι μῦθος ἀπήμων,  
αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε.

'As for the horses, let the attendants hold them back by the trench, but ourselves *on foot*, arrayed in our armor, let us follow all in one throng after Hector; and the Achaeans will not withstand us, if the coils of destruction have been fastened on them.' So spoke Polydamas, and his prudent words were well pleasing to Hector, and immediately he leapt in his armor from his chariot to the ground.' (Il. 12.76)

The correspondence of πρυλέες σὺν τεύχεσι (θωρηχθέντες) and σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο (χαμᾶζε) may be taken to indicate that πρυλέες means something similar to ἄλλομαι, i.e. 'one who jumps, leaps (forward)', and 'ἄλλομαι σὺν τεύχεσι' might also be a fitting description for πρύλις. Séchan [1930: 90] assumes that weapon dances before and after battle and at funeral rites had an apotropaic function originally and were meant to discourage the enemy or dispel the spirits of the warriors slain on the battlefield (if the dance was performed after battle), or, in the case of a funeral, any evil spirit that might interfere with the ritual and cause unrest for the deceased person. The performance of a weapon dance as a commemoration of the feats of the dead person would be



secondary to this.<sup>7</sup> As for *πρυλέες*, the term seems to describe a group of warriors that joins that of the *πρόμαχοι* on foot. This may account for the scholia explaining *πρυλέες* as a synonym of this word<sup>8</sup> and may be related to the fact that the Homeric heroes used the chariot for moving fast on the battlefield rather than for fighting. Hence, the *πρυλέες* might be understood as *ἱππῆες* temporarily becoming *πεζοί*.<sup>9</sup> The expression ‘leader of the p.’ as in *Il.* 15.516 *Λαοδάμαντα / ἡγεμόνα πρυλέων* (ex. 3) and probably also the Hesychian gloss quoted above (*προυλέσι· πεζοῖς ὀπλίταις*) might imply the existence of a special unit of the army and not an *ad hoc* group of fighters intermediate between *ἱππῆες* and *πεζοί*, later identified with the latter.

Alternatively, the term may have described the warriors as ‘nimble, lightfooted’ in general (assuming a semantic shift from ‘jumping’ to ‘nimble’). Its use in the situations described above would then be less relevant for its etymology.

**2.3.** External comparative data may tip the balance in favour of the former assumption, however, arguing for an original meaning ‘to jump’: one may compare Gmc. *\*frawa-* ‘quick, nimble’ found in ON *frár* ‘swift, lightfooted’ and OHG *frō* ‘cheerful, happy’ (*\*‘jumping for joy, frolicking’*)<sup>10</sup> from a virtual *\*prouo-* with the Ved. present stem *prav-a-* ‘to jump’

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also [Delavaud-Roux 1993: 52]: “Au départ, les danses effectuées en armes, lors d’un enterrement, ont un rôle surtout magique. Ce n’est que beaucoup plus tard qu’interviendra le sens en usage à l’époque classique : exécution devant le défunt des danses guerrières pour rappeler ses exploits passés ou lui rendre les honneurs d’une parade guerrière.”

<sup>8</sup> Cf. [Trümpy 1950: 179]: „Es läßt sich denken, daß das Wort zunächst den Krieger bezeichnet hat, welcher auf dem Wagen in die Schlacht fuhr; der ist einerseits meist vorn im Kampf und bildet anderseits einen Gegensatz zum Wagenführer, da er ja nicht auf dem Wagen bleibt, sondern als ‘Infanterist’ kämpft.“

<sup>9</sup> Cf. [Wiesner 1968: F27]: „Die vor Troja kämpfenden Wagenritter (<...> springen in der Nähe ihres Gegners ab, um diesen aus dem Wagen zu werfen oder im Nahkampf zu Fuß mit Lanze und Schwert zu überwinden.“

