XV.—SOME LATIN AND GREEK ETYMOLOGIES
AND THE CHANGE OF *L* TO *D* IN LATIN.
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Adeps and the change of L to D.

With regard to this word two theories have been held (Curt.⁵ No. 340, Corss. Ausspr. 1.² 224). It has been supposed to be either (*a*) from the same root as ἄλειφα ἄλειφαρ or (*b*) ἄλειφαρ itself borrowed. Now as (*a*) involves amongst other things the assumption of the prosthetic vowel for Latin, *i.e.* in *a-dep-s*, it may be neglected until that assumption is supported by some trace of positive evidence.

The second proposed derivation must be considered in greater detail. For the connexion with ἄλειφαρ are adduced (1) two glosses from Hesychius ἀλέφεσσιν στέατι, ἀλεφάτισσιν ἄλειφον, which only prove that the meaning of words kindred to ἄλειφαρ might be 'fat': and (2) a Latin form *alipes*, which is in all probability a *later* form of *adipes* (v. inf.) and consequently proves nothing. Not only does the evidence for the etymology thus disappear, but there are weighty considerations against it. In the first place it can hardly be reasonable to suppose that the Latins had no word of their own for so common an object as *fat*, more especially as their rustic life and frequent sacrifices brought it every day under their notice. Again the Greek and Latin words do not correspond perfectly in meaning and very imperfectly in sound. To omit the representation of λ by *d* we have *i* for *ei*, *-ps* or *-pem* (acc.) for *-pha* or *-phap*; and the genders are different. This, though not a fatal objection, affords some presumption against the proposed etymology. With regard to the replacement of λ by *d* two theories are possible. It may be regarded as due to a mistake on the part of the hearer, to whom the λ sounded as a *d*; or else as a Latin change from *l* to *d*, in which case *alips* would be the original form in which the word was borrowed. The first hypothesis, which, so far as

I know, is maintained by no philologist, may be dismissed for the present.

The probability of the *second* hypothesis depends upon the evidence for the change of *l* to *d* in Latin. This evidence it will be necessary to examine. The following supposed examples are quoted by Corssen (I. 224) :

cadamitas for *calamitas*.

Capitodium for *Capitolium*.

vodeba for *volebam* (doubtful Pompeian inscription).

Gududia by the side of *Gudulius* (late African inscription).

To this list may at most be added :

dautia for *lautia*.

cadaver for **calaver* (Sk. *kalevara* corpus).

To take these words *seriatim*. Of the first two it must be observed that other explanations have been offered. *Calamitas*,¹ according to Froehde, Zeitschr. XIII. 456, is weakened from *cadamitas*, which comes from a root SKAD, Sk. *khad*, *skhad*, 'destroy;' cf. *skhadh-ana*, 'destruction,' and Lat. (s)*cado*. If *cadamitas* is the older form, the form *calamitas* is probably to be explained as due to popular etymology. The storm sweeping through the air 'culmumque levem stipulasque volantes,' Virg. G. i. 321, appeals strongly to the countryman's imagination to whom there can be no greater *calamity* than this whirling of the reeds and stalks.² Compare the English *hurricane*, from Spanish *huracano*, which, of course, is *not* derived, as its form suggests, from *hurrying canes*. *Capitodium* also has been supposed to be the original form: for its formation *custodia* has been compared. The possibility of these derivations depends of course on the age of the forms *cadamitas* and *Capitodium*; but whether they are older or younger than the forms with *l*

¹ *Calamitas* is probably not to be connected with *incolumis*, as *Klotz* thinks, Wörterb. s.v. *incolumis* is not a negative compound, as we might conjecture from the comparative *incolumiores* in *Quadrigarius*; a shorter form is *columis* preserved in glosses. *incolumis* is to *columis* as *inclutus* is to Gr. *κλυτός*.

² It is hardly necessary to point out that *calamus* is a borrowed word (κλαμος), the native Latin word corresponding to which being *culmus*. It is, however, probably an old borrowing.

the advocates of a connexion between *adepts* and ἀλειτουργία are involved in an equal dilemma. For if, as Vaniček supposes,¹ *cadamitas* and *Capitodium* are late Latin changes for the forms in *l*, this will prove indeed that at one time a *d* replaced an earlier *l*, but it will do it at the expense of relegating the change to the latest periods in the history of Latin and leaving it for an early word like *adepts* still unsubstantiated. On the two other words adduced by Corssen, *vodeba* and *Gududia*, there is but little to say, except that they are hardly sufficiently supported. The correctness of the transcription *vodeba* is doubtful; and we find *Goſulius* and *Godulius* by the side of *Godudia*. The two other instances may be shortly disposed of. *Dautia* is expressly mentioned by Festus, p. 68 ('*dautia quae lautia dicimus et dantur legatis hospitii gratia*'), as the oldest form; and there is everything in favour of Fick's derivation of it from root DU give (bye-form of DA), in Latin *du-int*, *ad-du-es*, *cre-du-as*, Zend *du*, give, Lith. *dav-iau*, Ch. Sl. *dav-ati*, give. *Cadaver* for *calaver* is a fancy of Bopp's, which no one else has adopted. There is every reason for connecting *cadaver* with *cado* as πῶμα is connected with πίπτω.

This, then, is the evidence for the change of *l* to *d* in Latin. Six instances of it have been adduced. Of these *two* are either late or capable of other explanations, *two* are late and doubtful, and *two* are not in point. The evidence may, perhaps, on the whole, justify us in admitting the change when Latin was being broken up into dialects; but it is altogether inadequate to prove it for the Classical, still less for the ancient speech to which we have seen *adepts* belongs.²

Further, there are several weighty considerations against the assumption of this change of sound for Classical Latin. *D* is a very unstable sound in Latin; one, in fact, that

¹ "*Cadamitas*, late Latin, first in Mar. Vict. in the second half of the fourth century A.D., p. 2546, Isid. Orig. 20. 3."—Wörterb. p. 1085. "*Capitolium*: neighbouring form of the later popular speech after the time of Marius *Capitodium*,"—p. 113.

² In the Romance languages the change is rare: vide Diez Gr. i.⁴ 204.

was avoided as much as possible. This is shown by several circumstances.

(i) it never precedes a consonant in the same syllable when it begins a word (see Roby Lat. Grammar vol. I. § 160; Corssen vol. I. 210); hence

(ii) *dv* (*du*) is weakened most exceptionally except in Latin to *b*; cf. *bonus* for *duonus*, etc.

(iii) *d* changes to *r* frequently (Corss. vol. I. 238 seqq.), *r* never changes to *d*.¹

(iv) *d* changes to *l* in the following words:—

lacrima, Enn. *dacrima*.

lingua (for *d̄ingua*), cf. Goth *tuggo*.

levir, Gk. *δαῖρ*, Sk. *devār-*

lautia for *dautia*.

licare for *dicare*, Ball. Gloss.

delicata, *dedicata*, Fest.

delicare, make plain: cf. Gr. *δείκνυμι*.

baliohus, from *badius* 'chestnut-coloured,' Plaut. Poen.

5. 5. 22.

cassila for *cassida*, Fest.

impelimenta for *impedimenta*, id.

uligo by the side of *udus*.

Novensiles for *Novensides*.

oleo by side of *odor*.

solium, but *sedeo*.

[*alipes* for *adipes* (vide supra)].

Corssen also quotes (vol. I. p. 224) from two late inscriptions

Silicino for Osc. *Sidikinud*.

Golulius for *Godudius* (cf. supr.).

Lastly we have the change in two words borrowed from the Greek which are especially in point,

Ulixes by *Ὀδυσσεύς*,

Melicus = *Μηδικός*.

Finally we must not forget that in this assumed change the normal order of phonetic change is reversed. A fricative

¹ With the exception of the borrowed word *caduceus* for *καρφύκιον* where too popular etymology has been at work.

changes to an explosive, a sound requiring less exertion to one requiring more. Now this is possible when a language is being disintegrated and breaking up in confusion. Not so when it is treading undisturbed its path of phonetic decay.

We may now replace this untenable connexion by something more satisfactory. Adeps (ad-ip-is) then may be regarded as a compound, formed, like *con-iux*¹ (con-iug-is), from a preposition and a root. The latter part of the word is to be connected with the words which Fick (Wörterb. 1.³ 16) adduces under *apa* with the meanings 'sap abundance,' *ὀρός*² sap, O.N. *afa* sap abundance, the Latin *op-es*, *op-imus*, to which we may add *ep-ulæ* a rich banquet. So *adeps*, for ad-ips, will mean 'increased' or perhaps 'adhering fat,' and will show an *a* weakened to *i* as in *adipiscor*.