<sup>10</sup> Cf. [EWAhd 589–90; Kroonen 2013: 153]. An alternative analysis of the Gmc. forms is *\*pro-yo-* ‘(going) forth, forthcoming’, cf. e.g. [Heidermanns 1993: 211–212]: “vorwärts drängend”, [Nussbaum 2014: 326], against this cf. [EWAhd 590].

and derivatives such as *plava-* and *plava-ga-* m. ‘going by leaps or plunges, frog, monkey, water-diving bird’. This allows the reconstruction of a root *\*preu-* which probably meant ‘to jump’ and which has also been assumed to be continued in Russ. *pryt* ‘rush (n.), running quickly’.<sup>11</sup> It is from this root that the Greek set of words under discussion may derive, too.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. [LIV<sup>2</sup> 493; Vasmer 1953: II.453], cf. also Russ. *prýtkij* ‘quick, agile’. The long root vowel is probably secondary, cf. the secondary lengthening in Russ. *prýskat* ‘sprinkle’, Cz. *prýskati* beside Cz. *prskati* ‘splutter’ (*\*pr̥skati*) from PIE *\*preu-*, cf. [LIV<sup>2</sup> 493–494; Derksen 2008: 423].

<sup>12</sup> In Vedic the forms belonging to *pru-* ‘jump’ are not always distinguishable from those of *plu* ‘to swim, float’. The Rig-Vedic hapax in RV 4.58.8ab *abhi pravanta sámāneva yóśāḥ / kalyāñīyaḥ smáyamānāso agním* is taken by [Jamison, Brereton 2014] as belonging to *plav* (“They **float** — like lovely young women to (marriage) assemblies — smiling, to Agni.”), while Hoffmann (1967: 130) took it as belonging to *prav* („Sie *eilen* (<...> wie schöne Mädchen zu Zusammenkünften lächelnd zu Agni hin.“), followed by Gotō [1987: 211–212]). Also the verbal adjective *vīpruta-* is ambiguous, RV 1.116.24c *vīprutam rebhām udāni právr̥ktam* “Rebha, who **bobbed** and twisted in the water” [Jamison, Brereton 2014] or “Den Rebha, ... *auseinander gegangen*, ins Wasser geworfen” (Geldner), RV 1.117.4 *ásvam ná gūlhām aśvinā durévair / ř̥ṣim narā vṛṣañā rebhām apsú / sám tám riñtho vīprutam dāmsobhir* “O Ásvins — you men, you bulls — by your wondrous powers you draw / back together the seer Rebha, who **bobbed away** in the waters, / like a horse hidden by those of evil ways.” [Jamison, Brereton 2014] or “Den Rishi Rebha, der von Bösewichten wie ein Roß versteckt im Wasser lag, o bullenleiche Herren Asvin, den füget ihr mit Meisterkünststen wieder zusammen, da er schon *auseinander gegangen* war.” [Geldner]). However, forms attested in later texts speak in favour of a root *pru* ‘to jump’, cf. ṢaḍvB 1.6.9 *āpupruve* ‘has jumped’ (said about a monkey who jumped onto a tree, cf. [Gotō 1987: 213]), ŚB 9.5.1.27 (*a*)*surā āpa pupruvire* ‘the Asuras jumped down’ (cf. [Kümmel 2000: 328]: the perfect is probably a late formation based on the present *prav-a-*, a perfect for ‘jump’ is not likely to be old, as it does not imply a resulting state of the subject), MS 2.1.11<sup>P</sup>: 12, 19 *sa etā vipruṣo janayata yā imāḥ skūyamānasya vīpravante* “Then he created the sparks, those that *jump apart* when the fire is poked.” (cf. [Amano 2009: 466]: „da erzeugte er die Funken, das sind die (Funken) hier, die vom (Feuer) *auseinanderspringen*, wenn in ihm gestochert wird.“), MBh 7.102.87 (7.5196) (*athodbhrāmya gadām bhīmaḥ kāladaṇḍam ivāntakaḥ / droṇāyāvasṛjad rājan sa rathād avapupluve* ‘Bhīma, whirling a mace, like the destroyer himself whirling

The forms *πρυλέες*, *πρυλέων* and *πρυλέεσσι* could either belong to an *s*-stem *\*πρυλής* or to a *u*-stem *\*πρυλός*.<sup>13</sup> Since *s*-stem adjectival simplicia are rare and often apparent backformations from compound forms of the inherited type *εὐ-μενής*, Ved. *su-mánas-* ‘with a good mind’,<sup>14</sup> one would probably have to assume an intermediate, unattested compound, something like *\*pro-prulés* ‘jumping forward, attacking’ as a *πρόμαχος*, cf. Lat. *prosilio* ‘to jump forth/forward’ and *praesul* ‘dancer leading the procession of the Salii’. This makes the interpretation as a *u*-stem appear the less costly assumption. A suffix *\*-lu-* may be reconstructed for the common ancestor of Gk. *θηλὺς* ‘female’ and Skt. *dhā́rú-* ‘suckling’ (a hapax in AV 4.18.2 *vatsó dhā́rúh* ‘a sucking calf’) < *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>lú-*, cf. Lamberterie [1990: 895] on the probably secondary root accentuation of *θηλὺς* and on the polysemy of the root (‘breastfeeding’ and ‘sucking’). In the light of other derivatives of this root in *\*-l-* such as Gk. *θηλή* ‘(female) breast’ and Lat. *fēlīx* ‘fecund’, *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>lu-* may be analyzed as *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>l-u-*. Comparable evidence for *\*prulu-* does not seem to be available. One might thus venture an early Greek adjectival formation *\*pru-lú-* ‘jumping (forward)’ (for the meaning cf. again Gmc. *\*frawa-* ‘jumping, quick, nimble’) beside the noun *\*pru-li-* ‘(act of) jumping, dance’, which seems to presuppose an adjective in *-lo-* (*\*pruló-*) just like *ὄκρις* ‘point, edge’ derives from *ἄκρος* ‘edgy, sharp’ and Lat. *rāuuis* ‘hoarseness’ from *rāuus* ‘hoarse’, cf. [Balles 2006: 278] for more examples of this type, and in Greek *τρέχω* ‘run’, *τρόχος* ‘race-course’/τροχός ‘wheel’, *τρόχις* ‘messenger’. The Hesychian gloss *πρυλεύσει· ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς τῶν τελευτησάντων παρὰ τῷ ἱερεῖ*, which apparently describes the funeral dance discussed in section 1, may chime in if it presupposes

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his fatal rod, hurled it, o king, at Drona. Drona, however, had quickly *jumped down* from his car.’ [Chandra Roy]). On the ambiguous compounds in *-pru-t-* ‘jumping/floating’ cf. [Scarlatà 1999: 340–342].

<sup>13</sup> As argued e.g. by Schwyzler [1939: 572].

<sup>14</sup> Cf. [Meissner 2005: 206–210], e.g. *ὀφελής* ‘advantageous’ [*POxy.* II 237.8.15] from *ἀνωφελής* (A.+), Myc. *no-pe-re-a<sub>2</sub>* ‘useless’, [Nussbaum 2010] on *τρανής* ‘clear’.

a verb \*πρυλεύω which in turn is from a noun \*πρυλεύς from \*πρυλός, cf. ἵππος : ἱππεύς : ἱππεύω:<sup>15</sup>

- (17) \*pru-lú- : πρυλέ(φ)ες  
 \*pru-ló- → \*πρυλεύς, \*πρυλεύω, πρυλεύσεις  
 → πρύλις<sup>16</sup>