Asper.

Corssen (II. 593) compares this word with *pro-sper-(us)* and makes it a compound of *a* and *spes* (O.L. *sper-es*) with the meaning "hoffnungslos." This etymology disregards the fundamental signification of the word, which is 'rough,' not 'hopeless,' and needlessly contravenes the law that abstract expressions are derived from concrete, not vice versa. It is much better to take *asper* for *a(c)s-per* and to refer the first part of it to the root AK expanded *aks* 'to be sharp,' which we get in *ὄξύς*, etc. (v. Curt. no. 2), more especially as we have the *c* lost in *a(c)s-tu* from the same root.³ With regard to the *-per* (for *-per-us*), either (1) it is from √ PAR, give, bring (Curt. no. 366), so that *a(c)s-per-us* (for *acsi-per-us*?) will be the 'prick-causing' (compare Eng. 'give a person a prick') a compound like *opi-paru-s*, *e* being for *a* as in *puer-per-a*. Or else (2) more probably it is a corruption of *-ter* (in which case *asper*=Lith. *asz-trū-s*, (also *asz-tra-s*) Ch. Sl. *ostrū*, sharp; and the Zend *astra*,

¹ The illustration is Mr. Fennell's.

² Curtius' connexion of *ὀρός* with Lat. *sucus*, Gr. Etym. II. 63, Eng. tr., (abandoned in the last edition) has always seemed to me exceedingly harsh. Curtius takes *opimus* for *o(b)-pi-mu-s* to be connected with *πλω πινέλη* (No. 363) (also abandoned in last edition).

³ Compare Corssen, I. 35.

dagger, point, Skt. *ash-trā*, may also be compared). For the change of *sp* to *st*, see Corssen i. 178. In any case *asper* will=Eng. 'prickly,' Gr. *ἀκρι-ό-εις*, full of *ἀκρεῖς* or pricks; cf. too the Aeschylean *ἀκ-ρίς* *rugged* (lit. prickly).¹

Baca [—*βηκώνιον*—*βήχιον*—*βάρυες*—*βδάροι*].

Pauli (Zeitschr. xviii. 14 sqq.) has shown that this word should be spelt with a single *c*. He derives it from a root BAK 'to be hard,' which he finds in *bac-ulum*, *βάκ-τρον*. But these words are referred by Curtius with much more probability to the root GA 'to go' (in *βαίω*, etc.), in the sense of 'walking' *stick*. Corssen² connects *baca* with root PAK 'be soft, ripe,' to which Pauli justly objects that this meaning is quite unsuitable to the *hard* berry. Fick,³ comparing the Lith. *bapkas* laurel berry, and some other words, very distantly related if related at all, deduces a root *bab* to be round; from this he forms *bab-ca* and then *bacca*. Against this may be objected, first that it is not proved that B was an Indo-European sound; secondly that, supposing it was, a root like *bab*, consisting of a vowel between two flat unaspirated consonants, is an inadmissible combination;⁴ and lastly that *babca* is a most extraordinary formation for Latin, when an easy word like *babica* could have been formed (cf. *alica* from *alo*).⁵

Baca is most naturally divided *bā-ca*. The first part suggests the root PA eat, feed, in *pa-sco*, *pa-bulu-m*, *βόσσω*, etc. *b* for *P* is according to Latin sound laws (see Corss. i. 128 seqq.). Some glosses in Hesychius support this connexion. I transcribe them.

βηκώνιον· εἶδος βοτάνης.

βήχιον· βοτάνης εἶδος.

*βῆκα· ἀναδενδράς.*⁶

¹ Aesch. Prom. 1016 *ἀκρις φάραγξ*.

² Nachträge, 63.

³ I.³ 683. Another derivation is that of Benfey (Greek Wurzel-lexikon, p. 522) from root BHAKS, Skt. *bhaksh eat*, which satisfies the meaning but not the sound; for initial BH before a vowel never becomes *b* in Latin.

⁴ Grassmann, Zeitschr. xii. 81 ff. Curtius, i. 63.

⁵ The Lithuanian *bapkas* is perhaps *reduplicated* and for *ba-p(a)-kas*.

⁶ *βῆκα*, the tree as *giving food*, stands in the same relation to the berry or food *baca*, as *μῆλα· πάντα τὰ δένδρα* (Hesych.), to *μῆλα· παντὸς δένδρου καρπὸς (id.)*.

The berry then is 'the eatable,' being one of the primitive foods of man.

In favour of this connexion we have

(1) The use of the word in passages like Cicero Senect. 2. 5 in *arborum bacis terraeque frugibus*, where 'it means 'eatable produce, fruit.'

(2) The evidence of tradition, which has preserved the memory of a pre-Cereal epoch, when man fed on the wild fruits of the wood. We can trace this in stories like those of *Ceres* and *Celeus*. See for example *Ov. Fast. iv. 509*, where *Celeus* before meeting with *Ceres* is described as collecting acorns and mulberries, *ille domum glandes excussaue mora rubetis portat*.

(3) There is abundant analogy for the passage of meaning. Thus *φηγός* Lat. *fāgus* comes from *VBHAG* 'eat' (in *φαγ-εῖν*, etc.); *glans βάλ-ανος* from *VGAR, GRA* 'eat' (Curt. no. 643), with which *βάρ-υες δένδρα, βδάρ-οι δένδρα, δρύες* (Hesychius), should be also connected.¹

Basium.

Basium, which comes from the same root PA, may be conveniently put here. In form it exactly coincides with *βήσιον ποτήριον* Hesych., which comes from PA in the special sense of 'drinking.' A kiss is appropriately named from the *mouth* (as in Lat. *osculum* (dim. of *os*), Bohem. *hubička* 'kiss,' from *huba* 'mouth,' Provençal *ac-caissar* kiss, *cais* mouth): or from actions connected with the mouth, *e.g.* *kiss* itself, O.H.G. *kuss-ju*, is from *VGUS* taste, Gr. *γεύ-ω*, Lat. *gus-to* (Fick 1.³ 573), cf. *Virg. Aen. i. 256 oscula libavit natae*. For the *s* in *basium* between two vowels compare *amasius*.

Caballus [—καπαλεύτας—καπαλίζει—κάπος—καπυκτός—κάβηλος—κάβαισος—κάπτω—cabus—cabo].

For this word I have seen two derivations offered.

The first assumes it to have been borrowed from the Greek,

¹ For the *βδ*, which = *β* + parasitic *y*, see Curt. II, 105, and no. 255: *βδλω* from root *GAS* is a precisely parallel case.

καβάλλης being explained by Hesychius as ἐργάτης ἵππος. *καβάλλης* is taken to be a mutilation of *καταβάλλης* and to have meant originally "limper," or, more literally, "one who is apt to throw his rider." This proposal must be decisively rejected. For, if there be any borrowing in the matter, *καβάλλης* is as likely to have been borrowed from the Latin as *caballus* from the Greek. Again, *κατα-βάλλης* is an unheard-of formation, and the meaning is altogether unsuitable: 'apt to throw' is certainly not the way to indicate a 'limping hack.'

In the second derivation the word is compared with the Slavonic *kobyła* mare, but the root is not explained. It is very possible that the words are connected, though the word *kobyła* does not show the derogatory sense of *caballus*; but supposing they are, we are no nearer the meaning of the root. Besides the already-quoted gloss in Hesychius, we have the following:

καπαλεύτας ὀνηλάτας.

καπαλίζει ζευγηλατεῖ.

κάπος ψυχή, πνεῦμα· καὶ ὁ τοῦ φοίνικος φλοιὸς ἐν ᾧ κέκρυπται ὁ καρπὸς καὶ ἡ πρώτη ἔκφυσις.

καπυκτά· πνέοντα.¹

Further we have the apparently corrupt gloss

καββιόρνους· κατεσθίων.

and an alternative explanation

κάβηλος· ὄνος.

and finally one containing an unfortunate attempt at etymology²

κάβαισος ἄπληστος. κάβος γὰρ μέτρον σιτικόν.