A comparable set of meanings is found in the root of PIE \*sel- [LIV<sup>2</sup> 527], i.e. ‘to jump’ in Gk. ἄλλομαι, Lat. *salīō*, ‘to rush, move quickly’ in Ved. RV 4.17.2d *saráyanta ápah* ‘the waters ran [Jamison, Brereton 2014] /are rushing, die Gewässer entlaufen [Geldner], текут воды [Elizarenkova]’ and ‘to dance (the dance of war in full armour)’ in the name of the Roman priesthood of the *Salii* with their leader, the *praesul*, mentioned above:

	‘jump’	‘quick; rush(ing)’	‘dance (in armour)’
*preu-	Ved. <i>prav-</i> , Gmc. * <i>fraw-a-</i>	Gmc. * <i>fraw-a-</i>	
	Gk. πρυλέες	Gk. πρυλέες <sup>2</sup>	Gk. πρύλις
*sel-	Lat. <i>salīō</i> , Gk. ἄλλομαι	Ved. <i>saraya-</i>	<i>Salii</i> , <i>praesul</i> <sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also the numerous cases of agent nouns in -εύς beside stems in -ιδ-, which may derive from *i*-stems, such as γλοφίς ‘notched end of an arrow’, γλυφεύς ‘carver’, γραφίς ‘stilus for writing’, γραφεύς ‘writer’, δοκίς ‘plank, shield’, δοκεύς ‘beam (of a roof)’, κοπίς ‘chopper, knife’, κοπεύς ‘pounding, carpetner’, etc., cf. [Chant-raine 1933: 338]).

<sup>16</sup> A similar co-occurrence of the suffixes \*-lo- and \*-lu- seems to be Gmc. \**agla-* ‘painful’ (Goth. *agls\**) and \**aglu-* ‘difficult’ (Goth. *aglus\**), cf. [Kroonen 2013: 4–5]. Gk. σκόλλυς, -υος [m.] ‘type of haircut, in which a tuft of hair was left on the head’ (cf. [Beeke 2010: 1356] might be understood as \**skol-lu-* based on the *o*-grade in σκόλλω ‘flay, rend, snatch’ < \**skol[H]je/o-*, cf. for the latter form [Vine 1999: 566, 568], who assumes a hypocoristic gemination for σκόλλυς, cf. also [LIV<sup>2</sup> 552–553]. Other instances of suffixes in -u- beside -o- seem to be \**no/nu-* in OIr. *bán* (o) ‘white, shining’ < Protoceclt. \**bāno-* beside Ved. *bhānū-* ‘beam of light’, Av. *bānu-* ‘id.’, Gk. θράνος ‘seat, bench’ (m., Att.) beside θρήνυς (Hom.) ‘stool’, and maybe \**-jo/iu-* in Ved. *vāyú-* ‘wind’ : Lith. *vėjas* ‘id.’ If this implies a derivational relation \**-Co- > \*-Cu- \*prulu-* might be based on \**prulo-*.

<sup>17</sup> For further instances of this ritual, e.g. among Thracian, Germanic and Celtic tribes, cf. X. *Anab.* 6.1.5, Tacitus *Germ.* 24, Liv. 38.17 (*tripudia*; cf. [Schrader 1929:

Further similar polysemies are seen in (a) Gk. θρόσκω ‘to jump’ (\**d<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>3</sub>ske/o-*) and θοῦρος ‘quick, rushing’ (\**d<sup>h</sup>orh<sub>3</sub>uo-*), (b) δίεμαι ‘rush; hunt’, διερός ‘quick’ and Latv. *diēt* ‘to dance’, (c) Lith. *šókti* ‘to jump; dance’ (\**keh<sub>2</sub>k-*) beside *šankùs* ‘quick’ (cf. [ALEW] s. v.).

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508–510]). On Indra as a dancer, *nṛtú-*, in the context of battle cf. RV 1.130.7ab *bhinát píro navatím indra pūrāve / dívodāsāya máhi dāsúše nṛto* ‘You, Indra, split the ninety strongholds for Pūru, for Divodāsa the greatly pious, you *prancer*.’ [Jamison, Brereton 2014], cf. also [Hillebrandt 1891: III.173].

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