Here we have traces of a root *καπ* meaning to 'breathe' or 'pant' and of a weakened form of it *καβ* with the additional

¹ *καπυκτός* is an adjective formed from a verbal stem *καπυκ-* seen in *καπύσσω* (v. infra) and used in an active sense (cf. *ὑποπτός μεμπτός* Soph. etc.).

² It is absurd to derive a word for a 'glutton' in *Cratinus* (Malth. 7) from the name of a foreign measure (*κάβος* = Hebr. *kab*) first found in the *LXX* and *Geoponica*. *κάβ-αισο-*s probably means *gulping down one's share* (*αἶσα*) and so 'greedy.'

meaning of to 'swallow.' This root is also found elsewhere. The verb *κάπτω* is well known; it means (1) 'swallow' (cf. *καββιόρρους* and *κάβαισος*), especially 'swallow greedily,' (2) 'breathe hard,' 'gasp;' compare the Homeric phrases *κεκάφηότα θυμόν* Il. v. 698, etc. and *ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχὴν ἐκάπυσσεν* and the gloss in Hesych. *κέκηφε τέθηκε*, i.e. he has breathed his last, he has 'gaspd his soul away.'

From this root was derived an adjective stem *καπαλο-* or *καβηλο-* in the sense of 'panting, gasping,' used also as a substantive (compare *καπαλεύτας* and *κάβηλος*) from which were formed verbs originally meaning to "drive panting animals," whether asses (*καπαλεύω*), or oxen (*καπαλίζω*), or horses.

In Latin the following clues towards the formation of the word are important,

crabrones dicti a cabo id est caballo Isid. Or. XII. 8. 4.

caballus cabo equus gloss. Isid.—*cabo caballus grandis id.*—*cabo sonipes caballus equus id.*

In Latin then there was a form *cabus* or *cabo* (for the latter form compare *trio* 'an ox') meaning a "large hack."

From this word or from a form *cabalus*, like the Greek one, *caballus* (compare the first quoted gloss of Isidore) is diminutive.¹ If the word is pure Latin, the second *a* is probably due to the influence of the first. If, on the other hand, the word was borrowed from some Italian dialect, which is perfectly possible, and at variance with none of the facts as they have been set forth above, the mere circumstance of its being borrowed is sufficient to explain the appearance of the *a*; compare *Catamitus* for Gr. *Γανυμήδης*, and especially *andabata* (from *ἀντιβατήρ*?), and *alapa* = *κόλαφος*. As already seen, it is from the root KVAP, KAP, *καπ*, weakened in Greek and Latin to *καφ* or *καβ* and *cab*,² and meaning inter alia to 'pant' or 'gasp.' Besides the

¹ The diminutive has displaced the original word, as frequently happens in popular speech. So in Romance *avis* has given way to *avicella* (oiseau), and *apis* to *apicella*.

² For the weakenings of *p* to *β* and *b* see Curt. II. 153, Corss. I. 128, and compare *bāca*.

instances already given, KAP occurs in the Skt. *kapi*, *kapila* 'incense' = Lith. *krepalai* 'perfume,' *καπύω*, *καπνός*. KVAP in Lithuanian *kvápas*, etc., the Lat. *vapor*, *vappa*, etc. For the loss of this parasitic *v* in Lat. compare *c(v)anis*, Sk. *çvan*; and *c(v)aper*, *κάπρος*, Ch. Sl. *veprŭ*, from this very root. For more instances of loss of *v* see Corss. I. 313.

The hack then, *cabo caballus*, is the 'panting, gasping horse'; just as the German *schnauber* is from *schnauben* 'to puff.' So the French name for a broken-winded horse is 'corneur,' and ours is 'roarer.'

The original meaning of the word is traceable in the proverb *caballus in clivo* Petron. Sat. 134. 2, a phrase for a labouring walk. A hill would try a broken-winded horse severely. Compare Ov. Rem. Am. 394 *principio clivi noster anhelat equus*, i.e. my Pegasus is proving himself a very *caballus*.

Cernuus [—*cernuare*—*cernulare*—*cernualia*].

There is a tendency among philologists to draft too much of a word into mere formative suffixes. It is true that the suffix often does not mean much; for example, it would be hard to distinguish between *παῖς* and *παιδνός* in Homer, or between *er*, *ericius*, and *erinaceus*, all Latin names for a 'hedgehog.' Yet originally every suffix must have added something to the meaning of the word. In fact, a stem or word formed of a root and suffixes is nothing but a compound melted down, the final elements of which have suffered more or less, according to circumstances; and it is therefore unscientific to treat cases in which the separate force of the suffix remains either to a great or considerable extent in the same way as those in which it has wholly vanished. One example of this error will suffice. *Cussiliris*, whose meaning 'ignarus' Festus s.v. satisfactorily explains from *cossim* *lirare*. Corssen¹ divides thus: *cu-s-sili-ri-s*, and assumes to explain it the noun-stem *cus-* and the adjectival stems *custo-* and *custili-* (*cussili-*).

¹ Ausspr. I. 355.

Cernuus too has suffered from this tendency. Curt. (no. 38) divides it *cern-uu-s*, and compares *κράν-ιον*. Some considerations seem to militate against this view. First among these may be mentioned the meaning. We can say *prae-cep-s* 'head-foremost,' or *pro-nu-s* (for *pro-ana-s*) and *πρη-νή-s* (for *προ-ηνή-s*) 'face-forward, from *ana* mouth, Sk. *âna*,¹ and in Eng. 'head-long' or 'head-foremost.' But can we say '*cern-uu-s*' = '*head-y*' in the same sense?² Then, again, though this is a somewhat minor point, the form *cern-* for *cere-* head is not established for Latin.

The following glosses are interesting :

cernuare praecipitare, gloss. Isid.³

cernulus in capite ruens, gloss. Isid.

cernuli πεταυρισταί, gloss. Philox.

cernulus κυβιστής, gloss. Philox.

cernulat κυβιστᾶ,⁴ gloss. Philox.

cerenuit πεπεταύρισται, gloss. Philox.

Perhaps we may add *cernualia*, the Roman *ἀσκόλια*, Var. ap. Non. 21. 6. sqq.

It seems safer then to take *cernuus* as a true compound for *cere-nu-us*, just as *cervix* is for *cere-vix*, and to make it mean 'with the head bent' (*nu-o*, *νέυ-ω*) whether in falling forward or in going head over heels.

Cirrus [*—κρωβυλος—κρόβον*].

This word—to be divided *cir-ru-s*—comes from the root KAR (KRA, KVAR), to *bend* or *round*, which we see in Sanskrit *kā-kra-s*, wheel, disk, circle; Latin *cur-vu-s*, *cir-cu-s*, *circum*; Greek *κίρ-κο-s*, *κυλ-ίνδ-ω*; Old High German *hring*, ring. For the weakening of *a* to *i* compare *circus*, etc.; for the suffix *-ro* Roby Latin Grammar vol. 1. § 883; and for the derivation of the meaning '*curl*' from that of '*ring*,'

¹ In spite of Curt. no. 419.

² Bugge, Curt. Stud. iv. 342, who is the latest defender of the *cern-uu-s* theory, thinks we can, and compares *κυβιστάω* from *κύβη*, the head. For the form he compares *ann-uu-s*.

³ So Varr. ap. Non. 21. 8, etc.

⁴ Active in *Seneca*, e.g. Ep. 8. 4.

the English *ringlet*, the German *ringel*, the French *boucle*, which means (1) a metal *ring* (2) a curl, and the Greek κρώβυλος.

κρώβυλος (stem κρωβ-υλο-) is from a shorter stem κρω-*Fo*¹ with the *diminutive suffix* -υλο (compare *ring-let*, *ring-el*). The *F* is replaced by β,² as in κρό-βο-ν δρέπανον Hesychius from the same root and other words in Greek. κρω-*Fo* shows the same suffix *ea* as κρό-βο-ν and Latin *cur-vu-s* and Slavonic *kri-vŭ*;³ but in contrast with those words the vowel of the root is long.

¹ [Brugmann (Stud. vii. 279), while agreeing about the meaning, takes *cirrus* for *cir-vu-s* which is much less probable.]

² See Curt. ii. 211 sqq.

³ Compare for these two words and the derivatives of *KAR* in general Curt. no. 81.

Note.—The articles composing this paper were written in 1877–8 and a few of the suggestions have been since made by others. I have noted these where they occur.—J. P. P.